

16/1/11

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NEWS Changed attitude

US focus is *SOLDIERIAN 5/10/92* firmly on SA democracy

■ **ANC plans to garner international support for democratic movements:**

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE ANC will attend an important conference in America next month at which the further lifting of sanctions and the future role and a code of conduct for foreign investors will be discussed.

The conference, arranged by "American solidarity movements" will be held in New York from November 13 to 15, under the theme "National Conference in Support of the ANC and other Democratic Forces for a new South Africa."

The main objectives of the conference, according to ANC sources, will be to shift the emphasis in America from an anti-apartheid mode to one of pro-democracy and to engender support for the democratic movements in the country.

The draft programme explains that the conference is a forum for "the presentation and discussion of current priorities of the ANC and other democratic forces of South Africa."

The conference will, with interim government in view, focus on issues "beyond sanctions" such as worker's and women's rights, health care, local government, education and training, increasing business investment, a code of conduct - access to justice, culture and sports as well as the role of the religious community and the media.

Well-placed ANC sources confirmed that with the distinct possibility of elections to an interim government by the end of next year, the time had perhaps arrived to consider the lifting of the next phase of sanctions - trade, investment and finance.

A spokesman for Cosatu confirmed yesterday that "if" the federation were represented it would present its standard "code of conduct for multinational companies."

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Scan 5/10/12

HARRY Temba Gwala is a man with a fearsome reputation but he speaks in a gentle voice, clothing his political convictions in the modulated tones of a kindly schoolteacher.

A veteran member of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Gwala, a self-acknowledged Stalinist, has been dubbed an "ANC warlord" by the press.

His political foes in the IFP see him as the master brain behind the increasingly bloody war for control of the townships and villages around Natal's once tranquil capital city of Maritzburg.

Mr Gwala, a prison graduate who was twice jailed for his dedication to the ANC's cause, smiles when asked about his reputation as an ANC warlord. He uses the collective pronoun "we" to include his comrades in the leadership of the Natal Midlands.

"There has been a calculated campaign from the State, from Inkatha and the media to give us a bad name because we called on the people to defend themselves."

The tone of his voice rises a fraction as he stresses that he is not in favour of attacking people because they subscribe to different political views. But, he adds, if people are attacked they must defend themselves.

"I am not a warlord. I am very much for people defending themselves. If that is a warlord, then I am one. I will always call on my people to defend themselves."

Mr Gwala, a former schoolteacher of humble working-class origins who became a member of the South African Communist Party before joining the ANC, believes that "the people" must decide who should represent them.

Natal is a vital area in the coming struggle for the people's vote. More than a quarter of South Africa's 38 million people live in the province, which has long been a stronghold of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

How, then, does Mr Gwala see the balance of power as politicians begin to position themselves for South Africa's first nonracial election next year or, at the latest, the year after?

"My assessment will be a bit biased but I try to make the assessment from what I noticed in 1989 after my release from prison," Mr Gwala replies.

"Inkatha was predominant and very visible. But today I can say with very little fear of

Stalin, the struggle and victory his impetus



Harry Gwala (above), a veteran of the struggle against apartheid, is a controversial man. Dubbed an "ANC warlord," he subscribes to Stalinism more than 30 years after it was denounced by Nikita Khrushchev. He speaks to PATRICK LAURENCE.

contradiction that the ANC has made very big headway and has got majority support."

He goes on to list a series of townships and villages where Chief Buthelezi's IFP used to be a major force but whose support has now dwindled to negligible proportions.

The IFP charges that the ANC, under Mr Gwala's direction, has wrested control by force, using AK-47s and petrol bombs rather than rational argument to silence opposition.

Mr Gwala, a member of the SACP central committee, smilingly dismisses the charges. He offers a different explanation.

"It lies in the traditional allegiance (of Natal's black people) to the ANC. Very important leaders of the ANC came from Natal: the founder of the ANC, Dr Pixley Seme; the first president of the ANC, Dr John Dube; and the most popular leader of the ANC, Chief A J Lutuli.

"People have been traditionally ANC. When they joined Inkatha they did so because they felt it represented the message of the ANC.

"But they found there was something amiss. Instead of

concentrating on attacking apartheid, Inkatha was more concerned with fighting the ANC and the (pro-ANC) United Democratic Front."

The IFP has noted that Mr Gwala was in Umgababa, on Natal's South Coast, before the massacre there of eight IFP members in an ambush.

Mr Gwala notes that he was in Umgababa two weeks before the massacre and dismisses the inference that there is a connection between the two events.

On a more sombre note, Mr Gwala, who was unanimously elected regional chairman of Natal Midlands in 1990, recalls: "Several attempts have been made on my life ... I have learnt to live with it."

Mr Gwala, however, is not full of false bravado. He admits that he was frightened during the ANC's September 7 march on Bisho, when Ciskei soldiers opened fire, killing 28 people and wounding scores more.

Mr Gwala, who sent a message of congratulations to the hardline communists who attempted to overthrow Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991, says: "Yes, I am so described. I am proud (of the label). I am a hardliner."

Referring to Stalinism, Mr Gwala credits it with "some of the great achievements that have been made in the struggle of the working man and woman." He adds: "Stalin, together with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the people of the Soviet Union, contributed to the defeat of Hitler. That was something to be admired."

But he concedes that Stalinism did have "ugly features" and brutal excesses, including the untrammelled power of the KGB and the murder of people on mere suspicion.

Mr Gwala, who has been accused of inciting his followers against the press for its alleged bias, does not leave the point there. "Which man does not have his own shadow?" he asks rhetorically.

On the future, the veteran communist says: "We shall build a new South Africa where we shall re-educate ourselves, transform our way of thinking, our own psychology. In transforming our environment, we shall transform ourselves."

He is against the granting of a general amnesty which would include security force members who assassinated anti-apartheid activists. He denies that he or his comrades want revenge. □

16/1/11

ANC calls off Natal township march

Daily News 3/10/92
THE planned ANC march at Ladysmith's Ezakheni township was called off yesterday after local IFP supporters, mainly from the hostel, moved in to disrupt the march.

The quick intervention of the security forces and the local police prevented what could have been a bloody confrontation, when the IFP supporters marched towards the township's

hall in section C, where the ANC supporters were gathering before marching to the local superintendent's office to present a memorandum.

According to ANC members who organised the march they agreed to call it off to prevent loss of lives.

Announcing the proposed march last Friday, ANC Mid-

lands spokesman Reggie Hadebe said it was part of the campaign to "demand free political activity, the disbanding of the Kwazulu Police force and to stop the transfer of 600 ha of land to KwaZulu".

In response the KwaZulu Government had said that "mass action caused violence and could not be called legitimate or democratic".

Buthelezi Leaves Talks— Civil War in S. Africa?

by Allen Douglas

Sept. 28 (EIRNS)—Brandishing a spear and clad in the traditional leopard skin of a Zulu warrior, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a fiery speech in Natal on Sept. 27 told a rally of 30,000 Zulus that his Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu homeland were pulling out of talks with the South African government and the African National Congress (ANC). "My view now is that negotiation for the future constitution of South Africa cannot go ahead," Buthelezi said, adding that "I warn against the danger of indulging in what would amount to ethnic cleansing, which is taking place in Yugoslavia right now."

Buthelezi was responding in particular to concessions President Frederik DeKlerk had made to the ANC in order to get talks restarted: 1) that 500 ANC members now imprisoned, over half of whom were convicted for murder, would be released; 2) that the government would string up barbed wire around hostels where Zulu workers stayed; and 3) that it would disarm Zulus of their "traditional weapons," spears and hatchets, in the face of continued bloody fighting between the Zulus and the ANC. Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini also addressed the rally, charging that the ANC plan was "to wipe the Zulus off the face of the Earth."

Push for Civil War
Although there is widespread foreboding in South Africa that a bloody civil war will break out if the talks don't move ahead, the U.S. and Britain and their stooges in the United Nations, all of whom exerted massive pressure on DeKlerk to make the most recent concessions, have attempted to rig things so that a civil war is inevitable. The ANC represents only a portion of the Xhosa tribe, historically bitter enemies of the much larger Zulu nation. If the Anglo-American-backed, South African Communist

Party-dominated ANC is granted all its demands in "negotiations," it will form a black minority-rule government amid ceaseless bloody conflict with the Zulus.

If the government does not meet all the ANC/Communist demands, the ANC has said it will launch violent "mass action" to seize power, again guaranteeing civil war. Its threat to march on KwaZulu, the homeland of which Buthelezi is chief minister, was another bludgeon used to force the reopening of talks.

Even before these latest concessions, Buthelezi told a rally in KwaZulu Sept. 24 that, given the government and ANC attempt to marginalize Zulu representation in the "new South Africa," the country had already moved into "the first phase of civil war."

Suggesting the determination of the Anglo-Americans to plunge ahead toward genocide, Zach de Beer, an executive of the Oppenheimer family's all-powerful Anglo-American Corp. and chairman of the CODESA (Congress for a Democratic South Africa) talks, stated, "Inkatha is an important organization whose cooperation is highly desirable. However, the work must go on whether or not Inkatha takes part."

Bloodbath?
The Natal rally, which Buthelezi addressed commemorated the legendary 19th-century Zulu chieftain Shaka. Anyone watching the heavily armed, impassioned Zulu "impis" that day, who understands anything of southern African history, and who heard Buthelezi pledge that "I will never, ever, under any circumstances, ever ask anybody for permission to carry a Zulu cultural weapon," would—and should—be seized with dread. In attempting to anoint the Xhosa to rule South Africa, the Anglo-Americans will deliberately unleash a ferocity which Buthelezi correctly compared to that in Yugoslavia.

Compliments of
Cliff Bosney

INDEPENDENT
London

5/10/92

White Wolf ready to murder blacks again

BAREND STRYDOM, self-proclaimed "White Wolf", said yesterday in his first newspaper interview after his release a week ago as a political prisoner that he would mow down another eight black people in cold blood "if necessary".

In an interview with the Afrikaans *Rapport* newspaper, which paid him for its "exclusive", Mr Strydom said he saw himself as a freedom fighter who had carried out the massacre in broad daylight in central Pretoria four years ago out of love for his fellow whites.

"I am not sorry. To have regrets

would have implied I did something wrong. I did nothing wrong. If necessary, I would murder again," he said.

"My action was not impulsive but fully planned ahead of time. My attack was to serve as a counter to the terror campaign being waged by the ANC at the time... for me it was just like a normal day's work. I was a warrior. The world must recognise me as a freedom fighter and not make me out to be a cold-blooded murderer."

Explaining the political rationale behind his act, he said: "It is only by expanding the white race

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

that we can counter the numerical dominance of blacks. I did not murder out of hate for the enemy but out of love for my people. My victims were not necessarily innocent people. These are the people who today are trying to take over my country."

At Mr Strydom's trial in 1989 the judge, who noted he had never encountered a more cold-blooded murderer, sentenced him to death after remarking he saw no hope of

rehabilitation. A psychologist asked by the Strydom defence team at the time to examine their client said last week she was appalled at the decision to free him.

Describing him as paranoid "in the psychotic sense", Irma Labuschagne of the University of South Africa told the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail*: "I am really afraid because I don't think he is a safe person out of prison. I would never trust him."

The minister in charge of prisons, Adriaan Vlok, explained last week that the government had released Mr Strydom because he fell

under the guidelines established for political prisoners. His release had been motivated by the desire to seek "national reconciliation", Mr Vlok said.

The government's thinking was that, having agreed to release ANC murderer Robert McBride, in the interests of fairness they should release Mr Strydom.

In an editorial, the *Weekly Mail* said that to draw an analogy between Mr McBride and Mr Strydom was like suggesting that the French Resistance fighters should have been in the Nuremberg dock alongside the Nazis.

56.2 per cent. (A/P)

Buthlezi call

Johannesburg: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom party, said at a Natal rally that his return to talks on South Africa's constitution was conditional on the African National Congress disbanding its armed wing. (Reuters)

Times 5/10/92
London

B / Day

5 / 10 / 92

Alliance resolute on marches, says SACP

CARLETONVILLE — SACP secretary-general Chris Hani said yesterday the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would continue with its planned marches on Ulundi and Bophuthatswana despite warnings they could lead to violence, Sapa reports.

Speaking at an NUM health and safety rally in Carletonville, he said the presence of UN monitors and the national peace secretariat would help ensure the marches took place without violent incidents.

RAY HARTLEY reports UN monitoring mission chief Angela King said at a weekend media conference ANC marches planned for Ulundi and Mmabatho would go off peacefully if leaders committed themselves to avoiding violence.

She said last week's Shaka Day rally, held by Inkatha in the ANC stronghold of KwaMashu, was evidence peace was possible if leaders made an effort to minimise conflict.

King said national peace committee chairman John Hall was working on a new accord on political tolerance.

Steps taken by monitors and national peace accord structures to avoid bloodshed at protests included:

- ☐ Meetings with government, ANC, Bophuthatswana and Inkatha officials; and
- ☐ Mobilisation of the peace accord's regional dispute resolution committees in affected areas.

King said 50 UN observers would be in SA by the end of October. A further 15 Commonwealth and EC monitors were also expected soon.

☐ SACP member Jeremy Cronin said yesterday mass action should continue through the transition period and into a future SA, directed at the government the first of which will be on Sunday, the first of Van Zyl Slabbert's hour-long lunchtime TV talk shows.

Cronin said even when SA had made the transition to democracy, levers had to be in place for the masses to make their feelings known other than at the polls.

Buthelezi refuses to join negotiations until Umkhonto is disbanded

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi issued a potentially crippling ultimatum yesterday, ruling out national negotiations until the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was disbanded.

In a strongly worded speech which disregarded diplomatic and government efforts to woo him back to negotiations, Buthelezi told his followers to be prepared for death.

Buthelezi was speaking in the Hlabisa district of Natal in the latest of a series of Shaka Day speeches.

He said he would not stand by and watch his people massacred in the ANC's "bloody

battle for power".

"It is time to say: Thus far and no further. If that means we will die, so be it."

ANC support in KwaZulu was negligible and hence the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region was high on the organisation's agenda, he said.

Arms caches had been discovered recently outside Ulundi, "intended for the use of the ANC marchers in their attempt to topple the KwaZulu government".

Issuing an ultimatum to government and the ANC, Buthelezi said without the immediate disbandment of the ANC's

TIM COHEN

"ruthless army" negotiations could not proceed. "MK has got to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact.

"If it is to remain and to continue after an interim government is established, either on its own or as part of the SADF... count me out of these agreements."

He said the Zulu people had been betrayed by government, which was supporting the ANC's vendetta against Inkatha and the KwaZulu government.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus dismissed the KwaZulu leader's threat as a "red herring" and an excuse for not entering into negotiations.

Niehaus said that in terms of the D F Malan Accord, Umkhonto we Sizwe would not be disbanded but the ANC would control arms caches inside the country.

MK was not a threat to free political activity — unlike violence emanating from certain hostels, he said.

Sapa reports from Durban that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini said yesterday

the ANC and the SACP were sowing division among blacks.

Not since the British defeated the Zulu nation in 1879 had there been a greater need for Zulus to face the world united, he told followers at KwaMsane in KwaZulu.

The king said the Zulu people were bracing themselves for a direct onslaught from the ANC and its allies.

"The time has come to stand up for our principles and protect our families and communities against the impending threat of those who have decided to invade this kingdom and its capital," said Zwelithini.

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Capital, business may flee CBD

Bank warns on merger with Soweto

THE World Bank has warned that capital and business could flee the Johannesburg city centre for the northern suburbs to escape the tax burden after Johannesburg and Soweto merge.

The warning came in the latest update of a major exercise undertaken by the bank to build a financial model for budgeting at the local level.

The updates are released on a limited basis to interested parties.

The bank was concerned over where new city boundaries would be drawn. Its model would be used to assess the fiscal impact of alternative metropolitan boundaries and would analyse the impact of rationalising lower tiers of government.

Referring to the present moves towards "city mergers", the bank warned that the way in which the process occurred could deepen fiscal stress at the local level.

"The ad hoc approach of 'city mergers' may rapidly result in imbalances in the sharing of fiscal responsibility by different white local authorities," the bank said. It believed it was "very conceivable" that Sandton and Roodepoort might take over the administration of Alexandra leaving Johannesburg with the responsibility of a larger area like Soweto.

Such a demarcation could spark the "flight" of business and capital, creating a weaker fiscal base for servicing the needs of Soweto and Johannesburg.

The bank was concerned that transfers to local authorities would continue to be used to finance current spending by black local authorities instead of investment in infrastructure.

It said as long as the focus of economic

GRETA STEYN

activity remained out of step with population distribution the central government would have to bear the burden of financing the growing deficits of the poorer regions.

"The combination of transfers to black local authorities, the TBVC states and self-governing states have been increasing at a rate of 24% annually since the mid-eighties and in fiscal 1990/91 absorbed about 85% of central government revenue growth."

The latter, it said, was used primarily to finance current expenditure. A real reduction in all other services must have been required to allow this large increase in transfers.

"In the case of provincial administrations, a significant shift has been under way ... as to whether the grants are to finance capital or current expenditure."

"In fiscal 1987/88, 23% of the budgeted transfers were for capital expenditure while in fiscal 1992/93 the figure has fallen to 6,9% of the transfers."

The bank said it was also worried that the current fragmentation at the lower levels of government has resulted in "ad hoc, unco-ordinated and frequently inefficient" investment.

Next month it will resume its study on regional spending and financing needs.

The exercise is being conducted in two phases: the first to establish the investment needs and financial impact for the metropolitan areas of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

In the second, the financial model would be implemented. The model would help assess the implications of changes in taxes, tariffs and service fees.

B/Day

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'Not a PAC bomb'

CLAIMS that the PAC military wing Apla was responsible for Friday's Bisho car bomb blast were "devoid of truth", PAC spokesman Waters Toboti said yesterday.

B/day

5/10/92

Political generals

OUR army and police generals are in danger of forgetting who it is that they serve. They are not there to serve and protect the ruling party, nor just the government of the day. They are public servants whose job is to serve the people as a whole.

This is not the impression given by generals who lapse too easily into political harangues against the ANC, its communist allies and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. Army chief Lt Gen Georg Meiring has just done so again. Ten days ago he claimed MK was on its way to disrupt the Shaka Day celebrations in Natal. Now he says MK is planning to sabotage government installations.

If these things are happening, it is certainly the job of the police and the military to know about it. It is not their job, however, to make statements that amount to attacks on the political opponents of the government. That function belongs to the politicians, not to officers who should be prepared to serve an ANC government as well as they serve this one.

The police and the army will lack credibility among black people while they are seen as the servants of a party or a government. This is not helped by generals who have spent decades treating the ANC as a deadly enemy and now cannot keep their political antipathy out of their public utterances.

Clinton: Sanctions stay until Black majority rule

By Arthur Kemp

AMERICAN president-elect Mr Bill Clinton will not lift economic, social or political sanctions on South Africa with the installation of an interim government, but only when a government elected by the Black majority is installed in this country.

Mr Clinton made this policy position clear in an interview with *Africa Report* magazine, published in Washington, in its September/October 1992 issue.

In the interview Mr Clinton said his administration would "maintain all remaining state and local sanctions as well as diplomatic pressure (on South Africa) until there is an irreversible, free and fair accommodation with the Black majority to create a democratic government with full rights for all its citizens."

Mr Clinton has also promised not to relax pressure on the economic

front until a fully-fledged democracy is installed in South Africa.

"We should also continue the current restrictions on South Africa's access to international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund until this goal is reached," Mr Clinton said in the interview.

Professor Carel Noffke, head of the Rand Afrikaans University's Institute for American Studies, said American journalists were unanimous in their interpretation of Mr Clinton's remarks as meaning that there would be "no lifting of sanctions until a government elected by the Black majority is in place, and not the installation of an interim arrangement."

"Indeed, the Democratic Party, in its election manifesto, reserved the right to re-introduce federal sanctions lifted by the Republican administration," Prof Noffke said.

aid to South Africa once a new government had been installed.

"Finally when the transition to democracy is assured, a Clinton administration would begin to develop a programme of aid and investment incentives that can be used to help a democratically elected government to overcome the legacy of apartheid," he said.

"They always have something to say on South Africa and it is a popular topic," he said.

In the interview Mr Clinton said his first priority would be "to help end the violence" which is threatening the negotiations process.

Then he would "insist that President F W de Klerk investigate and prosecute those responsible for the violence. I will target for assistance the strengthening of local peace keeping structures and support Mr Nelson Mandela's call for international monitors," he said.

Mr Clinton furthermore only promised

aid to South Africa once a new government had been installed.

"Finally when the transition to democracy is assured, a Clinton administration would begin to develop a programme of aid and investment incentives that can be used to help a democratically elected government to overcome the legacy of apartheid," he said.

"In the matter of sanctions and pressure on the government then, the Democratic Party victory is in line with what the ANC was asking for," Prof Noffke said.

Mr Clinton's wife, Hillary, is a "Left-wing activist of some 20 years," said Prof Noffke.

"Her influence on him will be considerable."

According to Prof Noffke's sources Mrs Clinton was president of the New World Foundation (NWF) from 1968 to 1988, which "funded many radical organisations, including the National Lawyers Guild which in turn was founded by the US Communist Party in the 1930s," said Prof Noffke.

The NWF also gave \$38 million to the pro-ANC Africa Fund, and certainly at least some of this money was given to the ANC itself," he said.

A Clinton administration in the White House would be more favourably disposed to support the ANC's point of view should there be any further breakdowns in the negotiation process, said Professor John Barratt of the University of the Witwatersrand's Institute of International Affairs yesterday.

Prof Barratt said if a new dispute should arise about the continuation of the negotiations process "then a Democratic administration will tend to give the benefit of the doubt to the ANC".

Mugabe in talks with ANC, PAC on unity

HARARE. — Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe yesterday held talks in Harare with African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and the Pan Africanist Congress' Clarence Makwetu in a renewed attempt to revive the stalled Patriotic Front of anti-apartheid organisations.

Briefing journalists after the talks, Mr Mugabe said as chairman of the Frontline States, he was trying to get the two organisations to work together in the struggle for

a democratic South Africa.

Ziana national news agency reports that Mr Mugabe was tasked at the last Organisation for African Unity Ad-Hoc Committee on Southern Africa meeting last month to hold meetings with the ANC and PAC leaders to revive the forum.

Mr Mugabe said Mr Mandela and Mr Makwetu would return to South Africa to discuss the issue of reviving the front and "thereafter, we should see the survival of the

patriotic front."

"We have not lost hope, but we cannot talk of having achieved success at this meeting."

In his comments, Mr Mandela said Mr Mugabe had expressed concern over the disunity of the liberation movements in South Africa.

"We appreciate that concern, and we take it as a serious concern," Mr Mandela said.

"I did not speak to Makwetu," Mr Mandela said.

"I will report back to my organisation about this meeting and I will treat the matter with utmost urgency. If certain conditions are met, we will sit down and discuss unity, it is a weakness we cannot afford," Mr Mandela said.

Asked to outline problems hindering the effective operations of the front, Mr Mandela said it was not proper to reveal the problems at this stage, but they would be disclosed when efforts had been made to revive the

forum.

Mr Makwetu said he came to Harare to find out why the Patriotic Front was not functioning effectively: "I do not have any problem, we are ready to meet the ANC at any time on this issue."

"If there are any problems that exist, they should compel us to sit down and talk," said the PAC leader.

The three leaders also congratulated US president-elect Bill Clinton on his success. — Sapa.

Mandela looks forward to more co-operation

Citizen Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, said in a special message to American president-elect Mr Bill Clinton yesterday that he looked forward to his continued co-operation to "end the system of apartheid and to transform South Africa into a non-racial and non-sexist democracy".

Mr Mandela said he "remembered with fondness" a meeting with Mr Clinton earlier this year, and said that he "trusted it will be possible to resume our discussions in the near future".

"We hope that it will also be possible for us to avail ourselves of your good offices in terms of securing the support of

the United States as we work in the future to rebuild the economy of our country."

The leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Minister Mongosuthu Buthelezi, also congratulated Mr Clinton.

"His victory was a very certain victory, and he was decidedly the choice of the American people," Chief Buthelezi said.

"It is our sincere hope that Mr Clinton will see the importance of South Africa's striving for democracy in an open race-free society, and see that importance in the context of the desperate needs that there are now to make the victory over apartheid and racism a victory that will benefit the whole of southern Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said he hoped that when Mr Clinton put his Africa team together "he will find the time to hear representations from us about what we need in our circumstances".

FW wishes new pres well in seeking peace

Political Correspondent

STATE President De Klerk has sent a message of congratulation to Governor Bill Clinton and to his vice-presidential running mate, Senator Al Gore, on their victory in the US presidential elections.

Mr De Klerk wished them well in pursuing the objectives for which the American people had voted, and also wished them well in the

pursuit of world peace and economic progress and stability.

He looked forward to continuing the friendly and mutually beneficial relations built up between South Africa and the United States.

In a message to President George Bush, Mr De Klerk expressed his appreciation for the friendly and constructive relations built up between them. He

wished President and Mrs Bush well for the future.

Mrs Marike De Klerk sent separate congratulations to Mrs Hillary Clinton, who will become America's new First Lady next year, and to Mrs Tipper Gore and their families.

She also sent a message to Mrs Barbara Bush, thanking her for the friendship which they had enjoyed.

State land: Moratorium on sale 'ruled out'

X
GOVERNMENT was not prepared to place a moratorium on the alienation of state land and its transference to the self-governing territories, Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers

said in a statement yesterday.

The needs of the people were paramount and could not be ignored, he said.

On Tuesday the African National Congress in-

sisted on a moratorium on the sale of state land until an interim government was in place.

In response Mr Scheepers said the ANC wanted land distribution only to suit its own political ends.

His statement said the ANC was willing to do injustice to Black land owners in pursuit of its own interests.

Mr Scheepers said the government was addressing the disparity of land ownership between Blacks and Whites and the need to improve the quality of life of South Africans by giving them the right to land ownership.

He said the ANC was wilfully creating a wrong impression that land was being transferred to self-governing territories for the purpose of state formation.

Government policy was precisely the opposite — state formation should not be affected, but private ownership by tribes and individuals should be promoted. — Sapa.

Residents incensed by hostel rent increase

Citizen Reporter

ZULU-speaking residents of the upgraded Number One Tokoza Hostel were yesterday incensed about accommodation being denied to them unless they signed lease contracts and paid more rent.

Rent was increased from R15 to R50 a month and representatives on Monday told authorities at a meeting this was totally unacceptable as there had been neither prior notice of the increase nor mention of any contracts.

Former residents demanded to be allowed accommodation first before negotiating rental

and contracts, but their request was denied.

The upgraded hostel was opened at the end of August at a cost of about R3.5-m and will house about 3 000 men.

Tokoza's Town Clerk, Mr Herman Combrinck, said tempers were frayed, but the situation had been defused after a spokesman for the Inkatha Freedom Party addressed residents.

"After being addressed, they were satisfied that the situation was being attended to at the highest level — which included an urgent meeting with the MEC, Mr John Mavuso."

Mr Combrinck said the R50 rental was "a nominal flat rate" to partially cover electricity and water charges.

He said a "simple contract" of less than one page requesting regular payment of the rent, without pre-conditions or demands, was at issue.

"The representative committee was invited to bring their own financing experts and discuss the amount with us, but to date they have refused to respond."

He said there was no legal recourse for the town council and only the regular civil proceedings regulating such affairs remained.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT Clinton

THE election of Democrat Bill Clinton as the next President of the United States was not unexpected.

President George Bush concentrated too much on international matters and did not pay enough attention to domestic issues, especially the stuttering economy, growing unemployment and the dissatisfaction of many Americans with their lives.

His popularity peaked at the time of the Gulf War, but even then he upset many people by not finishing off Saddam Hussein.

But basically it was the fact that Americans were ripe for change, ripe for new leadership, disenchanted with the politicians who had been running the country, that swept Mr Clinton into office.

To outsiders, the election campaign was distasteful, with each candidate slinging mud at the other.

How a person like Mr Clinton can become President-elect after allegations of adultery, draft dodging and experimenting with dagga, to the point that six out of ten people in the final poll published on the day of the election said they did not trust him, is one of the mysteries of American politics.

Americans, however, seemed to prefer his open-faced candour to the testy, patrician look of President Bush.

And perhaps, in the end, like President John Kennedy, he will give the United States that uplift, confidence and belief in itself that has been lacking in recent times.

Naturally, all countries will be trying to assess his impact on regional and international affairs, on domestic policy and on the economic revitalisation that is needed to get his country — and the world — out of its deep recession.

South Africa will be no different. There are those who believe that, since the Democrats have always taken the part of the ANC and have been the party of sanctions, we will suffer more from a Clinton presidency than we did under the Bush administration.

They are probably right — in the degree with which Mr Clinton will pressure South Africa to do America's bidding.

In economic terms, he can do this country no more harm than his predecessor did. Those sanctions Mr Bush lifted will remain lifted.

Mr Bush, while promising to end America's virtual ban on International Monetary Fund loans to South Africa when apartheid ended, shifted the goalposts so that the US would not agree to IMF loans until there is an interim government in being here.

Mr Clinton may go further (though we doubt it) and refuse to sanction IMF loans until a Black government is in power.

He will also pressure South Africa for even faster change.

And he will probably be even less sympathetic on the nature of the new constitution.

It has always been essential that State President De Klerk should build up international support for the kind of dispensation he favours.

But the new American administration is likely to back a majoritarian, Namibian-style, winner-takes-all approach.

There is, of course, a lesson for Mr De Klerk, the ANC and other major players that the economic needs of the people are paramount.

This country, too, is in a parlous state, as The Citizen's articles on the Great Recession have shown.

Mr Bush ignored economic issues and paid the penalty; Mr De Klerk, in particular, should make the revival of the economy his major preoccupation.

In that regard, South Africa will no doubt benefit from any improvement in the US economy that leads to the ending of the worldwide recession, since the slump in our mineral and other exports will end.

But he will also have to sort out our political uncertainties, end the violence and restore business confidence — and that won't be easy.

Meanwhile, our best advice to Mr De Klerk is: Don't let Mr Clinton interfere in our affairs.

What we need is a settlement acceptable to all reasonable men — and only South Africans can find that solution.

Troops, police deployed **Operation Peace** **launched in Natal**

DURBAN. — Operation Peace — the deployment of hundreds of soldiers and extra policemen — was launched in Natal yesterday amid African National Congress re-

jections of the government's plan to end violence in the province and reports of more politically-linked killings.

Hundreds of soldiers from Kimberley's 3 SA

Infantry Battalion were dispatched to the Midlands yesterday while hundreds more Citizen Force members were mobilised in Durban to patrol the area between the Transkei border and the Tugela River in northern Natal.

The security drive was announced by State President De Klerk last week after last month's toll in Natal rose to 185. Since Sunday at least 13 more killings have been reported.

A 19-person delegation of the ANC's national working committee met its Natal leadership in Pietermaritzburg yesterday and rejected the government's security plan.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference the State President was incorrectly basing his actions on allegations of Umkhonto we Sizwe infiltration from Transkei.

He said the government further perceived violence as emanating from within Black communities.

"The cynical nature of this move by the regime becomes pertinent when

Op Peace begins

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one considers that the government has sufficient knowledge of the role of the KwaZulu Police, the South African Defence Force, the South African Police and covert forces fostering violence," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa claimed Natal had been selected as a "testing field" for a campaign to block the advance to democracy.

Within this context, the ANC was developing measures to curb the violence, including a request for a meeting of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional

Dispute Resolution Committee to be attended by the executive committees of the National Peace Accord, its secretariat and international observers.

A special ANC committee had also been established to draft proposals on ending violence, he announced.

Mr Ramaphosa said further statements on this issue would be made by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the funeral of assassinated Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe on Sunday.

Midlands ANC secretary Sifiso Nkabinde on Wednesday criticised the government's "unilate-

ral" plan for security forces in Natal.

He said a joint monitoring committee, comprising the security forces, the KwaZulu Police and Umkhonto we Sizwe, should be established in the region.

The Human Rights Commission expressed concern over the placement of troops in the province.

A Durban HRC researcher said the main problem areas were within KwaZulu and "normally the South African security forces have to request permission from the KwaZulu Police to enter these areas". — Sapa.

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Cancel parly session: Call by Dr Treurnicht

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has called on the government to cancel the forthcoming parliamentary session.

Dr Treurnicht, in a statement yesterday, said the session was intended to introduce legislation enabling the National Party to set up an interim government and cancel future by-elections.

He called the planned move a serious infringement upon the democrati-

ic rights of White voters.

"Mr De Klerk stated that he does not wish to exclude any parties with regard to their right to participate fully in constitutional negotiations. If he is to be believed, then the best way of proving his sincerity would be to cancel the forthcoming parliamentary session," the CP leader said.

The only supporters of the proposed interim government were the NP and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

"No other parties have consented to this legislation, despite the fact that it affects everyone in South Africa. It is now clear that Mr De Klerk is in fact doing the bidding of the ANC, to the exclusion of everyone else."

Dr Treurnicht took strong exception to recent agreements concluded in bilateral talks between government and the ANC.

"His exclusive agreements with the ANC must now come to an end. Other peoples in South Africa can no longer tolerate the NP/ANC alliance's peremptory decisions over their future."

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and military leaders of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President Lucas Mangope, have raised similar objections to such agreements, raising fears of a bloc forming, opposed to government and the ANC in democracy talks. — Sapa.

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Miners want role in decisions: NUM

WELKOM. — Miners wanted a strong democratic government which would liberate workers from capitalism and give them a leading role in making economic and industrial decisions, National Union of Mine-workers' president James Motlatsi said yesterday.

Speaking at the Harmony Stadium in Welkom on health and safety in the South African mining industry, he said serious efforts would be made to eliminate risks in mining operations only when mineworkers were responsible for determining decisions in the mines.

He added that compensation for risks taken was

a last resort. Risks should be eliminated, not paid for.

"It is no compensation to a dead man that his dependants should receive a financial settlement. If for some reason, despite having a democratic government and economic policy in which we, the workers, are playing a leading role, we fail to make mining completely safe, then we must ensure that injured workers and their dependants are properly cared for," Mr Motlatsi said.

He said the answer to the pursuit of health and safety in the mines did not lie in safety committees and safety awards. — Sapa.

FW, Mandela nominated for a Nobel prize

STOCKHOLM. — State President De Klerk and African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela have been nominated for a Nobel Prize for working to end apartheid and violence in South Africa.

Dramatic world events of 1991 produced a record number of nominations for this year's Peace Prize — 115 individuals or organisations for the 6.5 million kronör (R3,4 million) award.

Czechoslovakia's former president, Mr Vaclav Havel, is thought to be a contender again for the prize being announced on October 16 in Oslo.

For the past three years, Mr Havel has been listed as a favourite by Norwegian newspapers. He was given a special Norwegian award in 1990 as a protest against the choice of then-Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr Havel's own choice for the peace prize was Burmese human rights activist and non-violent political leader Mr Aung San Suu Kyi. He nominated Mrs Suu Kyi and she won the 1991 prize, but remains under house arrest in Burma.

The French aid group, Doctors Without Borders, and The Salvation Army have been mentioned for several years in a row as possible winners.

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and Thai Foreign Minister Siddhi Savetsila were nominated for their efforts to bring peace to

Cambodia

US President George Bush, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, and former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir are among national leaders on this year's nominations list.

Mr Oyvind Johnsson, foreign desk editor at the major Norwegian daily Arbeiderbladet said "a strong outsider" choice for peace prize would be Rigoberta Menchu, a Guatemalan Indian lead-

er. Mr Johnsson said awarding the prize to her would coincide with the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in America.

The Nobel Prize for literature prize is also wide open. Even the date is up in the air. Traditionally it has been given on a Thursday, so October 8 is the first opportunity.

The Swedish Academy awarded the 1991 Nobel literature to Nadine Gordimer of South Africa — the first time it went to a woman from the African continent.

The academy says it considers a body of work and not gender, race, language or geographical area, but academy members in rare public statements acknowledged last year they were under pressure to find a female laureate.

"It's a quite open affair. I don't think they have to compensate for this or that," said Mr Tor-kel Rasmusson, culture editor of Dagens Nyheter, Sweden's largest morning paper.

This year, writers on the academy's short list of

candidates are believed to have supporters on the 18-member committee. They are West Indian poet Derek Walcott, Trinidad-born novelist VS Naipaul, Irish poet Seamus Heaney, and American novelist Joyce Carol Oates.

In addition to Walcott and Naipaul, he listed Japanese novelist and short-story writer Kenzaburo Oe, novelist and poet Hugo Klaus of Belgium, German writer Peter Handke and Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes. — Sapa-AP.

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Before talks start, MK has got to go — Buthelezi

WITHOUT the immediate disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the demobilisation of its military personnel, negotiations cannot go ahead, Inkatha Freedom Party president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He also regarded as a "declaration of war" last weekend's summit agreement between President De Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

"If this bilateral agreement is to set the scene for the future negotiation process count me out," Chief Buthelezi said in a speech at a Shaka Day celebration in KwaMsane in KwaZulu.

"Last week President De Klerk signed an agreement with the ANC while knowing full well that I would oppose it vehemently — and in doing so

Mr De Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation," Chief Buthelezi warned.

"I am appalled and disgusted, and so is the IFP and the KwaZulu Government, at the content of this agreement."

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela at their summit reached agreement on a constituent assembly, banning of dangerous weapons, guarding and fencing hostels, and releasing political prisoners.

Chief Buthelezi criticised in particular the agreements on hostels and dangerous weapons.

"To both the government and the ANC, it is now your turn to hear our demands," he said in his speech.

"Both the IFP and KwaZulu Government charge that without the

immediate disbandment of the ANC's ruthless army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the demobilisation of its military personnel, negotiations cannot go ahead.

"The focus on traditional weapons is totally disproportionate, when considering the destruction and devastation caused by the ANC's military wing.

"... Umkhonto has got to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact.

"If it is to remain and to continue after an interim government is established either on its own, or as part of the SA Defence Force, you can count me out of these agreements."

Dealing specifically with the issue of hostels and of dangerous weapons, Chief Buthelezi

said:

"The ANC and its allies, together with the tacit backing of our local media, continue to use widespread, defamatory and destructive propaganda to portray hostel dwellers as the aggressors in the Transvaal violence.

"Yet, in reality, most hostel dwellers live in fear and uncertainty, isolated and vulnerable to the forces outside the hostel walls."

The IFP leader charged that this "distorted propaganda" had lent credibility to the ANC's demand to fence in hostel dwellers.

"This, in practice, will mean putting barbed wire around those hostels which the ANC finds problematic."

As for the summit agreement to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons, Chief Buthelezi said he had always supported any moves to disarm people of dangerous weapons.

"My commitment to peace has gone as far as agreeing to do everything in my power to prevent IFP supporters carrying traditional weapons in declared unrest areas."

But he added: "I have compromised the position of the Zulu people as far as I can go, before I too will be a sell-out to the ANC.

"Any demands beyond this constitutes a direct attack against the Zulu nation."

"... There is an orchestrated plot to culturally and ethnically castrate the Zulu people through intimidation and provocation," Chief Buthelezi charged. — Sapa.

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ANC alliance dividing Blacks — Zulu king

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday criticised the African National Congress and its alliance partner, the SA Communist Party, for sowing seeds of discontent and division among Black South Africans.

Not since the British army defeated the Zulu nation in 1879 had there been a greater need for Zulus to face the world united, he said.

King Zwelithini was speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in Kwa-Msane, KwaZulu.

"I am deeply saddened at current events," he said. "Our noble ances-

tors must be turning in their graves at the violence and corruption that is wrecking our land, and killing our people.

"As the structures and forces of apartheid disappear under the continued reforms of President F W de Klerk, those forces of repression are only to be replaced by a new terror,

"Never before has South Africa witnessed the levels of violence and decay evident in our Black communities.

"Never before has the ANC/SACP alliance seemed more committed to sowing the seeds of discontent and division

among the Black people, as they pit Zulu against Xhosa, and brother against brother.

"The Zulu people are bracing themselves for a direct onslaught from the ANC and its allies.

"The ANC has widely publicised its intentions to march to (the KwaZulu capital) Ulundi and topple the KwaZulu Government and the Chief Minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"We are tired of the deaths and the killings. We are tired of the intimidation and the provocation against the Zulu people of South Africa.

"The time has come to stand up to our principles and protect our families and communities against the impending threat of those who have decided to invade this kingdom and its capital."

"The ANC leaders of the Natal Midlands, Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Reggie Hadebe, have both been abusing my name and accusing me of political partiality merely because I do not endorse their wrong policies, which are costing us as Zulus such a high price when human lives are lost." — Sapa.

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'Qwa Qwa won't join the tripartite alliance'

PHUTHADITJABA.

The QwaQwa Government will resist any pressure to join the tripartite African National Congress alliance, the homeland's Chief Minister, Dr T K Mopeli, said yesterday.

Addressing a political rally at Phuthaditjaba, Dr Mopeli said the mass-action campaign by the

ANC, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions was not compatible with a spirit of negotiation and had only caused suffering, both to those who supported and those who opposed the ANC alliance.

"We are not at enmity with the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance as a move-

ment, but we will resist with all the might at our disposal the alliance forces that have been deployed against us in order to force us to join the alliance against our will."

By targeting anti-ANC homelands such as KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and QwaQwa, the ANC had employed a highly dubious strategy.

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Mangope slams Goldstone's Bisho report

THABA'NCHU. — The Goldstone Commission report on the Bisho massacre did not go far enough on the issue of mass action, says Bophuthatswanan President Lucas Mangope.

"Is it not sufficient to have tragic loss of life and destruction of property such as occurred at Bisho (on September 7) and elsewhere to convince people that mass action should be stopped forthwith?"

"Surely it is crystal clear to any observer by now that mass action is being used by unscrupulous elements to achieve objectives which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be described as democratic.

"Top leaders of the African National Congress/SA Communist Party alliance are on record, time and time again, stating categorically that the primary aim of their mass

action is to topple by force and violence governments such as mine" and that of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Bophuthatswanan president refuted "attempts to justify" mass action in Bophuthatswana as a protest against the absence of free political activity.

Democratic processes and mechanisms were in place in Bophuthatswana to enable full and free political activity by all.

"The ordinary working man who has no brief for trade unionism gone mad, the businessman who sees his life's work being sacrificed on the altar of political expediency, even the dedicated student who wants to get on with the business of learning — all have been crying out for the voice of sanity to be raised in objection to the mindless destruction of this entire region."

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Marches on Ulundi and Bop are on — Hani

SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani said yesterday the ANC, SACP and Cosatu alliance would continue with its planned marches on Ulundi and Bophuthatswana, despite warnings they could lead to violence.

Speaking at a National Union of Mineworkers' health and safety rally at Carletonville, he said the presence of United Nations monitors and the National Peace Secretariat would help ensure the

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Marches are on

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marches took place without violent incidents.

He added the alliance was, in fact, at the receiving end of the violence and not the cause.

On the recent release of prisoners, Mr Hani said criminals were taking advantage of the political prisoner release programme.

Although his organisation had campaigned for the release of genuine political prisoners, he could not understand why people like "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom and Dube Gang member Lucky Malaza were released as political prisoners.

He said the reasons for their release, as set out by the government, were unacceptable. His party objected to the release of petty and hardened criminals.

Referring to negotiations, Mr Hani said they should be "on track" within a month and were now "a matter of urgency". — Sapa.

Six die in unrest over the weekend

Six people were killed in unrest-related violence around the country at the weekend, police said.

A woman was killed and a man seriously wounded when a group attacked them with stones and set them alight in Bruntville, near Mooi River, Natal, yesterday.

Another man was stabbed to death in Ratanda, near Heidelberg.

On Saturday, two men were hacked to death in separate attacks in Alexandra, Sandton, police said.

Another two men were burnt to death in Darington, near Fort Beaufort in the eastern Cape, on the same day.

In Moletsane, Soweto, a house was damaged when three unknown men threw petrol bombs through a window on Saturday evening. No one was injured. — Crime Reporter.

Protest called off as IFP men move in

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The planned ANC march at Ladysmith's Ezakheni township was called off yesterday after local IFP supporters, mainly from the hostel, moved in to disrupt the march.

The quick intervention of the security forces and the local police saved what could have been

a bloody confrontation, when the IFP supporters marched towards the township's hall in section C, where the ANC supporters were gathering before marching to the local superintendent's office to present a memorandum.

Announcing the proposed march last Friday, ANC Midlands spokesman Reggie Ha-

debe said it was part of the campaign to demand free political activity, the disbanding of the KwaZulu Police and to stop the transfer of land to KwaZulu.

In response, the KwaZulu government had said that mass action caused violence and could not be called legitimate or democratic.

Mohammed Valli Moosa puts the case for the ANC's 'Transition to Democracy Act'

Simplicity is not always enough

VARIOUS members of the Democratic Party, including Tony Leon and Ken Andrew, have criticised the ANC's proposed "Transition to Democracy Act" on the grounds that it links far too closely governance during the transition period and the constitution-making process.

They proposed that the first democratic elections in this country should result only in the creation of a democratic constitution-making body. The constitution-making body will do just that — that is, make the constitution. In the meantime, the NP should continue to govern the country while the tricameral Parliament passes legislation.

The DP's proposals are indeed attractive, mainly for their simplicity and neatness. Unfortunately a constitutional process which is neat, simple and clinical but nothing else may fail dismally to answer the requirements of present-day South Africa, with all its complexities.

Incidentally, the DP and the

PAC have a very similar model for the transition. Both have an aversion to the notion of an interim government. The DP is concerned about the implementation of an interim government operating in terms of an interim constitutional framework, whereas the PAC does not want to soil its hands by being part of a multi-party interim government.

The ANC is of the view that the realities of this country compel all of us to establish an interim government of national unity as soon as possible.

● The first democratic election will be a very significant and dramatic political, social and psychological event for the South African nation. The product of the elections must seek to meet the aspirations of the people. For years and decades, the majority of South Africans have yearned for an end to white minority rule. It would be inconceivable to ordinary South Africans if after they have voted for the party of their choice, they still live under white minority rule. The lack of authority and le-

gitimacy of the NP Government and the tricameral Parliament, and the resultant inability to govern the country, would be exacerbated tenfold after the elections.

● We have seen from our recent experience, that for negotiations to proceed smoothly and for the transition to work, the population at large must have confidence in the process and the governing authority. Negotiating a new constitution and the process of reconciliation and building of trust must go hand in hand. The former will not work without the latter.

● Economic recovery should not be postponed for a single day if possible. The major international institutions have made it clear that they are unwilling to negotiate agreements with an unstable and unrepresentative minority government. This is what drives (Finance Minister) Derek Keys to being so vocal about the need for an interim government.

Most important for the international financiers, of course, is that the establishment of an interim government of national unity

would be the first real sign of political stability.

Ken Andrew expresses the view that it is inadvisable for the same people to be writing the constitution and attending to legislative functions. The implication of this view is that the tricameral parliament should continue making laws in spite of the fact that there would exist a democratically elected body.

The ANC's draft "Transition to Democracy Act" makes it clear that the two functions viz constitution-making and law-making must be separate. But to do this does not require the discredited tricameral Parliament. It proposes that elections be held for a National Assembly which would:

1. Sit as a Constituent Assembly bound by certain rules, procedures and General Constitution principles.

2. Sit as an Interim Parliament bound by a different set of rules and procedures.

The two functions will be kept separate and not enmeshed. The advantage of this is that both

structures would be democratically elected and therefore legitimate.

Mr Andrew also seems to suggest that the executive authority should be appointed by the present State President in consultation with a Codesa-type structure. This could only result in the extremely warped representation which exists in Codesa.

Our proposal is that the interim executive authority should be a product of the elections. All parties which enjoy more than at least 5 percent of the vote should be represented proportionally in the executive authority. This Cabinet should seek to operate as a government of national unity by, as far as possible, operating as a consensus government.

Mr Andrew also says that there is a danger that the interim government may be tempted to perpetuate its existence for a prolonged period. We cater for this by insisting that the Constituent Assembly complete its work within a fixed time-frame and that adequate deadlock-breaking mecha-

nisms be agreed upon beforehand. Mr Andrew would know that it was precisely the NP's refusal to agree to a fixed time-frame that contributed to the Codesa 2 deadlock. In the Record of Understanding between the ANC and the Government the principle of fixed time-frames and deadlock-breaking mechanisms have now been agreed to.

In any event, we believe that if there is any constitution that has a self-perpetuating tendency, it is the tricameral Parliament in which people who would otherwise lose an election enjoy a position of privilege and power grossly out of proportion to their actual voter strength.

I do find it surprising that Mr Andrew raises objections when the DP, and he personally, was party to the adoption of a scenario for interim rule which was agreed upon in working Group 3, prior to Codesa 2, and which has now become part of the Record of Understanding. □

● The author is a top ANC negotiator at Codesa.

EXCLUSIVE

'Sunset clause' offer as Slovo seeks harmony

By Shaun Johnson and Esther Waugh



Joe Slovo (right) believes the ANC alliance should consider offering a conciliatory "sunset clause" to its negotiating partners — promising compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years after the adoption of a new constitution in South Africa.

Mr Slovo, SACP chairman, ANC executive member and key negotiator, will publicly make this remarkable suggestion — with ideas for compromise on the fraught issues of amnesty and regional powers — next week.

The Star is in possession of a paper entitled "Negotiations: What room for compromise?" scheduled for publication in the SACP journal the African Communist. In the document, which Mr Slovo stresses is his "individual contribution ... not reflecting at the moment the collective thinking of our alliance or any of its constituents", he says he has chosen to "grasp the nettle" of what compromises might be necessary in order to achieve a settlement package acceptable to the majority.

He urges alliance supporters to recognise that they are not "dealing with a defeated enemy" and that a "revolutionary seizure of power" cannot in these circumstances be "realistically posed".

Mr Slovo says the fact that "sooner or later we will be back at the negotiating table", coupled with these realities, means that "the immediate outcome of the negotiation process will inevitably be less than perfect" from the ANC alli-

ance's point of view.

He says if the alliance continues to believe that negotiations are an acceptable route forward, then "a degree of compromise will be unavoidable".

Mr Slovo's intervention is likely to be seen in political and diplomatic circles as an important further conciliatory initiative from the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, in the direction indicated by ANC leader Nelson Mandela two weeks ago.

Drawing a distinction between "qualitative" and "quantitative" compromises, Mr Slovo says there are "certain retreats from previously held positions which would create the possibility of a major positive breakthrough". Among these are:

- The "sunset clause" providing for compulsory power-sharing for an agreed number of years after the adoption of a new constitution. This would be "subject to proportional representation in the executive combined with decision-making procedures which would not paralyse its functioning".

- Reaching a "bilateral understanding" with the Government on "positions in relation to regional powers", which would allow both to commit themselves in advance to supporting these positions when a constitution-making body got under way.

- Indicating now that the alliance would, as part of an interim government of national unity, support a general amnesty for all those who disclose the activities for which they require indemnity.

- An approach to the restructuring of the civil service — including the police and defence force — which "takes into account existing contracts and/or provides

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Disband MK, says Buthelezi

Political Reporter

Negotiations could not continue until the ANC's "ruthless army" — Umkhonto we Sizwe — was disbanded, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a Shaka Day celebration in KwaMbane outside Mtubatuba, Chief Buthelezi said that as long as MK continued to exist, the IFP and the KwaZulu government would not return to negotiations.

He accused the ANC-led tripartite alliance of orchestrating violence against IFP members, and Zulus in particular, and said "the anarchy now reigning in some parts of the country" was a direct result of the ANC's previous campaigns to make South Africa ungovernable.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation would not disband MK at this stage. He said MK was not operative and the armed struggle had been suspended.

"MK is not a problem for the negotiations process and as far as violence is concerned. It sounds as if this is once again an excuse raised by Chief Buthelezi. Perhaps he doesn't want to return to

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Disband MK: Buthelezi

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negotiations and the consequences of full democracy," said Mr Niehaus.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible, and it was "unable to establish a foothold in our communities".

This, he said, had put "the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region high on (the ANC's) political agenda".

"Umkhonto has to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact," he said.

"If it is to remain... after an interim government is established, either on its own or as part of the SADF, you can count me out of these agreements."

Chief Buthelezi's angry speech contrasted with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement in which he expressed the hope that multilateral negotiations would resume before the end of the year.

In a speech at the University of Durban-Westville on Sat-

urday, Mr Ramaphosa also said he expected constitutional talks to be followed by elections for a constituent assembly next year.

Chief Buthelezi vehemently criticised ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk yesterday, saying their September 26 "Record of Understanding" amounted to a declaration of war against the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people.

He accused the Government of siding with the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance against the Zulus, and said the agreement to ban the carrying of "cultural weapons" was indicative of a plot "to culturally and ethnically castrate the Zulu people".

He said that by signing the "Record of Understanding" with Mr Mandela, Mr de Klerk knew that he would oppose it, "and in so doing Mr de Klerk has made a fundamental mistake that could lead to his isolation".

Chief Buthelezi said he did not understand why the Government continued to "fall all over itself to capitulate to the ANC-SACP alliance".

BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 05 OCTOBER 1992

Natal peace plan devised

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC said yesterday it was developing strategies to curb violence in Natal.

It made the announcement after a national working committee delegation met leaders of its three Natal regions in Maritzburg yesterday.

The delegation included deputy president Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma.

The organisation said that a special committee on violence, comprising members of the national working committee and the regional executive committees, had been formed.

The special committee was expected to meet next week to present its proposals on

how violence could be curbed to the national working committee.

Meanwhile, an urgent meeting of the Natal/KwaZulu dispute resolution committee should be convened to work out interim measures of dealing with violence.

Such a meeting should be attended by representatives from the national peace committee, the national peace secretariat and international observers.

ANC president Nelson Mandela will arrive in the Natal Midlands on Sunday to address the funeral of assassinated ANC

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Peace plan

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leader Reggie Hadebe

The ANC said "other measures", which it intended taking to combat violence, would be contained in Mandela's speech.

Sapa reports that Operation Peace — the deployment of hundreds of soldiers and extra policemen — was launched in Natal yesterday amid ANC rejections of the government's plan to end violence in the province and reports of more politically linked killings.

Hundreds of Citizen Force members were mobilised in Durban, while hundreds of soldiers from Kimberley's 3 SA Infantry Battalion were dispatched to the Midlands. However, ANC Midlands official Sifiso Nkabinde said it was only a combined force, drawn from the police, the SADF, KwaZulu Police and the ANC's armed

wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) which would be able to stabilise the region.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said private armies — from across the political spectrum — would not be allowed to assume the duties of the country's security forces.

The only way for MK to assist in efforts to restore peace in the region was for it to disband, Kotze said.

Natal and KwaZulu Police yesterday reported continuing politically linked killings this week as the Human Rights Commission reported 185 deaths in unrest in the province last month.

KwaZulu Police, meanwhile, reported another two deaths in the homeland on Tuesday and four on Monday — making it at least 12 deaths reported since Sunday.

BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 05 OCTOBER 1992

Democrats offer more stick, less carrot for SA

THE Clinton administration in the US would withhold investment and economic aid for SA until an interim government was in place, the American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) and Sacob said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Both organisations said the new administration, which takes office on January 20, was unlikely to encourage the lifting of embargoes imposed on SA by US cities and states.

Academics interviewed by Sapa warned that Clinton could ensure SA did not get access to IMF support until a black government was in place.

Amcham executive director Michelle

LLOYD COUTTS

Cohen said that, while Clinton's victory would not fundamentally change US policy towards SA, his Democratic Party had committed itself to an SA-American enterprise fund once an interim government had been constituted.

"The Democrats are unlikely to lift the remaining trade and local sanctions. However, it is possible that they will be more forceful about a timeframe for change and will push for more peacekeeping efforts."

President F W de Klerk would be pressured to establish an interim government

and once this had been achieved a US programme of investment was likely to be implemented, she said.

Cohen said it was unlikely that Clinton would try to reintroduce sanctions which had been lifted by the Bush administration.

In its reaction to the US presidential elections, Sacob said Clinton would have other key priorities, but that his party was likely to take a tougher stance on the need for political progress in SA.

"The remaining US sanctions at state and city level may take longer to be phased out and there may be an insistence on their replacement by stringent investment codes."

BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 05 OCTOBER 1992**Liberation movements seek unity**

HARARE — ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would urgently consider forming a united front with the rival PAC to hasten the advent of majority rule in SA.

"I have undertaken that I will treat the matter (of unity) as one of utmost urgency," he told a news conference in Harare after two-hour talks with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

"I do hope that if certain conditions are fulfilled it will be possible for the PAC's Clarence Makwetu and I to sit down to address the question of our relationship and the absence of a common goal in the liberation movement," he said.

Mandela declined to elaborate but indi-

cated there was a wide chasm between the two sides. He said he had not spoken yesterday to Makwetu, who also met Mugabe.

Last year the ANC formed a "patriotic front" with the PAC, but the alliance collapsed within a year over differences in strategy in negotiations with Pretoria.

Briefing journalists after the talks, Mugabe said he was trying to get the two organisations to work together.

Mugabe said Mandela and Makwetu would return to SA to discuss the issue of reviving the front. "We have not lost hope, but we cannot talk of having achieved success at this meeting." — Sapa-Reuters

BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 05 OCTOBER 1992**Six members of family die in attack****GAVIN DU VENAGE**

SIX people, including three children, were killed last night when gunmen attacked a family in Sebokeng, ANC Youth League Vaal secretary-general Sakikhiwe Khumalo said.

The six family members were attacked in the early evening at their home in the township's Zone 12.

Khumalo told Sapa that witnesses saw two people running away after the shooting, and that four spent R-1 cartridges were found at the scene.

An ANC spokesman said that at least one of the dead, Dorothy Zwane, had been an ANC member.

At Ikwezi station, Soweto, last night three people were shot dead and three

were wounded when three armed men opened fire on commuters at a taxi rank.

SAP liaison officer Lt Eugene Henning said the three gunmen got out of a train that stopped at the station at about 6.30pm, walked to the taxi rank and opened fire.

Two men and a woman were shot dead and three others were wounded. The wounded were taken to Baragwanath Hospital. Police found 10 spent 9mm cartridges and two spent shotgun cartridges on the scene.

Henning said the gunmen had not been identified and police had not yet established a motive for the shooting.

BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 05 OCTOBER 1992**Residents vow to
reoccupy hostels**

WILSON ZWANE

HOSTEL residents from Thokoza vowed yesterday to forcibly reoccupy hostels they had vacated for upgrading.

Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association chairman Joseph Kubheka said the Thokoza Town Council had refused to allow hostel residents to return to the complex unless they undertook in writing to pay a 300% increase in rent.

Kubheka said residents had paid a monthly rental of R15. They were now being asked to pay R55 a month.

Residents were opposed to the ultimatum and had vowed to "force their way in".

Thokoza town clerk Herman Combrink said residents and their representatives had walked out of a meeting called on Monday to discuss rentals.

He said municipal police had been deployed at the hostel and would prevent anyone from entering.

In another development, Kubheka said his association and the TPA were edging closer to establishing a joint management committee for the Denver, George Goch, MBA and Jeppe hostels in Johannesburg.

BUSINESS DAY, THURSDAY 05 OCTOBER 1992

Buying friends

RECENT instances of land re-allocation to certain homelands, to which the ANC quite justifiably objects, are part of a broader pattern taking shape as the old prepares to be ushered out and replaced by the new.

This pattern is not unusual in societies in transition. In Russia, for example, the old party hacks are using all manner of tricks to frustrate the wishes of the new government and win back power for themselves. And, just to take out personal insurance in case they fail, they have got their hands on various assets such as part of the old Soviet Union's huge diamond stockpile, and are said to be trading in it for their own account.

In South Africa, the government

offers land to loyal allies to ensure they remain loyal, or uses it in an attempt to purchase new favour. Aid for drought and development is handed to pals in central and homeland government bureaucracies for them to administer. Some is used to win the gratitude of future voters, or simply disappears from public view, and will presumably ensure a comfortable future for people likely to fall from favour when circumstances change. Other forms of personal insurance, though the payout is not guaranteed, include the Further Indemnity Act and the Gambling Act.

All this will make the rest of us poorer, materially and spiritually. But the parasites of the old South Africa will continue to prosper.

Top SACP man hurls insults at Buthelezi, FW

MOSES MAYEKISO, the president of the SA National Civics Association and prominent SA Communist Party member, escalated the war of words this week with Inkatha when he referred to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a "dog", a term considered an extreme insult to Zulus.

In Washington to promote the "Stop Apartheid's Violence" campaign launched by the Africa Fund, a UN-backed anti-apartheid lobby, Mr Mayekiso also called State President FW De Klerk a "terrorist".

Appearing at a thinly-attended but largely sympathetic forum arranged by the US Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, he said Mr De Klerk was "an instrument of violence" and "not different from other National Party leaders" of the past, who had been "responsible for the murder" of blacks.

He said the role of killer had not been ditched by the state, but was part of the negotiating package.

Mr Buthelezi was a pawn of the state, Mr Mayekiso said. He said youths used to sing: "What do we see when we look at Gatsha Buthelezi?" The song answered: "We see a dog," he said.

He went on to say that like any dog, Mr Buthelezi could only win when controlled by someone else.

These were not off-the-cuff remarks. The speaker

By SIMON BARBER
Washington

was reading, albeit with some difficulty, from a prepared text.

He was introduced by Gay MacDougall, who heads the Lawyers' Committee's South Africa Project. "He has fought," she said in what seemed an unfortunate choice of words, "to bring stability to his own township, Alexandra." Before he spoke, the audience was shown a brief film on the violence, produced by the Africa Fund.

Flood

Like Mr Mayekiso, the film attributed the violence to the government and Inkatha and hinted that Renamo-type forces were surfacing in South Africa.

It ended with a claim that the Bush administration was helping finance the killing by giving Inkatha a share of the R27 million "Transition to Democracy" fund voted by Congress in 1990.

The Africa Fund is asking supporters to flood "apartheid ambassador Harry Schwarz" with telephone calls, faxes and letters.

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