

# Shared control of forces will facilitate peace: ANC

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Citizen 9 DEC 1992

MR Nelson Mandela believes that to start ending South Africa's political violence, the ANC should get a share of control over the security forces in the first half of next year.

In an informal conversation with AFP during a one-day trip to Mozambique, the African National Congress (ANC) leader said a key area of the ANC's discussions with the government was control of security.

The ANC-leaning Human Rights Commission said on Monday that 3 324 people had been killed in violence this year up to the end of November, 38 percent up on the same period last year.

Mr Mandela was convinced of security force "connivance", at least in the form of standing back and allowing violence that they could stop.

A top priority for the ANC was setting up a joint security commission under the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), a multi-party executive working in tandem with the Cabinet, which State President De Klerk has said he wants in place by June.

At that stage, senior commanders of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), should be given posts in the security forces, he said.

"Then we can begin to reduce violence — not stop it immediately, but reduce it," Mr Mandela added.

Only when the ANC was in a fully-fledged interim government would it be possible to tackle violence thoroughly, he said.

ANC and government negotiators who met for

three days last week were making progress on the issue, he said.

But some generals, notably South African Defence Force chief Gen "Kat" Liebenberg, were putting up resistance.

Mr Mandela reciprocated that resistance when it came to calls to disband MK, saying he would open up the armed group to outside control only when the ANC was in an interim government.

Mr De Klerk said on November 26, when he released a democracy schedule culminating in elections to end White rule by April 1994, that only registered political parties with no private armies should take part in the poll.

"De Klerk makes threats he is in no position to enforce, and he knows that," Mr Mandela said.

Throughout the conversation, Mr Mandela stressed that ANC strategy centred on Mr De

Klerk and not other parties, not even Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which is locked in a virtual civil war with the ANC in Natal.

"We must focus on De Klerk," Mr Mandela said. "Even though this regime is illegitimate, it is the de facto government."

He was well aware of the power and organisation of the ruling National Party (NP) after 44 years in office, and believed they had "the technology" to distort an election.

When the government distributed drought aid to the rural areas, it enclosed NP membership forms, he said.

And although he admitted he had no proof, he said he was worried that as many as half a million foreigners in South Africa could be naturalised and enlisted by the NP.

Which was why he re-

cognised the importance of the electoral commission Mr De Klerk envisages setting up at the same time as the TEC.

He said the ANC could hurt Mr De Klerk. "We have the power to bring him down," Mr Mandela said. "But we won't do that."

Because if they did they could end up having to negotiate with a Cabinet hardliner like Law and Order Minister Hernus Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, he said.

Mr Mandela said he was wary of any action that might further damage the flagging economy.

Local businessmen had made him aware that a brain drain had already begun. "We need people with skills," he said, acknowledging that eastern Europe was now a bigger draw for investors than South Africa. — Sapa-AFP.

2 Weekend Mercury 28 Nov '92

# Executions, torture and ill-treatment

## Beatings with bicycle chains, hoses

**N**UMEROUS cases of execution, torture and ill-treatment — even of genuine African National Congress members — have been exposed by Amnesty International in a special report.

This treatment of prisoners held by the ANC span more than a decade in several African countries, according to the report, released yesterday.

The organisation says in its report just released that although the victims of these abuses were often labelled as South African Government spies, most appear to have been genuine ANC members, mainly in the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Spear of the Nation.

"They were imprisoned because they raised grievances in the ANC camps or because of differences over policy," Amnesty International reported.

However, the organisation said that torture or executions can't be justified in any circumstances.

The report disclosed that "at houses run by ANC security officials in Zambia, prisoners were beaten with implements including bicycle chains and rubber

hoses".

It was pointed out that "prisoners taken to an ANC farm on the Lusaka-Livingstone road have described being made to dig their own graves and climb into them".

"One alleged that the hole was filled in up to his neck and that a plastic bag was placed over his head, until he lost consciousness."

These claims are contained in a report called "South Africa: Torture, ill-treatment and executions in African National Congress camps".

The findings of Amnesty International's independent research are documented in a report issued early this month, and are similar to those of an internal ANC commission of inquiry report published in October.

The commission recommended that those responsible for abuses be identified and barred from holding positions of authority in future.

Amnesty International endorses this recommendation and has also written to the governments of several African countries, asking them to investigate reports of abuse by the ANC with the aim of bringing those respon-

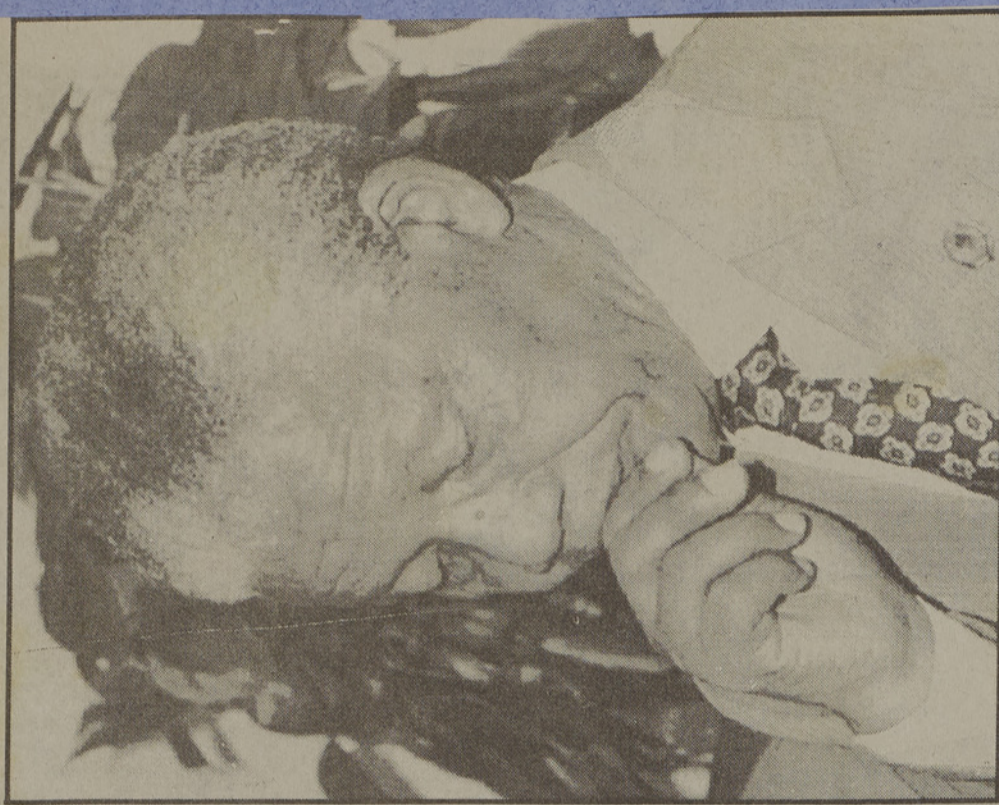
sible to justice.

"The issue of accountability for human rights abuses is on the political agenda in South Africa today, with the Government enacting an indemnity law in November which could give immunity to security force members who have committed grave human rights violations.

"The ANC and others have opposed such an amnesty. However, those within the ANC who have committed abuses should not be given amnesty by default," Amnesty International said in a statement.

Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working impartially for the release of prisoners of conscience, fair and prompt trials for political prisoners and an end to torture and executions.

It is funded by donations from its members and supporters throughout the world. It has formal relations with the United Nations, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (Unesco), the Council of Europe, the Organisation of African Unity and the Organisation of American States.



ANC leader Nelson Mandela ... will he implement the recommendations that those responsible for abuses be barred from holding positions of authority?

**T**HIS is not a happy time for the US anti-apartheid movement. The ANC expects to join the NP in a governing junta early next year, at which point it will presumably feel obliged to place a higher premium on the welfare of its own citizens — armed as they will be with the vote — than on the employment of its flaky foreign legion.

In the US, the Democratic Party is no longer in opposition, either. Controlling both Congress and the executive, it can now quite happily tell the idiot left to go and play with its navel somewhere else.

For these reasons, it is unnecessary to take very seriously most of the bloviations of the ANC solidarity groups who gathered at New York's Riverside Church on November 13-15 for what was grandly called the National Conference in Support of the ANC and Other Democratic Forces. This is just as well because to read the convocation's programme of action with a straight face requires the kind of self-control that leads to aneurisms.

The text was prepared, after earnest debate, by types who would make it a crime to laugh at a clown slipping on a banana peel. For their own protection, these people are in desperate need of affirmative action programmes for the irony-deprived.

**T**he world must be a very joyless place for the authors of the programme's opening manifesto, article 27 of which reads: "We will maintain conscious communications with each other." How else have the activists been communicating hitherto?

Not that conscious communication seems to be a particularly efficient method of transferring ideas between the ANC and its American acolytes. At the start of the conference, ANC president Nelson Mandela (who wisely decided not to appear in person) delivered a videotaped command to the faithful: go out and generate material assistance for the post-apartheid reconstruction. Evidently, the drafters of the manifesto

# Time for the ANC to ditch its flaky foreign legion

*Business Day 24 November 1992*

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

were a little hard of hearing. Not one of the 33 "actions to be taken" referred to Mandela's call.

Instead, the manifesto contained a bizarre mix of demands for closer consultation from the ANC, fantastical conspiracy theories and pledges to carry on as if nothing at all had changed on the ground. Here is a sampling of how the solidarity groups propose to disport themselves on the ANC's behalf in the months ahead.

"We will plan to deliver a political funeral for the George Bush administration to symbolise the death of US policy under past US administrations toward southern and South Africa.

"We will educate the US about the roles of the Heritage Foundation and the International Freedom Foundation which are financing and shipping arms to southern Africa, to the SAP and Renamo specifically.

"We will educate the US public about the army base in Botswana. "We will use walkathons ... to educate the US public on apartheid, violence, and the US government and private sector role in the violence.

"We will organise youth to start walking through our communities on Malcolm X's birthday to dramatise the need to end the violence by and

against youth in America as a result of the trade in weapons to destabilise the US anti-apartheid movement.

"We will connect the violence in inner cities, black communities and poor communities in the US with the violence in SA.

"We will hook into PeaceNet (a computer network) to send and get messages/information about South/southern Africa struggle. Access Code: REGLSAFRICA."

*A luta continua — electronically.*

**H**elpful stuff for which worshippers at Regina Mundi in Soweto will surely want to deliver a prayer of thanks on Sunday. However, the ANC is expected to play its part, too. Not only must it communicate consciously, it must "strengthen" its US representative's office, keep its friends briefed about its relationship with "other democratic forces in SA", and "determine which groups it will regularly contact in the US anti-apartheid movement concerning the struggle inside SA and the decisions it makes concerning that struggle".

Also, "we expect to see and be informed on a consistent basis about

nies to decide which US companies will be permitted to invest in the new SA. If he means to keep this agreement, the ANC leader has signed away a portion of the SA people's sovereignty before they have it.

Equally disturbing, the Riverside conferees pledged to campaign for an investment code for firms doing business in SA that would be applied and enforced by US pressure groups and, if they are successful, by state and local governments in lieu of existing disinvestment and discriminatory contracting policies. The manifesto states: "We will support the transformation of the sanctions movement into a movement to ... repair damage done by apartheid through a code of conduct."

Recommendations drawn up by a conference working group on legislative lobbying go even further: "We need ... refocused research ... on which corporations are going back into SA and determinations of their vulnerability to boycotts and other economic leverages. This information should be provided to state and local legislators where necessary to induce those corporations to conform to the ANC/Cosatu guiding principles for foreign investors."

**I**t does not matter that the principles are less than stringent. The content is relatively unimportant. What counts is that US corporations already invested or thinking about investing will continue to face harassment from watchdogs and local legislatures at home — harassment not faced by their overseas competitors. This might be tolerable for companies that only want to set up distributorships, but not for firms that want to make things and employ serious numbers of people.

Once in power, and unless its leaders are utterly unheeded, the ANC will have to put South Africans and the desperate need for jobs before all else. Loyalty to its solidarity network will then be a luxury it can ill afford. That being the case, why not cut the parasites loose now before, in their desperation to stay employed, they do damage that will not easily be undone?

## Important decisions from ANC over talks '92

*25 Nov 1992*

THE ANC national executive committee (NEC) meeting in Durban ends today and is expected to have a marked impact on the negotiating process.

NEC members at the venue yesterday would only say "it is going well" and decisions would be made public today.

Main items have been the forthcoming bilaterals with the Government — understood to be scheduled for early next week — negotiations and violence, particularly the problems ravaging Natal.

ANC president Nelson Mandela this week repeated his demand that the meeting with the Government should top its agenda with the setting of a date for the country's first democratic elections.

"If we don't resolve this then that bilateral will be wasted," he said on Monday.

However, the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party have flatly rejected this — both saying such decisions cannot be made on a bilateral basis — and it will be interesting to see in what shape the demand emerges from the meeting.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa also indicated at the weekend that the ANC would insist that the transitional executive councils

### Political Correspondent

— to have input on decision-making at Cabinet level and what will effectively be the first stage of interim government — should be in place by May.

Pivotal to the negotiations element of the discussions will have been the negotiations strategy document recently approved by the national working committee.

There have reportedly been differences within the ANC-led alliance on the "strategic perspective" document, fresh evidence of this being provided by an attack by ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala on SACP chairman Joe Slovo's proposals.

Mr Gwala suggests in a six-page document that Mr Slovo's call for a limited period of power-sharing between the ANC and National Party would amount to "an aborted democracy built on expediency".

The ANC's head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, has publicly criticised the document.

There are also understood to be differences between the Government, the IFP and the ANC on when and how multi-party talks should resume.

## NEWS

Meeting arranged: IFP and ANC to attend

# Boost for peace

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

The agenda for the meeting has been thrashed out by RDRC chairman MC Pretorius and the RDRC secretariat in consultation with party political leadership and other Peace Accord structures.

It is understood that the national leaderships of both the ANC and IFP have given their backing to the meeting.

It is possible that a successful outcome to this meeting would give a boost to initiatives to get the national leaderships of the IFP and ANC to a meeting before Christmas.

"It is also hoped that the meeting will facilitate the formation of Local Dispute Resolution Committees in all of the flash-point areas," said an RDRC source.

In the past 11 months the RDRC has been struggling to establish LDRCs, which are seen as crucial to bringing an end to the violence. Of the 21 targeted flashpoint areas only five LDRCs have been formed.

THE push for peace in Natal has been given a major boost with a decision to hold a top level meeting on violence — with ANC and Inkatha participation — in Durban on December 9.

A source in the KwaZulu/Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee — which will convene the meeting — yesterday described the development as "potentially very exciting".

Both the IFP and ANC have given their approval to the meeting. Also present will be members of the National Peace Committee executive, the Peace Secretariat, senior representatives of the SAP and the KwaZulu Police and international observers.

The breakthrough — which comes after months of increased blood-letting in the province — follows a number of initiatives designed to get the peace process in the province off the ground.

The input from the ANC and the IFP have shaped what is being described as a "souped-up" RDRC meeting.

Expected to be at the meeting in the Durban City Hall are National Peace Committee executive members such as Dr Frank Mdlalose of the IFP and Sidney Mafumadi and Aziz Pahad of the ANC.

Peace Secretariat chairman John Hall will attend as well as leading members of the secretariat.

Representatives of all parties which signed the Peace Accord will also be there. Mr Pretorius will chair the meeting.

It is understood that the ANC national executive committee meeting in Durban this week has also discussed the meeting.

● A crucial meeting of the National Peace Committee, chaired by John Hall, was under way in Johannesburg last night in a renewed effort to restore peace to the country, reports Sapa.

Among the main actors represented at the meeting were Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte, an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation and a tripartite ANC-alliance delegation.

The Weekly Mail 17-23 July '92



Future presidents? ... Nelson Mandela, flanked by New York City Mayor, David Dinkins, pays a visit to Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Clinton in New York on Wednesday

Photo: AP

# ANC-govt summit is likely 'within few weeks'

The Citizen 17 November 1992

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The "bosberaad" between the government and the ANC is likely to be held before the end of the month, with the two major political parties trying to clear the air for multi-party negotiations early next year.

While there is still strong speculation that the parties will meet on Sunday, November 29, neither the government nor the ANC would confirm a date yesterday.

A source said the final date, length of the meeting and the agenda had yet to be finalised. How-

ever, he confirmed that it was hoped to hold the bush summit within the next two to three weeks.

ANC spokesman, Mr Saki Macozoma, also confirmed progress in talks behind the scenes to set up the meeting.

"The meeting is on track. We hope it will be before the end of the year," he said.

Mr Macozoma indicated that there could be a joint announcement in due course on the date of the meeting.

In political circles, this is seen as a vitally import-

ant bilateral forum, at which there could be agreement on an early start next year to multi-party negotiations.

The other Codesa signatories are hoping that the government and ANC will be ready to resume multi-party talks some time in February.

If the ANC and government can establish the needed mutual trust to move ahead, then the government is expected to concentrate its efforts in the weeks ahead on persuading Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi

and the Inkatha Freedom Party to return to the negotiation table.

The continuing violence and Inkatha's withdrawal from the negotiation process are at present seen as the two major obstacles to a resumption of multi-party talks next February.

Dr Zach de Beer, Democratic Party leader, said yesterday the economy was suffering because of the lack of progress. Investors would not help promote economic growth until the killings stopped and a political settlement was achieved.

"It is now almost three years since President De Klerk made his striking speech. There is still no political settlement, and violence is continuing on an appalling scale.

"And why is there no settlement? Because the Nats and the ANC are so obsessed with their own lust for power that they have been unable to make the compromise that is necessary to achieve a new constitution."

Both the NP and the ANC were trying to gain political advantage ahead of a future election, instead of trying to resolve the deadlock.

"There is not a sufficient sense of urgency. And unless the ANC and the NP make the necessary adaptations and compromises so that the rest of us can get together to discuss the road ahead, then there is no hope.

# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

7 September 1998

## ANC strategy

THE ANC strategy is clear.

It has decided not to return to the constitutional negotiations because, among other reasons, it prefers to continue the talks between ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer.

Any agreements — it claims the government has accepted the idea of a Constituent Assembly — are to be regarded as final and are not to be amended by any subsequent negotiations involving other parties.

In other words, the ANC regards the one-to-one talks as binding.

By elevating the discussions to this level, the ANC sidelines the Inkatha Freedom Party and all the other negotiators.

If this is accepted, there will be trouble, particularly from the Inkatha Freedom Party, which will not take this lying down.

The government should suspend the talks between Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa.

If it does not, then it should put in a tougher negotiator than Mr Meyer and make it clear that any understanding it reaches with the ANC is subject to review, amendment or rejection by the broader conference.

The second prong of the ANC strategy is to intensify mass action.

It believes the first rounds of mass action have been a success. The aim was to mobilise the masses. To the extent that it had a successful general strike (though intimidation played a great role), caused disruption by sit-ins at government offices, and further mucked up the economy by reducing business confidence and frightening off investors, the ANC did achieve some of its objectives.

However, since it did not paralyse the country or bring down the government, it did not achieve the great victory it had hoped for.

The intensification of mass action is intended to put further pressure on the government to accept the ANC's demands.

The government must not cave in to this ANC blackmail or it will erode its position even further.

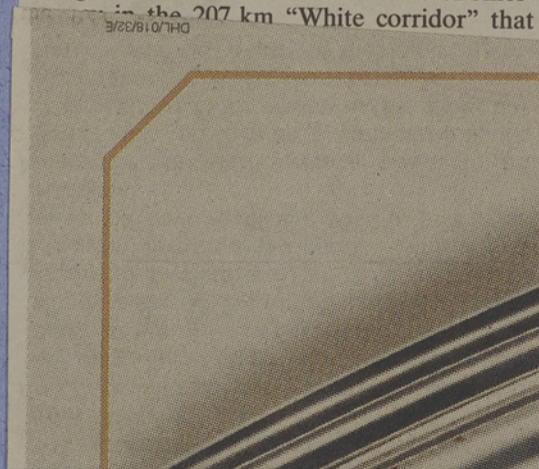
The third prong of the ANC strategy is to topple the governments of Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, which are against the ANC and are regarded by the ANC as allies of the government.

The first to come under attack is the government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei.

The ANC plans to stage a massive march on the capital, Bisho, today to oust Brig Gqozo.

The fact that the march is being organised by Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani, Communist revolutionary Ronnie Kasrils and others of this ilk is a clear indication that the Communists are running the ANC.

The government has declared a state of emergency in the 207 km "White corridor" that



## ANC's Haswell given the boot as deputy mayor

CITY councillor and ANC MP Rob Haswell was ousted as deputy mayor at a private meeting of councillors yesterday to elect a new mayor and deputy for 1992/93.

His successor is Mr Vernon Mason, who was hotly tipped to beat Mr Haswell.

Mr Haswell, who had served three terms as deputy mayor, was at the centre of a controversy last week when the ANC called on the council not to sideline him, or face a possible fall-out with the organisation.

Mayor Pat Cornell was returned unopposed. He and Mr Mason will be installed tomorrow.

After the election, Mr Haswell congratulated Mr Cornell and Mr Mason.

### Pietermaritzburg Bureau

ANC Natal Midlands region deputy chairman Reggie Hadzobe said the ANC was not bothered about the outcome of the election because the present all-white council was "an illegal apartheid structure whose days are numbered".

The ANC's relationship with the council would be determined by whether it continued to "persecute and sideline Mr Haswell simply because of his membership of the ANC".

In an interview after the hour-long closed meeting, Mr Cornell said: "Our vision must be peace in the Pietermaritzburg valley to provide a better life for the people of the region."

## ANC condemns appointment of Roux as envoy

THE African National Congress has condemned the appointment of Dr Jannie Roux, former Director-General of the State President's Office, as South African ambassador to Austria.

In a statement yesterday the ANC said it expected South Africa to demonstrate its professed commitment to non-racial and democratic ideals in the persons appointed to public office. However, the appointment of Dr Roux "is a particularly poor choice".

"Dr Roux became, for many South Africans, one of the symbols of apartheid rule. He was one of the silent powerful men behind (former State President) P W Botha,

supporting him to the hilt when one state of emergency after the other was enforced.

"Many political prisoners remember Dr Roux when he was the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons.

"According to the acclaimed Afrikaans poet, Breyten Breytenbach, who spent six years in jail as a political prisoner, Dr Roux was known as "Master Basie".

"He was feared as a fanatical supporter of the apartheid government who took great pleasure in interrogating already sentenced prisoners and depriving them of the few privileges they were entitled to," said the ANC statement. — Sapa.

## SACC is 'shocked and grieved' at ANC camps

### Citizen Reporter

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) said last night it was "shocked and grieved" to hear how detainees were tortured, abused, humiliated and brutalised in ANC detention camps outside South Africa.

A statement is issued by the SACC on behalf of church leaders said these contraventions of the United Nations universal

declaration of human rights could not be condoned, no matter what the circumstances.

"We hope that urgent and immediate attention will be given to identifying and naming those responsible," the statement said.

It welcomed the ANC leadership's acceptance of full responsibility for the violations and its undertaking to appoint an independent, impartial body

to conduct further investigations.

Traumatic as it might be for the families of victims, it was the belief of the SACC that such revelations could lead to healing and reconciliation.

It was hoped that leaders of other parties "who still needed to make similar admissions" would learn from this.

## Dr T: We'll negotiate with ANC present

By Fred de Lange

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

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

He said his party would

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Making deal with ANC won't work

Citizen 29 October 1992

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

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

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

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

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

4. The government wanted a second chamber

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

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

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

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

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

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

Where are they going to draw the line?

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

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

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

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

PETER PRICE

Johannesburg

# SADF project aimed only at MK: Army chief

Citizen 14 Nov 1992

By Fred de Lange and Sapa

THERE had been no intention to discredit the African National Congress with Project Echoes — it had been aimed only at the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, SA Army chief Lieut-Gen Georg Meiring said yesterday.

He said he authorised Captain Pamela du Randt and a facilitator to travel to London to try to confirm information of possible links between MK and the Irish Republican Army and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, because the existence of such links would have serious security implications for South Africa.

There was no doubt MK members were operating in South Africa and were involved in violence, he said.

"There have been arrests and convictions of MK members involved in acts of violence."

Gen Meiring said he noted with concern allegations that by authoris-

ing Project Echoes he had involved himself in the political process and could even have jeopardised the negotiation process.

"I fully recognise and support the fact that the ANC is one of the parties in the negotiation process."

"However, when an organisation participates in violence and threatens the security of the state, I cannot merely turn a blind eye."

"I am therefore compelled to take MK into account when considering the security and safety of all South Africans."

"I wish to put on record that I approved this project as part of my line function. As Chief of the SA Army I am responsible for the landward safety and security of South Africa and all its people."

He said evidence submitted to the Johannesburg Supreme Court referred only to MK. It was

specifically denied in court that there was any connection to the ANC.

Gen Meiring said there was no doubt that MK members were operating in South Africa and that they were involved in violence.

MK members had been arrested and convicted on charges of violence.

Gen Meiring emphasised that there was no intention to discredit the

ANC. The project was aimed directly and only at MK.

• Lawyers for Human Rights yesterday called on State President De Klerk to suspend General Meiring and to probe the activities of the Defence Force.

In a statement, LHR said an urgent commission of inquiry, chaired by the Chief Justice, should be established to investi-

gate the political aims of the Defence Force and its involvement in "third force" activities.

"Until the contrary is proved, we are entitled to assume that the SA Army is a third force," said the statement.

On Thursday, President De Klerk said the role of the SADF was to serve South Africa and not to participate in the political process. — Sapa.

# New line-up of forces against ANC

MERCURY  
30 SEPT

SHARP realignment of South African political forces — with far-reaching implications for negotiations — is on the cards following the meeting yesterday of the leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

They emerged from their talks to jointly call on organisations sharing their concerns — particularly over bilateral decision-making by the ANC and the Government — to meet and “to discuss the way forward”.

This follows efforts by the Government to patch up its differences with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and effectively means the Codesa “alliance” which lined up against the ANC is in tatters.

After the meeting in Mmabatho yesterday Dr Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei ruler Oupa Gqozo issued a joint statement rejecting the “Record of Understanding” signed by the Government and the ANC at the weekend.

Last night Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate said: “There must be a realignment of political forces following the way that Mr de Klerk capitulated to the ANC demands at the weekend summit.”

The Conservative Party immediately indicated that it could in future join in talks with the three and the CP in

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

the Free State said it supported the “formation of a moderate alliance”.

KwaQwa leader TK Mopedi, who was in the Government camp at Codesa, is thought to favour the alliance.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha reacted to the meeting of the three by saying that political leaders should not be forming power blocs and should act in the best interests of the country.

He said the agreements reached at the summit were not “aimed at any party, but at resolving obstacles that were in the way of the resumption of talks”.

President de Klerk had late yesterday not yet written a letter he intends sending to Dr Buthelezi. It is understood the letter will outline the Government’s reasons for the summit agreement and invite the KwaZulu Chief Minister for talks.

Mr Felgate said that the political realignment would be “across the board” and the “final dividing line” would centre on two interlinked issues. These were the summit decision to accept an elected constituent assembly and the debate on federalism or a centralised government for South Africa.

The IFP and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments reject the constituent assembly and a centralised government.

# AVU may establish committee with ANC after talks

THE Afrikaner Volksunie yesterday presented its ideal of self-determination to the African National Congress, and listened, in turn, to the organisation's stand on regionalism.

Headed by AVU leader Mr Andries Beyers and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, the two organisations said they would be considering the possibility of establishing a joint committee to discuss detailed constitutional questions.

Issued after the meeting at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, a joint statement said: "The parties agreed on

the need for negotiations between all parties to resume as soon as possible in order to ensure an early political settlement.

"The parties also agreed to consider ways and means of ensuring that Afrikaner nationalists would be defenders of the new order."

They also agreed to further bilateral meetings.

Reading the statement, Mr Beyers said both organisations had acknowledged the significance of the meeting. "The AVU expressed its perception of the concerns of the Afrikaner community, their hopes and visions."

Both organisations had agreed that the new South African dispensation should provide for equal citizenship and be free of all forms of discrimination.

"The ANC expressed its appreciation for the opportunity of hearing, for the first time, the views of Afrikaner nationalists as articulated by the AVU."

Asked if the ANC had been sympathetic to the idea of an Afrikaner volkstaat, Mr Beyers said it had not. But the organisation had, significantly, agreed to the formation of an AVU/ANC commit-

tee to look into areas of common interest.

Mr Mandela said earlier that by sitting down with each other, the two organisations had "already cut down our problems by 50 percent".

ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma said: "We are quite optimistic that in discussion . . . we will reach some understanding."

Besides Mr Beyers, who is MP for Potchefstroom, the AVU was represented by four other MPs — Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Mr Rossier de Ville (Standerton), Mr Chris de Jager (Bethel) and Mr Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron).

The top-level ANC delegation led by Mr Mandela included secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, executive members Mr Steve Tshwete, Mr Valli Moosa and Mr Joe Slovo and ex-Democratic Party MP Mr Jannie Momberg.

SA Communist Party national chairman Mr Joe Slovo posed for Press photographs with fellow-lawyer Mr Moolman Mentz — they hadn't, apparently, seen each other much since they served together at the Bar in the 1950s — and Mr Momberg joshed with Mr De Ville in Afrikaans about a government Minister. — Sapa.

## ANC congress to focus on Natal peace moves

DURBAN. — The Southern Natal region of the African National Congress will hold its third regional conference at the University of Durban-Westville this weekend.

Regional secretary Sbu Ndebele said the conference would grapple with ways of establishing peace in Natal.

Speakers at the opening session tomorrow morning include ANC

secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, regional chairman Jeff Radebe, a central committee member of Mozambique's Frelimo Party and one from Angola's ruling MPLA.

The conference comes at a time when Natal has become crucial in deciding whether there would be a peaceful transition in South Africa, Mr Ndebele said.

Delegates would also examine ways in which the installation of an in-

terim government and democratic elections could be speeded up.

Meanwhile, the ANC's Northern Natal region said in a statement it would this weekend reconvene its council meeting which was adjourned on November 15.

Sunday's regional council would be the last before the regional conference which takes place at the end of this month. — Sapa.

## Buthelezi hits at govt, ANC

INKATHA Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has criticised the government and the ANC for their actions relating to the negotiation process.

Speaking yesterday at a reception of the Boland Chamber of Commerce in Paarl, Chief Buthelezi called for a multi-party conference to consider the whole negotiation and peace process.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC was trying to force the government into a weak position after the ANC's defeat at Codesa.

He criticised President FW de Klerk for offering to hold a bush summit with the ANC to reach an understanding with the organisation.

# ANC man 'fell after cop fired'

by DONNA HORNBY  
Supreme Court Reporter

A STATE witness saw a policeman fire shots and an ANC member fall, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Andrew Watson, who was serving in an army camp in Empangeni at the time, said he saw Warrant Officer Hendrik Steyn fire two shots in the Lower Umfolozi district on August 14 this year. Michael Mthethwa, who had been sitting up, fell down while Simon Msweli remained lying flat. Watson then turned away and heard a further two shots fired.

Steyn is on trial for allegedly murdering Msweli and Mthethwa who had been taken prisoner after a shootout with police in kwaMbonambi earlier that day. Msweli and Mthethwa were injured in the shootout which left three policemen dead.

Watson and an earlier witness, Gavin Law, were told to accompany two policemen in a bakkie who were taking Msweli and Mthethwa to hospital. On the way, they met a

car carrying four white policemen, Watson said. Two of the policemen, including Steyn, came over to the bakkie and looked at the injured men. Steyn was "very excited to have got Msweli and Mthethwa" and he was "glad they were wounded", said Watson. Steyn told Watson he had been searching for Msweli for a long time.

Steyn then climbed on the bakkie and instructed the driver to turn into a plantation. Once there, Watson and Law jumped off and Steyn told Msweli and Mthethwa to get off. Mthethwa did so. Steyn "rolled" Msweli, who was shot in the stomach, off the bakkie, Watson said. It was then that Steyn fired the first two shots. A while later, Steyn told Watson to pick up the "doppies".

During cross-examination, the defence asked Law if he was aware that Steyn had a lookalike at Empangeni murder and robbery unit. The man, Koen Maritz, introduced himself to Law and Watson as Leon and did not look like Steyn, Law said. Both Steyn and Law testified that "Leon" told them they must not say anything about the shooting.

## Klipplaat: Where ANC meets AWB to 'survive'

KLIPPLAAT. — A dust-bowl town in South Africa's back of beyond has become the crucible for a potentially explosive alliance between Black activists and White Right-wingers.

Klipplaat at first glance is like any other conservative hamlet in drought-stricken rural South Africa, where Whites are poor and Blacks are even worse off.

A seven-year drought tightened its stranglehold three years ago, and more than half of Klipplaat's 600 Whites packed up and headed for the cities, leaving their homes unsold and empty.

At the same time, Hansie Human left the south coast city of Port Elizabeth to join his aging mother in this eastern Cape town, situated in semi desert on the edge of the Karoo.

Mr Human, a corporal with the neo-Nazi Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), looked at the dy-

ing town and decided to save it by banding with the African National Congress.

"The struggle is uniting us. It's brought an understanding of human rights," he says in his modest lounge, the piece de resistance a framed R1 rifle.

It all started when he was asked by the municipality to call in AWB heavies to evict Blacks from their homes in the adjoining township.

"But they showed me the state of their houses. There were no floors, no locks on their doors, no proper sanitation and no electricity."

Recognising a Right-winger that "wouldn't put a bullet through their heads", the ANC asked Mr Human to meet them.

"They were scared at first, but we found com-

mon ground, and something was born out of that," Mr Human says.

Local ANC secretary general Amos Duyani dismisses the fundamental ideological differences, and emphasises the desperate need to save Klipplaat from becoming a ghost town.

"Politics must be put aside, we talk as Klipplaaters," he says.

Chief among their common goals is that the three-man municipality they call tyrannical and inefficient must go and be replaced by a shared council where "all are equal".

They accuse them of charging Whites exorbitant rates for electricity — an average R200 a household where the average salary is R300 — and of doing nothing to rectify township squalor.

Documents show the town councillors pay themselves inflated salaries, but pay municipal labourers below living wages.

"This is wrong. It is this kind of blatant exploitation that has got our country into the state it is," Mr Human says.

He and his new partners have set about inviting entrepreneurs to survey Klipplaat's viability.

"We've got the labour, we've got the land, we have the railway lines," says Mr Duyani.

Town councillor Sakkie van der Berg's response to the allegations is: "Prove it."

"The situation is explosive. Human is a trouble maker. Some people want change too fast, but you can't switch it on like a light."

"He's meant to be an AWB supporter, but suddenly he's supporting the ANC. I don't know what his problem is."

Mr Human says the town is heading "for a revolution, evolution, a town that can be a light to the rest of South Africa".

— Sapa-AFP.

# 'ANC the cause of violence'

*The Daily News*  
2 October 1992

**MARTIN CHALLENGOR**  
Political Correspondent

POLICIES enacted by the African National Congress to make the country ungovernable and to launch a people's war were among the major causes of political violence and for its continuation, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said in Durban last night.

Addressing an institute briefing on political violence, Mr Kane-Berman said the institute was trying to bring out the significance of these two inputs "as most monitoring agencies do not want to talk about it".

He was helped in his presentation by Dr Anthea Jeffery, special research consultant, and public affairs spokesman Paul Pereira.

Almost 14 000 people had been killed in political violence since September 1984, Mr Kane-Berman said, but cautioned against blaming the violence too strongly on socio-economic factors.

The conflict now raging among black people had its origins in the consumer, rent and school boycotts and political stayaways of the 1980s that had now run beyond control.

From the outset, coercion was used to enforce compliance as

## Director gives reasons for rise in killings

the ANC and its internal ally, the UDF, mobilised the masses. Their strategy was to destroy apartheid by rendering black local authorities and homeland areas ungovernable.

One consequence was that this "provoked violent backlashes from at least some of their targets and set off a vicious circle of attack and counter-attack".

The shift in 1985 by the ANC from armed struggle to people's war was of crucial importance. "It was not sufficiently appreciated in the country at the time.

"In terms of casualties, the armed struggle of the 1960s and 1970s and early 1980s was a minor affair compared to the violence unleashed by the people's war of the mid 1980s."

■ The necklace method of killing — placing a burning tyre around a helpless victim's neck — had replaced the gallows as the main deterrent in the country, Mr Kane-Berman said.

"While the Government has stopped executing people in terms of the moratorium on capital punishment, political activists have not."

## ANC, Govt, IFP in talks

*Natal Mercury*  
JAN 7, 1993

A FLURRY of meetings between the Government, ANC and IFP will take place this month, laying the ground for the resumption of full negotiations.

Government and ANC negotiators are confident multi-party talks will soon be back on track, but IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who pulled out of Codesa last year, is treading more warily.

Keen to have a negotiating forum established by the end of March, the Government will be seeking to allay the doubts of Dr Buthelezi and

others at a meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) tomorrow.

The main concern of the Cosag alliance of the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaanse Volksparty and governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei was the "top down" imposition of democracy and that no groups be excluded from a new forum which will guide the drafting of a constitution.

Meanwhile, expectations are high for the proposed meeting between Dr Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela. — (Political Staff)

## ANC excuse

WE are not surprised that the president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, has instructed the ANC leadership to suspend talks with the National Party government as a result of the massacre of 39 people at Boipatong, in the Vaal Triangle.

The ANC has been looking for an excuse to break off the talks and launch its mass action without worrying about negotiations with the government. Boipatong provides the excuse. The ANC will also consider tomorrow its options with regard to Codesa.

The government and the National Party have the excuse, if they so wished, not just to suspend Codesa but to abandon it completely and seek a different forum in which to plan the future.

However, acting State President Pik Botha has called for urgent talks with the ANC to consider the facts and issues concerning the massacre.

The despicable attacks on State President De Klerk well before Boipatong by Mr Mandela, and on Friday by ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, have shown that the ANC has no respect for Mr De Klerk as State President, and no respect for him as a reformist despite the vast changes he has introduced over the past 2½ years.

The fact that Mr De Klerk was not allowed to express his condolences to the bereaved families at Boipatong, but was chased out of the township, shows the uncivilised behaviour of the mob responsible.

Heaven help South Africa if such mobs have any say in the future of this country.

They were as vengeful, and full of hate, as the mobs which rampaged in Los Angeles.

Instead of reprimanding the mob and calling for peace, Mr Mandela yesterday reinforced the hatred of Mr De Klerk in the township, accusing him of wanting to keep the National Party in power "by brute force".

Mr Ramaphosa made his contribution to the incitement of the mob by saying on Friday: "The ANC places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Mr FW de Klerk, who declared in Tokyo recently that his government had a plan to counter mass action.

"The unprovoked slaughter of innocent people by hordes who, eye-witnesses swear, were ferried in by police vehicles appears to be the second phase of the plan.

"They (the government) are trying through this massacre to browbeat our people into submission."

We hope that governments overseas which support the ANC will note that at a time of terrible tension arising from the massacre, neither Mr Mandela nor Mr Ramaphosa show the responsibility we expect of leaders in the circumstances.

Mr Ramaphosa also complained that more Black people have lost their lives during the three years Mr De Klerk has been in power than during 40 years of National Party government.

How ironic!

The violence has come about since the unbanning of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and other organisations and the release of ANC leaders, including Mr Mandela himself.

If there is any blame, it is to be found in the unbanning and releases, which set off a vicious power struggle.

Mr De Klerk is personally blameless.

Mr De Klerk has hinted that he might introduce a state of emergency to protect the lives of men, women and children; Mr Mandela has countered this with a threat to lead a civil disobedience campaign if Mr De Klerk does so.

We think Mr De Klerk should accept the challenge and introduce an emergency if he *deems this necessary* — and it is.

As a newspaper which has appealed over and over again for an end to violence, from whichever quarter it is perpetrated, we are shocked and saddened by Boipatong, the uncouth treatment of Mr De Klerk by the mob, and the continuing campaign against him by ANC leaders.

South Africa lies bleeding and Boipatong, instead of bringing about a rededication to peace, a renewal of the desire for a settlement, has only split the country as never before.

What a disgrace!

# kwaZulu blocking our meetings, claims ANC

Weekly Mail 23-29 1992

**K**WAZULU officials have been accused of systematically thwarting African National Congress meetings in northern Natal, despite repeated assurances by the homeland's chief minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that there are no restrictions on political expression in the region.

The ANC in northern Natal gave the Sundumbili town council until yesterday to authorise a planned ANC rally. If the council turned down the application, ANC officials planned to take the matter to the supreme court.

*The kwaZulu authorities are blocking political activity by Inkatha's opponents in Natal, claims the ANC.*

By **CARMEL RICKARD**

ANC regional secretary Senzo Mchunu said the application was the fourth made by his organisation to the Sundumbili council. All had been refused, and the security forces ensured the prohibition was observed.

Mchunu said prominent members of Inkatha dominated the councils and that their repeated refusal to sanction rallies violated the national peace accord.

In another move highlighting ANC allegations that they are effectively "banned" in kwaZulu areas, the organisation formally complained to the national peace committee this week about the situation in Esikhawini.

Directed at the kwaZulu government, the Esikhawini township manager and the town council, the complaint says they are in breach of the peace accord because they consistently deny the ANC permission to use the local hall and stadium.

The complaint notes that the town council is headed by a member of Inkatha's central committee and that it is responsible to the kwaZulu department of the interior.

The ANC lists a number of examples where its meetings have been blocked by the local authorities. It notes that the township manager wrote to the ANC earlier this year saying that Inkatha had applied to use the stadium and the hall on every weekend and public holiday from February 29 until June 16.

The ANC claimed the facilities were not used by Inkatha or any other organisation on these dates. It alleged the township manager, the town council, Inkatha and the Inkatha Students' Organisation were together trying to prevent the ANC from communicating and meeting with its members in Esikhawini, thus violating the Peace Accord.

The ANC asked the peace committee to investigate these allegations and instruct the kwaZulu government, the town council and manager to admit that their actions were breaches of the accord.

They also want Ulundi to issue official notices to local and tribal authorities saying that every organisation has full access to community facilities.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillett said the actions complained of were not the responsibility of Inkatha but of the local councils. "Obviously, however, they have sound reasons for their action. We are not prepared to take any action against them."

## IFP 'non-traditional' weapon

By **CARMEL RICKARD**

AS violence and political intolerance reaches new heights in Natal, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi launched a campaign to woo whites and other "non-traditional supporters" in the region.

Fliers in the form of a letter addressed to "my fellow countrymen" were put under doors in many Durban suburbs during the week, inviting "you and your family and friends" to the Durban City Hall for a meeting due to be held last night. The purpose of the gathering was to "exchange views and jointly take stock of the state of the nation".

On the stock-taking agenda was the cultural weapons issue, Umkhonto weSizwe and its alleged role in the killing of Inkatha members as well as the decision of Inkatha to pull out of talks.

Buthelezi's approach came as the violence in the region raged more fiercely than ever. Some monitors estimate well over 40 people have died in the past week.

Reports of the latest killings indicate new levels of savagery. Incidents include two decapitations, the disembowelment of a woman and the burning alive of a six-year-old child, who was caught while fleeing from a burning hut and thrown back into the flames.

On Sunday morning Umgababa joined the list of areas savaged by large-scale killings. Before dawn two groups described by

witnesses as "impis" attacked the apparently African National Congress-aligned sections 35 and 37. At least 40 houses were burnt and at least 12 people killed.

People in the community claim they saw three white people with the "impis". They claimed one wore South African Defence Force-style browns, another was dressed in camouflage and the third in dungarees. According to other claims, as the "impi" was pushed back, members of the South African Police arrived at the scene, but stood by and did nothing to intervene.

Another ANC-aligned area on the south coast was also targeted this week. Five people were killed in the Shoji area outside Adams Mission at the beginning of the month. Early last week another attack left three dead. Last Friday and Saturday the attacks were repeated and five people, attackers and residents, were killed.

On Tuesday five Inkatha supporters in Bhukulwandle next to Felekise, were killed. This follows an incident in the area on Saturday in which Joseph Nzama (74) was shot and decapitated on his way home from the taxi rank. His head was removed by the attackers, and has not yet been recovered.

Nzama was politically unaligned but his grandsons are staunch ANC supporters. Since he was murdered, his home has been burnt down.

# Force ANC to name torturers, FW urged

A GROUP of former African National Congress members appealed to President De Klerk yesterday to compel the ANC to disclose names of leaders accused of torture in its camps.

The names of some leaders have been published in a report by an International Freedom Foundation-appointed commission inquiring into the torture allegations.

The Weekly Mail recently published names, following its own investigation, of the people it said had been responsible for the atrocities.

The ANC has not made the identities public.

In a letter to Mr De Klerk, released yesterday, the Returned Exiles Committee said it "strongly believes that you (Mr De Klerk) can persuade the African Nat-

ional Congress president Nelson Mandela to meet our ... demands as soon as possible".

The REC demanded that the ANC should name its alleged torturers, release people allegedly still being held in its camps in Tanzania and that International Red Cross workers should be allowed to visit these camps.

"We strongly oppose the idea of an interim government until such time that the ANC has met our demands," the letter said.

"We foresee the eruption of violence in our country if those ANC leaders who were involved in atrocities should play any role in a future government." — Sapa.

## ANC, govt-only accord disastrous for SA: DP

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A political agreement between the ANC and the government, to the exclusion of other political groups in South Africa, would have "disastrous consequences for South Africa", according to the Democratic Party.

The result of a bilateral government/ANC alignment would be a highly polarised political clash between Blacks and Whites, with citizen loyalties given to political parties rather than to the constitution or the country.

A DP position paper, to be discussed at the party's national congress in Johannesburg on November 13 and 14, said the DP was committed to a multi-

party democracy.

In a future South Africa, voters should be able to choose a liberal democratic party, independent of the two major power blocks.

The DP intended to be part of government or to helping bring about a government committed to the principles of a liberal democracy.

"The DP will take the lead in consolidating a greater non-racial, liberal, free democratic movement, that will become a major political force in South Africa."

This is one of a number of position papers covering proposals for a proportional representation electoral system, a new constitution, a transitional government, the status of women, economic

growth and price stability.

The DP congress will be asked to approve a "DP credo", which states that the individual must be the basis of society in the new South Africa, as opposed to the Volk, classes, groups, community, the masses or "the people".

Individual rights should be protected, rather than group rights or privileges, with protection against simple majoritarianism.

The opening address will be given by Dr Zach de Beer on Friday, November 13.

As the congress will clash with the rugby Test between England and South Africa at Twickenham on November 14, television sets will be available so that delegates may watch the game.

# ANC plan to occupy Union Buildings, install Mandela as President

ANC and Cosatu leaders met yesterday to draw up plans for the alliance's "Exitgate" phase of mass action, which includes the occupation of the Union Buildings and the symbolic installation of Nelson Mandela as President.

The meeting, described by a source as a "strategising meeting", also discussed nationwide tax defiance. It was attended by Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. It decided the plans would go ahead only if Cosatu failed to reach an agreement with employers at the weekend.

"Exitgate" has been billed as the fourth stage of the alliance's mass action campaign. It was raised at Codesa II by SACP secretary-general Chris Hani as a means of unseating President F W de Klerk.

Cosatu spokesman Keith Madonsela yesterday confirmed the plan to occupy the Union Buildings and install Mandela. The plan will be discussed at a Cosatu executive committee meeting today and will include an attempt to pressure employers to divert money paid in PAYE taxes to a "fund for a future SA".

Madonsela said industries "where there

are disputes" would continue to face mass protest during the fourth phase.

Cosatu envisaged a six-day national strike, from August 3 to 8, consisting of a two-day stayaway, a one-day "occupation of cities and towns", two days of "factory-based action" and a day of "assessment meetings".

Dates would be set for the occupation of the Union Buildings at the assessment meetings on August 8, but Madonsela hinted that today's Cosatu meeting might

make proposals in this regard.

Factory-based action would effectively be strikes because workers would "go to work, but do not do anything there".

The occupation of cities meant "blocking their strategic entrances", which would bring them to a standstill, Madonsela said.

Cosatu would call off the mass action only if government agreed to hand over to an interim government by December, because this would be the only effective way to deal with the violence.

"At minimum government must commit

itself to majority rule. The whole point of this exercise is trying to get De Klerk out of power," he said.

He said mass action would continue "in a different form" even if negotiations resumed, because Codesa parties needed to be pressed to concede to majority rule.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepe said his organisation would announce today plans to occupy government buildings and other mass action activities.

He said no details of the activities would be given, to prevent "the regime" from thwarting the plans.

**Talks with Buthelezi**

# Mandela sets conditions

Citizen 24 November '92

DURBAN. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said in Durban yesterday he would meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, if he agreed to cer-

tain conditions.

Speaking to journalists after a luncheon with the French Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Georges Kiejman, Mr Mandela said although he did not see the point of meeting the IFP president on a bilateral basis now, he

would go ahead with the meeting if Chief Buthelezi met certain conditions.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister had to allow free political activity in his homeland, and agree to certain issues reached in the Record of Understanding.

Mr Mandela charged that the ANC was not allowed to operate in some areas of KwaZulu and this had to change.

# ANC calls on Miss World contestants to withdraw

Citizen 9 December 1992

THE Western Transvaal region of the African National Congress backed by several other political organisations yesterday called on contestants in the Miss World pageant at the Lost City next Saturday to withdraw.

The call for the withdrawal "in sympathy with the oppressed people of the area", was made at a Rustenburg news briefing arranged by the ANC's Western Transvaal region, the ANC Youth League, the South African Communist Party, the South African Commercial Catering and Allied

Workers' Union and the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal.

The organisations called on the countries represented by the beauty queens to stand in solidarity with "the oppressed people of Bophuthatswana".

They demanded that Bophuthatswana sign Codesa's Declaration of Intent and the National Peace Accord.

"We demand the indemnification of political prisoners like Timothy Phiri and Christopher Makgala, and the ending

of all political persecution," the organisations' joint statement read.

The bodies had no objection to the Miss World pageant taking place in South Africa, but not in "bantustans or independent states".

The organisations said it was clear Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope was using the Miss World pageant to legitimise the "illitimate regime" in the eyes of the international community.

They also condemned labour relations between workers and Sun Inter-

national.

However, a spokesman for Saccawu, Mr Isaac Mokgatle, said there were no clear cut actions planned to disrupt the show as yet.

Sun International's human resources director Mr Rob Rimmer, after studying the statement, said there was no comment from his side.

He confirmed, however, that his company would be meeting Saccawu officials tomorrow in a bid to resolve the labour dispute. — Sapa.

# The question of ANC accountability

**B**EFORE writing *Tropical Gangsters*, a much-acclaimed memoir of his years as in-country World Bank adviser to Equatorial Guinea, Robert Klitgaard penned *Controlling Corruption*. In it he derived the following equation: Corruption equals Monopoly plus Discretion minus Accountability.

The present South African Government, it scarcely needs saying, is living proof of Klitgaard's theorem. Every day brings fresh evidence of the degree to which the National Party and its creatures have plundered the country. Will the ANC turn out to be an exception — a glowing testament to the notion that honourable men and women can avoid the temptations of ill-checked power? If merely asking this question provokes a torrent of invective and further calls for the "training" of journalists who, as Moeletsi Mbeki of the ANC/Cosatu Media Project recently put it, "can see the world in its true colours", optimism will be difficult.

The movement already exercises a considerable degree of monopoly over such matters as

who may invest in South Africa and under what conditions. For American firms, in particular, entry into the South African market is heavily influenced by the ANC and its gatekeepers in state and local authorities. If the ANC wants to let someone in, all it has to do is write a letter to the relevant US officials asking them to make an exception to their regulations. In other words, it enjoys broad powers of discretion — powers, it should be noted, shared by no one else.

To whom is it accountable? It's difficult to say, though the organisation might perhaps point to "the masses" it is seeking to liberate. But, as the ANC itself quite correctly points out, the masses as yet have no constitutionally binding voice on anything.

Under present circumstances, the only way the majority of South Africans can call the ANC and its allies to account is prospectively — on the theory that one day, ideally in the not too distant future, they will get a chance to vote and therefore it would be wise not take them for granted now.

But that is a slender kind of accountability, and one that has not prevented members of the ANC from agreeing to give their outside friends special treatment in a New South Africa before consulting with the masses themselves. All in all, if the Klitgaard equation is 100% watertight, the liberation movement should be a hotbed of illicit, or at least improper, behaviour. Here's hoping he's wrong.

Ron Gault, managing director of First Boston Corp., a major US bank, observed at last month's National Conference in support of the ANC in New York: "We realise we have to be in sync with the ANC. If not, all the talking, all the good intentions are misplaced." He was explaining an arrangement under which a number of American banks, among them JP Morgan, Manufacturers Hanover, Citibank and his own, are providing in-house training for black South Africans. In return, the ANC, acting through New York Mayor David Dinkins, has agreed that the banks are to be treated relatively leniently for the sin of having once lent mon-

ey to South Africa. In practical terms, this means they will not be discriminated against under New York's anti-apartheid boycott rules.

On the face of it, this is a benign, even positive, use of the ANC's power over foreign investors, both actual and would-be, as exercised with the assistance of its overseas solidarity network: a creative exploitation of penalties imposed on banks that have been unable, thanks to the debt standstill, to extricate themselves fully from apartheid South Africa, in order to promote the common good in the post-apartheid era.

Who would be so insensitive as to even whisper the word blackmail — let alone so churlish as to wonder about the criteria upon which the training candidates were selected?

Trouble is, such thought crimes are hard to suppress when the ANC itself admits that even when it decides to call for the lifting of remaining sanctions, investment is unlikely to come flooding back to revive what Moeletsi Mbeki rightly calls the "emaciated carcass that is the South African econo-

my." Since it is agreed by virtually all parties that foreign capital will only return at needed levels once the present Government has been replaced by a non-racial one and peace has been restored, what possible added incentive for change can continued boycotts offer? If none — and none is the answer the ANC's own logic now demands — is there some other purpose? To the untrained mind come nagging suspicions.

Consider the case of Apple Computer, which has been pleading to re-enter the market it righteously abandoned some seven years ago, well before state and local sanctions threatened it with loss of business. "The ANC must begin to send the right signals to those who support its efforts," the company's government affairs manager, Jackie Robinson, implored Don Mkhwanazi, director of the ANC's trade and investment policy group, at the New York conference. "There are those companies who want to come and make a contribution but are prevented from doing so. Why should the good guys have to pay?"

Apple, which prides itself on its corporate responsibility, has discovered that rewards stored in heaven cannot be factored into quarterly bottom lines. By being good, it has been forfeiting South African market share to makers of IBM-compatible machines and software who have not been so saintly — or so subject to sanctions. Because their products are so widely installed, and would thus be so costly to replace, the IBM-ers have generally been granted waivers by the state and local sanctioners. Apple has a case of the Big Blue blues.

Later this month, a group of American franchisors — Kwik-Copy, Speedee Oil Change, Everything Yogurt, Mail Boxes Etc., and Jani-King are on the list — will be in Johannesburg looking for potential "master licence-holders" to run franchise chains in South Africa. No doubt, candidates selected to meet the firms by the US Agency for International Development's Black Integrated Commercial Support Network will have been selected purely on the grounds of business potential, and for no other reason.



# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

## Great Divide

Citizen  
Dec  
1992

THE emergence of a third negotiating force – assuming the government and the African National Congress are separate forces – is an interesting development.

The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is represented by KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi; Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope; Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht; Afrikaner Volksunie leader Mr Andries Beyers, and the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

It is not a formal alliance – and there is no joint policy at this stage.

But the group does have important things to say about what they don't want – and clearly what they don't want is a unitary state in a dispensation determined by the government and the ANC alone.

Meeting this week, Cosag rejected the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), a transitional government and constitution, and a constituent assembly.

Instead, the group has decided to prepare constitutional proposals, embark on an unspecified plan of action, and organise a conference for early next year that will include more parties.

It has reiterated its concern about the course of negotiations, which have been "restricted to a process of bilateral meetings and understandings", it says.

Cosag participants have also reaffirmed the principle that states be established in the various regions with varying degrees of power and authority.

Only a "limited and listed number of powers" should be reserved for the central government.

The formation of the group was hastened by the Record of Understanding reached between the government and the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi, a potential ally of the National Party, saw it as a threat to sideline him and others who did not take part in the talks.

The government denied this.

However, it then held a bosberaad with the ANC last week which caused further misgivings.

Although the government and ANC denied any deals had been made, and let it be known that any agreement reached between the two parties would be put forward as recommendations at multi-party talks and would not be binding on other parties, Chief Buthelezi was not appeased.

He slammed the bosberaad, saying that other parties had now been relegated to the function of rubber-stamping ANC and government agreements to legitimise their secretive dealings.

As part of the widening rift with the government, Chief Buthelezi announced KwaZulu's plan for a KwaZulu/Natal regional state, which would be introduced irrespective of what any multi-party talks decided.

Chief Buthelezi will be meeting Mr De Klerk tomorrow, but it seems that the Inkatha leader is in no mood either to backtrack on the KwaZulu plan, or to accept the government's views on the transition to a new South Africa and how it is to be achieved.

Cosag, which plans to expand, represents three or four million people, including the main White Right-wing party and the main Zulu organisation.

An alliance between the CP and the IFP alone would be a powerful combination; Cosag adds to their strength.

Without Cosag's members – and with the PAC yesterday refusing to take part – the chances of Codesa getting off the ground again are slim.

Indeed, what we may be seeing, is the Great Divide, with the ANC and government on one side and the CP, Inkatha Freedom Party and other parties and homelands on the other.

Anyone who thought that the negotiations were all over bar the shouting is going to find he is badly mistaken.

The battle lines are being drawn, and it's going to be a tough, lengthy business to get an agreed solution, if, in fact, one can be found.

# ANC in move to end *The Citizen 16 Nov. 1992* 'internal rivalry' among SDUs

THE African National Congress said yesterday it was moving to end internal rivalry in the Vaal Triangle amid allegations that renegade elements of its militia were wreaking havoc in the area.

ANC regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepe said a recent meeting of the tripartite alliance had agreed Self Defence Units (SDUs) in the Vaal had to be reined in.

Mr Mamoepe was reacting to a Sunday news report which said the ANC had blamed renegade members of its own SDUs for the slaying of the

Zwane family of six in Sebokeng this month.

The report said an investigation committee coordinated by ANC PWV region deputy secretary Mr Obed Bapela had come up with this startling revelation.

Mr Mamoepe confirmed that the wife of Mr Ephraim Zwane was a recruiting officer for the local ANC branch.

But it had not been established if the killing of the Zwane family was

linked to feuding within the ANC ranks in the Vaal, he said.

"We have not verified the allegations. We are investigating sources of violence in the Vaal and we have found that the bulk of the violence has been visited by the State on the people," he said.

The ANC-SA Communist Party-Congress of SA Trade Unions alliance had concluded that elements claiming allegiance to the ANC were respon-

sible for killings, forced recruitment, extortion and rapes in the Vaal.

"There was concern that the SDUs must be brought under proper control. There are tensions between different groups and a need arose we facilitate reconciliation between the groups."

He said former exiled members of the ANC had complained they were being sidelined by the local leadership.

"We have received a memorandum wherein such claims are made that former exiles feel marginalised in the area. The memorandum has been sent to regional structures for attention."

"We are investigating the source of the tensions between the returnees and the leadership structures in the Vaal."

Mr Mamoepe said moves were underway to integrate the returnees in leadership structures as part of efforts to quell the rivalry.

A summit meeting to discuss ways of restoring calm to the Vaal will be held on November 21 and 22. — Sapa.

## *Citizen 14 November 92* Bok tour manager hits back on ANC charges

LONDON. — Springbok tour manager, Mr Abie Malan, has hit back at allegations from the African National Congress that the South African Rugby Football Union has been slow in starting a development programme in Black townships.

Mr Steve Tshwete, the ANC's spokesman on sport, has warned that the Springboks' current European tour could be the last the ANC sanctions for a long time if SARFU does not speed

up its development programme.

But Mr Malan told Today newspaper: "I do know that our development programme is under way."

"I would also point out that we have just completed a development squad tour that has taken in Western Samoa, Fiji and Tonga, and comprised a Black management and a large percentage of Black players."

Mr Malan promised

further talks with the ANC on the Springboks' return home. The ANC is threatening not to give permission for South Africa to stage the 1995 World Cup.

"When we go home we will know more and we will certainly talk about it," Mr Malan said.

"I'm disappointed to hear such news on the eve of the last important match of the tour, one which the ANC publicly approved." — Sapa-AFP.

# March is target date for interim govt: ANC

CAPE TOWN. — The government and ANC leadership, headed by President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, are due to meet before the end of November for bilateral talks to follow up the Record of Understanding agreement.

And the ANC's national executive, meeting in Durban to ratify, among other decisions, the ANC's new strategy document on a constitutional settlement, is expected to target March as the date for establishing an interim government of national unity.

This was confirmed yesterday by a senior member of the ANC national executive committee who, as a member of the ANC's "Cabinet", the National Working Committee, approved and recommended the formal adoption of the strategy document which proposes post-constitutional powersharing with the National Party.

The NEC meeting is expected to produce some serious clashes with the movement's more radical elements — with the SA Communist Party's Mr Joe Slovo taking a leading part in promoting the new moderate strategy which he helped formulate.

NEC sources said the strategy was urgently required to foster confidence and promote rapid progress to an interim government, necessary to curb violence, regain investor confidence and get the shattered economy moving again.

The agenda and venue for bilateral discussions with the government are to be finalised in contacts between the ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer.

The two men are to put

together teams to tackle outstanding matters related to the Record of Understanding and to float proposals to break through further obstacles in the way of the resumption and expansion of Codesa-style multi-party negotiations.

The plan is for the teams to meet at an undisclosed venue for about five days to ensure uninterrupted concentration on an extensive agenda, some of which may arise from the NEC's deliberations this week.

Government sources have been adamant, however, that none of the discussions can be allowed to intrude on what it perceives as issues related to multilateral negotiations. A major problem to be addressed is how to get other parties into the talks and particularly how to clear the logjam which the Inkatha Freedom Party's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, represents in this respect.

Government negotiators have expressed doubts that multi-party talks will resume before February 1993. —Sapa.

## ANC backs equalised care

CAPE TOWN. — An African National Congress government would implement a national health service underpinned by a national social security network and national insurance scheme, ANC health spokesman Henk Eichhorn said in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Mr Eichhorn was speaking at a gerontology symposium at Valkenberg

Hospital.

There was a large Republic of China contingent at the symposium, which covered various aspects of ageing in both South Africa and RoC societies.

Mr Eichhorn said the state would ensure pensions were equalised and essential health care

made accessible to all, especially the elderly who are recognised as being

among the most vulnerable in the community."

Later, a University of Cape Town speaker, Professor Stephen Louw said: "The implementation of any national grand plan is likely to be hampered by political regionalisation of power and administration."

He said another difficulty were the significant differences in expectations

and requirements of the 17 percent of the population which was highly privileged, versus the rest.

He said that in Khayelitsha only 3,5 percent of the elderly population had more than seven years of schooling and 43,5 percent did not know where to find a doctor on primary health care.

*The Saturday News*  
19 Nov 1992

## Bleak future under the ANC

SIR — It's amazing how the ANC's A-Team, Mandela, Ramaphosa, Jordan, Hani and Kasrils, were in full evidence at Boipatong and Bisho, following those tragedies: They were equally conspicuous by their absence, however, after the slayings at Bonela, Umgababa and, more recently at Folweni and Mpushini which leads me to ask just who is doing these precipitatory killings — particularly when ANC members have been caught with SADF uniforms and weapons?

The future of this wonderful country is indeed bleak with the prospect of an ANC Government, which will destroy anyone opposed to its intentions.

LES VINCENT  
Berea

*17 July 1992*  
*BUSINESS DAY*

## IFF commission's probe biased — ANC

AN INVESTIGATION of alleged ANC human rights abuses by the International Freedom Foundation's Douglas Commission would be "totally, totally biased", says ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Niehaus said yesterday commission chairman adv R S Douglas "happened to be a member of the IFF", which he described as a discredited organisation set up to smear the ANC and other organisations. Meanwhile Mwezi Twala, chairman of

RAY HARTLEY

the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee — a group of former ANC members who claim to have been abused while in exile — has welcomed the commission.

Twala said he was "totally satisfied" with Douglas's credentials in spite of the fact he "was appointed by Nelson Mandela to investigate the causes of violence in Natal on behalf of the ANC".

*Mercury 29 September 1992*

## ANC supplies bodyguard after assassination bid on bomber

ROBERT McBride and his wife have been given a 24-hour ANC bodyguard because of the threat of assassination.

As Mr McBride held an emotional reunion with his family at the gates of Westville Prison yesterday morning, a cadre of ANC bodyguards moved in to protect him.

The tall 29-year-old squeezed through the prison gate, accompanied by ANC vice chairman Walter Sisulu and with the hand of his overjoyed wife Paula firmly grasped in his.

Security men rushed Mr McBride, Mr Sisulu and other high-ranking ANC officials away from the prison where he had spent the last 18 months of his aborted life-sentence.

They also maintained a high profile when Mr McBride and the leaders later addressed a jubilant toyi-toying crowd at the Ecumenical Centre in Durban.

By Michael Schmidt

A top ANC security man said Mr McBride and his wife would be escorted to an undisclosed location, where it is believed the couple may begin their honeymoon, delayed by more than three years.

Faced with the "very real nature of the threats" against Mr McBride's life, following Sunday's attempt in the prison, his guards would remain on duty around the clock.

His release was punctuated by two incidents. His wife had a brief confrontation with a Correctional Services officer over access to the prison, and later, a mob of international media people and supporters delayed the opening of the gate and thereby the release, by 10 minutes.

Afterwards Mr McBride led a procession of singing supporters through Austerville which ended at his parents' modest home.

## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### UN spotlight

THE spotlight switches this week to the Security Council, where the South African crisis will be discussed on Wednesday. Amazingly, the government will be in the dock.

Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, has falsely accused State President De Klerk and his government of being involved in the violence.

Having persuaded the Organisation of African Unity to back him, the OAU has succeeded in getting the matter placed before the Security Council.

In actual fact, it is the ANC which is up to its neck in violence.

Roughly 100 policemen have been killed. If they have not been killed by Inkatha Freedom Party members (unlikely) or security forces themselves (why kill their own men?), then they must have been killed by ANC members and Apla, the military wing of the PAC.

Hundreds of IFP supporters have been killed by ANC members.

Although Boipatong was the biggest massacre, with more than 40 people allegedly killed by Zulu hostel dwellers, the ANC is accused of killing 30 IFP supporters at the Crossroads squatter camp, outside Johannesburg, in April, and last September 23 IFP members were shot and killed while marching through Tokoza.

In other words, both ANC and IFP have been involved in the bloodletting in which more than 12 000 have been killed.

To haul the government before the Security Council is thus ridiculous.

Moreover, the ANC's plans for mass action are deliberately provocative and must lead to more violence.

According to a Sunday newspaper report, Cosatu's central executive committee decided on Friday on a seven-day national strike beginning on August 3.

The first two days would consist of a stayaway from work. On August 5, workers would occupy the major cities with the intention of bringing city life to a standstill.

The next two days would involve workers' occupation of factories and other workplaces while the last two days would consist of rallies and meetings.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said: "As part of our mass action we are going to identify and march towards the homes of police who killed our people during riots. We are going to harass their families so that they know that they are staying with killers in their families."

"We are going to return to the 1985 period with the establishment of street and block committees and people's courts."

The situation that is being created is therefore explosive, but it still does not justify Security Council interference.

Indeed, we do not need UN mediators, monitoring groups or peacekeeping forces.

We are a sovereign, independent country and we must sort out our problems, and find solutions, ourselves.

All the Security Council should do is call on all participants in the present violence, including the ANC, to seek peace, and tell the ANC to return to the negotiation table.

National Party secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, has called for an independent team of international experts to investigate, evaluate and report on the extent to which the ANC alliance has honoured its agreements with the government — particularly on the control of weapons and its armed wing.

But this is a dubious move, since it gives the ANC the chance to press for even wider terms of reference for a monitoring group.

We hope Foreign Minister Pik Botha is not going to add to the foreign experts already here to bolster the Goldstone Commission.

Any government weakness will add to the pressures for greater and greater United Nations intervention.

If the government does not look out, we will be in the same position as South-West Africa was — UN peacekeepers, UN election monitors and UN support, indirectly, for the ANC.

If that were to happen, there would be no hope of a fair settlement or of peace.

# Arts councils and ANC make poor negotiating partners

ROBERT GREIG

**T**HE ANC is angry and the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (Pact) bewildered — that is the upshot of negotiations which have ended, probably temporarily, in a media shootout from the ANC.

This week the ANC's arts and culture secretary, Wally Serote, threatened mass action against the performing arts councils which are one-third state-funded.

This was a response to the breakdown of talks with the councils about majority participation. Serote also demanded the suspension of government funding of cultural activities.

In Pretoria, Pact director-general Denis Reinecke does not know what the ANC wants except he has a "general feeling" that they are after control — of repertoires and funding.

Negotiations between the ANC and arts councils have been off and on for the past 18 months; ANC sources say it took excessive time and patience in getting the councils to the negotiating table, while arts councils sources say they do not know why they are across negotiating tables from political organisations anyway.

**E**xplains Reinecke: "We haven't been in the political arena for 30 years; we're a private company. We haven't played in closed (racially segregated) theatres for years; we have racially mixed boards and companies; we promote on merit.

"If you take over the arts councils, what is put in its place? The councils create job opportunities for nearly 15 000 people and probably support three times that number."

He reports negotiations with the ANC as having been satisfactory; the ANC clearly disagrees.

The ANC and the arts councils may have been negotiating, but they have not been listening or have not liked what they heard. As a draft document discussed by the ANC seminar two months ago made clear — and some Pact people attended the seminar — the issue for the ANC is control of funding, management and repertoires.

The draft document provided for discussion at the seminar clearly outlines the ANC's strategy and tactics in dealing with state bodies — or bodies considered to be such, such as Pact, which receives 30% of its funding from taxpayers.

However, the document also sheds light on general ANC strategies and tactics. The document urges that:

- Negotiators should be drawn from "the broad democratic" forum;
- "An objective of negotiation with state institutions should be to challenge control and legitimacy and take control of resources";
- In negotiations, funding should be made available to fund the negotiating process;
- "Unilateral" appointments should cease; and
- Parastatals should be restructured to be "democratically representative at all levels of decision-making — artistic, managerial and administrative".

The document also urges that the ANC should gain free access to staff at state institutions to bring them into the negotiating process which should be "made public within the ANC", along with public debate on radio, TV and in the media generally.

The document notes that it considers the "regime's" two-pronged

festivals for this negotiating approach.

Clearly the arts councils, no matter how good their intentions, are considered to be state bodies by the ANC and thus a potential target for control.

The performing arts councils' response to the ANC has, in fact, generally met ANC expectations: the councils have both claimed to be non-political and questioned whether opponent bodies are representative.

What emerges from the ANC/arts council spat is that the ANC has a strategy and tactics but not an ultimate policy, while the arts councils — and probably many similar bodies, as well as many private sector ones — may have organisational policies but are short on negotiating strategies and tactics.

Inevitably they talk past each other. In arts negotiations the ANC has been determined but not aggressive; the councils have tended to be conciliatory or defensive.

Equally inevitably, any negotiations of this kind are experiencing the ripples of uncertainty from Codesa.

The key issue, which has not been discussed, is who each party is negotiating for. The ANC claims to negotiate for "the democratic move-

ment" which, in terms of its own document, boils down to the ANC. The arts councils are negotiating on their own behalf, but as recipients of taxpayers' money their right to do so is questionable.

But that is a legalistic issue. The practical issue, which the ANC has raised without the success it would have liked, is whether the organised arts are as sensitive to the range of SA culture as they should be. The ANC has not recommended ways of broadening that range to include Pact, says Reinecke.

It is difficult for either the councils or the ANC to be considered disinterested by the other on arts matters. Each suspects the other of hidden agendas.

The suggestion of a commission on arts funding in SA looks reasonable enough, and would look even more so were it not the ANC suggesting it.

Its competence in artistic administration is unproven, an observation used by both sides for conflicting arguments. As a body of politicians, its motives are inevitably questionable.

But with the suggestion of a commission — which most performing artists would probably welcome — it may have grabbed the initiative from a state which, in the past 20 years, has held two unmemorable commissions of inquiry into arts funding.

The greatest achievement of the last was relating state subsidy to seat occupancy: the more seats occupied, the greater the subsidy.

**I**n economic terms, the future of the arts in SA depends on who pays, why they pay, how much they can pay and on whose behalf. In actual terms, the future could depend quite as much on artists insisting that they, not politicians, the democratic movement or quasi-state councils, should decide what their arts and audiences need.

But such assumption of responsibility is relatively new for artists in SA who, in the past 44 years, have tended to buy into political orthodoxies of one kind or another knowing that these come with either state support or the promise of it.



□ SEROTE

strategy to be "no political involvement" and claims that opponents are not representative. The document also targets rural development and

# ANC and Bop officials call off vital meeting

Business Day 21 October 1992

RAY HARTLEY

HOPES of averting a bloodbath during an ANC march on Mmabatho were quashed yesterday when ANC and Bophuthatswana officials called off a meeting because they could not agree on the composition of the ANC delegation.

Bophuthatswana government spokesman Alwyn Viljoen said the ANC's 15-member delegation, which included ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, was turned away because it was too big and contained regional leaders.

"We only want to meet with national executive committee members when it concerns policy issues," Viljoen said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night rejected Viljoen's claim that the meeting would discuss national policy questions.

"They are not national issues, Bophuthatswana is a region as far as we are concerned. I'm sure the ANC did not try to dictate the composition of the Bophuthatswana delegation," he said.

National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys, who was due to attend the meeting, was trying to reschedule talks last night, but Viljoen said it was unlikely a meeting with the ANC would take place this week.

It is believed ANC secretary-general

Cyril Ramaphosa was also due to attend the meeting, convened at the request of UN monitors and the secretariat.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman earlier described the proposed bilateral talks between the ANC and Bophuthatswana as "heartening".

A weekend meeting of the ANC and its alliance partners — the SACP and Cosatu — decided to press ahead with a march on Mmabatho in the first week of December.

Viljoen said Mbeki had given an assurance no march was planned for the capital before December.

DIRK HARTFORD reports the ANC western Transvaal region is organising a 6km march from Rustenberg to Thabang on Saturday in support of demands for free political activity in Bophuthatswana.

The march — which will be supported by the Bafokeng Action Committee — will also demand the release of committee member Christopher Makgale.

Makgale, who was on hunger strike for 79 days earlier this year, began another hunger strike ten days ago in Odi prison, according to committee spokesman Phis-tus Mekgwe.

## ANC region urges end to IFP talks

MARITZBURG. — The ANC's Northern Natal and Midlands regions have called on ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to suspend all bilateral talks with the IFP, including a proposed summit with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, until violence and policing problems in their areas have been addressed.

This was announced at a Maritzburg march by several hundred ANC supporters protesting against a police clampdown in Mooi River and Estcourt and a month-long "state of emergency" in Richmond.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Mr Blade Nzimande told the crowd the call did not apply to today's top-level ANC-IFP meeting in Durban.

The IFP yesterday levelled a similar charge against the police, claiming the Minister of Law and Order had violated the Peace Accord by his unilateral actions.

— Sapa

## warns on SADF deal

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday called on international suppliers to refrain from concluding a printing press deal with the SADF, warning it would not be bound by any such contracts.

It said regarding President F W de Klerk's admission concerning security force members who are out to undermine the democratic process, "the concern is raised whether a major propaganda and disinformation campaign is planned in the run-up to the elections".

Warning that the sale would also contravene the arms embargo, the ANC said the SADF planned to buy a R5 million press to print classified material. — Sapa

## DP's Carlisle attacks ANC over intimidation

Political Correspondent

THE row between the DP and the ANC over free electioneering was re-opened yesterday when the DP MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, attacked the ANC for widespread intimidation of DP supporters.

The scathing rebuke came just hours after delegations of both parties in the Western Cape agreed to establish a joint structure to ensure free and fair elections in the region.

Mr Carlisle's latest broadside was sparked by comments made on Wednesday night's Agenda by ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

Mr Niehaus claimed that Mr Carlisle had said that should the ANC come to power it would be an even bigger oppressor than the NP government.

He said such emotional and unfounded political charges did nothing to promote mutual tolerance.

Mr Carlisle said Mr Niehaus was entitled to his "hysterical response". "What I said was that the ANC was the new oppressor and that this was a tragedy," the DP MP said.

● The DP announced this week that its executive had decided to establish a committee to investigate intimidation of its members countrywide.

## Report lashes SAP over unwillingness

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Police have showed an unwillingness to fully investigate certain political crimes, according to the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIR).

This finding is made in a report to be published this month entitled "To Protect and Serve".

The IBIR studied several cases in which the SAP carried out what appeared to be superficial investigation, including train murders, the murder of human rights lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni and several massacres at night vigils.

The board asked whether the probes were due "to basic incompetence... or whether police were unwilling to fully investigate political crimes, especially when their own members were implicated?".

It criticised the length of time between incidents and prosecutions, police reliance on confessions and their failure to make any effort to get information. — Sapa

# ANC 'committed to eliminating arms smuggling'

CAPE TOWN. — The African National Congress has undertaken to fully investigate and discipline its officers or structures if they are proven to be involved in the illegal importation, distribution and use of weapons, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and four commissioners were hearing evidence on the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in South Africa.

Peter Harris, for the ANC, said it was not part of the movement's policy or strategy to be involved in such activities and the ANC was committed to the elimination of illegal arms smuggling.

The ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, remained committed to their undertakings in the 1991 D F Malan Accord which prohibit armed attacks, infiltration of cadres and material,

creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action and military training outside South Africa.

"The issue of illegal arms and their use is of grave concern to the ANC in that many of the victims of such weaponry have been innocent persons, many of them ANC members," Mr Harris said.

The ANC recommended that a special unit comprising investigators from the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and security forces be established by the National Peace Secretariat to investigate illegal arms imports and that the unit's progress be regularly monitored by the Police Board.

Louis Visser, SC, for the IFP and the KwaZulu Government, asked that the commission's terms of reference be extended to

investigate all illegally possessed firearms and all forms of politically-related violence.

"The commission is presently empowered only to investigate political violence which is also public. We believe the commission is being hamstrung by technical arguments on what is public violence and what is not," he said.

Earlier, Pierre Rabie, for the South African Defence Force, also called for broader terms of reference to include an investigation into "pseudo-operations".

Pseudo-operations, in which attackers used security force uniforms, insignia and similar vehicles to create the impression they were security force members, had become prevalent, particularly in Natal, since the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations in

1990.

He admitted the SADF relied on both overt and covert intelligence operations in assisting the police to combat the illegal importation and distribution of arms.

Covert police operations had proved more successful than conventional methods in uncovering arms smuggling networks and these operations would be extended in the future, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

Mr W L Wepener, for the South African Police, said covert intelligence and infiltration operations were "absolutely essential" to combat the import and distribution of weapons.

Eleven covert anti-crime units already operating throughout the country.

He recommended the establishment of a special unit to infiltrate and expose weapon smuggling networks from the source to the destination.

Arms smugglers, who were linked to several transactions by informants, could be given heavier sentences.

Mr Wepener said problems relating to the use of illegal firearms for political purposes could only be effectively addressed through a political settlement.

However, effective control over African National Congress arms caches inside the country was needed in the interim to prevent the distribution of illegal weapons. — Sapa.

*The Daily News*  
**Buthlezi slams MK training**

# ANC army

## 'a threat to KwaZulu'

KEITH ROSS Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THE ANC's continuing programme of training more Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters held a particular threat for the people of the KwaZulu-Natal region where violence was already unmanageable, the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in Pietermaritzburg last night.

It was worrying that an organisation such as the ANC, which had not yet abandoned its policy of seizing power, was actually training more cadres.

Dr Buthelezi, who was addressing the President's Club in the city, referred to a report in the Sunday Times about 1 000 cadres being sent to Uganda for training.

"The IFP has no army," he said. "The KwaZulu Government has no army. And yet the ANC justified this exercise of training more people to kill by saying that it needs to increase the numbers of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres before it is integrated with the South African Defence Force — because otherwise it will be swamped.

"If people who already have a private army express fears of being swamped, what about those of us who do not even have the nucleus of a private army?"

Dr Buthelezi said in a more light-hearted way that he had no army because he had been punished for not taking independence for KwaZulu.

"Our punishment was that we could not have those dens of iniquity known as casinos and we could not have an army."

He said in a more serious vein that KwaZulu-Natal should have its own militia as part of a federal package under a new constitution.

"The people of Natal-KwaZulu would be foolish for the second time in a century if they agreed to a unitary system as against a federal system of government.

"We definitely must have our own militia and that can only happen if we are a federal state like the states in the United States."

He said in response to a question from the floor that South Africa could succeed economically where much of the rest of the continent had failed.

"We can succeed if we don't get Marxists experimenting with our country." The country must continue to support free market principles, even if they were not perfect.

"Then I don't see why we should allow ourselves to fail."

20 October 1992

# Torture and the ANC

**T**HE ANC's commission of inquiry into conditions in its detention camps in four African countries confirms what many South Africans suspected: that the ANC's security men treated their detainees abominably, subjecting them to inhuman conditions and torture to extract confessions.

The commission's report, released yesterday, spells out in horrifying detail how the movement's security department became a law unto itself. Known as Mbokodo, "the stone that crushes", the security department sought to crush detainees and deprive them of their humanity.

The commission refers to the 1980s as a decade in which there were "extraordinary abuses of power and lack of accountability" by ANC security men. Their actions resemble those of their counterparts in the hated apartheid system.

But ultimate responsibility cannot be placed on the security department alone. The ANC political leadership cannot avoid its share of the blame, anymore than P W Botha and F W de Klerk can evade responsibility for actions by their security forces.

The situation is not without positive aspects for the ANC. Nelson Mandela must be commended for appointing the commission and fulfilling his promise to publish its report. It is heartening, too, to read of people within the ANC who were appalled by the abuses and did their best to bring them to an end. Particular mention must be made of Tenjiwe Mthintso, a stalwart fighter of injustice from her days as a black consciousness militant.

The ANC, having had the courage to face ugly elements of its past, has an opportunity to show South Africa the way forward. It must accept the commission's recommendations and press ahead with further investigation until the full truth is exposed — including public identification of all those guilty of torture and brutality.

The ANC's insistence on full disclosure from the De Klerk administration will ring hollow unless it does likewise. The organisation must ensure that the miscreants never again hold high office in the ANC or in any government in the future.

Timetable leading to all-in elections gets short shrift

# ANC finds FW's plan 'totally unacceptable'

*The Daily News 27 Nov 92*

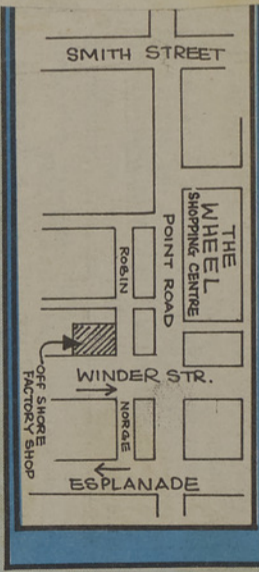
## POLITICAL STAFF

THE African National Congress has rejected as totally unacceptable President F. W. de Klerk's push to get elections leading to a Constituent Assembly going.

President de Klerk broke his own rules last night to set out a clear political timetable for negotiations and a transitional government, culminating in all-in elections in March or April, 1994. Previously, he has refused to set dates and deadlines.

In making the Government's schedule public he hoped to instill a sense of realism concerning constitutional reform.

## In-name fashions at prices



# CHRISTMAS BANDS ...

# YOUR

## ANC makes conciliatory sounds

THE ANC is today locked into crucial bilateral talks with the Government at a secret venue somewhere in the bush.

Last week its national executive committee (NEC) adopted a "strategic perspective" document that — although couched in revolutionary rhetoric — contains some conciliatory elements and may go some way towards facilitating agreement during the talks which end tomorrow.

Most significant was the acceptance by the NEC of a clause in the document — originally the brainchild of the SACP's Joe Slovo — in which it opens the door to power-sharing even after a new constitution is agreed upon.

The document says the "objective reality" imposes a central role for the ANC and NP in the transition.

"We have already won the demand for an interim government of national unity."

"However, we also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of a new constitution,

the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity."

In an apparent sop to those within the organisation who strongly opposed this clause, the NEC added that this should only be considered "provided that it does not delay or obstruct the process of orderly transition to majority rule and that the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of Government."

In a swipe at the NP, it points out that "this is fundamentally different from an approach to power-sharing that entrenches veto powers for minority parties."

It says that objectives for a government of national unity would include:

- Stability during the period of transition to full democracy — "the enemies of democracy will try to destabilise the new government and make democracy unworkable";
- Commitment and responsibility for the process — "we

should seek, especially in the early stages, to commit all parties to actively take part in the process of dismantling apartheid, building democracy and promoting development in the interest of all."

Under a section of the document on "Laying the basis to minimise the threat to stability and democracy", the document also suggests some far-reaching moves.

It concedes that some steps to minimise any potential threat to the stability of a new government may have to be "part and parcel of a negotiated settlement."

"Strategic forces we need to consider right now are the SADF, SAP, all other armed formations and the civil service in general. If the transition to democracy affects all the individuals in these institutions wholly and purely negatively, then they would serve as fertile ground from which the destabilisers would recruit."

It adds that a new democratic government would have to restructure the civil service and the security forces in order to

ensure that, among other things, they are "representative of society as a whole (including through the application of the principle of affirmative action)."

"In the process it may be necessary to address the question of job security, retrenchment packages and a general amnesty based on disclosure and justice at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement."

It acknowledges that the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa is a "thorny issue" and suggests it is one on "which we would enter into bilateral discussion with the NP and other parties and seek to reach an understanding which the parties would pursue in the Constituent Assembly."

It concludes that the "question of a government of national unity after the adoption of a new constitution, and the future of members of the security forces and the civil service could be dealt with through direct engagement with these forces, as part of a bilateral agreement or in multi-lateral arrangements."

# Talks optimism - despite power play between ANC, NP

Sunday Tribune 6 Sept. '92

John MacLennan  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC's hardline tactics have enabled it to seize the initiative from the government and there appears little prospect of an early breakthrough leading to renewed multi-party talks — unless the NP gives in to the organisation's demands.

The process has now been reduced to a straight power play between the two major contenders with the ANC holding the apparent advantage.

This has been underlined by an internal document of the ANC alliance which says the balance of forces has swung in its favour and it sees no point in talking with other parties unless a multi-party forum approved an accord reached previously between the NP and the alliance.

Various optimistic commentators this week maintained that progress is being achieved in the continuing closed-door talks between Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, and Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's Secretary General.

But in spite of government assertions that a resolution on obstacles to talks was within sight, the two negotiators failed to clinch a deal on a range of matters raised by the ANC — including the issue of political prisoners and an amnesty.

This was why President De Klerk was repu-

diated by the organisation a day after he told the party's OFS congress that he had reason to believe negotiations could be on track again soon.

In the short term, says Pretoria risk analyst Wim Booysse, the ANC/SACP alliance has nothing to lose by stalling talks and continuing with mass action.

Only the bogey of international disapproval is likely to put any pressure on the alliance to compromise and return to multi-party talks. But the effectiveness of this is limited to the withdrawal of some overseas funding, the denial of access to foreign embassies here as well as diplomatic recognition for the ANC abroad. These are risks the alliance would be willing to accept in pursuit of the grand prize — power on its terms.

The government is also portraying itself as the voice of reason, and with some success.

But this does not disguise the apparent gains already made by the ANC alliance in lateral talks. The NEC said this week the "regime" had moved a long way towards accepting the idea of a democratic constituent assembly.

Sources close to the talks said this was inaccurate because points on which the government

was supposed to have conceded were common cause between the two main parties at Codesa. He maintained the NP had not abandoned any aspects of its mandated constitutional negotiating principles.

The ANC's Dr Jordan reacted: "There would not have been a breakdown at Codesa if this gulf had not existed between us. If there had been agreement we would have moved forward."

## ANC slams Meiring's defence of operations

Citizen 9 December 1992

ARMY chief Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring's defence of military intelligence operations were a distortion of facts and amounted to "a complete disregard for the truth and the intelligence of his audience", the African National Congress stated yesterday.

The ANC said the issue at hand had never been the propriety of intelligence gathering, but rather the SADF's concept and execution of an operation which sought to discredit the ANC.

This had been done by the fabrication of stories,

use of agents provocateurs, attempts to drive self defence units to crime and such.

Dirty tricks had nothing to do with gathering intelligence, and its purpose at best was to discredit and destabilise a legitimate political group, the ANC said.

"At worst, to create an excuse for acting violently against the ANC and its leaders. That is not the function of a defence force anywhere in the world."

According to the ANC, Gen Meiring had been personally involved in the dirty tricks campaign of

the SADF against the ANC.

"He has made baseless and hostile allegations against Umkhonto we Sizwe violating not only the expectation that an officer of his rank should at all times respect and promote the truth but also the provisions of the National Peace Accord."

— Sapa.

## Isinyathelo sika FW de Klerk ngokufunwa yi-ANC

**ILANGA**  
**EGOLI:** UMongameli F.W. de Klerk ngolwesi-Bili umemezele izinyathelo zokuhlangabezana nezinye izinto ezifunwa yi-African National Congress (ANC) kuHulumeni waseSouth Africa ngaphambi kokuba ziqale kabusha izingxoxo phakathi kukaHulumeni noKhongolose.

Noma uMongameli de Klerk evumile ukuthi uzozenza ezinye izinto ezifunwa yi-ANC, kodwa uyihlabe kakhulu lenhlangano ngomkhankaso wayo wokuqala ukhukhulelangoqo wombhikisho wezinsuku eziyisikhombisa kusukela ngomhlaka August 3, wathi lombhikisho kazwelonke ungase ubeyinhlanga yokokhela amalangabi odlame.

UMongameli de Klerk uthe, ukuze zibuye ziqale phansi izingxoxo phakathi kukaHulumeni ne-ANC, uzoyihlakaza imibutho yamasotsha i-ANC ekhala ngokuthi yiyona egqugquzela udlame phakathi emalokishini abaMnyama. Uthe imibutho ezohlakazwa yi-Battalion 32 neBattalion 31. Omunye umbutho ozohlakazwa yiKoevoet.

Ngesikhathi i-ANC imemezela ukuthi isiyahoxa ezingxoxweni noHulumeni yathi, phakathi kwezinto ezingu 14 cyathi ifuna uHulumeni azenze, kufanele kuhlakazwe yonke imibutho yamasotsha aqashwe kwamanye amazwe. IKoevoet ngeyamasotsha aseNamibia kanti iBattalion 32 neBattalion 31 inamasotsha ase-Angola.

Ubuye wamemezela nokuthi isimo samahostela sizohloliswa uma kuvuma labo abahlala kuwo. I-ANC ithatha

**16-18 JULY 1992**  
ngokuthi amahostela ayizizinda zeNkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Umholi we-ANC, uDr. Nelson Mandela, wethembise ukuthi uzo-kuhlolisisa kabusha ukunyumuka kwe-ANC ezingxoxweni uma uHulumeni evuma ukwenza lokho okufunwa yi-ANC.

Kwenzeka lokhu -nje uDr. Mandela utshele izintatheli emuva kokubonana noNobhala-jikelele weNhlango yeZizwe, uDr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, eNew York ngolwesiBili ukuthi ngeke size sibekhona isidingo sokucela uMkhandlu wokuphepha weNhlango yeZizwe ukuba ulamule eSouth Africa uma uHulumeni waseSouth Africa enza lokho okufunwa yi-ANC.

Emuva kwalokhu uMongameli weNkatha Freedom Party (IFP), uDr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ubenezingxoxo noDr. Boutros-Ghali.

UDr. Mandela uthe ngonyaka odlule uMongameli de Klerk wethembisa ukuthi uzowaqeda amahostela, kodwa kuze kubemanje akakakwenzi lokhu. Uthe amahostela yizindawo lapho kuhlala khona ababulala abantu abangenacala.

Ephendula umbuzo, uDr. Buthelezi ukuphikile okushiwo nguDr. Mandela ngamahostela, wathi amahostela awaqlwanga ngabantu abaMnyama. Uthe kodwa okwamanje ayikho enye indawo ekahle okungahlala kuyo abantu abahlala emahostela. Uthe amahostela akufanele abhidlizwe kodwa kudingeka enziwe ngcono.

## ANC slams Mercury phone-in

*Mercury 26 Sept 1992*

ANC southern Natal secretary S'Bu Ndebele yesterday attacked the Mercury's phone-in survey, saying it was "provocative and racist".

He said there were "a number of others in a similar situation, but we have not heard (of) the Mercury running a campaign as to the feelings of the people about their release."

He said the release of pro-apartheid killers had been put, by the Government, on the agenda in the form of a general amnesty.

"There is no doubt about the topicality of this matter. If anything, the ANC is being blamed for refusing to being party to the release of pro-apartheid prisoners," he added. — (Mercury Reporter)

Saturday Star 15 August 1992

# We never trained anti-ANC group, says Israel



UNHAPPY: REC chairman Pat Hlongwane.

THE Israeli ambassador to South Africa has dismissed claims made by Returned Exiles Committee chairman Pat Hlongwane that his "army" of 200 former guerillas was trained in Israel.

The "army" is reportedly ready and waiting to assassinate ANC leaders.

"The allegations by the REC's Pat Hlongwane that members of his Askaris have undergone training in Israel are totally false," said ambassador Zvi Gov-Ari.

"Whatever the reasons, in-

tentions or motivations behind these allegations, Israel distances itself from them."

Hlongwane, a controversial 33-year-old returnee who has said he was detained and tortured repeatedly by the ANC while in exile, dropped a bombshell during a TV interview last week when he said his organisation was intent on killing ANC leaders if they were not brought to book for alleged atrocities in prison camps.

## JOE LOUW

The police said yesterday they had completed an investigation into his threats and had handed TV recordings of his utterances to the Attorney-General.

This week Hlongwane repeated the threats to the Saturday Star — and revealed a possible connection with the Inkatha Freedom Party by speaking from the stronghold of IFP national committee member Thomas Mandla Tshabalala, who he said was "my friend, my comrade and my father".

Hlongwane refused to comment on the Israeli Embassy's denial of his claims. "I have support from all over the world," he said, "and I will work with anybody who is anti-communist and anti-ANC."

Hlongwane admitted having received aid from the International Freedom Foundation, a right-wing organisation based in Washington.

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, one of the leaders mentioned by Hlongwane, said he was "a fool, but a dangerous fool".

ANC sources say Hlongwane is a police spy who, because of his activities, cannot return to his hometown of Port Elizabeth. They claim Hlongwane was part of the 1982 commando raid in Maseru, Lesotho, in which 42 people were shot dead.

Hlongwane denied he was ever a police spy or had taken part in the raid.

He also denied being a member of the IFP. He said his stay with Tshabalala, who has been identified as an Inkatha "war-

lord" and in complete control of Lindelani, 25 km north of Durban, was temporary.

Tshabalala, Hlongwane said, was "more than a comrade — I die where he dies". He said the REC was not a political organisation, nor did he see himself as a national leader.

"When we get satisfaction and redress from the ANC," he said, "all of my men will disband and everyone can follow whatever political organisation he wishes — even those who want to return to the ANC."

Evidence of torture and executions — Amnesty

# Reign of terror in the ANC camps

Saturday News Correspondent

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

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

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

The Amnesty investigation emphasises the need for the ANC and relevant authorities to take action against the perpetrators. "Individual torturers should be identified in order to ensure that they hold no future position in the ANC or government security apparatus. Details of their cases should also be forwarded to the appropriate authorities in the countries where the abuses took place in order that they might be the subject of criminal investigation and, if appropriate, prosecution," Amnesty argues.

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

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

"Our National Working Committee is still determining the terms of reference of this commission. In doing so, the issues raised by Amnesty International will also be taken into account," he said.

Noting that ANC president Nelson Mandela said the leadership of the ANC accepted full responsibility for the abuses documented by the commission it had appointed, Amnesty insists the process must be taken further.

"A weakness of the commission of inquiry is that it did not sufficiently examine where political responsibility lay for abuses in the camps. An important question is why the leadership failed to table the report of the (internal) James Stuart commission of inquiry into the mutiny at the ANC's consultative conference in Kabwe."

While it concedes that infiltration has been a real threat to the liberation movement, Amnesty argues that many of those imprisoned and tortured were not agents of Pretoria. The failure of the ANC to bring its security department to book, combined with blanket denunciations of former prisoners as spies, laid prisoners who returned home open to further danger.

A large number of abuses documented occurred after the mutinies by members of MK in Viana and Pango camps in Angola in 1984.

## When the ANC is on the receiving end

SIR — A few months ago we had the Boipatong massacre, and now the Folweni massacre, both of them tragic and senseless. But why is it when the ANC is on the receiving end there is a major uproar resulting in mass action, breakdown in talks and an official inquiry? But when it is not the ANC, such as in Folweni, alas no major uproar, mass action etc. Just a half-hearted effort to get to the bottom of it.

Recently we have heard of IFP officials being gunned down: this goes down as just another incident. But an ANC official was slain and, guess what? Within 24 hours there was to be

an official inquiry, a reward was offered and they would not leave a stone unturned to find the perpetrators.

If only our Government would put half as much effort into saving our crippled economy as they put into jumping to the ANC's (forever changing) demands, the country wouldn't be in the mess it is in now.

So, Mr President, try giving equal attention to other political parties who should have as much say in the changes we are facing and put the ANC in the back seat for a change.

ANTI ANC  
Warner Beach

THE DAILY NEWS 4 NOV 1992

Conditions barrier to meeting

# Buthelezi must agree on terms first: Mandela

GABORONE: ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated that he will only meet his archrival Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi if certain conditions are met.

Speaking at a press conference in the Botswana capital yesterday, the ANC leader also disclosed that the imminent ANC-Government bush retreat to thrash out a way forward would last a marathon six or seven days.

The ANC hopes to emerge from these talks with a timeframe for a general election involving all South Africans and the installation of an interim government of national unity.

On his upcoming summit with the IFP, Mr Mandela said a meeting with Chief Buthelezi would serve no purpose "unless it was certain that it would produce results in addressing the question of violence".

He said Chief Buthelezi had posed certain conditions for the

meeting, and "I have also put conditions".

These are:

- Climates of free political activity in KwaZulu, and that the ANC should be allowed to operate there.

- Chief Buthelezi's followers must be disarmed — there was something hollow in his claim that he was committed to peace when his followers marched through the cities armed with weapons of death, heightening the tension.

- "He must agree to the banning of the public display of weapons and the hostels should be fenced off and regular searches conducted because the hit squads operate from there," Mr Mandela said.

He added that the ANC would have discussions "to get these conditions reconciled and implemented".

Asked whether he considered State President F.W. de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi men of integrity, Mr Mandela said: "We are put together in the same country. The

three of us have a collective responsibility to resolve the problems, whether we like each other or not."

Mr Mandela conceded that no progress towards a new political dispensation could be made without the co-operation of the Government.

Current opinion polls showed the ANC would have an overall majority in a general election, but "the ANC would only hold office, not grip the levers of power", Mr Mandela said.

He said the first government elected by all South Africans must be seen as a government of national unity.

"We may have to invite other political parties to be in government to ensure stability, and we may share power with those who have lost.

"We could have a rebellion if we threw the civil service and security forces into the street. We must calculate the support of these services very carefully," said Mr Mandela.—Sapa

## ANC slanging match with Kriel over police role

CAPE TOWN—The slanging match between the ANC and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel continued yesterday with the ANC claiming the SAP harboured elements whose only task was to "destroy adversaries of the National Party".

The ANC responded to Mr Kriel's comment that the SAP was a strange private army when it recovered stolen BMWs of the ANC executive and guarded R1 million homes of SACP leaders.

"The SAP will continue to function as a private army as long as leading officials such as Mr Kriel are unable to separate their role as NP politicians from that of being public servants," it said. — (Political Correspondent)

# Government and ANC retire to 'bosberaad'

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Top negotiators of the Government and the ANC will retire to a secret northern Transvaal hideaway today for an intense three-day "bosberaad" aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

The two teams, of Cabinet Ministers on the one side and top ANC officials on the other, will spend virtually all their waking hours together for about 60 hours to try to regain the rapport that has been lost this year.

The discussions will centre on the managing of the transition process, and the Government and ANC's differing timetables for the installation of an interim government. Other specifics will include ways and means of re-starting multi-party negotiations, the structuring of a constitution-making body and an interim government.

Debate on the structuring and functioning of a Transitional Executive Council — which will supervise the run-up to elections for a government of National Unity — is expected to form an important part of the meeting.

Joint control of the security forces could be discussed under this agenda item as Codesa participants had agreed before Codesa 2 in May that the TEC would have several multi-party sub-councils with one dealing with the security forces.

ANC allegations about security force covert operations are likely to be discussed under the official agenda topic of creating a climate for free political activity.

Surprisingly, the ANC and Government have agreed not to discuss political violence and the continued existence of the organisation's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) which the Government had hoped to raise.

Both Government and ANC point out that it is necessary for them to thrash out differences between themselves before these are discussed in a multiparty forum — to avoid the danger of another public collapse of negotiations like that at Codesa 2 in May.

## ANC's mayoral demand slated

THE African National Congress has been attacked for its "undemocratic attitude" towards next week's mayoral elections here.

The ANC Natal Midlands region has said if the council elects to "sideline and persecute" deputy mayor Rob Haswell because of his "vision for the future and membership of the ANC and replace him with someone who lacks both his political credibility and ex-

### Pietermaritzburg Bureau

perience", it will reconsider its relationship with the present council.

Mr Ron Robbins, chairman of the council's management and finance committee, said the ANC's statement came as "a great surprise" and thought it would "do more to help them self-destruct than anything I know of. They are showing they are not a democratic

organisation".

Mr Haswell, independent ANC Member of Parliament for Pietermaritzburg South, will be up against four other councillors for the position of deputy mayor. They are tipped to be former mayor Mrs Pat Rainier, Mrs Thora Alva-Wright, Mr Vernon Mason and Mr Rex Kennedy.

Mr Haswell could not be reached for comment yesterday.

# ANC wooing of UN went wrong: NP

**Political Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN. — The ANC's attempt to gain the support of the United Nations and the international community had boomeranged against it, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the National Party, said yesterday.

The ANC's reaction to the government acceptance in principle of the recommendations of UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and to proposals for a general amnesty,

showed it was not acting in the interests of even its own members, said Dr Van der Merwe.

The refusal by the ANC to talk to the government was predictable but also extremely regrettable.

"It is clear that the ANC feels itself at a disadvantage, in spite of the effort to boost its image through mass action.

"Regardless of the damage done to the South African economy and the prospects of job opportunities for the unemployed, the mass action did not live up to expectations.

"Furthermore, the attempt of the ANC to gain international support through an appeal to the UN Security Council has clearly boomeranged.

Dr Van der Merwe said the report by Mr Cyrus Vance and the government's reaction to it showed that the ANC had lost more than it gained.

"It is a pity that the ANC continues to put its own interest above those of South Africa, and that it continues to hold the poor and the jobless hostage by its refusal to reopen negotiations.

"At the same time the ANC prevents complete indemnity from being given to ANC cadres who are still in possession of illegal arms, and those who may have committed serious offences such as the killing of civilians," said Dr Van der Merwe.

# ANC threat to march on Ulundi

No rest 'until  
bantustans  
dissolved' vow

TENSION from the Bisho massacre spilled over into Natal yesterday with the ANC in the province revealing it would soon discuss a march on Ulundi to demand the disbanding of the KwaZulu Government.

It also vowed "never to rest" until all "bantustan" governments — including KwaZulu — were abolished and replaced with "a democratic people's government".

Southern Natal regional organiser Bheki Cele said the date of a march had yet to be decided, "but it will be soon".

The ANC's hardline attitude in the province follows an Inkatha Freedom Party warning that it would resist "to the last drop of blood" any attempt by the ANC and its alliance partners to topple the KwaZulu Government.

Yesterday about 400 ANC members marched through Durban's city centre, disrupting traffic, in a protest against Monday's shootings in Bisho.

Later eight South African Students Congress members staged a sit-in at the Ciskei consulate in Durban, where they threatened to remain until a Ciskei Government representative accepted a memorandum on the Bisho killings.

Southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe said during the march that "our people will not rest until all butcherers (sic) of Ulundi, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana are out of power and replaced by a legitimate and democratic people's government".

Their regional secretary

By Siza Ntshakala  
Political Staff

S'bu Ndebele warned that "attempts by bantustans such as KwaZulu to oppose the people's march to democracy are like trying to stop the Tugela River gushing into the sea".

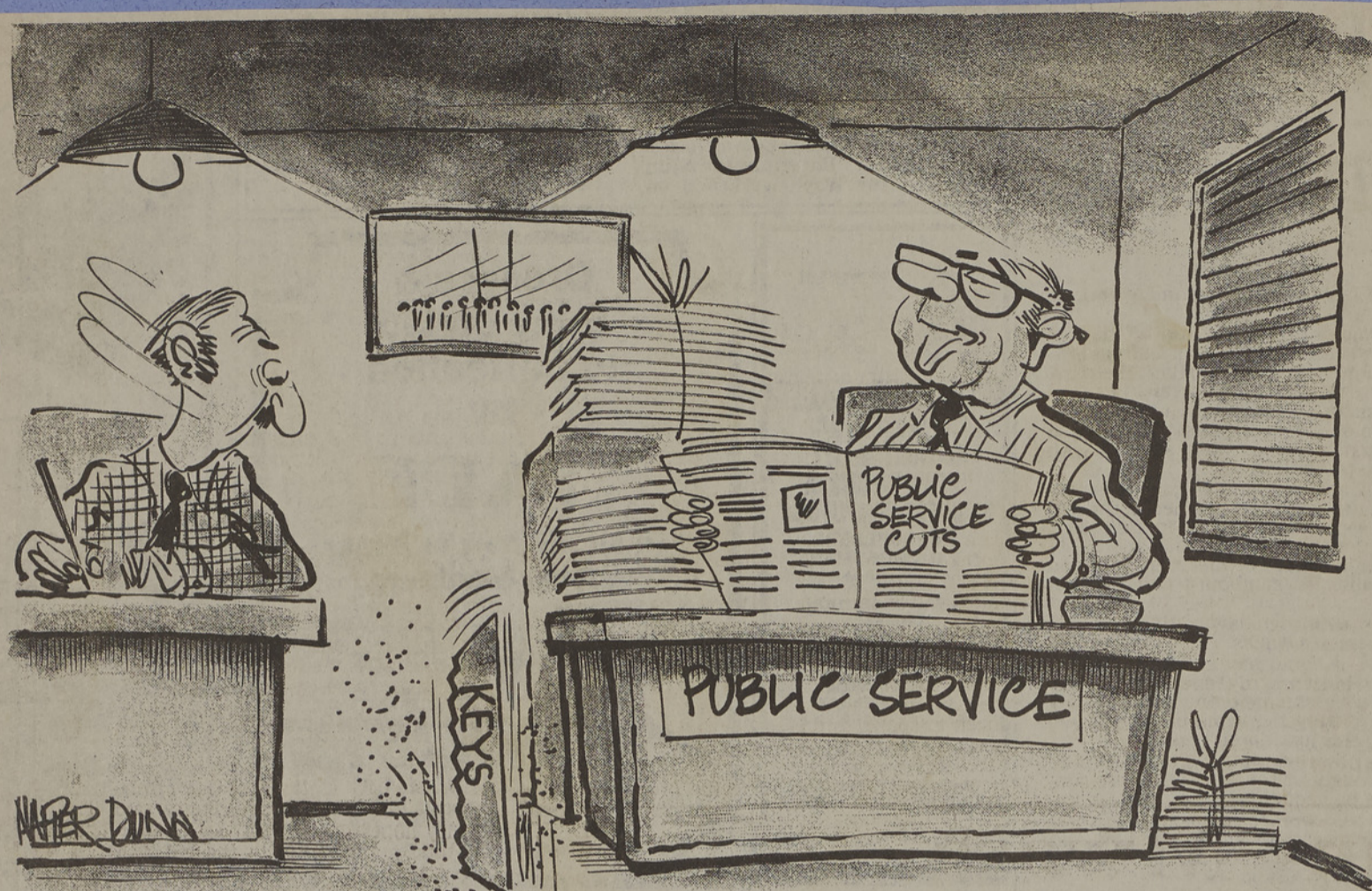
Ingrid Oellermann reports from Pietermaritzburg that ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala yesterday called for an intensified mass action campaign, the severance of international sporting links with SA and a return to sanctions.

He told a few hundred supporters at a meeting that mass action should assume the form of "occupying all the roads and highways, bridges, Government buildings, shops and factories".

"The privileged few in this country should not be allowed to go out playing sport while our people are dying back home. The privileged few must not be allowed to enjoy international trade and exploitation while millions of our people live in servitude."

□ Fears of a clash between ANC marchers and QwaQwa security forces in the homeland capital Phuthaditjhaba proved unfounded yesterday when the march involving about 2 000 people, from ANC offices to a police station 8km away, was peaceful with security forces keeping a low, almost non-existent, presence.

Demanding the resignation of Chief Minister Dr TK Mopeli, they descended on the Mokodumela Police Station to hand over a memorandum demanding that all bantustans be disbanded and that an interim government of national unity be established.



"I WOULDN'T WORRY TOO MUCH, THEY'VE BEEN SAYING THAT FOR YEARS."

Siza Ntshakala takes a close look at the 'Transition to Democracy Act'

## ANC's framework for the future

THE oldest South African liberation movement — the ANC — has adopted a legal and constitutional framework, the "Transition to Democracy Act, 1992", which it hopes will lead the country to democracy.

The ANC's National Executive Committee has adopted this document to be discussed by the organisation's membership, allies and the public at large, to serve as a constitutional framework for the transitional period, pending the adoption of a new constitution by a Constituent Assembly.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC met from August 31 to September 2, to review the national and international situation and map the way forward.

The idea of a "Transition to Democracy Act, 1992" to serve as an "interim constitution" emerged from the ANC Negotiations Commission prior to the ANC's policy conference held in Johannesburg recently.

The draft document provides for a single-chamber parliament comprising 400 representatives elected on a basis of one-person, one-vote. The proposed electoral law would apply to all territories within the 1910 boundaries, and the electoral system would be based on proportional representation.

The approach taken in this proposal includes amendments to the existing Republic of South Africa Act 110 of 1983, to create a "legitimate, constitution-making body". Another aspect is to leave all other matters (such as flag, national anthem, language, religion, etc) to be negotiated at the Constituent Assembly.

According to the document, the Executive would be made up of representatives of parties which had won 5% — or more of the seats. All parties with 5% — or more of the membership of the Assembly would be entitled to nominate Cabinet members in proportion to their Assembly representation.

Deputy Ministers need not be Assembly members, and this would facilitate the appointment of individuals from excluded groups, including from "civil society". The document also incorporates an interim Bill of Rights in its proposals for legislation.

It also recommended that in the pre-election period, multi-party commissions be established to ensure a level playing field. These would control the security forces and the media. An independent electoral commission would also be appointed to prepare for and conduct

general elections.

The proposed transitional law includes a detailed, deadlock-breaking mechanism. The ANC proposes that a new constitution be passed by a two-thirds majority. If this is not achieved within nine months, a referendum or fresh elections will then be called for a Second Constituent Assembly, with a further six months to complete the task of settling the constitution.

In a referendum the proposed new constitution would have to be adopted by a 55% majority. In case of another general election a new constitution would be adopted by a simple majority of the Third Constituent Assembly.

It is further proposed that the constitution would have to adhere to previously agreed principles, and a seven-member constitutional panel would be appointed to adjudicate on disputes over whether these principles were being served.

The document makes provision for the abolition of the present tricameral government and for the inclusion of the Bantustans under one central unitary state authority, as in the 1910 constitutional boundaries for South Africa.

The Transition to Democracy Act, 1992, provides for a parliament that would perform two

functions: to act as the country's constitution-making body and the law-making body during the transition, from the time of elections until the installation of the first government under the new constitution.

On voting, when sitting as a Constituent Assembly; when acting as the legislature a two-thirds majority is proposed except for amendments to the Act and legislation agreed at Codesa which would require an 80% majority.

The document proposes that all sittings of the Assembly be open to the public and the media. The quorum for the Assembly shall be at least 100 members.

Reflecting on the current political scene, the ANC Special Commission on Negotiations said: "... our country has entered a decisive period in which the issue of transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people as a whole is on the immediate agenda".

"The impatience of the majority of South Africans and the international community with apartheid rule is such that the transfer of power, which should lead to the fundamental transformation of our society, should be achieved in the shortest possible time."

# Hadebe: ANC claim Ulundi hit-list

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ANC criticises Buthelezi over Shaka Day celebrations

THE claim by the Inkatha Freedom Party that Shaka Day celebrations are cultural events, rings hollow in the light of the "abuse" of these occasions at Stanger and Kwa Mashu at the weekend, ANC Natal Midlands region deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe charged yesterday.

He said in a statement the IFP leadership, in particular Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had abused the cultural occasion by making "belligerent party political speeches" at an event which ought to be

non party-political.

"Chief Buthelezi also announced IFP political decisions regarding the withdrawal of the IFP from talks with the South African Government at this supposedly non-partisan/cultural occasion."

"What Chief Buthelezi did is a gross insult to millions of Zulus and other African people who have high regard for Shaka as a great statesman of the past," Mr Hadebe said. — (Pietermaritzburg Bureau)

# Dr T: Why we won't talk to ANC

26 November 1992

I REFER to your editorial, Meet ANC (November 21), and your remarks to the effect that "it is no longer possible (for the CP) to shun the ANC".

You state further that the ANC is the "voice of Black nationalism", and an organisation that is going to play a dominant role in the future of South Africa. You also say we must get to know each other's viewpoint.

Firstly, the ANC is not the "voice of Black nationalism". There are various Black ethnic nationalisms and the ANC is in conflict with all except one. The only "nationalism" the ANC espouses is Xhosa hegemony over the rest of South Africa, as evidenced by the ethnic origin of its top people.

One has only to examine the track record of the ANC, the statements made over the years by its personnel and, more importantly, its actions since February 1990 to verify its real goals, the least of which is to accommodate Afrikaner or any other nationalism for that matter in its future plans as

ruler of a united South Africa. Anybody who believes differently is living in a fool's paradise.

Secondly, to sit around a table with the ANC is to give it the legitimacy it needs to discuss our future. We do not acknowledge this right, and judging from recent HSRC surveys, the vast majority of Whites will not accept an ANC government either.

From whom does the ANC have its legitimacy? Has the ANC fought any elections? Or is the ANC largely a product of media hype, kept alive as an organisation by Press and TV publicity and huge amounts of overseas cash?

One must then ask what is the agenda of overseas governments and so-called anti-apartheid groups who are pouring so much money into the ANC? Shall we negotiate with the ANC and thereby surrender our freedom and power

for the sake of foreign applause at our funeral?

Thirdly, we have no need to "get to know the viewpoint of the ANC". They know ours, and we know theirs. We know what they have done, we know what they want and we are not going to simply cave in to so-called popular pressure, legitimise them by negotiating with them, and then eventually be crushed under the heel of an ANC dictatorship. For that is what the ultimate result will be of the National Party's "negotiations" with the Communist-controlled body.

Media predictions of a "shared" new South Africa are ignoring the realities and are, as such, mischievous and ultimately dangerous. Several Black leaders reject the idea of a unitary South African state.

**DR AP TREURNICHT**  
**MP (Waterberg)**  
**Leader of the Conservative Party of SA**

Pretoria

## Deadlock in meeting on ANC refugees

The Daily News  
Political Reporter  
9 October 1992

A MEETING to discuss the return of African National Congress refugees to Phateni, near Richmond, deadlocked yesterday when the Inkatha Freedom Party insisted that the returns be approved by the tribal chief for that area.

The ANC, IFP, United Nations observers and security forces met at the Richmond Town Hall to discuss the future of 400 refugees who were displaced from the Patheni area in the on-going war between the ANC and the IFP over the past two years.

ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe said after the meeting that little

progress was made.

The parties will meet again today with the tribal chief for the area to resolve the issue.

Mr Hadebe welcomed the inclusion of the chief at today's meetings and said it was hoped that some agreement could be reached.

The issue of returning refugees has been at the centre of violent confrontation between the ANC and IFP.

Recently 10 people who the ANC claimed were refugees returning to their homes at Gengeshe were

killed. The IFP, however, claimed that the victims were Inkatha members.

Mr Hadebe said the ANC hoped that all organisations at today's meeting would accept the right of displaced residents to return to their homes and also the right of free political activity.

"We want all the organisations to state that everybody is allowed to join the organisation of his or her choice. That must be agreed to."

Mr Hadebe accused the IFP of depoliticising the issue of the returning refugees by claiming that they had wronged the chief.

The City 250 26 Nov 1992

# ANC TO CONSIDER UNITY GOVT

DURBAN. — The African National Congress is considering the establishment of a government of national unity after a new constitution has been adopted to ensure the smooth democratisation of the country and to involve all major parties in dismantling apartheid.

This emerged at the movement's three-day National Executive Committee meeting, which ended in Durban yesterday.

Chief among the widely considered concessions — which are contained in an amended document, orig-

inally compiled by SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo, and entitled "Negotiations: A Strategic Perspective" — is the emphasis on ensuring South Africa's transition to democracy is not scuttled.

To this effect, the organisation was to look into a government of national

unity, to be established after the adoption of a new constitution, involving parties with a proven and legitimate support base, said ANC executive member, Mr Mac Mahara.

## ANC 'unaware' of planned meeting with Inkatha

JOHANNESBURG: A meeting between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC to arrange a summit between their leaders failed to get off the ground yesterday and has been rescheduled for next week.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the meeting was to have been held in Durban yesterday.

But the ANC said it was unaware of the proposed meeting.

Dr Mdlalose said: "The IFP delegates arrived to keep the meeting. For a variety of reasons the ANC was unable to keep the appointment."

The rescheduled meeting between an IFP delegation led by Dr Mdlalose and an ANC

delegation led by deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma will take place next Tuesday in Durban.

IFP and ANC delegations agreed at a National Peace Committee meeting last week to a summit between IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Preparations for the summit will be made by the IFP and ANC delegations.

## ANC 'dismay' at threats to Miss World girls

Citizen Reporter

THE head office of the African National Congress yesterday expressed its dismay at threats made against artists participating in the Miss World pageant.

The ANC said they were "aware of the strong feelings many sectors of the community have about hosting the Miss World contest in the midst of dire poverty and intense repression in Bophuthatswana, a homeland that does not allow

any free political activity.

"Nevertheless, such acts of intimidation are reprehensible and totally against ANC policy."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the statement did not in any way repudiate the earlier statement made by the ANC's Western Transvaal region calling for artists to withdraw from the pageant.

She said the threats mentioned in the ANC statement only referred to threats of physical violence which the organisers

said were made by unknown persons against some artists participating in the pageant.

In a meeting yesterday morning, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union and Sun International agreed to desist from confrontational activities or statements which could prejudice their negotiation process.

The meeting followed the call by several of the organisations for artists to withdraw from the pageant which is due to take place on Saturday.

A joint statement issued by Sun International, Saccawu and Cosatu said they had discussed and tabled various problems which would be addressed in a constructive way prior to a further meeting in mid-January next year.

A spokesman for Sun International said he was not aware of any plans to disrupt the contest.

The organisations which made the call for the withdrawal of the international community from the pageant said earlier on Thursday an internationally acclaimed occasion should not be hosted by a government which had not warranted international status.

# Training of ANC soldiers is 'no secret'

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The training of soldiers by the ANC outside South African borders was no secret and was "strictly" in accordance with the ANC's decision that the armed struggle has been suspended, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

The Government knew about the training of the soldiers, that it was being done to prepare for the integration of the armed forces of South Africa and that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, its armed wing, could not be separated from each other.

"There is nothing sinister or secret about it," Mr Ramaphosa said on SABC-TV's Agenda news programme in an interview with Freek Robinson.

He reiterated that the ANC was committed to negotiations and decisions that could lead from it.

Mr Ramaphosa said the soldiers being trained now would come back to South Africa as "proud" soldiers who would form part of a completely new and representative South African defence force. Some of those being trained had already reached officer status.

Whether the soldiers would return armed was a matter which would be decided by negotiation, he said.

People were trained in ANC camps, including some in Uganda, by other ANC people who had received training in a "number of countries", he said.

The soldiers received six months basic training and training in conventional warfare. The organisation had moved beyond guerilla warfare and such training was not given.

## ANC threatens Pietersburg shops boycott

PIETERSBURG. — A consumer boycott of Pietersburg has been threatened by the African National Congress Youth League, which is demanding that charges be withdrawn against 206 of its members.

The ANCYL members were arrested in the northern Transvaal city a month ago for staging a sit-in at the local police station.

In a statement the League said it would consult fraternal organisations about intensifying mass action, with

the possibility of calling a boycott of White-owned businesses in Pietersburg if the charges were not dropped.

The 206 ANCYL members — including regional treasurer Zondi Maphanga and publicity and information head Blessing Maphanga — appeared in the Pietersburg Magistrate's Court on Thursday.

They were not asked to plead and the case was postponed to November. — Sapa.

*The Natal Witness*  
*12 August 1992*  
**Mass action**

THE ANC's campaign of mass action has been likened to a referendum. Even though the ANC is one of the country's oldest surviving political organisations, it is still not a participant in formal politics. Apartheid, and the colonial rule which preceded it, made sure, through bannings and restrictions, that the ANC would not be able to hold a formal referendum. Consequently, the demonstration of public support through mass action can be seen as canvassing for a mandate. Until a new constitution is in place, such methods are arguably the only way for the party to gauge its public support.

President F.W. de Klerk's referendum, held in March, was an altogether different affair. It was made organisationally safe and unthreatening by the casting of secret ballots. Even the chance of outside interference was removed when the ANC generously supported the racially exclusive poll. The only danger was the purely political one of the challenge from the right wing, but even that fizzled out.

In the ANC's "referendum" people had to be mobilised into the streets to cast their "votes". In our heightened political climate, particularly in the townships, it may well be easier to get people to strike than to get them to cast a ballot. But the idea of mass action had its risks, considering that not all of the ANC may have wanted the campaign in the first place.

To backtrack a little, if De Klerk had lost his formal referendum by failing to get at least half the voters to support his cause, the political implications would have been enormous. He acknowledged this when he told the Conservative Party that if he lost, and white South Africans failed to endorse reform, he would resign.

Part of the problem with the mass action referendum was that it was vague. Because no ballots were cast, and no count taken, it falls more into the world of propaganda, making such a mandate easier to get but more difficult to sustain. Certainly there is space, if the results are not those desired, for the situation to be jollied along. Mandela's resignation was never a consequence.

Disregarding Cosatu secretary general Jay Naidoo's blithe rhetoric, we must now ask ourselves whether the mass action, in the context of being a referendum, succeeded for the ANC. Last Monday and Tuesday millions of South African workers did stay at home. There are, however, a number of possible explanations for this. Workers could have taken advantage of the strike call to take a long weekend or they could have been prevented from going to work.

Jon Qwelane's question to Nelson Mandela on national television showed that recent political history in South Africa was intimidation enough to keep people at home. He suggested that the lingering thought that one's home and family might be a target, as in the past, was enough to ensure that many people heeded the strike

call. Certainly, many people who did not support the strike did not work on those two days.

Very little work was done last Monday or Tuesday, or it was done by substantially fewer people. A great victory was hailed by the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance. Four million people had heeded their call. The ANC and its allies had demonstrated that they could make a strike work. But, significantly, they could not get those people into the streets. Take, for example, last Tuesday's gathering at Edendale Hospital. The crowd was relatively small, especially as 80 percent of city workers were at home in the townships.

Last Wednesday was day three of the week of mass action. It was the day of the big rallies and marches. To estimate the numbers involved, however, is very difficult. Journalists and newspapers have been getting themselves into hot water for years over attendance figures at political meetings. And not only with the ANC. The police say that there were 25 000 people at Nelson Mandela's speech from the lawns of the Union Buildings. The ANC says 70 000 people were there. As always, the truth is somewhere in between.

Countrywide, according to estimates, some 200 000 people attended marches and rallies. That is a large number. It takes some doing to get people into the streets, to march and to listen, and last Wednesday was a considerable organisational achievement. But, while the propagandists claim a victory, the political strategists should be thinking very carefully about the results of the referendum.

In my view, mass action should have stopped on Wednesday, not for reasons of convenience, even though those taxis were a considerable irritation, but for political reasons. I would suggest that the alienation of potential voters is political suicide. The final days of last week's mass action came close to doing this. Yes, whites were outraged and many were frightened. This, of course, holds its own dangers, but it is the alienation of ordinary black working people that is more important. These are the votes that the ANC will need in an election, whether it is to a constituent assembly, interim parliament or whatever.

The week of mass action, therefore, without the hysteria and the rhetoric, could be seen as a successful canvass of public opinion, but not overwhelmingly so. Caution, however, should be advised, against the rejection of the negotiations route and the indiscriminate use of mass action. Both alternatives could do more harm to the ANC than good. It was clearly the belief that mass action was wearing thin for the people on the ground that persuaded De Klerk to allow it to happen.

On the positive side, the mass action does seem to have brought the ANC and the government closer to resuming talks than at any time since Codesa 2 folded, and that is not a bad thing.

# 'Abused dissidents' Govt agents: ANC

Citizen 15 August 1992

AFRICAN National Congress dissidents claiming they were subjected to shocking abuses in ANC camps were undercover government agents, the ANC yesterday said in reponse to a report naming the ANC's "torture chief" as Mzwai Piliso.

The ANC otherwise declined to comment on a Weekly Mail report.

A report on an internal investigation ordered last year by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela would be made public, the ANC said.

The Weekly Mail claimed its sources already had access to the report which placed much of the blame for human rights abuses on former ANC security chief Mzwai Piliso.

It said the investigation was expected to clear the names of the former ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani, and MK head of security, Joe Nhlanhla.

Mr Piliso, who is quoted as saying he was following orders, has since been appointed the ANC's head of human resources.

According to the newspaper, Mr Piliso was directly involved in assaults on prisoners.

It quoted former ANC dissident Patrick Hlongwane as saying he had been held prisoner and tortured and beaten in the 1980s.

"My left hand was put in boiling tar and I was burned with hot tea. There were times when I was punished with no water or food for three days," he was quoted as saying.

The report said the ANC had admitted executions and human rights abuses, but they were stopped and prisoners were released in 1991. Its critics disagree.

The alleged abuses occurred in the 1980s in camps in other African nations before the ANC was unbanned in South Africa in 1990.

• Returned Exiles Committee chairman Pat Hlongwane yesterday retracted statements about plans to assassinate African National Congress leaders.

Mr Hlongwane said the statements were made because of the publicity the ANC received, and the REC decided to put into practice what the ANC had taught them — disinformation.

It worked, said Mr Hlongwane. Within hours the organisation had in-

ternational coverage.

He said the committee had no intention of killing the ANC hierarchy unless provoked to do so. It merely wanted the world to take notice and the ANC to answer for alleged atrocities in ANC detention camps.

Earlier in the day the police said an investigation into the assassination threats had been completed and television recordings of Mr Hlongwane's comments had been handed to the Attorney-General. — Sapa.

THE STAR  
4 Nov 1992

## Violence when ANC unbanned

Will George Magwabeni (Letters, October 28) please explain how apartheid caused the recent massacres of IFP supporters and the assassination of Reggie Hadebe in Natal and why all this violence started after the ANC were unbanned.

Did the influence of apartheid extend thousands of miles north of us to the countries where the violence of tribal genocide and civil war has been a common denominator of black government. What about the black riots in Britain and America? Were they caused by apartheid?

Foreign governments don't believe this nonsense about apartheid causing the violence and unless blacks face up to the truth and do something positive about it, foreign investment will remain a pipe dream.

F W Thorpe

Halfway House,  
Midrand

## ANC protests at Cape Town Station

CAPE TOWN. — The African National Congress yesterday led a protest against third class railway ticket-holders being treated as "third class citizens".

Civil rights activists, including former Black Sash national chairman Mrs Mary Burton and independent MP and ANC member Mr Jan van Eck were among a group of people who bought third class tickets, and left Cape Town Station through exits reserved for first class ticket-holders.

Spoornet staff took no action.

The action will be repeated every Thursday until third class passengers could use the first class exits, said an ANC spokesman.

The ANC has also condemned hooliganism, and reiterated that its mass action campaign would be peaceful.

The spokesman was referring to the R200 000 damage caused to three passenger coaches on a Cape Flats-bound train at Koeberg Road Station about 3.15 pm on Wednesday after a protest march in Cape Town.

According to a Metro spokesman, an "unruly crowd" boarded a Cape Flats-bound train after the protest meeting, and brought it to a stop by repeatedly jumping up and down until the motor coach pantograph connecting the train to overhead power lines was worked loose from its mounting.

"They then systematically set about cutting up seats, smashing the lights and tearing out panelling in the ceiling and sides of three passenger coaches — two first-class and one third-class." — Sapa.

## ANC, Govt concern over Barend threats

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

Government sources have admitted they are "very concerned" about the latest threats by mass murderer Barend Strydom — but can do nothing unless he breaches his parole conditions.

Strydom came into the public eye on Monday night for the first time since his release — having called a media conference to hand over a document listing demands and threatening "action" if the Government did not respond to them within 30 days.

He held his conference at the very spot where he shot dead eight people in 1988 — Strydom Square in Pretoria.

Among his demands were the resignation of the "illegal" Government and the "deportation" of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The ANC yesterday said in a statement it was "deeply con-

cerned" about Strydom's remarks, and called on the Government to "take the necessary steps, as a matter of urgency, to prevent any further atrocities being committed by Barend Strydom.

"For the sake of all South Africans who want to see the end of death and mayhem, and probably for Strydom's own sake also, the necessary legal steps must be taken to prevent him from killing again," the ANC said.

The ANC added that the Government had freed Strydom from life imprisonment to placate white rightwingers against the advice of the psychologist who had treated Strydom in prison.

Strydom, whose release last month sent shock waves throughout the country, cannot be re-arrested for his provocative statements, as his actions are not considered to have contravened his parole conditions.

These are:

- He is under the control of the prison head for the duration

of parole.

- He may not change his address without approval from the prison head.

- He may not leave the magisterial district without approval from the prison head.

- He may not conduct any offence or render himself of delinquent behaviour.

- He must report every 14 days to the nearest police station.

Commenting on the issue, Democratic Party spokesman Douglas Gibson said: "One shudders to think of someone like Strydom being free to utter spine-chilling threats of this nature.

"He has proved previously that his threats are not empty ones. He was released as part of a murky deal between the State President and Mr Mandela."

Strydom's father, Orde Boerevolk leader Nic Strydom, said he was confident the Government would meet his son.

Asked if he thought his son might repeat his actions, Strydom, sen, said: "I know he won't do it again".

# **'ANC man tried to kill Vilakazi'**

*The Stop  
A Nov 1992*

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

The person who recently attempted to assassinate former ANC PWV regional deputy secretary-general Bavumile Vilakazi in Sebokeng was a member of the ANC and the local self-defence unit (SDU), it was revealed yesterday.

Making this disclosure at a press conference in Johannesburg, ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the man — whose name was not released — had "voluntarily approached the ANC and confessed to the shooting".

The man, Sexwale said, told the ANC he had shot Vilakazi because he had mistaken him for a policeman.

"He further alleged that the decision to attack Vilakazi was an individual one and not that of the SDU to which he belongs," Sexwale said.

Asked if the man was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Sexwale said he did not have enough information but it was possible.

He said the ANC would take "political actions" against Vilakazi's assailant, but the nature of that action had yet to be decided upon.

Vilakazi, now an ordinary member of the ANC PWV regional executive committee, was shot in Zone 7, Sebokeng, on September 17 as he left his brother's hardware store. He was admitted to the Garden City Clinic in Johannesburg, from where he was discharged yesterday. He has decided not to lay charges against his would-be assassin.

Following the shooting, there was speculation in the press that the attempt on Vilakazi's life was "an inside job" by ANC members in the area, particularly former exiles, who were not happy with his leadership.

At the press conference yesterday, Sexwale said the speculation forced the ANC to conduct its own investigation, and that the results had been submitted to his committee.

He strongly condemned the assault and asked the community to distance itself from such unbecoming behaviour.

"Misguided actions against leaders, policemen and communities in general can only help alienate SDUs from the communities they serve. Such actions must stop," he said in a statement said.

# Police and ANC at odds over killings

TWO men were hacked and stoned to death in Meadowlands yesterday morning, and police and the ANC have different versions of the events.

Police said township residents mistook the two for local hostel dwellers and killed them in retaliation for a series of recent attacks in Meadowlands.

Capt Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said the men had visited the Meadowlands hostel but were chased away by hostel inmates. While fleeing in their minibus the men were apprehended by Meadowlands residents, he said. One man was hacked to death, the other was stoned and set alight. No arrests had been made by late yesterday.

ANC spokesman Strike Ralegama denied that Meadowlands residents were involved in the attack and said the men were abducted from taxis by Inkatha supporters and dragged into the hostel. He said the bodies were later found in a stream next to the hostel.

Sapa reports that in three separate incidents

KATHRYN STRACHAN

yesterday, three men were attacked and thrown from moving trains, and in another attack a man suffered stab wounds.

Witwatersrand police said two men were hacked and thrown from a moving train at Geldenhuys station yesterday morning. Both were taken to hospital.

Another man was attacked on the train between Kazerne and Soweto and thrown from the moving train at Longdale station, near Industria. He was taken to hospital in a serious condition.

A fourth man was found yesterday at Booysens Station with stab wounds. He was taken to hospital.

The attacks follow a weekend of violent clashes around the country in which 25 people were killed.

Police reported two Soweto homes were targets of handgrenade attacks on Sunday, but no one was injured in the blasts. A 38-year-old man was arrested at Meadowlands hostel in

connection with one of the attacks.

Two people were shot dead and seven wounded in Kathlehong, on the East Rand, in the early hours of Sunday morning. An ANC spokesman said shots were fired at people queuing to get into a midnight show at the Paragon Theatre in Kathlehong.

At Thokoza, also on the East Rand, police found the body of a man with bullet wounds.

In violence around Cape Town on Sunday, four men were killed and two people seriously injured.

## THE STAR 17 SEPTEMBER 92 SAP inquiry 'an attempt to pressure ANC'

Reports of a high-level police investigation into past crimes involving ANC leaders were a "cynical attempt" to pressure the organisation into accepting a general amnesty, the ANC charged yesterday.

It is understood a tentative agreement between the Government and ANC on the release of remaining political

prisoners — one of three key issues delaying a summit meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk — broke down after the Government insisted on linking the releases to a blanket amnesty, which would include State officials.

The ANC is opposed to a general amnesty without the indemnified peo-

ple disclosing their crimes.

Reacting to reports yesterday that a "special unit" had been set up by the police to investigate ANC leaders, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the police probe into acts of terrorism was not aimed at the ANC "as an organisation per se". — Political Reporter.

Harry Gwala, a veteran of the struggle against apartheid, is a controversial man. Dubbed an "ANC warlord", he subscribes to Stalinism more than 30 years after it was denounced by Nikita Khrushchev. He speaks to **PATRICK LAURENCE**.

*The Daily News*  
**Gwala — fierce warrior in the ANC's ranks**  
*7 OCTOBER 1992*

**H**ARRY Temba Gwala is a man with a fearsome reputation but he speaks in a gentle voice, clothing his political convictions in the modulated tones of a kindly schoolteacher.

A veteran member of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Gwala, a self-acknowledged Stalinist, has been dubbed an "ANC warlord" by the media.

His political foes in the IFP see him as the master brain behind the increasingly bloody war for control of the townships and villages around Natal's once tranquil capital city of Pietermaritzburg.

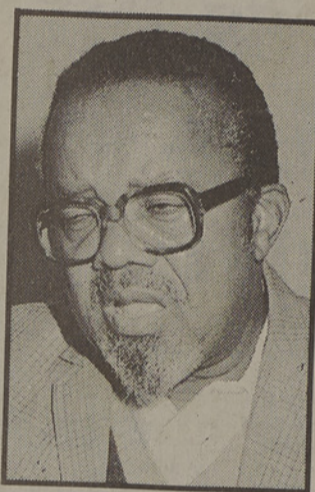
Mr Gwala, a prison graduate who was twice jailed for his dedication to the ANC's cause, smiles when asked about his reputation as an ANC warlord. He uses the collective pronoun "we" to include his comrades in the leadership of the Natal Midlands.

"There has been a calculated campaign from the State, from Inkatha and the media to give us a bad name because we called on the people to defend themselves."

The tone of his voice rises a fraction as he stresses that he is not in favour of attacking people because they subscribe to different political views. But, he adds, if people are attacked they must defend themselves.

"I am not a warlord. I am very much for people defending themselves. If that is a warlord, then I am one. I will always call on my people to defend themselves."

Mr Gwala, a former schoolteacher of working-class origins who became a member of the South African Communist Party before joining the ANC, believes that "the people" must decide



**HARRY GWALA**  
Proud of being a Stalinist

who should represent them.

Natal is a vital area in the coming struggle for the people's vote. More than a quarter of South Africa's 38 million people live in the province, which has long been a stronghold of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

How, then, does Mr Gwala see the balance of power as politicians begin to position themselves for South Africa's first non-racial election next year or, at the latest, the year after?

"My assessment will be a bit biased but I try to make the assessment from what I noticed in 1989 after my release from prison," Mr Gwala replies.

"Inkatha was predominant and very visible. But today I can say with very little fear of contradiction that the ANC has made very big headway and has got majority support."

He goes on to list a series of townships and villages where the IFP used to be a major force but whose support has now dwindled to negligible proportions.

The IFP charges that the

ANC, under Mr Gwala's direction, has wrested control by force, using AK-47s and petrol bombs rather than rational argument to silence opposition.

Mr Gwala, a member of the SACP central committee, smilingly dismisses the charges. He offers a different explanation.

"It lies in the traditional allegiance (of Natal's black people) to the ANC. Very important leaders of the ANC came from Natal: the founder of the ANC, Dr Pixley Seme; the first president of the ANC, Dr John Dube; and the most popular leader of the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli.

"People have been traditionally ANC. When they joined Inkatha they did so because they felt it represented the message of the ANC.

"But they found there was something amiss. Instead of concentrating on attacking apartheid, Inkatha was more concerned with fighting the ANC and the (pro-ANC) United Democratic Front."

On a more sombre note, Mr Gwala, who was unanimously elected regional chairman of Natal Midlands in 1990, recalls: "Several attempts have been made on my life ... I have learnt to live with it."

Mr Gwala readily admits he is a hardline Stalinist. "I am proud of that," he said.

He credits Stalinism with "some of the great achievements that have been made in the struggle of the working man and woman".

He adds: "Stalin, together with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the people of the Soviet Union, contributed to the defeat of Hitler. That was something to be admired."

But he concedes that Stalinism did have "ugly features" and brutal excesses.

# ANC, IFP agree to bilateral talks

Political Staff

**NEGOTIATIONS** and the stalled peace process were given a major boost yesterday when the ANC and Inkatha agreed to bilateral talks which could include both sides' leaders.

The ANC has also adopted an amended position on their negotiations strategy that contemplates power-sharing even after a new constitution is adopted.

The ANC's decision to meet the IFP was made at a National Peace Committee executive meeting on Tuesday, and was confirmed by its chairman Mr John Hall yesterday.

Mr Mandela said the ANC's national executive committee had endorsed the decision.

The ANC's NEC, said after a special three-day session: "The crisis in our country has reached a critical point which demands an urgent breakthrough."

Highly significant in yesterday's developments was the adoption of the "Negotiations: A strategic perspective" document,

which says that a government of national unity will have to be established "even after the adoption of the new constitution".

It emphasised that this was different to the National Party's proposals for "veto powers for minority parties".

Last week the ANC's national working committee dropped all references to "sunset clauses".

A "sunset clause" relating to an interim government was originally proposed by SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

The document has however adopted Mr Slovo's proposals for a limited period of power sharing to facilitate the transformation of the civil service and the security forces.

Preparatory discussions with the IFP will start next week, when the ANC is also expected to meet the government for bilateral talks.

These developments have led to optimism that multi-party talks could be revived soon.

The ANC would also be pushing for an agreement from the government that elections for an interim government of national unity be held during the last quarter of next year.

Chief Buthelezi had accepted the Peace Committee's decision

and the issue would be discussed at the IFP's central committee meeting at the weekend, an IFP spokeswoman said yesterday.

IFP national chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose said his party was in agreement with the position as outlined by the ANC, adding that the discussions held at the NPC meeting were thorough, practical and without rancour.

Mr Hall said he believed the stalemate between the IFP and the government had been broken.

Mr Mandela said the preparatory meeting would address the conditions both sides had set for such a meeting.

Some of the agenda points still to be finalised are the role of the SAP and the armed forces, the KwaZulu Police and uMkhonto weSizwe; freedom of political activity and an interim peace accord for Natal.

● UN envoy Mr Tom Vraalsen has welcomed the announcement of a bilateral summit between the ANC and IFP.

Visiting South Africa on behalf of UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Mr Vraalsen said he hoped preparations for the summit would be completed as a matter of urgency and that it would lead to the resumption of negotiations.

## Identify torturers, ANC told

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

A widespread clamour for the identification of those implicated in the torture of former ANC detainees in exile has greeted the release of the report of the organisation's commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in its prison camps.

The report, released in Johannesburg on Monday by ANC president Nelson Mandela, detailed extraordinary abuses of power by certain individuals in the ANC, and called on the organisation to cleanse its own ranks of those responsible for acts of brutality. Such people, the report recommended, should never again be allowed

to assume a position of power.

Yesterday, human rights and political organisations, including the conservative Washington-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF), commended the ANC for its report.

But IFF southern African executive director Russel Crystal said he found the report deficient in several areas.

He said those within the leadership of the ANC who were neither in exile nor directly linked to human rights violations had to be encouraged to clear the organisation of individuals associated with these deeds.

One of the report's major deficiencies, he said, was that the names

of those responsible for torture had not been released.

Crystal said it was for that reason that the IFF had appointed an independent commission of inquiry conducted by advocate RS Douglas to look into identifying people responsible for human rights violations.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) director Brian Currin said the ANC-appointed commission merely served as a preliminary investigation, and LHR now looked forward to the establishment of a full commission.

The South African Council of Churches said church leaders were shocked and grieved to hear how detainees were grossly abused, tortured,

humiliated and brutalised.

Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Helen Suzman said the revelations brought a sense of extreme dismay, but added that the ANC had accepted responsibility for what took place and had undertaken to deal with those found guilty instead of declaring a general amnesty.

Calling for the identification of people implicated in torture were National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee chairman Mwezi Twala and Conservative Party law and order spokesman Schalk Pienaar.

# ANC, govt remove most Codesa snags

THE government and African National Congress have agreed to the need for a democratically-elected constituent assembly which would act as an interim Parliament under an interim constitution and for a government of national unity.

Their agreement was fixed during a leaders' summit at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg on Saturday and released in a document titled "Record of Agreement".

The four-page document, in its own words, "reflects the understanding reached at the conclusion of discussions regarding these obstacles and issues".

In effect the document removes with a stroke most of the obstacles on which Codesa failed in May.

Although couched in broad principles rather than detail, the spirit of unison reflected in the document is seen as a declaration of intent to move swiftly towards a constitutional settlement.

The government and the ANC agreed on the need for a democratic constituent assembly or constitution-making body which had to:

- Be democratically elected;
- Draft and adopt the new constitution, implying it should sit as a single chamber;
- Be bound only by agreed constitutional principles;
- Have a fixed time-frame;
- Have adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms;
- Function democratically by arriving at its decision with certain agreed majorities; and

- Be elected within an agreed pre-determined time period.

Details would have to be worked out within this framework in the negotiating process.

They agreed, according to the "Record", that there should be no constitutional hiatus and that the constituent assembly would also act as an interim or transitional Parliament with an interim government of national unity.

This would all function within a constitutional framework or transitional constitution which would provide for both national and regional government during the period of transition.

This constitution would

incorporate guaranteed justiciable fundamental rights and freedoms.

They also agreed the Parliament might function as a one- or two-chambered body.

The "Record" then dealt with the issue of political prisoners and their phased release.

A separate document entitled "Implementation programme: Release of Prisoners" was referred to but was not released.

The "Record" noted that the parties had commenced the process of identification, and recorded the government view that everyone who had committed similar offences but had not been charged should be dealt with on the same basis.

— Sapa.

Chris Bateman in London

MERCURY  
1 October 1992

## Top ANC men knew about camp torture, says ex-guerilla

**T**HE SPECTRE of murder and torture of ANC guerillas who fell foul of their own security officers at training camps in Angola and Mozambique will be raised again in London next week when a leading former guerilla arrives.

Mr Mwezi Twala, a senior military commander who trained in the former Soviet Union before falling out with ANC leadership over "internal democracy and abuse of power," will be hosted here by the right-wing International Freedom Foundation, IFF.

Now leader of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee (Recoc), Mr Twala names MK leader Joe Modise, ANC president Oliver Tambo, SACP hardliner Chris Hani and NEC member Julius Mokoena as either witnessing or being aware of the large-scale torture and detention of cadres.

At least six former ANC cadres who fled imprisonment in ANC camps have been granted official asylum in Sweden and still await answers to their charges of murder, beatings and corruption.

Twala claims to have spent five years in ANC prisons, four of them in the infamous Quatro camp in Angola, undergoing beatings, a shooting and interrogation.

He is expected to detail MK trainee participation in the Mozambican and Angolan wars and to make allegations of large-scale drug smuggling and stolen car sales networks in the ANC leadership in Lusaka.

He claims the "Khmer Rouge methods" were most popular with "Mbokodo" — the ANC's youthful security wing — in training camps between 1978 and 1988.

According to the IFF, Mr Twala will hold a series of private meetings with British Foreign Office officials, MPs, human rights organisations and a "fringe" group of the Conservative Party Conference during his stay.

● Spokesmen for the International Red Cross in Geneva and Pretoria have said that the ANC had agreed in principle for their organisation to visit ANC camps in Uganda and Tanzania. However "technical details" were still being worked out. This was reliably understood to mean appointing liaison officers to deal with the Ugandan and Tanzanian governments.

The Red Cross could only "visit people, see what's happening and assist them," and had no mandate to probe the truth or otherwise of the allegations, the spokesmen emphasised.

## Freed ANC murderer fears 'hit squads'

CITIZEN 28 Sept  
1992

Mr Tefo Fetlaba, one of nine prisoners released from Leeuwkop Prison's maximum security wing on Saturday morning, said he and his compatriots feared becoming targets of "hit squads and the Askaris" and would have to be watchful as they adapted to conditions beyond prison walls.

Mr Fetlaba, sentenced to death in the Eastern Cape in 1986 for murder and public violence, was reprieved in February last year and given a 20-year prison sentence instead.

He said on Saturday

afternoon from an African National Congress "workshop" in a central Johannesburg hotel he was told of his impending release from prison on Friday shortly before noon.

He said there were 29 prisoners at Leeuwkop still awaiting release.

Those released from the prison on Saturday comprised six members of the ANC Youth League, and three Congress of South African Trade Unions-affiliated union members.

Mr Fetlaba said his im-

mediate concern was how to adapt to life outside prison.

"Since we have been in prison for such a long time we have had to consult our leaders who will tell us what to do. The situation outside is so volatile, and we don't know if we'll be targets for hit squads and the Askaris."

— Sapa.

# Govt 'soft' in its dealings with ANC

Mercury 8 October 1992

THE Inkatha Freedom Party would never allow South Africans to be sentenced to a future of authoritarian repression and socialist stagnation, IFP central committee member and KwaZulu deputy minister of Works Velaphi Ndlovu said here yesterday.

Addressing the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, he accused the Government of not showing backbone in its dealings with the ANC, and said the story of negotiations so far had been for the ANC to make demands and for the National Party Government to meet them.

Mr Ndlovu said in spite of reassuring rhetoric to its constituency, the NP was "timid" and seemed "very frightened of rocking the boat" with the ANC, which for its part did not pull any punches.

What was particularly galling to the IFP was that the ANC and NP could make bilateral decisions on traditional weapons, which were responsible for perhaps 2% of deaths, while the ANC's maintenance of its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK), was left unchallenged.

Mr Ndlovu accused MK of being responsible for "a huge

## Pietermaritzburg Bureau

number" of political murders, especially in Natal where the ANC, a minority party in the region, was "simply pushing for a military solution to the opposition it faces".

He added that, in contravention of the Pretoria Minute and DF Malan Accord, the ANC was continuing to recruit, train and arm supporters and build underground structures with the Government's knowledge.

Mr Ndlovu called on the ANC to drop its "all power at all costs" approach and not make it difficult for all parties to participate in negotiations.

"They must also stop their objections to a constitution that tries to share power among interest groups in a practical and tested way — which aims to prevent the country ever again falling prey to authoritarianism, repression and stagnation."

● Nearly 400 IFP members and supporters have been killed in attacks since mid-September last year, Mr Ndlovu said. The highest death toll was in April when 79 people died violently.

# Govt, ANC meet in hideaway

The Star 1 December 1992

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

Top negotiators of the Government and the ANC will retire to a secret northern Transvaal hideaway today for an intense three-day "bosberaad" aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, on a visit to Lebowa, yesterday reiterated the ANC's belief that the two parties would be able to announce a date for the country's first democratic elections after the "bosberaad".

The two teams — Cabinet ministers on the one side and top ANC officials on the other — will spend virtually all their waking hours between tomorrow and Friday trying to regain the rapport that has been lost this year.

The discussions will centre

on the managing of the transition process, and differing timetables for an interim government. Other specifics will include ways of restarting multiparty negotiations, and the structuring of a constitution-making body and an interim government.

Debate on the structuring and functioning of a Transitional Executive Council — which will supervise the run-up to elections for a government of national unity — is expected to form an important part of the meeting. Joint control of the security forces could be discussed under this agenda.

ANC allegations about security force covert operations are likely to be discussed under the official agenda topic of creating a climate for free political activity.

Surprisingly, the two parties have agreed not to discuss political violence and

the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Government has been at pains to stress that the "bosberaad" will not make agreements binding on other parties — fearing it could further alienate parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Both the Government and ANC point out that it is necessary for them to thrash out differences between themselves before these are discussed in a multiparty forum — to avoid the danger of another collapse of negotiations like Codesa 2.

However, the ANC sees the purpose of the "bosberaad" as getting the Government to accept co-responsibility for driving the transition process.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will head the delegations.

# ANC march on Bop: Mangope appeals to the UN

JOHANNESBURG — As biting comments continued to fly yesterday between the South African authorities and the African National Congress over Monday's Bisho massacre, the next target of the anti-homelands campaign, Bophuthatswana, went to the world's highest forum to prevent bloodshed during a march scheduled for today.

In a letter to the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said his government will not allow lives and property to be threatened.

The direct intent of toppling any administration, he said, was in violation of the spirit and content of the National Peace Accord, which was signed on September 14 last year.

But as Bophuthatswana's leadership held out an olive branch to prevent a recurrence of the violence in Bisho, Ciskei, the war of words continued between the government and the ANC.

SA Army Chief Lieutenant-General George Meiring charged yesterday that the ANC's military wing, Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK), intended to assassinate Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Meiring said his reports indicated MK's Chief of Operations, Lambert Moloi, was expected to arrive in the Eastern Cape yesterday to co-ordinate planning and activities in the area.

Meiring said his information indicated that weapons, including small arms and a

122 mm rocket launcher, and Ciskei police and military uniforms, were being stockpiled.

He further expressed concern at reports that MK members from the PWV area, Transkei, and self-defence units from Motherwell, New Brighton, KwaZakhele and Cradock had been sent to the Ciskei area to initiate violence.

But MK chief-of-staff Siphiwe Nyanda described Meiring's statements as "absolute nonsense".

The Ciskei carnage continued to have severe reverberations.

Lawyers for Human Rights yesterday said it would seek an order of contempt of court in the Bisho Supreme Court against members of the Ciskei's defence and police forces.

Meanwhile, Wednesday, September 16 has been set as a tentative date for the funeral of the victims of Monday's massacre. A final announcement will be made tomorrow.

The ANC also said it was planning a consumer boycott targeting Bisho for next week.

Meanwhile police have found an arms cache in the ANC Youth League offices in King William's Town, and believe two of the R4 rifles found were stolen from Ciskei Defence Force members, according to reports yesterday. — Sapa.

SIMON BARBER in Washington

## ANC looks for US support

THE ANC has summoned its American supporters to discuss the kinds of political and economic help they should be providing — once an interim government is installed and the ANC drops its call for sanctions.

ANC President Nelson Mandela and other senior movement officials will be outlining their "A Programme of Action for the 90s" at a major conference of civil rights, church, union and other activist groups next month in New York.

The gathering, timed to coincide with the UN General Assembly's annual debate on SA, will feature workshops on education, housing, health care, worker rights, land reform, constitutional issues and foreign investment.

"A particular focus of each workshop will be the organisation of constituent groups to advocate support for US foreign policies that will provide aid and material assistance in each issue area," the invitation states.

There is no mention of sanctions. Sources close to the World Bank, which is helping the ANC and its affiliates think through economic strategies for the post-apartheid era, believe the meeting may be an important turning point.

A spokesman for the ANC's Washington office, Madoda Hlatshwayo, said the decision to hold the conference was taken at the ANC's policy conference in May. Similar sessions are to be held in Europe and Asia.

The conference is to be held at Riverside Church. The list of sponsors is a veritable who's who of the US anti-apartheid movement, ranging from New York Mayor David Dinkins, the AFL-CIO, the NAACP and the Episcopal Church and members of the Congressional Black Caucus through such lesser known entities as the Patrice Lumumba Coalition. the Patrice Lumumba Coalition.

## Born in the RSA

I refer to Mr Sianyoni's "Cronje could be sent back to Zim if he opposes the march" (Letters, September 16):

● If Mr Sianyoni wants to "repatriate" Minister Cronje, he should consider his place of birth, Swartruggens, 20 km from the Bophuthatswana border, rather than Zimbabwe.

● Mr Rowan Cronje is a naturalised citizen of Bophuthatswana, at present the only country in southern Africa where racism, be it white on black, or the reverse, just does not exist, and we have been hammering the same point for the last 15 years, namely: "Development first, politics later".

T M Setiloane  
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information

Mmabatho,  
Bophuthatswana

## Other than that . . .

It is with immense disappointment that one looks at the state of the world and sees that the whole place is full of lies, deceit, cheating, warmongering, heresy, backstabbing, greed, aggression, fraud, hoarding, corruption, theft, selfishness, incompetence and destruction; and that only covers the Church, big business and governments.

G Thorpe  
Randburg

The massacre at Bisho was a foregone conclusion. In fact, I

Mtunzini

M F Blatchford

As The Star rightly hinted, Gqozo and the Ciskei Defence Force have murdered 28 people and assaulted over 180 more with intent to kill.

In any sane court they would all end up with life imprisonment. Instead the media blames the ANC (which is, of course, a puppet of the Communist Party and Kasrils). Anyone trying to walk through a town without written permission deserves to be shot. This rubbish is spewed out to protect Gqozo, because behind him is De Klerk.

If one is not to submit to murderous, lawless dictators one must protest. Peaceful protest is best, and so 50 000 brave people marched to show their hatred of an abominable regime.

Their blood was not yet dry when journalists began jeering at the victims and at the ANC which they supported, while De Klerk and his disgusting clique strove to discredit the ideal of freedom in Ciskei by backing Gqozo to the hilt.

M F Blatchford

suspect that if there had not been a massacre, the ANC would have considered the march a failure. One can hardly overlook the obvious: when the ANC needs a rallying point, ANC supporters get killed.

There is a third force. It is within the ANC and operates with the full approval of the leadership. We only have to think back to the Boipatong massacre and ask who stood to gain. Only the ANC.

Their mass action campaign was starting to flop and . . . Boipatong revives it. Boipatong — and now Bisho — were just too convenient to be spontaneous. The whole Boipatong incident was just too pat, complete with over-talkative Zulus — whom nobody recognises, although they live and work together — Casspirs, white men in balacavas and witnesses able to recall clearly rehearsed details.

Thea de Vos

Pretoria

□ □ □

One must distinguish between the deaths at Bisho and the recent killings of innocent Inkatha supporters in Natal.

That the Zulus, who have been blamed by the ANC for a

great many atrocities, should suffer their loss unprovoked and in the course of daily life at home, is that much more deplorable.

The Zulus mourn their dead and find that they live in constant awareness of the ANC's intention to destroy the harmony that used to embody the proud spirit of the Zulu nation. The Zulus' rightful demands to be respected as significant players in the future South Africa are still overshadowed by the wealthy ANC's lust for control — at all costs.

Give the Zulus the funds to campaign against the ANC and there will be no contest. Let's level the playing fields.

John T Freeman

Johannesburg

□ □ □

This morning (September 15) eight Inkatha supporters travelling on a bakkie in Natal were shot dead by a group of uniformed men armed with AK-47s and Makarov pistols.

Visuals of the scene made the evening TV news, but although the killing happened well within The Star's time, all it merited there was a two-inch report at the bottom of page 1, which carefully avoided mentioning any possible ANC involvement. Had the victims been ANC

Kensington,  
Johannesburg

The initial short report, on the day of the killings, was followed by a much larger (30cm) report the following day, when more facts became available. — Editor.

M Williams

members, and had they been killed with pangas or assegais, I have no doubt at least half of your front page would have been devoted to the incident.

Your editorial columns would have been screaming for the violence to stop and for the Government to ban traditional weapons. If your past performance is any guide, there probably won't be any editorial comment, and you won't label AK-47s and Makarovs as traditional ANC weapons. Which they are.

The international community won't even comment on the incident, and you won't find this strange. Why should you? You have never bothered to condemn the killing of IFP members as strongly as you did the Ciskei killings, or Boipatong.

It is The Star's proud boast that it tells it like it is. May I suggest The Star start doing just that or change its motto to: "The Star tells it like the ANC says it should."

# ANC followers Sowetan 3 July 1992 heckle NP MP

**A MEETING of the Hillbrow and Jeppe branches of the National Party in Johannesburg was disrupted this week when ANC and PAC supporters heckled the NP MP for Jeppe Mr Hennie Bekker.**

The meeting became rowdy shortly after it began on Wednesday evening when Bekker called for a moment's silence for those killed in the ongoing violence around the country.

A speaker, however, insisted that those who had died in the "apartheid struggle" be included.

The request was agreed to, which led to the spontaneous singing of Nkosi Sikelel i' Afrika.

Allegations that President FW de Klerk was a "Nazi", the NP were murderers and that the Government had stolen billions of rands of public funds were thrown around.

After the NP won a motion of confidence from 56 percent of the audience, the ANC and PAC supporters walked out.

"It was clear the hecklers were not interested in debate but attended with the purpose of disrupting the meeting. They, however, got a surprise when they failed to get their way to end the meeting in chaos," Bekker said afterwards.

## Government, ANC meet to prepare for talks

SATURDAY NEWS

12 SEPTEMBER 1992  
MARTIN CHALLENGOR Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's key political negotiators, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the African National Congress, are expected to meet early next week to prepare for a round of talks between delegations led by President de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The delegations could meet towards the end of next week.

In a statement yesterday, President de Klerk said he welcomed Mr Mandela's "acceptance of my invitation to a

meeting to discuss violence".

"What is now of critical importance — and what our country and its people demand of us — is that we should meet as urgently as possible."

Additional issues raised by the ANC could also be placed on the agenda of the meeting.

"Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa can now give attention to the determination of a date, the arrangements for the meeting, the agenda and other related preparations," President de Klerk said.

Meanwhile, National Party sources said all NP MPs were to hold a caucus meeting in the Eastern Transvaal this weekend. This would give President de Klerk a chance to brief them on the latest developments in negotiations.

President de Klerk could seek caucus backing for the tough, dramatic decisions he has to take to restart negotiations.

This could include releasing about 380 political prisoners, an ANC precondition to constitutional talks. The ANC says it

is now limiting itself to discussing ways to curb political violence.

The ANC's decision for President de Klerk and Mr Mandela to meet is a setback to hardline South African Communist Party elements in the ANC who wanted nothing to do with negotiations, preferring to put their faith in mass action in the hopes of toppling all the governments in South Africa.

The meeting between President de Klerk and Mr Mandela would be their first since Codesa 2 in May.

# Viljoen questions ANC commitment

STATE Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen has questioned the African National Congress' commitment to agreements reached prior to the deadlock at Codesa, the country's constitutional negotiations forum.

In the monthly RSA Policy Review, Dr Viljoen said while a Codesa III would undoubtedly take place, he was unsure whether the tripartite ANC alliance would keep

to agreements reached during the first and second plenary sessions.

"During and after the deadlock an impression was created by certain spokespersons of the ANC alliance that the negotiation process was back to square one.

"However, during the bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC after the deadlock, the government got the clear impression that the points on which the various working groups had reached consensus would remain valid and would not have to be negotiated anew."

He also feared the ANC, South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions would "return to the streets" — a reference to the alli-

ance's mass action campaign — every time it encountered problems at the negotiation table.

"It is a real possibility, but it would be contrary to the spirit of negotiations."

Dr Viljoen was nevertheless confident that compromises would be reached at future negotiations.

"We will have to.

"I believe that the ANC alliance at present advocates its oversimplified definition of democracy as a simple majority government simply because it wishes to obtain all the power.

"However, the argument for a democracy in which more parties share in the power is so logical and healthy that it should get the upper hand in the debate." — Sapa.

## Business Day COMMENT

### 21 October 1992 ANC skeletons

**T**HE REPORT on ANC detention camps unambiguously spells out the sickening truth that the organisation's "struggle" against apartheid has been fought using methods as immoral and as brutal as those of the "regime" it sought to overthrow.

The ANC in exile operated at times as a quasi-governmental organisation, with administrative and judicial powers over large geographical areas, and individuals. In its handling of these powers it can be counted among the worst offenders in the world as far as its neglect or deliberate contravention of human rights were concerned. The report raises serious questions about whether the ANC can be trusted with the levers of formal power. And any attempt to excuse the abuses by referring to the difficult conditions of the times, as Nelson Mandela's statement hints at, only increases the seriousness of these questions as we head for more difficult times.

The three authors of the report deserve credit for the job they have done. They did not pull any punches on the detail of the abuses, and went so far as to acknowledge that their own credibility was at issue, given that two of them were ANC members. But this, and the ANC's preparedness to expose the shocking report, are mitigating factors in this sorry affair.

True, this gives the ANC a marginal moral edge over the government. The public still awaits a credible explanation of the deaths in detention of Steve Biko, Neil Ag-

gett and dozens more, and the numerous out-of-court financial settlements to detainees who had alleged torture, not to mention the murders of Griffiths Mxenge, David Webster, Matthew Goniwe and others.

But the ANC still has a long way to go before it can claim moral superiority. The notion of collective leadership responsibility, as expressed so far, is purely symbolic. The words were spoken by Mandela, and we know that he and others in prison were not responsible for these horrors. Nor were the present ANC leaders who operated in South Africa. It is the leadership of the time — Oliver Tambo, Jacob Zuma, Joe Slovo, Chris Hani and Alfred Nzo, to mention some of the more familiar names — who really bear that type of responsibility.

Hani, Tambo and Slovo tried with varying degrees of success to halt excesses. Nevertheless, they remain obliged to ensure that justice is done, and is seen to be done. The victims must be compensated, as the report suggests. In an ideal world, each and every identifiable culprit would be returned to the country in which the crimes were committed to face trial.

The very least that can be expected of the ANC is that — after due process before the recommended, independent body — the culprits be publicly identified, expelled from the ANC and blacklisted to ensure that none is ever employed in a government service in which the ANC has a role.

# IOC man slates ANC sports call

ABIDJAN. — Ivory Coast's representative on the International Olympic Committee yesterday compared calls for South Africa's withdrawal from the Barcelona Games to blackmail and hostage-taking.

Louis Guirandou-N'Diaye expressed "surprise" at the calls by

Black nationalist movements in protest at unchecked political violence in South Africa.

"These are political reasons on which the IOC cannot make a judgment," he said, adding that the invitation to South Africa to take part in next month's Games after 30 years of exclusion was the fruit of exhaustive deliberations.

"It is sad that athletes were penalised for so long. It is sad that they are exposed again today to blackmail, what I would call hostage-taking."

Africa's top Olympics official, Senegal's IOC

vice-president Keba Mbaye, declined to comment on the calls from the ANC and other Black movements.

The ANC call for a renewed sports boycott risks trying the patience of international sporting bodies, a senior sports official said yesterday.

"Sports organisations cannot take a hasty decision this week," said Mr Mluleki George, vice-president of the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA).

"We're dealing with the international community and we cannot call

TO PAGE 2

s Friend  
today

## ANC wants transfers of public land frozen

THE African National Congress yesterday called for an immediate moratorium on the sale and transfer of public land until an interim government was in place.

In addition, the movement warned it will not consider itself to be bound to honour any such transactions if the ANC came to power.

"Pretoria's recent agreements to transfer 380 000 hectares of land to the control of Lebowa and 52 000 hectares to the control of Qwa-Qwa is a reversion to the apartheid policy of Bantustan consolidation," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a media conference in Johannesburg.

In taking unilateral decisions to transfer the South African Development Trust land to the two homelands, the government inhibited any co-operative efforts to resolve the "difficult but explosive issues of landlessness, homelessness and rural poverty", Mr Ramaphosa added.

Much of the land to be transferred had been identified in the government's White Paper of Land Reform to provide the basis of settlement for emergent farmers, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the transfers were "extremely disingenuous in light of ongoing negotiations dealing with the re-incorporation of the 10 bantustans into South Africa".

The transfers were also an abuse of a number of issues central to South Africa's negotiations process, including the debate around second-tier government and an abuse of minority power by "reinforcing discredited institutions whose future is a matter for negotiations", he said.

Mr Ramaphosa also accused the government of trying to buy or reward political support for the National Party's policy of regionalism/federalism.

A recent spate of urban land disinvestments by

state departments, local authorities and some parastatal organisations had the real possibility of pre-empting the process of reconstruction of the country's urban areas in a non-racial and socially integrative way. — Sapa.

## ANC official sent to jail in Zimbabwe for selling house

BULAWAYO — A veteran official of the ANC based in Zimbabwe has been sent to jail for 2½ years for selling the house allocated to him by the organisation in the western city of Bulawayo and keeping the money.

Bulawayo regional magistrate Wilbert Mapombere also heard that Blackie Daniel Molefe sold the house in the city's Entumbane township for Z\$18 000 (about R10 000) when it was valued at Z\$30 000 (R17 000).

Molefe pleaded not guilty on Monday to the

charge of theft by conversion, but evidence led said the house had been bought in 1984 by the ANC and was registered in Molefe's name, pending the formation of a trust to administer the organisation's legal affairs.

The trust was formed last year, but administrators discovered that the house was no longer in Molefe's name, but had been sold.

Molefe was described as having been involved in the ANC's activities for the last 27 years.

# THE CITIZEN COMMENT

## Torture

THE report of an ANC-appointed commission into ANC detention camps in Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and Uganda makes shocking reading.

The notorious Quatro camp in Angola is described by victims as a concentration camp. They were "denigrated, humiliated and abused, often with staggering brutality," says the report.

It was a place characterised by "violence for the sake of violence".

The commission details how detainees were mercilessly beaten for hours on end until they confessed to "crimes" to end torture.

The commission notes that the use of torture violated the ANC's own code of conduct.

It reports that those detained at Quatro were held without trial for long periods under shocking physical conditions and were denied adequate health treatment.

Quatro, where men suspected of spying for the "apartheid regime" were detained, was the worst of the ANC's internment centres, but the other camps were also bad.

Only one man is named — Mzwai Piliso, the head of the ANC's department of intelligence and security until 1987, who admitted to the beating of suspects in 1981, saying it was justified on the basis that he wanted information "at any cost".

But the report emphasises that other people against whom allegations of brutality have been levelled are currently employed by the ANC in its security department.

The commission was clearly handicapped by its composition — two of the three lawyers have links with the ANC. Some former detainees would not testify before it because it was regarded as "tame" and biased.

It has recommended the establishment of an "independent structure" charged with the responsibility of investigating all allegations of disappearances and murder.

"Unless the ANC is prepared to take decisive action, the risk of a repetition will forever be present. The best formula for prevention is to ensure that the perpetrators of brutality are brought to account."

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, questioned about the identity and whereabouts of these officials, fell back on the lame excuse that the independent structure had been recommended "to look precisely into the question".

"It is not possible for us now to indicate the names of those who have been mentioned."

We don't know why. After all, the commission named them — and their names should not have been excised from the report.

ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said: "The ANC has taken a courageous step in establishing a commission to investigate what we did in the past and baring it to the public."

"There is going to be a follow-up investigation to look into allegations that have been put forward and which have been tied to certain individuals in the ANC."

"If one puts that against what the government has done about past and present atrocities, the ANC is head and shoulders above the government."

We doubt it.

The ANC set up the inquiry only after persistent allegations by former inmates of the camps, including returning exiles, and growing international pressure.

It should have appointed a totally independent commission from the start.

The only saving grace is that the ANC leadership has accepted ultimate responsibility "for not adequately monitoring and eradicating the abuses".

The commission stresses the need for the ANC to "cleanse its own ranks of those responsible for acts of brutality", adding: "No person who is guilty of committing atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume a position of power".

The ANC should disclose the names and rid itself of these people, or be accused of covering up for their misdemeanours.

Whatever happens, the spectre of Quatro and the other camps will haunt it for years to come.

## Probe of ANC camps welcomed

Citizen Reporter

THE International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) yesterday greeted the establishment of the independent Douglas Commission of Enquiry into ANC detention centres as a "welcome breakthrough and an excellent initiative".

In a letter to the International Freedom Foundation in Johannesburg, the ISHR also promised

every possible co-operation with the enquiry, and is urging former detainees to come forward and present their stories.

The ISHR urged the ANC to co-operate with the enquiry as a prelude to the establishment of democracy in South Africa and to provide lists and records that they are known to be holding to Mr Douglas.

## Details of the R50m donated to ANC

JOHANNESBURG: The Swedish Embassy has given details of its previously secret funding to the African National Congress. It amounts to about R50 million for the 12 months ending in June this year.

As with all Swedish aid programmes in South Africa for this period (R110m in total), the focus was on assisting the democratic process, and development and education for the victims of apartheid, said an embassy spokesman in Pretoria on Friday.

In particular, Sweden is assisting ANC efforts in the negotiations process, and ANC educational projects, the spokesman said.

Over the next two years Sweden's total South African aid package will be trimmed because of financial constraints.

Also, some aspects of ANC support are already being phased down, said the spokesman. This includes bursaries and support for students abroad who are due to return home, and students finishing studies inside South Africa.

There will be bigger cuts in ANC aid once the democratic process produces elections or a new constitution, the spokesman said.—Daily News Correspondent

## ANC bid to calm storm over IRA

The African National Congress moved yesterday to defuse controversy around claims that its president Nelson Mandela supported the Irish Republican Army's campaign against mainland Britain in an interview with musician Bob Geldof.

In the interview about 18 months ago, Mandela is said to have told Geldof: "The IRA is conducting a struggle for self-de-

termination.

"They do not want Britain, a foreign country, to run a colony in Northern Ireland."

Mandela's purported statements have incensed many elements in Northern Ireland, with Dublin's Lord Mayor Gay Mitchell charging that the IRA was merely a terrorist group.

In a move to deflect criticism, the ANC said in a statement that Man-

dela was expressing "longstanding support for a tradition deeply embedded in the struggle of the people of South Africa of support for struggles for freedom".

"Historically, the Irish people have enjoyed a special place in the affection of the oppressed people of South Africa.

"At no stage has this been construed as support for the IRA," said the ANC. — Sapa.