

Codesa working group's 1st meeting 'satisfactory'

By Sapa and Martin McGhee

THE first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa's five working groups yesterday achieved what it set out to do, though progress was slow.

"This was really a very good day," Dr Zach de Beer, the chairman yesterday of the Codesa daily management committee, (DMC), and leader of the DP delegation, told a media conference after the day's proceedings.

About 420 delegates and advisers of Codesa's 19 participants attended the first meeting of the working groups at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg.

The purpose of yesterday's meeting was to get the working groups off

the ground, and up and running, he said. They were more concerned with targets than firm time periods. "That was achieved and I am satisfied with what's been done."

Substantive matters would be dealt with when the working groups met again on February 6.

Each working group, made up of 38 delegates and 38 advisers, elected a steering committee — three chose eight members and the other two chose nine members.

The steering committees are responsible for finding the chairmen for meetings.

The issue of chairmen for the working groups, because of its sensitive nature, had threatened to become an obstacle at yesterday's meeting. This was resolved though by the DMC, which met before the working groups, and suggested the steering committee concept, which would be responsible for choosing the chairmen.

It was still the intention to hold Codesa at the end of March, but it depended largely on the progress within the five working groups, Dr De Beer said.

It had first been proposed to spend two days a week in working group

meetings, but it was decided against this because of the workload of delegates, particularly MPs. It was agreed instead to meet every Monday at the World Trade Centre.

Delegates at yesterday's meeting generally felt that Codesa would most likely be held in the first part of April when they expected the working groups would have made substantive progress in their workings.

The media was not happy to hear from delegates that they had been instructed not to talk to the Press, as designated people on the DMC were responsible for that.

Mr Joe Slovo, SA Communist Party chairman and SACP delegate, did comment though: "Serious business has started. It was a good day."

The DMC, which met again after the day's proceedings had ended, "is essentially the servant of the working groups," Dr de Beer told the media. "We on the DMC are there to make sure that workable arrangements exist."

He stressed that the DMC was "not the boss" of the working groups.

"The management committee is in a sense the boss of the working groups ... they must report to a plenary session of Codesa — what is being referred to as Codesa."

Violence is a way of life

by Andrew Roberts

British journalist Andrew Roberts gives his views on the violence in the Natal Midlands.

AT 4 pm on August 16 last year a car pulled into a garage in Ixopo carrying three ANC hitmen. Jerome Ndlovu, Chief of the Vukani tribe, was busy repairing his Kombi minibus when they opened up with AK-47s. Ten seconds later they drove off, leaving him and his 18-year-old daughter dead. I was shown the Kombi by one of the chief's ex-bodyguards and counted 25 bullet holes through the upholstery alone. Leonard Bjili, who was keen to display the scars where a bullet had passed through his vast belly in the attack, explained how it bore all the hallmarks of an ANC hit-squad operation. It was fast, efficient, used the trademark Soviet-made automatic weapon and was carried out against a leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Since 1985, the ANC have assassinated nearly 200 senior Inkatha officials — branch chairmen, mayors, area secretaries, ward organisers, councillors — in a systematic campaign to decapitate the movement. The mainly Zulu IFP has responded with equal, if less well-directed, ferocity and in the last 15 months more than 3 000 people have died. If anything, the embryonic civil war has hotbed since Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi signed a peace accord last September. Estimates of 10 000 deaths since the feud began a decade ago makes the ANC/Inkatha war five times bloodier than Northern Ireland.

The Pietermaritzburg townships, which due to apartheid were located eight kilometres outside the city, have seen the worst of the fighting. There are endless similarities between the situation in Natal and in Ulster. No man's-land, arms caches, protection rackets, hunger strikes, zones of control, graffiti, god-fathers, abduction, no-go areas, informers — all the familiar paraphernalia of insurrection are used in both places.

But there is a special viciousness to this black-on-black violence at which even the IRA might balk. One 22-year-old woman whom the ANC necklaced recently took 35 minutes to die. When three bus-loads of Inkatha supporters were returning from a "prayer meeting" — a euphemism for rally — last February they were engaged in the kwaShange Valley. Pinned down on both sides, 16 died in the massacre. When eventually the bodies were recovered they were unidentifiable after women from the attacking village had smashed the corpses' faces in with rocks. By 6 am the next day — in a tribute to the Zulus' mobilisational ability — an impi of 5 000 had massed at the house of the man the ANC dub Inkatha's "Warlord Number One", David Ntombela. It took all the blandishments of Chief Buthelezi and Ntombela to disperse them — more, one suspects, because the army had been alerted than for any humanitarian reasons. Today, the valley and its neighbouring villages are uninhabitable, with hundreds of huts and kraals burnt-out shells.

The whites who live in Pietermaritzburg seem fairly ambivalent about the violence — which hardly ever claims white lives — and consider it a purely internal black problem. A number will practically admit themselves pleased that the blacks' energy is being concentrated in this way, rather than against them — and assume it little matters who eventually triumphs. They could not be more wrong.

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about talks but here in the killing streets of the Transvaal and Natal satellites. With the National Party conceding to one-man-one-vote and the conservatives marginalised, the only place ANC power can be broken is here, by Inkatha.

The Zulus, who make up the vast majority of Inkatha members, are the Tories of southern Africa, exhibiting qualities which might have been designed to appeal to a British Conservative. They are proud (calling themselves "Children of Heaven"), dependable, God-fearing monarchists. They respect their elders and are natural capitalists. They are also unimaginably war-like when provoked — any Essex Man would thrill to the sight of an impi on the rampage, which would remind him of the aggression shown by British football hooligans abroad, who cheerfully take on forces far greater than they. It is no coincidence that white farmers in Natal — who often learnt Zulu as their first language and describe their province as "England's Last Frontier" — are joining Inkatha in ever-increasing numbers.

The ANC, for all its superb propaganda and cachet amongst Western liberals, has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing from its long years of struggle against Pretoria. Although many of its members do believe in democracy, the South African Communist Party — which has recently reaffirmed its faith in Marxism-Leninism — is still in the vanguard of policy-making. High taxation, nationalisation and large-scale economic intervention unite the various factions which might otherwise have split when apartheid ended. The senior ANC warlord in the Natal midlands, Harry Gwala — nicknamed "Lion of the Midlands" by his friends, and "the Penguin" by his enemies — is an unrepentant Stalinist. The Natal ANC sent a telegram of congratulations to the plotters of

the August coup against Gorbachev. ANC areas in the Edendale Valley have been renamed "Moscow", "Cuba" and "Swapo" by the comrades.

It is debatable how far Mandela, who is 73, controls the younger radicals. On the same day he and Buthelezi signed the peace accord, the comrades burnt down four Inkatha members' houses and shortly afterwards the body of an IFP leader was found necklaced on a municipal dump. A KwaZulu Cabinet Minister, N.J. Ngabene, told me: "Mandela is more in prison now than he was on Robben Island. He's invaluable as a statesman-like figurehead who can raise lots of money overseas, but he is constantly overruled by his lieutenants." It is thought that his statements in support of the "national liberation struggles" of Castro, Gaddafi, Arafat and the IRA were not so much the result of being caught in a time-war after 27 years in prison as an attempt to appease the ANC's ultra-left wing.

Warlord Number One, David Ntombela — nicknamed "Napoleon Zulu" by the newspapers, and "the Unstoppable Tractor" by his supporters — directs Inkatha's military operations in Natal. He has lost two sons since the

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VIOLENCE IS A WAY OF LIFE

unrest began — one in an ANC ambush — and has survived no fewer than 27 assassination attempts, including a recent petrol bombing of his house.

Once past the heavily defended stockade I asked the warlord, who is 62 and very wary of journalists, about ANC accusations of police bias. "The whites are generally fair," he claimed, "but the Cape coloureds in the army sell weapons and ammunition to the ANC and three policemen were involved in the massacre of 13 of our teenagers at a pyjama party last year."

Ntombela is adamant that Inkatha is winning, but then he also solemnly informed me that he had never harmed anyone in his life and Christ was on Inkatha's side. He had a disconcerting habit of clicking his fingers near my ear during conversation, making a sound like the automatic weapon fire he was discussing: "With assegais we kill people who have AK-47s." Click. "ANC never shoot straight." Click. With Jesus in my house and my heart I could fight with nothing. A bottle. He eyes a beer bottle on the table between us. "I could kill you with a bottle if you had an AK-47 and I had Christ."

Less religious analysts put Inkatha's proven ability to overcome automatic weapon fire with sharpened sticks and knobkerries down to more mundane factors. The comrades often fire too high, believing the harder they pull the trigger the faster the bullets will emerge, and their fondness for automatic fire rather than individual shots tends to make the gun tide up. Once all 30 rounds in an AK-47 magazine are exhausted, the comrade is rarely given a chance to reload. In a recent skirmish near Richmond, 13 well-armed ANC gunmen were killed at a cost to Inkatha of four.

Attacks are made more vicious by the application of potions mixed by witch doctors, which they believe makes their warriors invincible. Every tribe has its own form of this potion — "muti" — that is smeared into warriors' open wounds before battle. The ingredients range from animal fats, bark and roots, although a really superior "muti" might include the odd finger, ear or penis. Ritualistic magic,

like ancestor worship, may not fit into Western ideas about "the new South Africa" but even the well-educated tribal prince, ex-laboratory technician and ex-chairman I was staying with believed in its power. Both sides also pep themselves up with dagga which grows everywhere and, unusually, makes the smoker more aggressive.

The warring continues even after death. By desecrating Inkatha graves, the mainly Xhosa ANC have managed to introduce a new terror into the conflict. To Zulus, the body is still ritually important after death. They are buried facing the sun with a spear, blanket and money for the journey. If a Zulu dies away from home, his relations must visit the grave a year later to retrieve his spirit. Several families have arrived at far-off graves recently to find the tombs vandalised and, in some cases, corpses mutilated — possibly to provide the necessary ingredients for some first-class "muti". Today, concrete has to be poured over Inkatha graves to counter this particularly malevolent and distressing form of psychological warfare.

There is no end to this war in sight. Indeed, most analysts believe it will worsen as the one-man-one-vote elections approach. The best outcome would be an Inkatha victory, which might allow Natal to win a real measure of autonomy from any future ANC central government. The worst would be an attempt by the ANC to disarm the Zulus or treat them as Mugabe treated the Matabele tribe after Zimbabwean independence. That could result in a civil war so brutal that blacks of all tribes would look back to apartheid with nostalgia, just as many Azerbaijanis must today long for the old certainties of the cold war.

• With acknowledgements to the Spectator.

NATAL
MIDLANDS

21/01/92

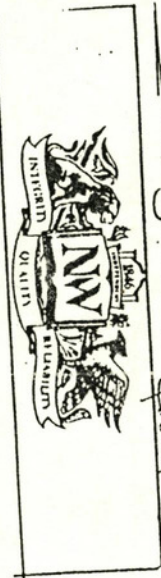


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21-01-92

Scene set for terror

Disclosures that the right wing apparently now has more militarily trained men than the armed wing of the ANC can only further alarm those who already view the future with foreboding. For far from being dissuaded from acts of aggression by such an even balance of forces along the arguments of the nuclear MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction) lobby, the scene could easily be set for more acts of terror as the police predict. The right wing can no longer be dismissed as an ineffectual fringe element. Parallels with the Ossewabrandwag (OB) during the last world war are also not apposite. Fifty years ago conservative Afrikaners were more confident about their station than is the case today. Then, bolstered by a seemingly invincible ally in the shape of Nazi Germany, the Ossewabrandwag saw the enemy as crumbling British imperialism. Their acts of aggression against the State, because they were so certain of eventual victory, lacked the lethal viciousness we have come to associate with right wing actions today. Even so, General Jan Smuts, then prime minister, found it necessary to incarcerate large numbers of OB's in Koffiefontein concentration camp. Modern rightwingers, confronted with an inevitable black-led future, are not nearly as confident of victory. Hence their actions are characterised by panic, over-reaction to events, and a willingness to use the tools of modern terrorism on an indiscriminate basis. The arrest of several rightwingers in connection with recent bombings shows the police are aware of the gravity of the situation, and are taking the threat from this quarter as seriously as from the left wing. Terrorists, of whatever ilk, cannot be tolerated in democratic societies and the police must be congratulated on their successes.



TRAINING WITH IRA TERRORISTS...

Codesa groups activated

CODESA working groups due to begin negotiations on SA's political future were yesterday activated with the appointment of steering committees to direct their work.

The steering committees will provide chairmen for sessions between now and March when the working groups will present their reports to the second plenary session of Codesa.

Yesterday, about 200 delegates representing 19 political groups, homeland governments and the SA government met at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park to start drawing up agendas for working group meetings and to appoint, by consensus, steering committees for the working groups.

The only chairman announced was that for the working group examining transitional arrangements, DP MP Ken Andrew. In the working group dealing with constitutional principles and a constitution-making body/process, the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpont were chosen joint convenors. Steering committee representatives in this group were chosen on the basis of their competence in the constitutional field and not on party affiliation.

The other three working groups will discuss the future of the TBVC states, a time-frame and implementation of Codesa decisions and the creation of a free political climate and role of the international community.

The working group steering committees are dominated by the ANC, the NP/SA government, Inkatha and the Labour Party. Parties represented on some, but not all the steering committees include the Transkei government,

PATRICK BULGER

the SA Communist Party and the DP.

Codesa daily management committee chairman Zach de Beer said that while yesterday's proceedings had gone slowly, they were part of a process of trust building. He said the aim was still to convene Codesa again in March, but it depended largely on the progress within the five working groups.

It had been proposed to spend two days a week in working group meetings, but the workload made this impossible. Instead, delegates would meet each Monday at the World Trade Centre, Sapa reports.

Delegates at Monday's meeting generally felt that Codesa II would most likely be held in the first part of April, when they expected the working groups to have made substantial progress in their work.

Yesterday's full-day meetings of the working groups were attended by high-ranking government officials and members of political groups.

These included National Intelligence Service director Neil Barnard who is an adviser to government in the working group on creating a free political climate, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa in the constitution group, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and his director general Neil van Heerden in the TBVC states group.

Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser was named government adviser on the TBVC group.

Negotiations will begin next month.

NUM to formulate strategy for pay talks

THE NUM central committee is scheduled to meet this weekend to formulate union policy and demands for the 1992 wage negotiations, and to discuss the post of general secretary vacated six months ago by Cyril Ramaphosa.

It is expected that the future of the bonus schemes negotiated with gold mining companies last year will come under intense debate.

And acting general secretary Marcel Golding said yesterday the meeting would need to develop a "militant but creative programme of action to defend our members and force employers and the state to accept a workers' plan for the transition of the mining industry".

Union sources said there was little consensus over what demands to

DIRK HARTFORD

make, and the central committee would have to decide on options.

One grouping associated with the sizeable SACP cadre in the union wanted to reassert the union's living wage policy and dump the productivity and gold price-linked bonuses, the sources said. They felt the union was in danger of becoming locked into complicated agreements that suited employers, while real wages and employment continued to fall.

Golding said the NUM's programme should aim to achieve both more jobs and a higher-paid skilled workforce over a period of time.

He said the aim of the union on gold mines was to "defend jobs, ensure

that wage differentials between workers do not widen and still put extra money in miners' pockets in creative ways which take account of the realities of the industry".

Golding said other issues the meeting would deal with included:

- Health and safety where the NUM's main demand was for an independent judicial commission of enquiry into safety;
- Job security; and
- Violence on the mines.

The current situation, with Golding as acting general secretary, could either be endorsed or changed by the meeting, union sources said.

The meeting of international mine labour leaders, scheduled for today, would now take place on Thursday, the NUM announced yesterday.

16/1/11

Winnie Mandela the star
of commemorative parade

DAILY NEWS 21/1/92

RAMSAY MILNE

Foreign Service

NEW YORK: Mrs Winnie Mandela, wearing a Xhosa head-dress and clad in flowing African robes, was the star of a major Martin Luther King commemorative parade in Atlanta, Georgia, yesterday, raising her black-gloved right fist in salute as she marched side-by-side with Mrs Coretta Scott King, widow of the assassinated black civil rights leader.

Earlier, she told an overflow crowd at a memorial service for Dr King that the murdered civil rights leader, a champion of non-violence, would have understood how the ANC had "reluctantly adopted an armed struggle" against apartheid.

"Now that the ANC is recognised," she added, "we have come full circle to the message and tactics of non-violence."

Mrs Mandela told reporters that South African blacks regarded Dr King as "a champion of peace - a role model for our country."

But she said she still deeply distrusts President de Klerk despite his reform efforts. "Those of us who have been so heavily oppressed by apartheid, who have watched our children die by the bullets of the regime, we find it difficult to trust a man who was part and parcel of that regime."

Yet, she added, "we cannot achieve our ultimate goal without the same man. So we have carried him along. He is in trouble with the right wing. He needs us as much as we need him, maybe more."

Mrs Mandela was a guest of honour at the Atlanta commemoration service and march to mark the 63rd birthday of Dr King, who was gunned down by an assassin in 1968.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

21/01/92

The bombs

THERE isn't much use in Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel appealing to Right-wing leaders to discourage the planting of bombs. Instead of saying they understand why Right-wingers are doing this, they should come out firmly against it, Mr Kriel says.

"A grave responsibility rests on people like Mr Jaap Marais, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Dr Andries Treurnicht to stop this."

In truth, they should.

After all, bombs that blast schools and post offices are wrecking or damaging facilities that educate children or serve the public.

The fact that most of the pupils at all but one of the schools attacked are White does not increase our revulsion of these acts.

Our feelings would be the same if the schools were attended mainly by Black children (as one bombed church school is).

Blasting post offices inconveniences everyone, White and Black.

In the end, it is all futile and needlessly destructive.

We hope Right-wingers will come to their senses and stop their attacks.

But they won't, no matter how many are held, for the simple reason that they mistakenly believe the ANC induced the government by means of terrorism to unban it and release its leaders.

Similarly, they believe the government is conceding all the ANC's demands because it could not go on fighting ANC terrorism, and if they ape the ANC, they will achieve similar results.

The contrary is true. The ANC's terrorism failed — both in creating an atmosphere of terror among civilians and disrupting normal life.

It failed also as a means of pressurising the government into following the ANC's dictates.

The truth is that the government acted for a number of reasons, like ending sanctions, getting South Africa back into the international community, halting the township unrest and placing South Africa on the road to true democracy.

Its reforms haven't succeeded in normalising everything, economic sanctions still hurt the country and the township violence continues.

But essentially the government acted because it accepted that apartheid was a morally bad system and the country had to be rid of it.

It also accepted that power sharing had to be a reality, that Blacks had to be given the vote, that a new constitution had to be drawn up and that Blacks, Whites and Browns had to negotiate the future.

Bombs, in other words, did not force the change of heart, nor will bombs change the direction the government is taking.

Nevertheless, we accept that the government has angered and frustrated the Right to the point where the extremists have been able to plant bombs without being publicly censured by Right-wing leaders.

It is part of the hardening of feelings to which we referred in our leading article last Saturday.

In the circumstances, the government must do everything it can to bring the Right into negotiations — even if they are bilateral negotiations between itself and the Right.

It must demonstrate that it is not deciding the future in tandem with the ANC.

And it must also show that it is a strong government.

The ANC has arms caches; it must be made to give them up.

The ANC has a private army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. It must be made to disband it if the government is to have any justification for demanding that other private armies, like the AWB's Wenkommandos, are disbanded.

We do not say the Right will listen to the government; on the other hand, if no attempt is made to deal with the Right's demand for self-determination, serious trouble lies ahead.

Finally, the government needs to show that it intends to govern.

If it does not, it will confirm the extreme Right's belief that the only way it can safeguard the future is by means of guns and bombs — and heaven help this country if that happens.

No saint

WHY is everyone so hysterical about the death of an unrepentant Communist who played a major role in a terrorist organisation?

It is ridiculous to make an angel out of a man who justified the "necklace" and who is believed to have participated in the torture and killing of disillusioned ANC members while in exile, quite apart from the cowardly attacks on soft targets, ie, Wimpy.

It is almost criminal to ignore the facts about Chris Hani.

If his death is considered a "tragedy", then so was the death of Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin and Jack the Ripper.

We may condemn the deed of assassination, but we cannot make a saint out of a terrorist.

ANTI TERRORIST

Roodepoort

Nation/World

Inside: Stocks and Classifieds

Nation celebrates King

Winnie Mandela hails non-violent ethic for Africa

By the Associated Press

Martin Luther King Jr. was remembered with speeches and marches from coast to coast Monday. In King's hometown, Winnie Mandela said South Africa's fight for freedom has "come full circle" to his non-violent philosophy.

King, assassinated in 1968, would have been 63 last Wednesday. Monday was the seventh federal holiday in his honor.

Mandela, wife of African National Congress President Nelson Mandela, told an overflow crowd at King's old church that the slain civil rights leader would have understood how the ANC "reluctantly adopted an armed struggle" against apartheid.

"Now that the ANC is recognized ... we have come full circle to the message and tactics of non-violence," she told a crowd that included politicians, singer-actor Kris Kristofferson and boxer Evander Holyfield.

Mandela was among the speakers at a three-hour ecumenical service at Ebenezer Baptist Church, adjacent to King's crypt. After the service, she and Coretta Scott King, King's widow, led a memorial parade in downtown Atlanta.

Elsewhere, civil rights leaders hailed King's dream, ordinary citizens joined marches and demonstrators protested rejections of the holiday in Arizona and by a Louisiana school district.

In Washington, D.C., the Rev. Jesse Jackson announced a drive for statehood for the city.



-AP photo

Coretta Scott King, left, joins in a power cheer led by Winnie Mandela during the 23rd annual ecumenical service at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta marking Martin Luther King Jr. Day.

Protest mars Denver's King celebration

DENVER (AP) — Riot gear-clad police used tear gas and nightsticks Monday to break up a crowd of protesters who threw bottles, bricks and snowballs at a school bus carrying Ku Klux Klan members away from a rally.

Five people, including a police officer, were treated at Denver General Hospital for minor injuries and scores of others were treated at the scene for exposure to tear gas, officials said.

The confrontation marred one of Denver's largest ever celebrations of Martin Luther King Day. Earlier in the day, more than 10,000 people

paraded through east Denver.

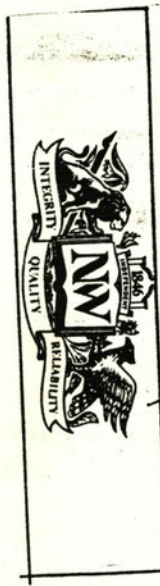
About 100 white supremacists gathered for a rally at the state capitol after a federal judge reversed a decision by the Colorado State Patrol to deny the group a permit, saying denial would violate their right to free speech.

After the rally, a crowd of about 1,000 people throwing bottles, bricks and snowballs attacked the school bus on which police tried to spirit the Klan members out of the capitol area.

Police on motorcycles and horses used tear gas and nightsticks to disperse the crowd.

Scene set for terror

Disclosures that the right wing apparently now has more militarily trained men than the armed wing of the ANC can only further alarm those who already view the future with foreboding. For far from being dissuaded from acts of aggression by such an even balance of forces along the arguments of the nuclear MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction) lobby, the scene could easily be set for more acts of terror as the police predict. The right wing can no longer be dismissed as an ineffectual fringe element. Parallels with the Ossewabrandwag (OB) during the last world war are also not apposite. Fifty years ago conservative Afrikaners were more confident about their station than is the case today. Then, bolstered by a seemingly invincible ally in the shape of Nazi Germany, the Ossewabrandwag saw the enemy as crumbling British imperialism. Their acts of aggression against the State, because they were so certain of eventual victory, lacked the lethal viciousness we have come to associate with right wing actions today. Even so, General Jan Smuts, then prime minister, found it necessary to incarcerate large numbers of OB's in Koffiefontein concentration camp. Modern rightwingers, confronted with an inevitable black-led future, are not nearly as confident of victory. Hence their actions are characterised by panic, over-reaction to events, and a willingness to use the tools of modern terrorism on an indiscriminate basis. The arrest of several rightwingers in connection with recent bombings shows the police are aware of the gravity of the situation, and are taking the threat from this quarter as seriously as from the left wing. Terrorists, of whatever ilk, cannot be tolerated in democratic societies and the police must be congratulated on their successes.



TRAINING WITH IRA TERRORISTS...

Natal Midlands

Tuesday, January 21, 1992

Opinion

by Andrew Roberts

Violence is a way of life

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But there is a special viciousness to this black-on-black violence at which even the IRA might balk. One 22-year-old woman whom the ANC necklaced recently took 35 minutes to die. When three bus-loads of Inkatha supporters were returning from a "prayer meeting" — a euphemism for rally — last February they were engaged in the kwaShange Valley. Pinned down on both sides, 16 died in the massacre. When eventually the bodies were recovered they were unidentifiable after women from the attacking village had smashed the corpses' faces in with rocks. By 6 am the next day — in a tribute to the Zulus' mobilisation ability — an impi of 5 000 had massed at the house of the man the ANC dub Inkatha's "Warlord Number One", David Ntombela. It took all the blandishments of Chief Buthelezi and Ntombela to disperse them — more, one suspects, because the army had been alerted than for any humanitarian reasons. Today, the valley and its neighbouring villages are uninhabitable, with hundreds of huts and kraals burnt-out shells.

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about talks but here in the killing streets of the Transvaal and Natal satellites. With the National Party acceding to one-man-one-vote and the conservatives marginalised, the only place ANC power can be broken is here, by Inkatha.

The Zulus, who make up the vast majority of Inkatha members, are the Tories of southern Africa, exhibiting qualities which might have been designed to appeal to a British Conservative. They are proud (calling themselves "Children of Heaven"), dependable, God-fearing monarchists. They respect their elders and are natural capitalists. They are also unimaginably war-like when provoked — any Essex Man would thrill to the sight of an impi on the rampage, which would remind him of the aggression shown by British football hooligans abroad, who cheerfully take on forces far greater than they. It is no coincidence that white farmers in Natal — who often learnt Zulu as their first language and describe their province as "England's Last Frontier" — are joining Inkatha in ever-increasing numbers.

The ANC, for all its superb propaganda and cachet amongst Western liberals, has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing from its long years of struggle against Pretoria. Although many of its members do believe in democracy, the South African Communist Party — which has recently reaffirmed its faith in Marxism-Leninism — is still in the vanguard of policy-making. High taxation, nationalisation and large-scale economic intervention unite the various factions which might otherwise have split when apartheid ended. The senior ANC warlord in the Natal midlands, Harry Gwala — nicknamed "Lion of the Midlands" by his friends, and "the Penguin" by his enemies — is an unrepentant Stalinist. The Natal ANC sent a telegram of congratulations to the plotters of

the August coup against Gorbachev. ANC areas in the Edendale Valley have been renamed "Moscow", "Cuba" and "Swapo" by the comrades.

It is debatable how far Mandela, who is 73, controls the younger radicals. On the same day he and Buthelezi signed the peace accord, the comrades burnt down four Inkatha members' houses and shortly afterwards the body of an IFP leader was found necklaced on a municipal dump. A KwaZulu Cabinet Minister, N.J. Ngabene, told me: "Mandela is more in prison now than he was on Robben Island. He's invaluable as a statesman-like figurehead who can raise lots of money overseas, but he is constantly overruled by his lieutenants." It is thought that his statements in support of the "national liberation struggles" of Castro, Gaddafi, Arafat and the IRA were not so much the result of being caught in a time-war after 27 years in prison as an attempt to appease the ANC's ultra-left wing.

Warlord Number One, David Ntombela — nicknamed "Napoleon Zulu" by the newspapers, and "the Unstoppable Tractor" by his supporters — directs Inkatha's military operations in Natal. He has lost two sons since the unrest began — one in an ANC ambush — and has survived no fewer than 27 assassination attempts, including a recent petrol bombing of his house.

Once past the heavily defended stockade I asked the warlord, who is 62 and very wary of journalists, about ANC accusations of police bias. "The whites are generally fair," he claimed, "but the Cape coloureds in the army sell weapons and ammunition to the ANC and three policemen were involved in the massacre of 13 of our teenagers at a pyjama party last year."

Ntombela is adamant that Inkatha is winning, but then he also solemnly informed me that he had never harmed anyone in his life and Christ was on Inkatha's side. He had a disconcerting habit of clicking his fingers near my ear during conversation, making a sound like the automatic weapon fire he was discussing: "With assegais we kill people who have AK-47s." Click. "ANC never shoot straight." Click. "With Jesus in my house and my heart I could fight with nothing. A bottle." He eyes a beer bottle on the table between us. "I could kill you with a bottle if you had an AK-47 and I had Christ."

Less religious analysts put Inkatha's proven ability to overcome automatic weapon fire with sharpened sticks and knobkerries down to more mundane factors. The comrades often fire too high, believing the harder they pull the trigger the faster the bullets will emerge, and their fondness for automatic fire rather than individual shots tends to make the gun tide up. Once all 30 rounds in an AK-47 magazine are exhausted, the comrade is rarely given a chance to reload. In a recent skirmish near Richmond, 13 well-armed ANC gunmen were killed at a cost to Inkatha of four.

Attacks are made more vicious by the application of potions mixed by witch doctors, which they believe makes their warriors invincible. Every tribe has its own form of this potion — "muti" — that is smeared into warriors' open wounds before battle. The ingredients range from animal fats, bark and roots, although a really superior "muti" might include the odd finger, ear or penis. Ritualistic magic, like ancestor worship, may not fit into Western ideas about "the new South Africa" but even the well-educated tribal prince, ex-laboratory technician and ex-chairman I was staying with believed in its power. Both sides also pep themselves up with dagga which grows everywhere and, unusually, makes the smoker more aggressive.

The warring continues even after death. By desecrating Inkatha graves, the mainly Xhosa ANC have managed to introduce a new terror into the conflict. To Zulus, the body is still ritually important after death. They are buried facing the sun with a spear, blanket and money for the journey. If a Zulu dies away from home, his relations must visit the grave a year later to retrieve his spirit. Several families have arrived at far-off graves recently to find the tombs vandalised and, in some cases, corpses mutilated — possibly to provide the necessary ingredients for some first-class "muti". Today, concrete has to be poured over Inkatha graves to counter this particularly malevolent and distressing form of psychological warfare.

There is no end to this war in sight. Indeed, most analysts believe it will worsen as the one-man-one-vote elections approach. The best outcome would be an Inkatha victory, which might allow Natal to win a real measure of autonomy from any future ANC central government. The worst would be an attempt by the ANC to disarm the Zulus or treat them as Mugabe treated the Matabele tribe after Zimbabwean independence. That could result in a civil war so brutal that blacks of all tribes would look back to apartheid with nostalgia, just as many Azerbaijanis must today long for the old certainties of the cold war.

• With acknowledgements to the Spectator.

The Star 21-1-1992

Ethnic group the only majority?

The absolute impertinence of Nelson Mandela reaches new heights each time he makes an unscripted comment. By what right can he say that "he will recognise ethnic groups" in the new South Africa when he himself is nothing but the nominal leader of what is itself a largely ethnic group, the Xhosa.

The implication of his recent remark is once again that he and the ANC consider themselves to be the only "majority" in this country. All other groups, albeit far more numerous and important than the Xhosa, are condescendingly to be "recognised" by the ANC!

It is, of course, not surprising that Mandela and the ANC should view themselves in this way, when for two years now the Government has consistently treated the ANC as "special" and until recently largely ignored all other groups such as Inkatha.

C J S Branscombe

Rivonia

The Star 21-1-1992

De Klerk to brief Cabinet before House sits

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk will chair the first Cabinet meeting of the year in Tuynhuys tomorrow.

Aspects of his speech for the opening of the new session of Parliament will be on the agenda.

Among these are the Government's plans to install an interim or transitional government and a new parliament that is representative of the entire population.

Mr de Klerk told the first meeting of Codesa

last month that the Government was ready and eager to have such a government.

Tomorrow's meeting is expected to put the finishing touches to a detailed plan for an interim constitution which will be presented by Mr de Klerk when he opens Parliament on Friday.

The new Minister of Trade, Industry and Economic Co-ordination, Derek Keys, was yesterday sworn in by the Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice George Munik.

Mr Keys, widely credited with the successful

restructuring of the Gencor Group, was appointed to the Cabinet by Mr de Klerk on December 4 after the death of Dr Wim de Villiers.

His portfolio, seen as vital to industrial and economic strategies aimed at making the private sector internationally competitive, will make him a key Minister.

Several meetings of the Houses of Parliament will precede the official opening of the session.

Tomorrow, MPs will meet in the Great Hall to adopt a motion of condolence after the death of

Speaker Louis le Grange.

Afterwards the Houses will nominate their members of an electoral college to choose a new Speaker.

This college will meet on Thursday. Eli Louw, former Minister of Manpower, is likely to be elected unopposed.

On Thursday afternoon there will be another joint session of Parliament to welcome the new Speaker.

In contrast to previous years, there will be a certain amount of military pomp and ceremony at this year's opening.

The Star 21-1-1992

Patrick Laurence reports on a scandal which continues to haunt the ANC

Strange death of Thami Zulu

DANIE Odendaal, the man at the centre of an alleged plot to murder a renegade ANC fighter, has put his finger on one of the most controversial and potentially explosive issues in recent ANC history: the death in 1989 of guerrilla commander Thami Zulu.

Mr Zulu, who headed the ANC's Natal Military Command in the 1980s, died mysteriously five days after being released from detention by the ANC's feared security department or Mbokodo ("the stone that crushes").

His death — and his detention in Zambia, where he was allegedly beaten up and half-starved by his interrogators — so disturbed ANC leaders outside Mbokodo that an internal inquiry was ordered. The findings of the inquiry, on which ANC lawyer Abbie Sachs served, were never made public.

What is known is that a medical analysis of specimens from Mr Zulu's blood and stomach showed they contained, to quote the report, "diazon, an organo phosphorus pesticide." The same poison had been sprinkled on clothes belonging to Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African

Council of Churches, a few months earlier. Mr Chikane, who fell gravely and mysteriously ill while abroad, was absorbing traces of the poison through his clothes until the pesticide was discovered on them.

ANC-aligned forces said at the time that Mr Chikane had been targeted for assassination. In pro-ANC circles, agents of the security forces were suspected.

Many of the facts surrounding Mr Zulu's death were unearthed by The Guardian and published in the London-based newspaper in September. They have been given a new relevancy by Mr Odendaal's allegations that two ANC men, identified by their nom de guerres as "Ricky" and "Mao," paid him to kill an ANC defector who once served under Mr Zulu.

The defector is Glory Lephosa Sedibe or, as he was known in the ANC army Umkhonto we Sizwe, "Comrade September." He served as the ANC's intelligence chief for the Transvaal under the overall command of Mr Zulu.

Mr Sedibe was abducted by South African police agents from a Swaziland prison in August 1988. His security police captors in-

duced him to defect and Mr Sedibe joined the SAP.

In their book "Comrades Against Apartheid" Stephen Ellis and Tshepo Sechaba state: "Sedibe gave the security police information enabling them virtually to wipe out Umkhonto we Sizwe in Swaziland."

Their successes included the capture of ANC operative Grace Gele in December 1986, the kidnapping of a few days later of Ismael Ebrahim, chairman of the ANC's political and military council for Swaziland, and the ambush and gunning down of two top ANC military commanders, Cassius Make and Paul Dikoleli.

The security police successes led ANC intelligence chiefs to suspect their Swaziland network was riddled with spies. One of the suspected men was a senior cadre known as Comrade Cyril. He was arrested by Mbokodo in 1988, interrogated and pressed to confess to being a security police agent.

According to Ellis and Sechaba, Comrade Cyril died in detention "either from poison, as some say, or as a result of being severely beaten." Mbokodo, convinced it was on the point of a major break-

through, moved higher up the hierarchy.

Mr Zulu, who had been the commander of Mr Sedibe and Comrade Cyril, was detained. Not even his reputation as the Umkhonto commander who had turned Natal into a major theatre of guerrilla war and made Durban the "bomb capital" of South Africa, saved him. He was detained for more than a year, part of which was spent in solitary confinement, before being released as a desperately sick man. There was some solace for his family at his funeral, however.

Joe Modise and Chris Hani, commander and chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe respectively, publicly disassociated themselves from Mbokodo's suspicions that he had been a spy.

Questions remain about Mr Zulu's death. Who killed him and why? Was he merely the victim of Mbokodo bullies, paranoid about enemy spies? Was he the victim of a security force agent who penetrated Mbokodo and used its zealotry against the ANC? Had Mr Zulu himself begun to suspect Mbokodo might have been penetrated by a police spy?

These questions have been re-emphasised by Mr Odendaal's statement to the Sunday Star that there was a connection between his assignment to kill Mr Sedibe and Mr Zulu's death. Mr Odendaal did not elaborate on the nature of the connection.

The ANC has confirmed that Mr Sedibe did approach it last August, when he made overtures about rejoining its ranks. What is not clear is whether Mr Sedibe, who declared that he had left the police, was operating on his own.

The possibility cannot be excluded that he was acting on the orders of his police handlers. The ANC is now a lawful organisation but there are still policemen who view it in adversarial terms.

What is certain is that Mr Sedibe's return to the ANC would be a controversial and disturbing process. If, as Mbokodo once seemed to think, security forces spies have successfully infiltrated the ANC's upper echelons, the return of Mr Sedibe would be dangerous for them. Having been privy to police operations, Mr Sedibe might have learnt the identity of some of their agents.

Mr Odendaal's allegations have to be treated prudently. On his

own admission, made in an interview with Sunday Star, his motivation is financial: he trades information for money.

At one level the Odendaal saga — first disclosed in Vrye Weekblad — seems to belong to a John Le Carré novel. At another level it cannot be dismissed completely.

The ANC operatives, Ricky (real name Revell Nkondo) and Mao, do exist. Police are said to possess a tape-recording of their alleged attempt to recruit Mr Odendaal as a hired assassin.

The ANC has not denied that it paid Mr Odendaal a large sum of money. But, it insisted, its motive in seeing him was for information about alleged gun-running operations by right-wingers.

The ANC has unequivocally denied that it is involved in a conspiracy to murder Mr Sedibe. At the same time, it felt constrained to add: "In spite of our scepticism, a thorough investigation has been launched to uncover all the facts."

It has promised to release the results of the investigation to the public (and not treat it as an internal inquiry like the one into Mr Zulu's death). □

The Star 21-1-1992

Permanent security staff for Codesa

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Codesa is to get a permanent security staff.

The daily management committee yesterday resolved to establish a permanent mechanism to ensure security at Codesa meetings.

Until yesterday's meeting, security was arranged on an ad hoc basis for each meeting.

The new chairman of the daily management committee, Privan Gordhan of the Natal Indian Congress — replacing Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer on a rotating basis — told The Star the proposed mechanism would take shape over the next few days.

The 19 participating groups had been invited to send representatives for the new security staff, said Mr Gordhan.

The decision was taken in order to get Codesa security on a more organised footing, he said.

The five working groups, which will thrash out transitional arrangements for a post-apartheid South Africa,

also met yesterday for the first time at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

At the meetings, held behind closed doors, each group appointed a steering committee, agreed on dates for further meetings and finalised their tasks.

Members of the steering committees will rotate as chairmen of the groups.

Three working groups reached consensus on steering committees comprising eight members each, while two working groups — one dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity and the role of the international community, and the other concerned with the future of the TBVC states — have nine steering committee members.

Dr de Beer said the working group chairmen would rotate at "sensible" intervals and not necessarily at each meeting.

"It has been a very good day. It went slowly, but people don't know each other and are building up trust. I think we are literally building a nation," he said.

The Star 21-1-1992

Media legislation expert Peter Reynolds comments on two restrictive laws **SA needs to eliminate unnecessary press gags**

THE Police Amendment Act, published in Parliament last week, provides for the repeal of Section 27B of the Police Act of 1968, one of the most inhibiting restrictions on freedom of the press South Africa has yet seen.

Section 27B has long been a part of the myriad of laws which surround and inhibit the free and proper flow of information.

Although I am aware of only one reported conviction under this draconian piece of legislation, it is on the statute books and, generally speaking, responsible members of the press consider themselves bound by it. Accordingly, many claims of police misdemeanours and questionable activities have not been reported. The passing of

section 27B will not be mourned.

However, section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act remains.

Section 205, or rather its implementation by the State against journalists, has for years been a matter of considerable concern. A number of lawyers have been involved in many cases in which this section of the Criminal Procedure Act has been invoked against journalists, who have been subpoenaed in an endeavour to force them to disclose confidential information concerning the identity of their sources against the threat of imprisonment without the option of a fine.

I am pleased to say that, on a number of occasions, because of the maturity of certain senior

members of the Department of Justice, good sense has prevailed, with the problem being resolved without the journalist having either to disclose confidences or go to jail. However, the last such matter in which my firm was involved was the case of The Star's Patrick Laurence. He was subpoenaed to disclose information of a confidential source which the police claimed could assist them to investigate the alleged kidnap of a witness in the recent Winnie Mandela trial.

Laurence went into the witness box to say why he would not disclose the information — that it would be a breach of his journalistic code of ethics. He was convicted and sentenced to jail with-

out the option of a fine. He gave notice of appeal, but bail was refused. Only an urgent application, brought at night before a judge in the Supreme Court, secured his midnight release from a prison cell. His appeal was lodged, but the State has failed to take any further action.

The implementation of this law, like so many other laws, restricts the free flow of information and imposes what I consider unnecessary restrictions on the freedom of the press and, most importantly, the public's right to know.

We need to clean up laws which unnecessarily gag the press, otherwise we can expect a future government to take over where the present one leaves off. □

The Citizen 21-1-1992 (2)

take place parallel to the sitting of Parliament. With the exception of the CP, the other parties in Parliament all have two representatives on each of the five Codesa working groups. This means that about a quarter of all MPs are directly involved in the negotiation process.

There is still no clarity on whether Parliament will adjourn on some days when meetings of all the Codesa groups or Codesa

plenary sessions taking place at Kempton Park, or whether it will continue as normal in the absence of the Codesa participants. This, too, is expected to draw strong criticism from the CP.

Apart from the negotiation process, Mr De Klerk's opening speech is expected to deal with the economy, and internal crime and violence, but at the same time reflect South Africa's diplo-

matic, trade, cultural and sporting breakthrough since the start of the negotiation process.

For the first time, the South African head of the Interests Section of the Russian Federation, Mr Alexei Makarov, will attend the opening of Parliament on Friday.

It will also be the first time a representative from the former Soviet Union has attended since diplomatic relations were severed in 1956.

The Citizen 21-1-1992 (1)

De Klerk to seek nod for interim govt

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — State President De Klerk will ask Parliament in his opening address on Friday to endorse the concept of a non-racial transitional government, to be instituted as soon as possible.

He will open what may be the final sittings of South Africa's last White-dominated Parliament, and spell out in greater detail proposals for an interim or transitional government that will include Blacks in both the Cabinet and in Parliament.

Mr De Klerk told Codesa last month that just as it was necessary to make the executive authority more representative of the South African population, it was necessary to bring Blacks into the legislature as soon as possible.

However, government insiders said yesterday the National Party proposals for interim or transitional government, including direct Black representation in Parliament, had not yet been finalised.

The joint government-NP proposals will be made known in due course, both within the Codesa negotiations and to the public at large. It is expected that the publication will take place either in late February or early March.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, NP secretary-general, said yesterday the NP approached the coming session of Parliament and the Codesa negotiations with confidence.

"The imperatives towards negotiations are so strong, and below the surface there is a tremendous amount of goodwill, in spite of the bitterness and ravages we have gone through.

"I also believe in the basic ingenuity of South Africans. We will find a way. There is the necessity, the will and the capacity — and with those attributes we will succeed," said Dr Van der Merwe.

Following yesterday's Cabinet meeting in Cape Town, Mr De Klerk will today address the full National Party caucus. He is likely to deal broadly with NP and government plans for the year ahead, but not necessarily detail the content of his opening speech on Friday.

In next week's debate on the State President's speech, the concept of Black inclusion will be welcomed by most other parties but will be strongly opposed by the Conservative Party, which demands self-determination for Whites.

The CP caucus will meet for a two-day strategy session in Cape Town today, with the party saying it will use every avenue open to it to oppose the creation of a unitary South Africa in which there would be a Black majority. ~~Codesa meetings will~~

The Citizen 22-1-1992

Coretta King blames poverty on Bush govt

ATLANTA. — The widow of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr in her annual "State of the Dream" speech, on Sunday blamed the Bush Administration for hopelessness among the poor.

Mrs Coretta Scott King's comments came two days after President Bush travelled to Atlanta and laid a wreath on King's tomb as part of a week of commemorations culminating yesterday with the national holiday honouring King.

Mrs King called on Mr Bush and Congress to take the lead to find housing, jobs and medical care for the poor.

"Our nation cannot do less," she told about 850 people at the King Centre for Non-violent Social Change. "The time has come for us to civilise ourselves for the total, direct and immediate abolition of poverty."

"No single reform will do more to eradicate poverty in the United States than a national consensus in government," she said on the eve of the seventh national holiday honouring her slain husband.

Mrs King stopped short of criticising Mr Bush directly, but said his administration hasn't done enough to alleviate the damage done by poverty, especially that suffered by the young.

"There are only two words that can adequately describe such conditions for so many children in the wealthiest country on earth, and those two words are national disgrace," she said.

The audience responded with an occasional "Amen" during



Mrs WINNIE MANDELA (left) wipes tears from her eyes on Sunday as she is comforted by Mrs CORETTA SCOTT KING, who gave her a special award during King Week activities at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

the speech, which received a standing ovation when it was over.

Yesterday, Mrs King and Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela, will lead a march through Atlanta to honour King, who was slain on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee.

Mrs Mandela said when she visited King's grave in Atlanta, she couldn't help thinking that she and her husband may meet the

same fate.

"One has learned to accept the possibility of anything happening in our struggle," Mrs Mandela told The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. "I think both of us are much more vulnerable now than we were before, and we have accepted that."

Mrs King presented Mrs Mandela on Sunday with the King Centre's special award for the progress she and her husband have made in fighting apartheid.

— Sapa-AP.

The Citizen 21-1-1992

Codesa working group's 1st meeting 'satisfactory'

By Sapa and Martin McGhee

THE first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa's five working groups yesterday achieved what it set out to do, though progress was slow.

"This was really a very good day," Dr Zach de Beer, the chairman yesterday of the Codesa daily management committee, (DMC), and leader of the DP delegation, told a media conference after the day's proceedings.

About 420 delegates and advisers of Codesa's 19 participants attended the first meeting of the working groups at the World Trade Centre, outside Johannesburg.

The purpose of yesterday's meeting was to get the working groups off

the ground, and up and running, he said. They were more concerned with targets than firm time periods. "That was achieved and I am satisfied with what's been done."

Substantive matters would be dealt with when the working groups met again on February 6.

Each working group, made up of 38 delegates and 38 advisers, elected a steering committee — three chose eight members and the other two chose nine members.

The steering committees are responsible for finding the chairmen for meetings.

The issue of chairmen for the working groups, because of its sensitive nature, had threatened to become an obstacle at yesterday's meeting. This was resolved though by the DMC, which met before the working groups, and suggested the steering committee concept, which would be responsible for choosing the chairmen.

It was still the intention to hold Codesa at the end of March, but it depended largely on the progress within the five working groups, Dr De Beer said.

It had first been proposed to spend two days a week in working group

meetings, but it was decided against this because of the workload of delegates, particularly MPs. It was agreed instead to meet every Monday at the World Trade Centre.

Delegates at yesterday's meeting generally felt that Codesa would most likely be held in the first part of April when they expected the working groups would have made substantive progress in their workings.

The media was not happy to hear from delegates that they had been instructed not to talk to the Press; as designated people on the DMC were responsible for that.

Mr Joe Slovo, SA Communist Party chairman and SACP delegate, did comment though: "Serious business has started. It was a good day."

The DMC, which met again after the day's proceedings had ended, "is essentially the servant of the working groups," Dr de Beer told the media. "We on the DMC are there to make sure that workable arrangements exist."

He stressed that the DMC was "not the boss" of the working groups.

"The management committee is in a sense the boss of the working groups ... they must report to a plenary session of Codesa — what is being referred to as the

21-1-1992

The Citizen

Chinese Min meets Pik, PAC in Jhb

THE Foreign Affairs Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr Qichen Qian, made a low-key and fleeting stopover in South Africa yesterday while travelling from Zimbabwe to Namibia.

Mr Qian met his South African counterpart Mr Pik Botha at Jan Smuts Airport, the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed.

He also had a 50-minute meeting behind closed doors with representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress at a Johannesburg airport hotel, but did not speak to the Press.

A Chinese representative, Mr Bode Qn, confirmed the republic had established an interest office in Pretoria under the auspices of the Centre for African Studies. He said he was running the office but

would not elaborate.

Meanwhile, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, at a Press briefing following the meeting, said Mr Qian had confirmed his country's continued friendship and support to the organisation "in a large number of areas".

He refused to explain the exact nature of that support, be it financial or military. Mainland China had in the past provided "all forms of training" to the PAC and had supported "a number of projects". He again would not elaborate.

"The discussions were open, frank and cordial and related to the long-standing relationship which has existed between our liberation movement and the People's Republic of China." — Sapa.

B/Dag 21-1-1992

ANC sounds warning on bond issue

THE ANC has criticised government's 260-million ecu (R890m) public bond issue and warned that a "democratic" government would "assess its obligation" to service and repay debts contracted by the present government.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday the bond issue was in gross violation of financial and investment sanctions in force against SA, and of UN resolutions.

It implicitly criticised — without naming — lead managers Banque Paribas and Swiss Bank Corporation.

The ANC said it was "bound to declare, once again, that a democratic government will carefully assess its obligations to service and take responsibility for debts contracted by the SA government and its various agencies".

The ANC statement said it was particularly critical because the issue took place just before the formation of an interim government and such a government's formal request for the lifting of economic sanctions.

One ANC source said, however, that the ANC's anger was more a "shot across the bow" than an outright refusal to honour all new foreign loans, although ANC members insist the threat had to be taken seriously.

The ANC's concern derived from its impression that government was engaged in a cynical attempt to buy votes in a future election and to present itself as the champion of the poor for political purposes, the source said.

Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser said in a statement the money

SHERIDAN CONNOLLY
and TIM COHEN

raised would contribute to the financing of the national Budget, "the thrust of which is increasingly the upliftment of the less advantaged part of the community".

In its statement, the ANC said it was significant that the ecu loan carried onerous interest rate charges. This represented a heavy burden on the economy and the people of SA.

"The ecu bond is for five years, and was launched at 10.375%, and is selling at par. This is some 3% higher than straight market rates of interest," the ANC said.

But a senior analyst rejected this claim, saying the interest rate was not unreasonable considering it was the country's first major entry into the ecu bond market.

In addition, considering the political risk involved, interest rates normally charged to developing countries were at a premium to those charged to developed countries, the analyst said. In any event, the 10.375% rate was only marginally higher than benchmark issues in the ecu market.

The ANC said it had learnt that Transnet planned to issue an equity-linked financial instrument to foreign subscribers which has the potential for providing investors with a rate of return of as high as 25%. A Transnet spokesman declined to comment.

The ANC said: "It is clear that the SA regime remains bent on a course of curbing the economic options of a future democratic government through the imposition

Bond issue

of a costly burden of indebtedness on the economy."

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said his organisation fully supported the ANC's position that a future government would have the right to review loans raised by the current government.

Coleman also rejected Croeser's statement that the loan was raised to help finance the Budget which was increasingly orientated towards social upliftment, adding that the loan was raised unilaterally.

From Page 1

"In whose judgment are they benefiting the majority?" he asked, criticising what he said was government's "top-down" approach and its reluctance to enter into negotiations on the issue.

In response to the proposition that European banks had indicated the ANC and Cosatu were bluffing when they suggested a new government would not repay the debts, Coleman said: "Their bluff may be called."

Comment: Page 6

B/Dag 21-1-1992

THE KwaZulu government and the Development Bank of SA have signed a loan agreement of more than R83m to finance development projects in KwaZulu, including an education college at Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone.

B/Day 21-1-1992

Passenger and police injured in train attack

THREE policemen and a 48-year-old man were slightly injured when a group of men armed with kieres, pangas and assegais attacked train passengers between Orlando East and Nancefield stations last night.

Police said policemen, who were compelled to fire in the air, were forced out of the train during the attack. All the injured were treated at Baragwanath Hospital. The motive for the attack was not known and no arrests were made, police said.

In two separate incidents yesterday four commuters were admitted to hospital after being thrown from Johannesburg-bound trains.

B/Day 21-1-1992

Code will let soldiers disobey orders

SADF troops will have the right to disobey commands violating the constitution and will be bound to respect international law in terms of the draft military code of conduct set to be agreed to by national peace accord signatories.

An informed source close to the negotiations said yesterday "substantial progress" was made at a meeting last Friday attended by representatives of the ANC, the SADF and Inkatha. The three make up the negotiating committee.

The SADF code of conduct is one of the outstanding issues to be agreed in terms of the accord signed in September.

Almost all the drafts of the code discussed so far include the requirement that the onus be placed on troops to disobey unlawful or unconstitutional orders.

TIM COHEN

One of the drafts approves Geneva conventions covering military conduct, but the final draft is likely to include a broader requirement that troops should act in accordance with "international law".

The existing situation, set out in the military disciplinary code, is that soldiers need not obey unlawful commands. But in terms of the draft code, soldiers will have to accept responsibility for their actions.

It has been speculated that the signing of the military code was delayed after opposition in NP ranks to a leaked draft. Opponents maintained that allowing soldiers to disobey unconstitutional commands would have a detrimental effect on discipline.

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Cosatu set to seek representation at negotiations

By Mike Siluma

The Congress of SA Trade Unions, which today meets business leaders in talks to discuss the formation of a macro-economic negotiating forum for the country, is to seek direct representation at Codesa, The Star has learnt.

Sources close to the organisation's national executive, which met in Johannesburg yesterday, said Cosatu leadership would decide to apply for membership of Codesa. There is no union representation on the body.

Cosatu's involvement in the

constitutional talks has been the subject of much debate within the federation as well as inside its alliance with the ANC and the SA Communist Party, both of which are Codesa participants.

The decision to seek membership of Codesa follows a decision taken last year that Cosatu would only attend Codesa in its own right, and not as part of the ANC or SACP delegations.

Cosatu has insisted that, as one of the key players in South African civil society, it should be allowed to take part in constitutional talks —

a position backed by the other major union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

Referring to the absence of union representation at Codesa, Nactu general-secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said yesterday: "We believe there are collective worker rights which need to be entrenched in any new constitution, such as the right to strike.

"No organisation can claim to represent our interests."

But when asked whether Nactu would seek membership of Codesa, Mr Ngcukana

said Nactu would have to ask itself "many questions" before joining Codesa.

On a related matter, Cosatu and Nactu, together with the Federation of Staff Associations, will meet business organisations to plan the establishment of the economic forum. The forum was one of labour's key demands during November's anti-VAT strike.

Union leaders are confident that, unlike last year, when they accused the Government of foot-dragging on the issue, chances of reaching agreement are greater this time.

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Constructive engagement

SOUTH AFRICA is witnessing a second phase of the United States policy of constructive engagement. During the 1980s the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, applied Constructive Engagement 1. In essence it sought to persuade the Botha administration down the road of reform. Now, Dr Crocker's successor, Hank Cohen, is applying Constructive Engagement 2.

Constructive engagement in its original version tried to encourage and persuade the Botha administration along the road to reform. Just how effective it was is a matter of debate. It may, however, have contributed to the emergence of President de Klerk's much bolder brand of reform after he succeeded Mr Botha.

Constructive Engagement 2 seeks to persuade parties on the Left and Right extremes of the political continuum to join ~~Codesa~~ and work for a settlement. It goes further, however, and threatens to wield a stick as well as dangle a carrot. Washington has made it clear that if the Pan Africanist Congress persists in its policy of armed struggle, including the murder of policemen, and of undermining Codesa, the US may be compelled to use its considerable influence to "suggest" to African heads of state that they re-examine their relationship with the PAC.

Since the PAC depends heavily on the funds it gets from the OAU as one of the two recognised South African "liberation movements", it should — in its own interests — take careful note of the US policy. So far, however, the PAC has reacted negatively, condemning the US for "hypocrisy" — a reference to Washington's past support for Unita in Angola and its more recent financial aid to Inkatha — and accusing the US of interference in South Africa's internal affairs.

We applaud the attempt by the US to use its influence to bolster the process of peaceful settlement. Whatever the deficiencies of Constructive Engagement 1, the new version amounts to helpful intervention rather than negative interference.

Losing ground

HARDLINERS in the Zimbabwean Cabinet appear to have won the day over the land redistribution issue. The final terms of the Land Acquisition Bill are so heavily weighted against white farmers that they mock the very concept of human rights.

Enormous power is to be placed in the hands of the agriculture minister, who will have the first and final say over which white-owned land will be compulsorily acquired for resettlement of blacks. The minister will also in effect set the compensation figure and will not be limited in the amount of land he can take.

In all these instances the government has seen to it that there can be no right of appeal to the courts.

Zimbabwean blacks' hunger for land is understandable, especially in view of the promises made by the Zanu (PF) leadership before it came to power. But to steamroller through such an inequitable "solution" can only beget more problems, not least being the frightening-off of already shy overseas investors. There must be strong suspicion that President Mugabe is willing to risk this in a bid to boost his flagging popularity.

South of the Limpopo this development will fuel the rhetoric of a right wing already in ferment over the same subject.