CrT{?-fN TOCToRER a9y

## - THE CITIZEN

COMMENT Empty talk

NE thing about ANC president Nelson Manla â\200\224 he never inquires too deeply into the human rights records of the leaders on whom he bestows his commendations and \_\_\_ friendship.

Thus Yasser Arafat is embraceable, even
- though his Palestine Liberation Organisation
was a leader of international terrorism.
- Thus he can embrace Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader, who is a backer of
- international terrorism.;
His support for President Fidel Castro has also
~ not endeared him to those Americans, including Cuban exiles, who consider the Cuban leader a Communist dictator.

This week Mr Mandela has been given a welcome in Beijing befitting a head of state, or

. atleasta head-of-state-inâ\200\224waiting.

But Mr Mandela was very careful to avoid upsetting his hosts, who backed the ANC in its armed struggle but whose human rights re-

\_\_cord is abysmal, the brutal crushing of the democracy movement in Tiananmen Square in 1989 being a case in point.

Asishiswont, MrMandelastl'&ssedtheim- , portance of promoting democratic reforms

and personal freedoms in South A frica.

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

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

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

Mr Chris Hani, the SACPâ\200\231s secretary-general, played a leading role in organising the Bisho march and one of his top lieutenants, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, led the break through a security fence gap at the Bisho stadium that resulted in the maracm in which 29 people died.

Since more than half of the  $ANCa^200^231s$  National Executive Committee are Communists, the SACP plays an inordinately powerful role in the affairs of the ANC. i

Mr Mandela, on the other hand, is seemingly the epitome of a democrat  $\hat{a}\200\224$  when he is not calling State President De Klerk names or threatening not to do this or that if his organisation  $\hat{a}\200\231$ s demands are not met.

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

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

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

The presence of United Nations monitors and the National Peace Secretariat will help to

- ensure the marches will take place without

violent incident, he says.

Since the leaders of the National Peace Secretariat were at Bisho, and could do no more than dive for cover when the soldiers opened fire, we have no faith in their ability to avert any bloodshed in Ulundi and Bophuthatswana.  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$ 

As for the UN observers, we doubt whether they can do anything more than the UN monitors have been able to do in Yugoslavia.

That means they wonâ\200\231t be able to stop the violence. -

All Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s calls for democracy, personal freedom, freedom of speech and so on are for nought when people like Mr Hani do as they please. = -:

We donâ\200\231t want mere words from Mr Mandela.

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

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

"D%&tes from the In-

ternational Committee

of the Red Cross intend °

â\200\230dropping in unannounced on police stations to visit detainees, taking the permission granted by Law and Order Minister
Hernus Kriel to its fullest extent, ICRC spokes—
— man Nic Sommers said
'yesterday. .1 M@

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

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

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

Sommers said he could not comment on conditions in prisons as ICRC findings were confiden-

~ tial and the reports were

handed only to the authorities, with recommen-

dations for improve' ments where necessary.

Although the ICRC would visit all prisoners, the organisation would concentrate on people held on unrest-related charges and in police

cells in unrest areas. The visits would be on a

basis, he said.

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

Although the ICRC would liaise with the retired magistrates who are to be appointed by Kriel to monitor condi-

tions in police detention, it would not make its

findings available to them, Sommers said.

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234The reports will go:

only to the authorities.â\200\235
Human Rights Commission figures say 99
people have died in police custody this year.
@ A criminal suspect,
John Cele of R93 Umlazi,
committed suicide at the
Umlazi police station,
south of Durban, yesterday, police reported.

Troops go

if routes
are open

HARARE â\200\224 President Robert Mugabe said yes—terday a withdrawal of Zimbabwean troops from Mozambique was conditional on Mozambican rebels halting attacks on trade routes essential for his landlocked country.

He added:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ We would  $\hat{a}\200\230$  be happy to withdraw  $\hat{a}\200\230$ but obviously we do expect that there won $\hat{a}\200\231$ t be an{ $\hat{a}\200\230$ further attacks. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

MAPUTO â\200\224 Tens of thousands of Maputo residents greeted Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano yesterday when he returned home after signing a peace agreement with the Renamo

rebels. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

â\200\230Agricultural bodies reduced

EAST LONDON â\200\224 South African farmers could be | operating under a single . Department of Agricul-

ture by November 1, °

Minister of Agriculture Dr Kraai van Niekerk said yesterday.

Speaking at the National Partyâ\200\231s Cape congress, he said there were 14 departments of agriculture at present.

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234We are busy moving

FW slams ANC over mass action campaign

ing as totally unsatisfae-

@ From Page 1

Nthreat to prohibit marches.:
laws in South Africa that determine whether certain types of actions are acceptable or not. It is not the Governmentâ\200\231s political palate that determines what is acceptable.â\200\230 able,â\200\235 Macozoma said.

In his speech De Klerk implied that the ANC had not honoured its undertaking  $\hat{a}\200\224$  given at the

summit on violence  $\hat{a}\200\224$  to

review its programme of mass action.

â\200\234Everyone understood

 $\tilde{\ }$  that the ANC would re-

view its position.  $\hat{a}$ 200\234I regard their state-

- ments after the first ex ecutive committee meet-

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234There are

to one department of

agriculture ... hopefully from November 1 we can begin operating as one department.â\200\235

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

If it did not rain early this year, the carry-through effect would be even longer.  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 Sapa.

tory ... I cannot accept that a party involved in the negotiation process can say â\200\230I am marching to topple your governmentâ\200\231. Thatâ\200\231s not democracy.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is time for the real leaders of the ANC to discipline their grass-roots followers and regional and dissident radical voices in the top executive.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

 $a\200\230$  The Government  $a\200\231$  un-

 $a\200\230$ dertakings to prohibit

dangerous weapons in public and fence hostels would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently, he added.

The final responsibility for order lay with the

A song for the president

EAST LONDON  $a\200\224$  President de Klerk $a\200\231s$  praises were sung  $a\200\224$  literally  $a\200\224$  by a choir at the NP

Cape congress in East:

London yesterday. Shortly before the president addressed the congress, the Ashton-Robertson NP Youth Choir

sang a ditty.

Government, which would not shirk its duty.

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

â\200\234But we say â\200\230noâ\200\231 to that option because it is not in the national interest. It is not a sign of weakness to talk to your opponents. We will continue with bilateral and multilateral negotia-

tions. I give the assur-

ance that it is not our intention to exclude people in bilateral talks but the intention is to get everyone back to the negotiating table. â\200\230â\200\234Agreements reached

dreams come true,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235 ran the words.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Come true with the love of God above

In this new South | Africa.

For three years now you led the way

With reform and politics.

We wonâ\200\231t forget our loyalty

Towards our presz-dent. $\hat{a}\200\235$   $\hat{a}\200\224$  Sapa.

with the ANC were in\keeping with consensus reached at Codesa which the Inkatha Freedom
Party shared.â\200\235

 $\hat{A}$ ® The ANC $\hat{a}$ \200\231s western Cape region yesterday announced further protest action, including a march on Parliamentâ\200\235 coincide with its o q on Monday. However, earlier plans to  $a\200\234$ barricadeâ\200\235 Parliament were revised â\200\224 speakers at the march would rather repeat the call for an in-' terim government. = . @ Yesterday the Methodist Church of Southern Africa aggealed to the

ANC/SACP/Cosatu alli-  $\frac{3}{200}$  ance to call off its proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

arch to Parliament is
modified by ANC |

CAPE TOWN. ican National Conss secretary-general

Cyril Ramaphosa and

the South African

Communist Partyâ\200\231s

Ronnie Kasrils will

lead a mass march to

~ Parliament on October

12, leaders of the tri-

partite alliance an-

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

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

ANC Western Cape secretary Tony Yengeni said that following consultations with the movementâ\200\231s national leadership, it had been decided to cancel some aspects of the protest. This was because of progress made at last monthâ\200\231s summit between State President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mr Yengeni said the march was in protest against unilateral amendments to the constitution and other proposed legislation, including provis-

ions for a blanket amnes-

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The present Parliament has neither the legitimacy nor the moral right

to pass legislation that should by right be dealt with by an interim government or a properly-elected constituent assembly.â\200\235

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

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

assigned to the Western Cape.

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

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

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

h

DURBAN. â\200\224 The presints of the Pan African-

ist Congress and the Inka-

tha Freedom Party are to meet in Ulundi to discuss  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30$  political violence sweeping the country, PAC secretary ganoral Benny  $\hat{A} \ll A$  lexander said yesterday. Mr Alexander hinted

~ that tomorrowâ\200\231s meeting

see AN

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

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

However, the PAC had

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

~ sues.

\* From these two meetings, the PAC hoped to

PAC-IFP meeting ma
C summit:

PΑ

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This could lead to more open political activity between especially those two organisations and the oppressed in general.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

Questioned in a telephone interview on whether this could pave the way for a summit between the IFP and ANC leaders, Mr Alexander responded:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ It could pave the way for a meeting although that  $\hat{a}\200\231$ s not our specific and stated intention  $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

Mr Alexanderâ\200\231s remarks come in the wake of the ANC announcement on Monday night that its National Working Committee would favourably consider a meeting at presidential level with the IFP.

v Democratic
| Union will stage a separ' ate march on Parliament

nue back to the Parade  $\hat{a}\200\234$ to expose our marchers to other parts of the city $\hat{a}\200\235$ , according to ANC regional assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr.

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

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

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

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

The South African Teachersâ\200\231

renaming

on the same day to protest against the alleged unilateral restructuring in education. â\200\224 Sapa.

ower Stru

catalyst

: UST before the referendum Our economy reflects this lack I wrote in a newspaper article that â\200\234after a Yes vote on March 17, nothing could be as awesome as the resistance to Xhosa/ANC hegemony by the numerically superior Zulus who ... \:lilll never accept ANC/SACP

Apart from everything else that has gone awry since the Yes vote was cast, the core problem â\200\224 the jostling for power in a post-February 1990 South Africa â\200\224 remains, and this struggle has now become the catalyst for the destructive conflict now enveloping South Africa. It is strange that F W de Klerk refuses to acknowledge this fact, and that aâ\200\231 uni state under an ANC government can. never survive.

Even liberal whites are having second thoughts about an ANC takeover: the organisation has shown its true colours these past

brave words from our captains of commerce and industry who funded the Yes campaign. -

An HSRC survey revealed that - only a small percentage of whites are prepared to live under an ANC regime, yet the Government beseeches the ANCâ\200\231s presence at the negotiating table, and pays a heavy price for this in concessions.

Millions of blacks have borne the brunt of ANC coercion, and self-governing and independent states are the victims of the  $ANC\hat{a}\200\231s$  march to power. One can

numerous experts to stop the violence consuming our country.

De Klerk talks of federalism as the new panacea for a shattered

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South _Africa. Others talk of re-
gionalism as a reluctant sop to the
> diversity of les in this part of
months and confidence in the NP\hat{a}\200\231s the worl):i. lel,te(f)gderalism dges ngt
new South Africa has understand- address the crux of the dilemma:
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Bisho,
t to Codesa with the
a\200\234democratically elect-
liament must have'
The Governmentâ\200\231s regular ca-!
one unnoticed in
What must be done now? Every
a\200\234effort must be made to stop the:
tracks. The De Klerk administra-
mistaken idea that there really
would be round-table discussions
about the future of this country.
An alternative forum must be
created as a substitute to t
@® Treurnicht is leader of the
Conservative Party
Klerk \hat{a} \ 200 \ 231s agreement with the A
eda^{200} constituent assembly to
naively believed he w_ould consu
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has not g Mmabatho and to allow a been the last straw NP/ANC/SACP alliance supporters but it has those who wen

failed Codesa,

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of faith in the future, despite

thus understand the inability of

desire of peoples to be with their own.

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

Unless a future constitutional dispensation addresses the problems of ethnicity and self-determination, it is a waste of time and a recipe for discord. In a federal or regional South Africa, whites will still be unable to rule themselves. Although the proposed regions appear to be demarcated

.along ethnic ndtional lines, whites

will have nothing of their own. The Conservative Party believes in economic interdependence and political independence, a system similar to the European Community where trade and aid are interchangeable. We cannot, however, subscribe to a policy where the central government has

the real power and where regional autonomy is only as autonomous as the central administration permits. This is not independence, and the growing unease in Europe about subsuming national political and monetary power to a central administration in Brussels is one reason why the Maastricht Treaty could be a â\200\234dead letterâ\200\235, as one British journalist put it.

Confederation or a commonwealth of independent sovereign states allows peoples to govern themselves while interacting with each other within the limits which each one of them has set. In other words, a KwaZulu or a Bophuthathatswana government within a South African confederation maintains control over its own budget, its schools, its culture, its security forces. If it so desires, it may â\200\224 in conjunction with other nations in the region â\200\224 decide to allow matters such as

transport systems, economic con-

cerns or foreign affairs to be handled by a central structure which

"OPINIONâ\204¢ 7. =32 7 Ociv8er /992

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

gole is the

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

The fear of losing oneâ\200\231s power base, of being swamped by another nation, of disappearing from the face of history is perhaps the most important reason why the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and QwaQwa have withdrawn from negotiations with the Government.

. They see their sovereignty being taken away by virtue of the bilateral and prescriptive agreement recently signed by the ANC and the Government, and they

 $\hat{a}\200\230$  have done the most natural thing in the world. They have retreated to their heartlands and have said

they will defend their countries. The same sentiments are expressed by white patriots.

Add to this the relentless dis-

"honesty displayed by the National

Party over the past years (to their own voters as well as to other political forces) and we have a sure-

fiâ\200\230re recipe for conflict.

 $\ensuremath{\mbox{\$VVe}}\xspace_{\mbox{\mbox{\footnotesize CaIlIIOt}}}$  pretend that blame lies on one side only

JUDGING by the anger it has

aroused in some quarters, Dr

Anthea Jefferyâ\200\231s report, â\200\234Disinformation about Violence in South Africaâ\200\235, has struck home. In criticising it in The Star on September 22, Dennis Davis and Gilbert Marcus ignore Jefferyâ\200\231s explicit acknowledgement (on page 9 of her report) that Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) are not courts of law and that they may

legitimately therefore contend that they are not bound by rules of evidence and procedure.

Her report goes on, however, to make the point that in a volatile political climate  $a\200\234$ these organisations have an overarching responsibility to be circumspect, to hear and report both sides to conflict and to against accepting at face value allegations that have not been tested in any waya\200\235. Amnesty, the ICJ, and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) may indeed not be commissions of

Bavsy o g

Only the wilfully blind will take -

the view that the abuse of power " by the State, whether at Bisho or anywhere else, is the only cause of

violence, or indeed any longer

even the major one.

The physical war in South Africaâ\200\231s black communities is accompanied by a  $a\200\230$ propaganda war waged through the media. AS

Far from being â\200\234largely irrele-

\_vant and unhelpful in addressing the current problem of violenceâ\200\235, the institute is playing a vital role

in focusing public attention on as--

pects of violence too long hidden
\_beneath the
-smokescreen.

## disinformation

inquiry, but that does not absolve them of a general  $200\230$  responsibility to tell a;  $200\230$ ::ili202x of the whole truth as the, y can.

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

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

Jeffery points out that the HRC, Amnesty, and the ICJ are  $a^200^24$ fully justified in recording and criticising crimes committed by mem-

bers of the IFP or the SAP $\hat{a}\200\235$ . She \_

then points out that all three re-

ports ignore, inter alia:

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 $\boldsymbol{\hat{A}}\boldsymbol{\mathbb{B}}$  The ANCâ\200\231s refusal to disband

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solved unless its causes are fully analysed and understood, not hid-

den beneath reports which, pre-

tend that violence emanates only from one side. O j

® Kane-Berman is Executive '
Director of the South African

Institute of Race Relations.

- No problem can begin to be

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

Umkhonto we Sizwe or to surrender its secret arms caches;

 $\hat{\text{QA}}$  The ANC's refusal to desist from the establishment of town-ship  $\hat{\text{a}}200\234\text{self-defence}$  uni  $\hat{\text{a}}200\235$ , contrary to the provisions of the National Peace Accord;

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

@ The high number of IFP offi-

cials and members  $\hat{a}\200\224$  now allegedly totalling over 1000  $\hat{a}\200\224$  killed in recent years. et )

Davis and Marcus would have \

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

The Davis/Marcus article suggests that the Institute of Race Relations should formulate  $\hat{a}\200\234con$ 

structive suggestions ' to curb

abuse of power by the Stateâ $200\235$ . The instituteâ $200\231$ s record in exposing abuses of power by the State over decades is of course second to none. Our annual surveys  $220\224$  the

56th edition of which is now in.

preparation  $\hat{a}\200\224$  constitute a meticulous, factual and damning indictment of the apartheid system, unrivalled anywhere.

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

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

We also published a 262-page report entitled  $\hat{a}$ 200\234Riot : Perspective $\hat{a}$ \200\235,.  $\hat{A}$ \cong `

b SN,

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olicing in  $\label{eq:control_control} \begin{tabular}{ll} jchi\hat{A}^{\mbox{$\Psi$}} \begin{tabular}{ll} Jeffery also \\ . \begin{tabular}{ll} wrote and which was submitted to \\ \end{tabular}$ 

" the multinational panel set up by

the Goldstone Commission to advise on the lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa.

In presentations the institute is currently making about violence to a variety of audiences, we are urging specific steps to be taken with regard to the â\200\234riotâ\200\235 police, among them developing a specialised corps, removing the R-1 rifle from the police in crowd control, and making the Minister politically accountable for unlawful po-

- ~ lice behaviour.
- " However, we have also said that

demonstrators need to play their part in reducing the potential for conflict by adhering to a code of eonduct. : '

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

 $\hat{a}$ \200\230 rent violence. -

"No threat: Stoffel 1"

ALY R oo these o be re-

- ! conciled?â\200\235 :
- history of Inkatha and Dr Van der Merwe . Chief u) Bu- said, however, he found

thelez, there has been re- one of the mini-summitâ\200\231s

sistance to apartheid. On resolutions  $\hat{a}\200\224$  to discuss the other hand, the CPâ $\200\231s$  certain aspects with the history is one of trying to government  $a\200\224$  very en; . uphold apartheid. How couraging.

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THE Chief of the Bo-
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people could get hurt
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ANC insisted on con-
tinuing their plans to
march on Mmabatho
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na DEfence

Bophlï¬\202hatswa General JACK TURNER.

at the same time as a warming by State President De Klerk that the South

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

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

The ANC, in reamng to Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s statement, was adamant that they would in fact go ahead with the marches.

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

Dr Mangope said he objected strongly to the manner in which the agendas of certain organisations were being decided upon and implemented \( \frac{a}{200} \) 234behind closed doors \( \frac{a}{200} \) 235.

This feeling was echoed

by Brig Gqoza who said he had been utterly disappointed with the manner in which the South Afri-

can Government had  $a\200\234$  been been

cies and demands of the ANC/SA Communist Party allianceâ\200\235.

i

The moving force behind yesterdayâ\200\231s meeting,

â\200\234NFP president Mangosu-

thu Buthelezi, slated
President De Klerk for
what he called the appeasement of the ANC,
which would mean eventual ANC political dominance.
» â\200\230He said three of ANCâ\200\231s

A» a\200\230He said three of ANCa\200\231s ~1demand\$ â\200\224ion.the-issues

of violence, hostels and

selling us out to the poli-

Understandingâ\200\235 reached betweey. Mr De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on September 26, had been deliberately posed as an attack on the credibility and the integrity of the IFP.

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

â\200\234This would increasingly see decisions being taken and implemented by the South African Government and the ANC which exclude the input and agreement from the rest of the important players,â\200\235 he said.

Afrikaner Volksunie . leader Andries Beyers

said the presence of so

many political parties and organisations supporting the basic idea of self-determination accentuated

the reality that enduring -

and lasting peace in South Africa was not possible without the co-operation of these parties that valued one or other form of self-determination.

::: $\hat{a}$ 200\230.inflc; ,11hgcg ,,homeland $\hat{a}$ \200\230

JJeadersa é@f@;ég%%?;i@eif

support for a federal sys-

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

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

The delegation would also call on the government to stop the implementation of the â\200\234Record of Understandingâ\200\235 reached between the gov-

ernment and the ANC.

Answering questions, Chief Buthelezi said the forumâ\200\231s suggested scrapping of Codesa did not mean they intended to go back to square one, as many of the agreements reached during Codesa sittings could be built upon.

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

 $\hat{a}$ \200\234You must remember this meeting did not scrap

esa  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 that was done

â\200\234desa.â\200\235

hen the ANC sank Co- ,sol : enict: Logid . <Simply cannot be iggored

L 00 enist: Laogt Dr'Mangondâ\200\235 &id the

etback for FW X

s  $\hat{A}^{\circ}$  2 Summlt S cultural weapons  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 jn-cluded in the  $\hat{a}$ 200\234Record of

meeting would not consider itself bound to any legislation passed during the forthcoming session of Parliament, should the government proceed to table and pass such legislation without consulting the delegates to yesterdayâ\200\231s meeting.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday was  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ quite historical $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ , as it was the first time the CP had been exposed to discussions  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$  of this nature and at such a level $\hat{a} \geq 04$ .

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The discussions were frank and incisive and we have covered a lot of common ground. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

He said there were obviously terminological and cultural differences which could be discussed in a friendly and under-

standing manner, but the way had now been cleared for future discussions.

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The solid front now being forged and the united consensus displayed by 50 many different parties

in future anymore.

e Sipe, 7 OCioper, 12

RS

More light in «\_dark places

other overdue step towards open-

ing up a. previously closed society. Any moves which have the effect of clearing the way for investigation by reputable and objective agencies are moves in the right direction: so much that is shameful  $a\geq 0$  and  $a\leq 0$  and  $a\leq 0$  and  $a\leq 0$  and  $a\leq 0$  are moves in the right direction: so much that is shameful  $a\geq 0$  and  $a\leq 0$  and  $a\leq 0$  are not being repeated. e i

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has given permission to the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit cells unannounced  $a\200\224$  this is a vital concession  $a\200\224$  and it seems that the Ministry $a\200\231$ s bureaucrats will not be allowed to be obstructive.

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

ible use of the new leeway.

There is, however, a worrying aspect to the development: the ICRC is a humanitarian organisation, and not a political monitor. As a matter of operational principle, the Red Cross does not make its findings public, but forwards them only to the relevant authorities. It also does not enquire as to the reasons for a personâ\200\231s detention; nor does it ever call for the release of detainees. Its representatives have had access to prisons since July, but because of the ICRCâ\200\231s own code of conduct, we do not

- know what they found there.

Krielâ\200\231s Ministry has still not announced the names of the retired magistrates who are supposed to be monitoring the condition of prisoners. Since pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman made his allegations in July of police brutality, 25 more people have died in custody. The Red Cross presence will help â\200\224 at the very least by shining the light of international attention but it is not a substitute for persistent probing, and public disclosure. —

HE Government go-ahead for Red Cross visits to police stations is an-

## Political Staff

President de Klerk yesterday warned that the Government would stop any ANC marches which were â\200\234unlawfulâ\200\235 or could be â\200\234expected to lead to violenceâ\200\235,

In a strong attack on the ANC, De Klerk told delegates at the National Party Cape provincial congress that the organisationa\200\231s continuing mass action was totally unacceptable a\200\224 and he challenged the movement to a\200\234get its house in ordera\200\235,

By Helen Grange

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF) warned esterday that there would conflict  $\hat{a}\200\224$  and  $\hat{a}\200\234$ people will get killed $\hat{a}\200\235$   $\hat{a}\200\224$  if the ANC went ahead with its plann march on the homeland.; The ANC, which initially planned to march on the homeland on Friday, has postponed the mareh- indefinitely. However, there are strong indications that a marech is still on the agenda. - The BDF, at a media day to display its equipment and capability, emphasised that

it would use aggression if

Mass action  $\hat{a}\200\230$ una IHE S? $\frac{1}{2}\202$ kl of 06708&

å\200\234People willâ\200\230get kiï¬\202e

The aggressive speech

prompted a sharp counter-

attack from the ANC, and the cordial relations achieved at last monthâ\200\231s Government/ANC summit appeared to be under threat.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ South Africa and all its people expect the ANC to become a political part

operating peacefully, â\200\235 De Klerk said. â\200\234They must stop their nonsense. South Africans are sick and tired of their i tory speeches and their arrogance with regard to their intolerance in recognising the rights of

others to express them-

selves. $\hat{a}$ \200\235 :  $\hat{a}$ \200\231

 $a\200\234$ our country $a\200\231$ s sove

BDF chief Major Gener H S Turner said he hoped the

- planned mass action would

not take place. â\200\234If it does, it will be very, very dangerous and there will be conflict for sure, Peolrle will get killed. There wi

he said.

The

protect citizens, but the BDF
would act as a secondary
force. ':

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

be confrontation,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235

 â\200\230The Bophuthatswana police would be éï¬\201ï¬\201yéaâ\200\230ntb"

cceptableâ\200\231 L 8

## marches

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

 $a\200\234$ In the meantime you may

rest assured that the Gov-

ernment will take firm steps on marches with an unlawful purpose or under circumstances which can be expected to lead to violence. Should they take place the Government is duty bound to prevent such marches.â\200\235

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

ANC spokesman Saki Ma-

- night:  $\hat{a}$ \200\234It is to be expected

that Mr de Klerk should sound this bellicose and arrogant in the light of the | rearguard action by the sup- | porters of apartheid who met yesterday afternoon.â\200\235 (A | reference to the Johannes-burg meeting of homeland leaders and rightwingers.)
Macozoma said: â\200\234The sad thixâ\200\231; ~about Mr gle \_.J:i%kiâ\200\231: outburst against the gl Â\$ that it shows his weakness as

The ANC rejected the

® To Page 3 i

John Kane-Berman responds to critic Dr Anth s of Dr Anthea Jefferyâ\200\231 irt. â\200\234Disin O R i, e oy i Do g ca Je¢ s report,  $\hat{a}200\230\hat{a}200\234$ Disinformation ab . ettt St et o, S ot on about Violence in S We cannot pretend that blame lies on one side only » et hadln the multinational panel set up by ' the Goldstone Commission to ad-. yise on the lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa. ;. . .In presentations the institute is - currently making a\200\230about'.violence 1 to a variety of audiences, we are is i;ltfaCt reproduced4,3  $Vi7\202'tta\200\234i;$ }a\200\230yA» : T it Aoy the . urging specif ic steps, to be .taken verbatim, on page of her . (e g gt sl sl s 2o 4 ISt e's . record - in- exposing . with rega rd to the  $\hat{a}\200\234$ riot $\hat{a}\200\235$  police, report. i i e ggï¬\201osgr;eamweca%â\200\230;â\200\230;g, SUrTen- ;. apuses of power by the State over among them developing a specia-The opinion surveys to which vl ot o decades is of course second to . lised corps, removing the R-1 rifle Davis and Marcus refer were not @ The ANC's refusal to desist' " " none. Our .annual survey s:  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 thet from the police in crowd control, courts of law and that they may conducted by the Institute of Race . from the establishment of town-: ' 56th:edition of which is now in : and making the Minister ' politiclegitimately therefore contend Relations, as they suggest, but by - ship  $\hat{a}$ \200\234self-def ence units  $\hat{a}$  200\235; contrary ' preparation  $\hat{a}$  200\224 constitute a metic- ally accountable for unlawful pothat they are not bound by rules of a professional market research: to the provisions: of t he National + i ulous, factual and damning indict- lice behaviour. . . . . o evidence and procedure. : organisation commissioned by us Peace Accord; .. Az, anuget. i 9 1 ment.. of the apartheid system,:: . However, we have also said that Her report goes on, however, to to conduct the survey.  $'\hat{A}$ ® The frequent  $\hat{a}$ 00\231 incid  $\hat{A}$ ©nc  $\tilde{A}$ ©t 6f'=" $\hat{A}$ \$t\_ $\hat{a}$ 200\230j= unrivalled anywhere. ' demonstrators need to play $\hat{a}$ 200\231 their R  $\hat{a}$ \200\224 1 - us believe that our drawing atten-Allister Sparks 1s 1n : 7 tion t(I) these omissions is a trivial, 23 Al s ot st i o <5 quibblel i wa L s, Amenca. Hl.s % The Davis/Marcus article sugcolumn will resume | . gests that. the Institutt of Race : 720 | Relations should formulate  $\hat{a}$ \200\234conm'November.\_ $\hat{a}$ 200\230(. ~uin |+ - structive . suggestions - t0 - curb ; .+ i abuse of power by the State $\hat{a}$ 200\235. The inquiry, but that does not absolve them of a general responsibility to" tell as much of the whole truth as\* they possibly can. 4 The passage about the Crossroads massacre which Davis â\200\230and Marcus accuse Jeffery of omitting .'JUDGING by the anger it has aroused in some quarters, Dr . Anthea Jefferyâ\200\231s report, â\200\234Disinfor-- mation- about Violence in South \* Africaâ\200\235, has struck home. In criti-, cising it in The Star on September 92, Dennis Davis and Gilbert y Marcus ignore Jefferyâ\200\231s explicit

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ acknowledgement (on page 9 of

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_mission of Jurists (ICJ) are not
make the point that ina^200^230a volatile We have also put a great deal of . part in reduci
ng the potential for
political climate \hat{a}\200\234these organisa- conflict by adhering to a code of
a\200\230tions have an overarching respon- bl
gibility to be circumspect, to hear
and report both sides to conflict
.and to
a\200\234 face value allegations that have
not been tested in any wayâ\200\235. -
- Amnesty, . the . ICJ, and the
â\200\230Human Rights Commission (HRC)
may indeed not be .commissions of
Flup S
Only the wilfully blind will take.
the view .that the abuse of power
" by the State, whether-at Bisho or
- anywhere else, is the only cause of
violence, or indeed any longer
even the major one. - o
. The physical war in South Afri-
caâ\200\231s black â\200\230communities is accom-
panied - by a- propaganda war
waged through the media. f
" Far from being â\200\234largely irrele-
"vant and unhelpful in addressing
the current problem of violenceâ\200\235,
the institute is playing a vital role
in focusing public attention on as-
pects of violence too long hidden
beneath - - the
smokescreen.
guard against accepting at
' disinformation {
Jeffery points out that the HRC,
Amnesty, and the 1CJ are \hat{a}\200\234fully
justified in recording and criticis- .
ing crimes committed by mem-:;
bers of the IFP or the SAP\hat{a}\200\235. She
then points out that_all three re-.
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\* her report) that Amnesty International and the International Com-

rts ignore, inter alia: -

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'@ The ANC strategy of fostering
a\200\234yngovernabilitya\200\235 'through mass
" actiom;
\hat{A}® The ANC\hat{a}200\231s' refusal to disband
vk
AiA!s
No problem can begin to be-;
solved unless its. causes are fully
analysed and understood, not'hid-
-den beneath reports- whichpre-
tend that violence emanates only
from one side. 0 '
@ Kane-Berman is Executive
Director of the South African
Institute of Race Relations.
tacks on members of the South '
\hat{A}» African. Police, which resulted inâ\200\231
the deaths of more than 120 po-
a\200\230licemen in the first seven months
. 0f1992; and; Lot ¢;
'@ The high.
cials and n}a\200\231embers a\200\224 now alleg-
edly totalling over 1000 â\200\224 killed
in recent years. .. .-t
Davis and Marcus would have
iimbes of TFP offi-',
/' energy into suggesting how abuses
by the State can be stopped.-
Last year we helped to promote
1 the ideal of drawing up codes of
a\200\230 conduct 'for the police (and. for .
wouhnn 4y lence, but that' is â\200\230very different
. We also published .a, 262-page
reportâ\200\231 entitled â\200\234Riot Policing in '
Perspective \frac{200}{235}, which \frac{2}{3} Feffery also .
. wrote andwhic \frac{300}{200} ,  \frac{3200}{230}  submitted to
demonstrators). .
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- .. eonduct. ' ..
- I have indeed pointed out on a
- " number of occasions that apart-

heid policies are at the root of vio-

from saying that the Government
(however appalling its track rec-ord) is responsible for all the current violence. - ORT \Eh

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e 8= THE AGE WEDNESDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992
HIF
nh
."(PIO
L0
' By ROSS DUNN,
., Johannesburg, Tuesday
The president of South Africaâ\200\231s
-Zulu-based Inkatha movement,
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
\hat{A}«. \hat{a}\200\234today warned that he may have to
+ consider secession if consti-
a\200\230tutional negotiations fail.
At a provincial congress of his
- »ruling National Party, President
- F.W.de Klerk today lashed the
-African National Congress and
- hinted at action to halt ANC
-marches due later this month.
a\200\234They must stop their nonsense
and their underground activities.
, The ANC must get its house in
-worder, â\200\235 Mr De Klerk said in East
London.
Chief Buthelezi issued his warn-
.Ing at a meeting in Johannesburg
_.of black homeland leaders and
white right-wing political groups
, called to protest against the devel-
, a\200\230opmenl of a new constitution
;-Which did not reflect their
.. interests.
"\hat{a}\200\231 The leaders\hat{a}\200\231 meeting was part
," of a growing campaign by minor-
Ity groups against a recent agree-
" ment signed by the country\hat{a}\200\231s two
. . main political players, the Govern-
** ment and ANC.
The meeting was called by Chief
Buthelezi, who is also chief minis-
ter of the black homeland of Kwa-
Zulu, foliwying his decision to
withdraw from constitutional
negotiations in protest at the
recent record of understanding
signed by the Government and the
ANC.
In a fiery opening speech, Chief
Buthelezi said there was no guar-
antee that negotiations would suc-
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ceed.  $\hat{a}$ \200\234The closer we come to the

realisation that negotialions just cannol succeed, the closer we all will come to the realisation that we will have to start drawing up conlingent plans in the event of failure,  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$  he said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The ultimate extremity of political action for me will be secession and a possible confederation of regions which somehow remain intact after the catastrophe of the failure of negotiations.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

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

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$  will not fight for the kind of separatism which rests on racist constitutional cornerslones,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ There must be equalily for all before the law, and before the Constitution as an absolute prerequisite for the prolection of group rights.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

Buthelezi warns secession bid

He was joined by a delegation from the whites-only Conservative Party including its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and two other homeland leaders, Bophuthats-wanaâ\200\231's president, Mr Lucas Mangope, and Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, whose troops massacred at least 28 ANC demonstrators during a protest march on his territory last month.

Inkathaâ\200\231s general-secretary, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said the meeting was not aimed a forging an alliance but exploring obstacles to constitutional negotiations.

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

Chief Buthelezi said he was particularly angered by Mr De

Klerk's decision to bow to ANC demands to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons including those carried by Zulus, and to fence off hoslels controlled by Inkatha.,

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ President De Klerk knew that I was vehemently opposed to the fencing of hostels and treating hostel dwellers like enemies of the people,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Chief Buthelezi said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234By$  agreeing to this, President De Klerk actually became a par-

## ÂŞ

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

ticipant in the ANC war against the Inkatha Freedom Party, and KwaZulu." $\hat{a}$ 200\235

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

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

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

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

 $a\200\234$ Marches that could result in

| Iy

violence should not take place. The Government is duty bound to prevent such marches,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  lie said.

Mr De Klerk said the Government would not resort to emergency rule, D "

In Cape Town, an ANC spokesman said the movemen!1 had decided to tone down a street protest on Monday to tmark the start of a special 10-day session of Parliament, "e said\_this was part of an ANC review of mass action.

 $a\200\224$  with agencies

Wednesday -7 October 1992

Govt  $\hat{a}\200\230$ won $\hat{a}\200\231$ t allow $\hat{a}\200\231$  \_\_t Qemlse of Afr1kaa117< \

tained as official lan-

-/ HE Grrre N

notallowwhthdhapâ\200\224 pened to Afrikaans in Namibia to happen in South Africa as well, the Minister of Education and Culture in the

## C from China

BEIJING.  $\hat{a}200\224$  Nelson its struggle against dela $\hat{a}200\231$ s delegation, told official visit to Beijing ANC officials ad-  $\hat{a}200\234$ Butwhatthemtm yesterday with  $\bar{a}201$ rm as- mitted, however, that

Beijing had not made

any concrete commitment to hold off on diptoria until the ANC $\hat{a}\200\231s$  demand for new, inter-

support for the ANC in

| Stop implementation |

\\\_gy Kaizer Nyatsumba
' olitical Reporter

leader Chief Mangosuthu 
â\200\230Buthelezi said yesterday that 
he and other leaders would 
ask President F W de Klerk 
to stop the implementation 
of the Record of Understand-

ANC president Nelson Mandela two weeks ago.

September 26, paved the way prisoners, the banning of all

dangerous weapons and the fencing in of hostels.

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

Inkatha Freedom Party;

ing signed by De Klerk and

The agreement, signed on for the release of political

of pact â\200\224 Buthelezi

leaders  $\hat{a}$  200\231 concerns about the agreement,

Buthelezi made his statement after a  $\frac{3}{200}\frac{234}{200}$  for Concerned South Africans  $\frac{200}{235}$  at the Indaba Hotel outside Johannesburg, attended by,

~among others, Conservative â\200\230Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and co-conveners

Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa

Gqozo and Bophuthatswanaâ\200\231s

President Lucas Mangope.

Buthelezi said organisations at yesterday $200\231s$  meeting

would not be bound by an agreements to which they were not party.

The meeting endorsed Butheleziâ\200\231s calls for the immediate disbanding of the ANCâ\200\231s Umkhonto wegiiwe.

ment Minister Roelf Meyersaidyesterday. Mr Meyer also called on the African National Congmsstoï¬\201mllyoom-

believed multi-party talks

might resume before the

end of the year.
Addressing the National\_Pany'sCape\_Gm-

gress in East London, Mr

Me:ycr said [:e

Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s recent

negotiating table, it would
continue to do the same

- Illegal drive

byl

thatalargepercentageof road users did not have

their documents in order. The problem had existed for years, but had been hi; now as a result of the

carrying of drivers cences.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Persons who have been affected by this, shouldbethankfnlathey

will now be able to estap,.

llshing) odtimewbcther

, Meye
tells con

ith Inkatha and other Mr Meyer said it was now time for the ANC to show its worth.

5 proposed with the march on Ulundi, wasmomlikely to inspire violence, than themnyingofdangerms

'l'heANCshouldcon-â\200\230

tribute to fighting viol-

I's upset
book law:

Mr Meyer said the reformpromwasstillon course.

He feared much of the criticism of the â\200\234Record of U ingâ\200\235 agreed to at the ANC/govern-ment talks on September | 26, were based on mis-

yasoLundi ehlongoz¥

OLUNDI. -

ha umthetho

0 Lâ\200\230Tâ\200\224\)

eni waKwaZulu ngesonto elediule

ulibeke ngesihloko el

okuthi uzothatha izi-

nyathelo zomthetho ezizokwenza isiginiseko sokuthi ng ijbekhona imashi yaso-

Lundi ehlongozwa yigress (ANC).

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

1khokhasi ithe ayikaze engabe ukuba kwenziwe imibhikish thweni oLundi, nes yabakhona emalok amaningi aKwaZu lu.

Ighubeke yathi kuyinto engacabangeki uku-

"thi lemashi yasoLundi

elandela eyaseBisho, okwakuyoketulwa ngayo uBrigadier Gqoz0, inga-

African National Con-

thathwa ngokuthi inokuthula, isemthethweni nokuthi 'mgumbhikisho wentando yeningi-

[buye yanxusa iKho-mishani kaMnuz. Justice â\200\230(Goldstone ukuba icaba-ngisise ngezindlela oku-fanele zilandelwe uma kunemibhikishcx nokuba \cKhomishani ikwemuke-le ukuthi ukhukhulela-

) wemibhikisho â\200\230 cÂ\$banodlame futhi ela-ndelwa wukufa kwabantu ngeke nanini yathathwa ngokuthi isemthethweni \*nokuthi ngeyentando yeningj.

| bility to ensur

South Africans are  $a\200\230$ sick and tired of ANCa $200\231$ s inflammatory speechesa $200\231$ 

Nats applaud

X De Kler

tough stance

EAST LONDON: President F.W. de Klerk yesterday dispelled National Party fears that he was softening on the ANC with one of his most vigorous attacks yet on the Governmentâ\200\231s chief negotiating partner.

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

And, in one of his most ublic clashes with a National Party mouthpiece, he dismissed as  $a\geq 0$ 0 and unfaira  $\geq 0$ 0 the suggestions in a political column in. Die Burger that the NP leadership lacked strength and inspiration and was to0 willing to concede to ANC demands.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Nothing, in any agreement we have reached,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he  $\hat{a}\200\234$ countered,  $\hat{a}\200\234$ contains any concession with regard to principles for which we stand.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ :

But negotiations would continue because it was the only possible route and the Government had the principal responsi-

g negotiations
were sustained.

President De Klerk  $\hat{a}\200\224$  whose tough speech was matched by a

. second broadside from Consti-

Daily News Correspondent tutional Development Minister and key negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer â\200\224 earned several rounds of applause from delegates at the Cape congress of the NP with a salvo of criticisms of the ANC.

The ANCâ\200\231s apparent refusal to review mass action was  $a\200\234to-tally$  unsatisfactory,  $a\200\235$  he said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234South$  Africa and all its people expect the ANC, now, to become a political party operating peacefully. They must stop their nonsense.

â\200\234We expect them to stop underground activities. There is no room for underground organisations continuing to cultivate violence.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ South Africans are sick and tired of their inflammatory speeches and arrogance with regard to intolerance of the rights of others.

 $\hat{a}\200\234We$  cannot accept that an party involved in the negotiation process can say, against a co-signatory of the peace accord:  $\hat{a}\200\230I$  am marching on you to topple you. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

He said it was time the ANC leadership disciplined its members  $a\200\224$  and  $a\200\234$ radical voices in their own top executive.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We say the ANC must get its house in order. They must rectify these militating approaches against the peace accord, and against the (Record of Understanding) agreement of September  $26.\hat{a}\200\235$ 

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ If they take place, we are duty-bound to prevent such marches. $\hat{a}\200\235$ :

- He told delegates not to be afraid of ANC  $\hat{a}$ 200\234propaganda and threats $\hat{a}$ \200\235.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ They want us to be afraid in the hope that we will make mistakes,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

He assured the congress that

the NP  $\hat{a}$ 200\234will never accept a

simply unitary domination  $model \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$  for South Africa.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We do not contemplate handing over all power to the ANC, or to any other party. We also do not contemplate retaining all the power, as we have it at the moment. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

But the NP  $\hat{a}\200\234$ is prepared to transfer power to a transitional government representing all South Africans, and one that is democratically elected.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

ANC defiant on protest marches '

PRETORIA: THE African Na-

tional Congress said today it

would defy any form of opposi-

tion and go ahead with protest marches planned for Mmabatho and Ulundi.

Daily News Correspondent

what was accepatable or not. Mr Macozoma ssid although

Government would stop dateshadnotyetbeenfinalised,

marches which were seen unlawful and with the

to be the marches on Mmabatho and potential Ulundi were  $a\200\234$ certainly $a\200\235$  going

for violence, the ANCâ\200\231s Mr Saki ahead as planned. Theâ\200\231 dates

Reacting to President F.W. de

were expected to be announced | Klerkâ\200\231s warnings that central

during the course of the week.

Macozoma said it was not for the Government to determine

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BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

Homeland leaders want Cod"Ã@saÃ@fÃ@)rapped

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

The Conference for Concerned South Africans brought together parties disgruntled by government  $\hat{a}$ 00\231s bilateral agreements with the ANC.

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

The conference decided to support Buth-

## B TiM COMEN i}

elezi's demands that the ANC military wing Umnkhonto we Sizwe (MR) be disbanded before negotiations could proceed.

And it called for a multiparty confer-  $\tilde{A}@\text{nce}$  to examine both the negotiating and peace processes,

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

The delegation would request government not to proceed with the scheduled special session of Parliament and ask that the Record of Understanding be  $a\200\234$ stopped $200\235$ .

The grouping also resolved to try to increase its life and size, by establishing a steering committee to approach  $\hat{a}\200\234$ likeminded $\hat{a}\200\235$  parties and arranging a further conference.

Buthelem: told a news conference the special seszion of Parliament would again represent exclusive, unacceptable deciston-making.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The conference discussed at length ways and means of overcoming the polarisation and frustration caused by bilateral agreements hetween the SA government

and the ANC,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235 he said.

There had been total agreement among

O To Page 2

' Homeland leader

â\200\230:â\200\231f"-'-\':â\200\224-)' 5
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 $e \hat{a} 200 224 \hat{a} 200 224$ .

 $a\200\224a\200\224a\200\224$  e  $a\200\224$ .

[J From Page 1

delegates that without the immediate ms%uw PADDOCK reports that the PAC

banding of MK, the surrender of its  $\ensuremath{\operatorname{arms}}$ 

caches and the cessation of recruitment
 and training for military purposes, negoti ations could not continue, he sajfd.

Earlter, Gqozo elicited applause from about 30 delegates by describing the Re-

 $\hat{s}a\200\231$ om of Understanding as a  $a\200\234$ recipe for

R

â\200\234Our dignity has heen trampled on by
miscaleulating fools who believe that they
can get away with these injustices, but
. they cannot,â\200\235 Gqozo said,
\_ !ylango;ge said if government and the
| ANC persisted in the practice which led to
their agreement, â\200\234we will have nothing
further to do with so-called negotiationsâ\200\235,

Buthele2i said the new multiparty conference should establish a structure that would ensure that no-one could back out of the talks.

CP leader Andries Treunicht said he supported the homeland leaders  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$  rejection of the Record of Understanding, while Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said he supported a multiparty  $\hat{A}$  onference of review.

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

е

by president Clarence Makwetu would travel to Ulundi tomorrow for talks with Buthelezi. -t

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

Makwetu had also written a letter to ANC secretary-genera] Cyril Ramaphosa and would meet ANC president Nelson Mandela when he returned from his trip abroad. Toboti said once violence had baen siopped, a united front could force the fecessary changes in SA. He said the PAC:ntended to try to get the ANC and Inkatha 0 meet.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was possible that the ANC would meet Inkatha for\_mally at presidential level but there would have to be a period of thorough preparatory talks, much like the bilaterals with government  $\hat{a}\200\234$ 

® Picture: Page 3 ® Comment: Page 10 3 Politica) Gtatt

AST LONDON -- President F W de Klerk

yesterday put himself on a collision course

with the ANC by threatening to stop its marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho

In a tough keynote address to tha NP Cape congress, De Klerk sald government was  $a\geq 00\geq 34$  duty bound  $200\geq 35$  to prevent marches which could result {n violence.

Hesponding to mounting unease and criticisrm of his leadership style from part  $\hat{A}$ ¥y ranks, De Klerk moved sharply to reassure the party faithful by launching a blistering attack on the ANC.

in particular he lashed out at the ANC's revised position on mass action, dismissing 1t as  $a^200^234$ totally unsatisfactory $a^200^235$  and warning that it should  $a^200^234$ top the nonsense $a^200^235$  and warning well as its underground activities

The time had arrived for the real leader< of the ANC to stand up and discipline their regional leadership and  $\hat{a}$ 200\234dissident radical elements $\hat{a}$ 200\235.

De Klerk satd it was  $a\200\234$ completely unacceptable  $a\200\235$  that parties involved in negotia-Lions could threaten to topple from power those around the table.

South Africans could  $a\200\234$ vest assured $a\200\235$  that government would take firm steps against actions that could lead to violence,

Sapa reports the ANC last night reacted

angrily to De Klerkâ $\200\231s$  attack. The organisation said laws and conven-

| tions determined whether certain types of actions were acceptable or sot, â\200\234It is not

the government  $a \ 200 \ 231 \ political$  palate that determines what is acceptable and what is not. The ANC observes both the law and those conventions of its own volition, not

because of threats from Mr De Klerk  $a\200\235$  It said phase four of its protest campaign would be reviewed now there had been movement on taiks between itself and

goverament - ® See Poge s Â¥,

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## BUSINESS DAY WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

ANC expectations NELSON Mandela should

| meet police generals and tell them what the ANC expected of police, instead of criticising them from a distance, says ldasa director Van Zyl Slabbert. Page 4 BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER

TPA pleads for input; "f; on hostel fencing plans

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) yesterday made an impassioned plea to all relevant parties to consult it about governmentâ\200\231s plan to fence off hostels ideotified as unrest flashpoints.

Transvaal MEC for physical planning and development John Mavuso said in a statement yesterday the TPAâ $200\231s$  â $200\234$ comprebensive consultation processâ $200\235$  was seriously hampered by a lack of co-operation,

Sebokeng hostel resideats failed to show up for a meeting called to discugs the plan on Monday night. he ssid. Their absence was apparestly sparked by pamphlets a\200\224 written on

ANC letterheads  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 urging residents not to attead.

 ${\hat a}\200\234Whea$  the guestion of the absence of the hostel residents was raised, the ANC said it represented them.  ${\hat a}\200\235$ 

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said he was not aware that his organisation  $200\231s$  letterheads bad been used to print the pamphlets.

Mavuso said:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ Jt seems, ai this stage, that all the parties do net regard the purpose of the government $\hat{a}\200\231$ s

i WILSON ZWANE

hostel strategy as important. $\hat{a}$ \200\235

No comment could be obtained from the Transvaal Hostel Residentsâ\200\231 |

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

Geoff Wilkens, TPA chief director of physical pianming and development for the Witwatersrand, said the implementation date for the plan depended on when an agreement with

all relevant parties was reached. The plar included measures such as random searches and tight access controi to prevent bearing arras.

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

Governmernt was not talding sides.  $\hat{a}\200\234$ It simply must be done to stop violence and prevent further killings. $\hat{a}\200\235$  He alleged that ANC-controlled hostels were also involved in violence

in termus of an agreement between government and the ANC, the nostels should be feaced off by November 15.

Police reported yesterday that a nan was killed and apother wounded on Monday when gunmen dressed In camouflage entered & house in Umlazi, pear Durban, and opened fire.

The killing follows a series of incidents in Natal in which the attackers

ihave worn security force uniforms.

Arson was reported at Sharpeville and Sebokeng in the Vaal Triaagie

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

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

The assistast constable was on a erime prevention patrol witk a col. league when they were coufronted by two unidentified mea armad with revelvers, police said,

Shots were fired and the constable collapsed. The attackers fled, taking the wounded counstable's service pistol. The second policeman escaped unharmed. The wounded constable died soon after he armved at Johan-

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'BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 18!

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Kriel accused of \*whitewash jobâ\200\231

LAW and Order M'misteri
Hernus Kriel was deliber.!
ately ignoring advice from |
a recently established po-:
lice board and â\200\234whitewash. |
ingâ\200\235 problems facing the;
police, Cosatu official
Jayendra Naidoo told the
Idasa conference. =

RAY HARTLEY

Naidoo, who represents the ANC alliance ¢n the national peace secretariat,

told the conference on po-'

licing Kriel had â\200\234totally

gidelined $\hat{a}$ \200\235 the board, which

i¢ made up of equal oum-

bers of police and civiltan  $\ensuremath{\text{r}\xspace \ensuremath{\tilde{\text{Q}}}\xspace}\xspace \ensuremath{\text{pr}\xspace}\xspace \ensuremath{\text{a}}\xspace \ensuremath{\text{c}}\xspace \ensuremath{\text{c}}\xspac$ 

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The way that Kriel has deait with the police board to date is a disgrace. He

seems comfortable whitewashiog his problemsâ\200\231' said Nardoo

y The national peaca secretariat needed to play a greater role in policing, including decisions about which officers where staltioned in unrest areas

He said fundamental changes were needed 10 enhance community participation in policiog

Police accountability to

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

Promotion, discipline and training, which could be called the police force's \*¢carrot, stick and adviceâ\200\235,

needed to be changed.  $^{\scriptscriptstyle \rm T}$ 

| BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992 Talk to police, Хi Mandela ANC president Nelson Mandela should meet police generals and tell thern directly what his organisation expected of police, instead of simply criticising them from a great distance, says Idasa director Van 2yl Slabbert. Addressing an Idasa conference on policing in Vanderdijlpark yesterday, Slabbert said 3 pew negotiating forum dealing with the role of the security forees and stability during the transition to democracy was urgently needed. Slabbert said a future political accord would depend on a\200\234transitional stabilityâ\200\235 In the pudbLe service, including the police. He warned political leaders that the public service could disintegrate, with grave consequences, if it Was left without a sense of purpose while national negotiations were Zoing on. The public service had been  $a\200\234me$ ticulously and systematically  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$  built up o pursue the goals of apartheid, Now it was facing a crisis of legitimacy, he said. ) Slabbert said he had always regarded Codesa as an inappropriate; forumn for negotiations because it had created the illusion that politicians could negotiate transition on their own,

He added that efforts by Finance Minister Derek Keys and Cosatu to establish an economic forum and the recently established housing forum,

were places where â\200\234the most impor-

tant bargaining is taking place  $200 \ 235.$   $200 \ 234$  think it is unreasonable to ex-

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is told |

RAY HARTLEY

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Like most of us, they were singularly waprepared for chapge,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Slabbert said.

 $\hat{a}\200\2340$ nly five or six years age it was \$een as part of the training of police and soldiers that they had to eliminate the enemy,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said, adding that the same was true of the liberation movements,

Police consultant Kobus Neethling, who has addressed more than 15 000 policeman an ways af improw ing their creatlyity, said police needed new skills if changes in their valuâ\202¬s were 10 be effective.

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

Neethling sald the majority of policemen he had spoken to wanted Lo continue with policing and had a  $\frac{3}{200}^234$  positive awareness  $\frac{200}{235}$  of their role.

Police needed to be caring, emotionally involved, vulnerable, empathetic, humanistic and intuitive to succeed o thel{r work, he said

Eastern Cape Council of Churches chatrman Meebisi Xundu said commudity organisations had shown they appreciated law and order by using marshais to control their protest marches,

He said chiefs and headmen peeded 10 be elected by their communibes 10 create confidence and in-Crease the accountability of their policing activities in the rural areas,  $\mid$ 

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- BUSINESS DAY WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Buthelezi $\hat{a}\200\231$ s protests are not justified $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

EAST LONDON  $\hat{a}\200\224$  Inkatha presiden { i : Mangosuthu Buthelezi's reasons for || threat in negotiations L2 pulling out of negotiations were un- i In the current climate of viclence, mass  $i\ddot{a}\201$ ; sti $\ddot{a}\202$ ed, Constitutional Development jj action, as in the proposed march on Ulun di,

Inister Roelf Meyer said yesterday. | Was more likely to inspire violence than

gramine of mass action and its use as a

\*  $\hat{a}\200\234$ Meyer also  $\hat{A}$ ¢alled on the ANC to {inally commit itself to ending the armed struggle and to dishanding Umkhonte we Sizwe (MK). He said multiparty talks might resume before the end of the year.

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

\* He could give details of how Presidert
F'W de Klerk and Cabinet Ministers had kept Inkatha leaders informed of developnents in governmentâ\200\231s bilateral meetings with the ANC

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

Just as government had undertaken to get the ANC back to the negotiating table, 1t would continue to do the same with Inkatha and other parties,

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

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

He said the ANC should review the pro-

S

the carrying of dangerous, weapons

' The ANC should contribute to fighting violence and commit itself finally to ending the armed struggle  $\hat{a}\200\224$  including the dissolution of MK,

Meyer said the reform process was still on course,

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

He gave an assurance that nathing in the record had not already been agreed on in Codesa structures,

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

Mever said government intended organ-18ing 2 public conference, hopefully before the end of the year, to further the concept of regionalism or federalism,

It would invite representatives of ali political parties, universities and various institutions.  $\hat{a}\200\224$  Sapa

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BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, October 7 1992

â\200\230BUSINESS DAY, WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1

COMMENT IR

) The new right

leaders of South Africaâ\200\231's white

right warned of the dangers of

desegregating the countryâ\200\231s hotels. The thin end of the wedge, a step towards the horrors of racial integration, they called it. Yesterday they and a selection of black homeland leaders â\200\224 who would have been unlawful guests at the hotel where they met if the right bad had its way â\200\224 decided they shared a sufficient coincidence of political interests to establish a new power bloc. We live in a strange world.

Equally strange is the probability that the NP and the ANC  $\hat{a}200\224$  effectively at war with each other since May  $\hat{a}200\224$  will now be forced to act together to head off the potential crisis that this meeting of minds could spark.

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

own fiefdoms.

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

IN the not too distant past,

dea of a homeland where racially conscious whites can enjoy self-determination is a dream, unjess its protagonists are willing to accept a small, desolate part of the northwestern Cape.

That, at least, is the more gener-

ous view of the new bloc's agenda

and prospects. A more cynical interpretation would have it that the participantsâ\200\231 main interest is in delaying, for as long as possible, South Afrieaâ\200\231s transition. That, after all, is the most certain way (for the white right) of keeping in place the present constitution and hence keeping blacks out of the central legislature, And a lengthy delay would also extend the lifespan of homeiand administrations whose leaders might have no hope of winning a free and fair election in their regions.

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

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

poses or under circumsstances which can be  $\hat{A} \not\sim x$ pected to lead to violence. Should they take piace, the Government is duty-bound to prevent such marches $\hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 35$ 

Macozoma told Thej

Star last night: â\200\234It is to be expected that Mr de Klerk should sound this bellicose in the light of the rearguard action by the supporters of apartheid who met yesterday afternoon.â\200\235 {the meeting of homeland leaders and . rightwingers).

! â\200\234The sad thing about Mr de Klerk's outburst

against the ANC is that it, shows his weakness as a political leader. He is unable to stand the presaure of reactionary

forces when they con front him about decisions that will help advance a settlement.â\200\235

The ANC rejected the threat to prohibit marches. â\200\234â\200\230There are laws and conventions in South Africa that determine whether certain types of actions are acceptable or not.â\200\235

In his speech De Klerk said the Governmentâ\200\231s undertakings to prohibit dangerous weapons in' public and fence hostels would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently. The final responsibility for order lay with the Government. The options were to reintroduce a state of emergency, to ban people and to imprison them.

that option hecause it is not in the national interest. It is not a sign of weakness to talk to your

opponents ... 1 give the assurance that it 1s not our intention to exclude people in bilateral talks but to get everyone back to the negotiating table.  $a\200\2340$ ur responsibility as Government made it es-

sential that we also get

the ANC back to negotiations.

@ The ANCâ\200\231s western Cape region yesterday announced further pretest actien, including a march on Parliament.

® The Methodist: Church of Southern Africa has appealed to the ANC alliance to call off its pro-

posed marches on Ulundi

and Mmabatho.

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Move to
4 X pension
premiums\/
Ry Sven Lunsche
The Government 18 \hat{a}\202^{-0}
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proposais that
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@ Report -

MeBride:
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{ | \_Ahizen Reporter AN M-Net phone-in poll on wherher â\200\234Magoo Bomberâ\200\235, Raobern McBnde, should have been released from pnison, resulted in an overwhelming 3 972 INOâ\200\235 â\200\234yoles,as op posed to 81 â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 votes

Subscnbers were asked to record their vote telephonically during Sundayâ\200\231's Cane Blanche programme and according to un M-Net spokesman, Mr Bermie Thixton, the poll-line system was continuously jammed fot over 40 minutes

Carte Blanche pro ducer, Mr Pieter Cilhers, said they were planaing to rune the poil-lines on a trial ba s1s durning October

â\200\234If they continue 10 be as successful as our first attempt on Sune day evemay [ think we're onto another winning recipe for Carte Blaachke.â\200\235 he said

THE CITIZEN. WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

Cancel march
on Ulundi:
. Methodists

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DURBAN The
Methodist Churchâ\200\231s natiwnal conference yesterday called on the Aftn
can Nauonal Congress
alliance to cancal s
pianned march on Ulundi and â\200\230on KwaZulu
authonties to allow free
political acrivities

The conference, meeting i Pinetown, said the march would fead ¢ ipereased polarisation, violence timisation and suffering for innocent people withoat solving any problems <;

In a resolution, the conference said it  $a\200\234af$ -firms the legitimacy of this form of mass action and supports the demand for free political activity 1n KwaZulu and other homelands $a\200\235$ 

I'he resoluton con tinued: "It nevertheless appeais 10 the ailiance to cancel the march on Ulund: and appeals 0 the KwaZulu Govemment and the Inkatha Freedom Party to allow free political activity in

vie-

the homeland  $a\200\234$ It strongly encou

ages - the oppaosing groups to address their differences in bilateral talks and by an immediate return to mulnlare ral negotuations. â\204¢

The conference. in

another resolution, said that all partics should place the weifare of South Africa above their own party polincal Interests and resume negotiations immediately

An interim govern. ment of nauonal unity should be established urgently  $\hat{a} \geq 0 \geq 34$  to deal with senseless political violence and to oversee the transiion to demoeracy  $\hat{a} \geq 0 \geq 31 \hat{a} \geq 0 \geq 31$ 

The interim government should prepare for a general elecuion under intemational superyi-\$10n before the 1993

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

end of

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THE CITIZEN, WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 18
29 in court after
shooting at Kengeshe
Citizan Reporter 4 22 revolver, a Makarey out of the incident togk
, and the
Were arresied and have [ WO F1 handgrepades test followed â\200\230over the
APppeared in court in Rich. and four bome-made weekend and op Monday
f
mond, Natal in camzec, â\200\231 rifles night.
tion with the massacre of According to the police \hat{A}»\hat{A}» \hat{A}» \hat{A}00\235\hat{A}\200\230*e suspects have
11 people at the Keng- | those arrested are pe- S d""f & ta dy until
ca¢ township on Seprem- lisved ¢o be supporters of H (x:fnan i 6' g ity
ber 26 the ANC, but none of | Y¢tader 16.
An Spokesman yes-
them were prominent or fn IFP spokesman yes
. : terday welcomed the ear-
e & SAfrying ly Breakthrough in the in
members of the organisa- 2
tion. b it i
After the incident bagh il
e ANC and the IFP
AMong the YE3pODS blamed each other for the
recovered are rwo AK-47 deaths. The IFP claims ite \hat{a}200\231
nfles with two magazines entire local ieadership
and 20 rounds of ammuni. was wiped out in the at-
ton, one Brovm; ng shot rack
gun with I3 Artridges, a The first arvest ansing
R e oo - Y -~
According to the
Police, a quantity of
veapons has glso been
seized in the investiga.
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v A4 killed in
/Natal unrest
\_in two days

DURBAN. â\200\224 Aj least 14 people died n unrest in Natal over the past two days, police reported yesterday.

Spokesman Captam
Hamulton Ngidi said he
had received reports of at
least tour deaths in \*â\200\230factionâ\200\235 fighting near Dududu, outside Umkomags
on Natal's South Coast on
\wl\*dd)

In other incidents on Sunday, the SAP reported the necklaong of a

mpan in Bruntwille
Moot River, while one
person had been sho!
dead in Umbumbniy

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

Amanzimiot:, on Sunday

On Monday, the Kwa Zuolu Police reported the discovery of twe bodies one a lo-year-old youth, in a minibus at the Folwenl sports grounds, south ot Durban.

KZP spokesman Colonel Moses Khanwle also reported an attack on thrce policemen yesterday

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

In Umlaz:, four people were killed in separate incidents on Monday, â\200\224 Sapa

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THE CITIZEN. WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992
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/ PAC-II\* P meeting may [Losee ANC summit: PAC

., DURBAN. ~ â\200\224~ The presi- | could pave the way 10 a uiso written to ANC sec- FRene il o MINEDTRAS [ dents of the Pan African- | summit batween the IFP retary-general Cyrif Ram. #imed at en ding violence istCongressand the Inka- | and African National 4phosa in an attempt to 27C normaising BA tha Fresdom Party are to | Congress leaderships arrange & mecting be- fatonship berween war meet i Ulundi to disenss | Mr Alexander said the tween PAC leader Clar- fing ANC and IFP f olitical violence sweep- | express purpose of the ence Makwewm and ANC UODS = mg the country, PAC sec- | meeting, initiated by the president Nelson Mande- This â\200 \234\aid{200\231\aid{200\234Ifa\200\231 SRl 210} retarysgeneral Benny PAC, would be to look at 1a 10 discuss the same is- TIOTâ\2027 Open pouucal acuy Alexander said yesterday. ending political intoler- sues ity betwmen: . espedially Mr Alexander hinted unce and violence From these two meet. 'DOSâ\2027 [WO oOrganisations that tomorrow's meeting Hov.»ver the PAC ings. the PAC hoped tor fn"{ the OPPIessec 11 gon RTal.

2 Questioned in 2 teles | phone Nerview on whether this could pave ! the way for a summit between the IFP and ANC leaders, M1 Alexander responded: â\200\234it could pave

i the way for a meeting &l  $\,$ 

ough that's not our

specaific and stated int $\tilde{A}@n-tuon\hat{a}\200\235$ 

Mr Alexanderâ\200\231s remarks come in the wake |
of the ANC announce
ment on Monday mght |
that its National Wotking |
Comumuttee would favour- |
ably consider a meeting at |
presidential level with the
| IFP

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THE CITIZEN. WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1982
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can National Congressâ\200\231
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xfndcrground activitics
South Afriea. -
Mr De Kierk.
at tha Cape peaking
Mativiral Fliifa
La\200\230 congress in East Lon-
90, nuted the ANC h'I.(!
Sick of ANC arrogance
created expectations after
tne September 26 tatks
when it gave a public
underaking that it would
examine its programme of
mass action.
\hat{a}200\234We can play with
words but everyone
anderstood that the ANC
would review its position
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41 regard their statements after the first excoutive committee meeting as totally unsatisfactorv. South Alnca expects the ANC to Decome 2 political party and operate peacefully.

â\200\234{ ¢annot accept 4 party invalved in the negotiation process can say | am marching to topple your goveghmentâ\200\231. That's not

## democracy.

â\200\234ft 15 ume lor the real leaders of the ANC tadis-cipling their grassroots followers and regional and dissident radical voices in the top exceutive.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The ANC must get if\$ house in order. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

â\200\230The government would take firm steps against matches which were ex pected to fead to violence, as this was the gove ernmentâ\200\231s duty, Mr De Klerk said.

The decsion to sign documents relcasing political prisoners was one of the most difficuit in his career, Mr De Klerk said.

1 understand that the
release of criminals is upsetting to the broader
community. I must stil

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

â\200\234Can we ever reach reconciliation as lopg as we ate divided into varous camps and agitate about people sitting in prison for acts they committed in 2 time of conflict which was compared by many 10 a state of war?â\200\235

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

The sceond option would not work, Howsv- et difficult it was to rc-

lease mutderers accord ing to specific norms ind down. it was the best of both options,

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We have to make sure that it is done on the basts of political motives and no matter how wrong the deeds, there must be a procedure of identification 10 ascertain who to telease.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

He said it was unfortunate that = mistake or two had been made with fecent releases. The matier was, however, being investigated and  $a\200\234$ we bave {earnit from this mistake $200\235$ 

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ These decisions 0 clean the slate were an  $\hat{a}\202\3\hat{A}$ % sential step in the best interests of long-term stability and 1 ask for understanding of this. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

- Sapa.

THE CITIZEN. WED.DAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

Angry ANC lashes FW

THE African Natwonal Congress
reacted angrily last
night lo statements
by President De
Klerk that the country was sick and tired
of the ANC's inflammatory staiements,
its arrogance and its
mntolerance of the

## FROM PAGE 1.

rights of others.
Addressing the Natiional Partyâ\200\231s Cape Congress in East London
carhier in the day, Mr
De Klerk said he could
not accept that a party
o the negotiatiops process could issue threats
to margh and topple his
gmcmmcm.

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

But in an angry reac tion last night, the ANC

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is not the government $\hat{a}\200\231$ s political palate that determines what s acceptable and what s

not. The ANC observes both the law and those conventions of its own volition, not because of threats from Mr De Kierk.â\200\235

Referring to a speech by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, also at the Cape Congress, that the ANC should return to muiti-party negotiations, review mass action and finally commit itself to dissolve its mikitary wing, the ANC said it had alresdy indicated its willingness (o raturn 10 multi-party talks, but that at this stage bilates ral talks were the best way to advance negotiatons.

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234The forum in which multilateral talks can

1% i i

lashes FW~

take place needs, itself, te bec negotiated. $\hat{a}\200\235$  the ANC statement added.

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

"(With regard) to ndmg the armccâ\200\230 struggle and disbanding MK, consider the ¢limate in which this twaddie is shouted by seemingly reasonabic men from

! political platforms

A recent pelics re- port puts the Afrikanet
Weerstandsbeweging at
16 000 armed men. the
K\aÃ@ulu Police are
runmng mxe&\_\_ngâ\200\234?.;
theâ\204¢ Ciskar Dc{er;ziÃ@'
Foree 15 on a murderous
streak in the Border

area, the SADF and its covert operations is still being used against antiapartheird activists and awvilians, and the SAP is still a private army of the Nationalist Pacty and the Broederbond, â\204¢ the ANC said. â\200\224 Sapa.

T o len ety |

FROM PAGE 4

conference repeatedly

and- vehemently denied -

they were forming an alhance. they were united in their opposition to unilateral agreements reached between the SA Government: and the Afnean National Congress to the exclusion of ait other political playsrs

Dr Mangope taid he objected strongly to the manner in which the agendas of certain organisations were being decid- A@d upon and implemented a\200\234behind closed doorsa\200\235a\200\235,

This feeling was echoed by Brig Gqoza who said he had bean utterly disappointed with the manner in which the South Afri- $\hat{A}$ ¢an Government had  $\hat{a}$ 00\234slowly but surely been selling us out to the policies and demands of the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance $\hat{a}$ 04¢.

The moving force be. hind vesterday's meeting, IFP president Mangosuthu - Buthelezi, slated President De Klerk for what hã© called the appeasement of the ANC, which would mean eventuat ANC poiitical dominance.

He said three of ANCâ\200\231s demands  $\hat{a}$ \200\224ion.the 15sues

of violence, hosfeis and  $\hat{A}^{\circ}$ 

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IZEN, WED DAY 7 OCTOBER 198

ummlt set

cuitural weapons -â\200\224 n-cluded in the â\200\234â\200\230Record of Understandingâ\200\231â\200\231 reached bewtween Mr De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on September 26, had been deliberately posed as an attack on the credibility and the integrity of the IFP.

President Mangope in his turn said he belicved there was a real danger of a dcaision-making precedent developing under

the guise of records of

understanding.

â\200\234This would increasingly: see decisions being taken and implemented by â\200\230the South African Government and the ANC which éxclude the input and agreement from the rest of the important players,â\200\235 he said.

Afrikaner Volksunic leader Andries DBeyers said the presence of so many political parties and organisations supporting the basic 1dea of scif-determination accentiated the reality that endunng and lasting peace in South Africa was not possible without the co-operation of these parties that valued ong or other form of self-determination.

The three homeland,

L JeageR support Tor 3 federal sys-

3]0, strpysed theie ©

b St e e

term of government in the new South Afrca, with some form of guaranteed autonomy for ¢ach state

The conference resolved to send a representative delepgation to the SA Government (0 request that the government not proceed with the forthcoming special parliamenstary session which 1ÂS due to start on October 12 and which is expected to see the pussing of legislation enabling the creation of an intesim government.

The delegation would also call on the government to stop the implementation of the â\200\234Record of Undcrstanding" reached between the government and the ANC,

Answering questions, Chief Buthete2i said the forumâ\200\231s suggested scrapping of Codesa did not mean they intended to go back 10 square one, a8 many of the agreements reached during Codesa sittings could be built upon.

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ You nust remember this meeting did not scrap Codesa  $\hat{a}\200\224$  that was done when the ANC s.mk  $(\hat{a}\200\231o-desa)$ 

back for FW

meeting would not consider itself bound to any legistation passed during the forthcoming session of Farliament, should the government proceed 10 table and pass such legislation without consulling the delegates to yestérday's meeting

The leader of the Conseevative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday was  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$  quite histercal $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ , as it was the first time the CP had been  $\hat{a} \neq x$ -posed to discussions  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$  of this nature and at such a fevel $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ .

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The discussions were frapk and incisive and we bave covered a lot of common ground. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

He said there were obviously terminological and cultural differences which could be discussed in 3 friendly and under-

standing manner, but the way had now been clear. ed for future discussions.

The deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdie Hart- $z\tilde{A}$ ©nberg, expressed his delight at the way the discussions had been conducted.

â\200\234The solid front now being forged and the united consensus displayed by so many different parties

; (yesird  $\hat{a}\200\230$ :.i¬\201 $\hat{a}\200\230$ mD $\hat{a}\200\230$ V  $\hat{A}$ fannoL, he rp;cd Dr M':zig%(;; $\hat{a}\200\230$ yÃ@ $\hat{a}\200\231$  ?1:( the 5

fn future antmore

thelezs ihatswapaâ\200\231's Piest Manpope, and milstary | deader independes A \ Although 3 (30720, LRAHINOUS E led for the tolai sCIapping of the Codesaatons and the crefwomeland ki â\200\224â\200\224 Jecretanat and iac <B61 Х (2 Ν 11 & 2 m 0 -1 \_ \_ O -0

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THE CITIZEN WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1 «

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threat to NP
â\200\224 Stoffel
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By Vivian Warby
THE Nantonal P.nt\_\
last night said it did not view as a threat the meeting of homeland and Right-wing leaders in Johannesburg yesterday.

D Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general

wolld reserve its fighting ability for the real opposi-

of the party, said the  $^{\text{A}}$  $^{\text{A}}$ 200\231Pu

В

/u tion, the ANC alliance. W

It was the nght of any partly of group to get together to discuss common prohlems

The NP had no probe â\200\230with this. However, what was incomprehensihie was how Inkatha and the Conservative Party could find ¢ommon fundamental ground. The basie positions of the CP and the IFP were incom-

pmblx.

â\200\2300ne wonders if Inkatha would support the establishment of a White Volkstaat with all the discriminatory things it entails, One also wonders what the attitude of the CP would be toward Zulus who wanted to hve there

 $\hat{a}$ 200\2341f one takes the long

| | | | \

No threat: Stoï¬\201el

FROM PAGE 1

history of Inkatha and Chief (Mangosuthu) Bu-thelezi, there has been 12-sistance to apartheid. On the other hand, the CPâ\200\231s history 1s one of trying to

uphold apartheid, How

can these (WO DG conciled? $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

Dr Van der Merwe said, however, he found one of the mini- -summitâ\200\231s resolutions = to discuss ceftgin aspects with the government.  $a\200\224$  very  $a\202\0$  couraging.

' THE CITIZEN, WEDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

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- Upgrading of hostels being hampered: ME

NEGOTIATIONS on upgrading hostels wm the PWV region are being hampered by some of those nvolved, Mr Jobn Mawvuso, Transvaal Provincial Administration MEC for Physicai Planning and Development, said yesterday.

Mr Mavuso was commeniing in a statement

after the collapse of Mondayâ\200\231s meeting in Sebokeng when hostel-dwellers were advised by pamphiets bearing the African National Congress logo not to attend.

The meeting was called by the towa council to discuss upgrading - and/or conversion of hostels, and the safety of ismates and residents,

â\200\234This is contrary to the agresq strategy that upgrading and/or conversion must be the result of conseosus through negotiadons between hasteldwellers, residents and other interested parties, â\200\235 Mr Mavuso <aid.

: He said another meemg would be called at 2 later date.  $\hat{a}\200\224$  Sapa.

THE CITIZE

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N W

EDDAY 7 OCTOBER 1992

\_No promises for

REISING. â\200\224 Nelson Mapdela ended hs first official visit to Beijing yesterday with firm as—wurances of Chinese frieodship, but DO proraises that China would avoid estab lishing links with the South African Govern—ment.

The African Naponal Congress president, speaking at 2 news ¢onference after walks with Chinese leaders, sad Beijing had repeated its support for the ANC in

its long struggle against
apAï¬\202bCld\_

ANC offiaals admirted, however, that Beijing had not made any CONcrete comumut ment to hoid off on diplomatic links with Pretoria until the ANC's demand for new, interim government cpresenting the countrys Black majority is met

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The Chinese Government bas indicated that it supports that position,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Pallo Jordan, spokesman for Mr Man-

JANC from China

 $delaa^200^231s$  delegation, toid the news conference.

 $\hat{a}\200\234But$  what the intentions of the Chinese Government are, [ cannot tell you. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

Political analysts say Beijing has been ed@ng toward broader links with South Africa and may be considering
opening formal diplo-

matic ties.

The two counines late last year agreed to swap their first unofficial representative offices. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter

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o SO g L e SR e s ";