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LLANGA 10-12-1992

Candid friends

THERE are those who are clearly thrilled by the contents of the constitution introduced by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and adopted by the Legislative Assembly.

There are others, however, who, whilst applauding the initiative, nevertheless adopt the posture of candid friend of KwaZulu by questioning what they see as procedural or tactical flaws in the presentation. Their main criticism is that KwaZulu government seems to have broken with the multi-party process in its attitude especially to the proposed referendum to ratify the constitution.

It is always necessary to distinguish between candid friends and those whose criticism and advice are a cloak for cleverly hostile propaganda against KwaZulu or the IFP.

Our candid friends some of whom played a leading role in previous initiatives of the Chief Minister. Nkosi M G Buthelezi recall the consensual and multi-party character of the Buthelezi commission and the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba and urge that this style be maintained. They advise that the present initiative be promoted at all forums and that flexibility be exercised in order to win over the people of South Africa and the world to federalism for our country. all this is very creditable and sound advice.

But one is bound to ask - where have our candid friends been in the last twelve months or the months since May, 1992?

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) began with much fanfare a little under a year ago. The KwaZulu government was

not regarded as significant enough to be invited to Codesa. His Majesty the King of the Zulus and his delegation were excluded.

In months of hard negotiating every strategem was employed to prevent full and comprehensive discussion of a federal future for South Africa. It was said this should be left to an elected constituent assembly. Plans for transitional government were put forward by the ANC and by the government alike which would eventually have precluded a federal South Africa.

Over and over again the IFP delegation had to block initiatives which would have led inexorably to a unitary future.

In the meantime there was a reluctance in the media to place before the country the federal alternative to unitary government. Important articles by even the Chief Minister of KwaZulu on federalism were suppressed.

But, worse till, the negotiating forum Codesa was ruthlessly scuttled by the ANC and its allies. Mass action was embarked upon to browbeat and blackmail the government in order to move negotiation in the ANC direction. The end result was the notorious Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC in which the IFP and KwaZulu were slated to play the role of scapegoat to seal the unholy alliance.

At that point one would have expected our candid friends to raise a howl of protest at this flagrant violation of every tenet of multi-party negotiations.

There are those who believe

that KwaZulu politicians should merely twiddle their thumbs until the ANC and the NP government have sorted things out for presentation to other parties. There is hardly any outcry at the unilateral ultimatums and mass actions of the ANC which totally undermine the multi-party negotiation process. Similarly there is hardly any outcry at the bilateral actions of the ANC and NP.

But let the KwaZulu government, which is not even regarded as a worthwhile negotiating partner, take a bold initiative entirely within its rights, then strictures and warnings abound from all sides stressing the need to maintain the multi-party negotiations process. Which multi-process? The one at Codesa was scuttled and you did not protest.

In other words, dear candid friends, the negotiations have unfortunately been deliberately politicised by the ANC and the government over the protests and warnings given by the Chief Minister Nkosi M G Buthelezi. The hope of national consensus and friendly give and take have been replaced by hard bargaining and struggles for power.

The rules of the game have been unilaterally or bilaterally altered and not by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, KwaZulu or the IFP. Maybe now you will understand why KwaZulu has been forced to adopt new tactics different from those of the old days when everyone was a gentleman. Constructive aspects of your advice will be gladly accepted but only in the context of the new rules of the game.

Owe-IFP uhlaba i-ANC noHulumeni ngokuhlasela kwe-Apla

USIHLALO wentsha yeNkatha Freedom Party (IFP) eMlazi, uMnuz. Mzwandile Sabelo, uthi yize noma bekuhlaba kakhulu ukuhlasela okwenziwe yi-APLA eKing William's Town nase-Queenstown, kodwa ukuphawula kukaHulumeni ne-ANC ngaloludaba bakubona kungukuzenzisa okukhulu.

Uthe i-ANC iyazihlaba kakhulu izenzo ze-APLA, kodwa bona lokhu bakubona kungukuzenza ngcono.

Esitatimendeni asikhiphile, uMnuz. Sabelo uthi i-ANC ifuna ukuze hlukanisa nezenzo zokuhlasela abantu abangenacala okuthinteka kuzo abaholi bayo abasezingeni eliphezulu, ikakhulu eNatal naKwaZulu laphe osekubulawe khona abalandeli abaningi be-IFP.

UMnuz. Sabelo uthi lokhu kufakazelwa nawukuboshwa komgquguzeli we-ANC eFolweni, usihlalo wayo kuyo lendawo kanye nababili abasekomidini mayelana necala lokubulawa kwabantu abangu-20 kulendawo. Ubuze waveza nokuthi ngaphandle kwalaba khona nabanye boMkhonto asebeboshiwe mayelana namanye amacala okubulala abantu, nje ngokubulawa ngesihluku komndeni wakwaNzima-nde.

Uthe abaholi be-ANC besifunda baphaka impi eqondiswe kubalandeli beNkatha ngoba befuna ukuhlwatha amandla okuphatha ngezikhwepha. Wathi ngamanye amazwi i-ANC kungenzeka ukuthi isiwuyekile umzaba-

lazo wezikhali, kodwa la-phaya ezingeni eliphansi lokhu kuphambene kakhulu. Uthe abantu be-IFP bakholwa ukuthi izenzo ze-ANC zokushaya abantu abangenacala zifana ncamashi neze-PAC.

Abaholi bamasosha bakaHulumeni walelizwe

bathi nakanjani bazobamba ababulali, futhi abangabazi nakancane.

Uthe baveze nokuthi izenzo ezifana neze-APLA bazoziqeda noma ikanjani, bathi futhi zigcine

ngci ukwenzeka. UMnuz. Sabelo uthi njengoba

abezokuphepha kwezwe besho kanje, yini pho

eyenza ukuba udaba lokubulawa kwabantu, ika-

khulukazi eNatali kulezi zinyanga ezimbalwa ezedlule, lungasukunyelwa

phezulu?

Uthe yini eyenza ukuba ukuboshwa kwabantu

ababulala abaholi beNkatha abangu-253 ku-

hambe kancane kangaka, wathi futhi yini edala

ukuba abantu abasolwa ngokubulala abaholi ba-

lenhlangano badedelwe ngamabheyili. Ubuze no-

kuthi uHulumeni ukuvu-melelani ukuqeqeshwa

kwezinkulungwane zamalungu oMkhonto we-

Sizwe okuqhubekayo.

"Sithi ukubulala nge-

njongo yokuzusa kwezo-

mbusazwe akufuneki fu-

thi kufanele kuqedwe

nya. UHulumeni kufane-

le abuse kahle abhekane

kahle nezenzo zobudlo-

vu. Kanjalo ne-ANC iye-

ke ukuphazamisa imi-

phakathi, ukubulala aba-

holi kanjalo nabalandeli

bethu," kuphetha uMnuz.

Sabelo.

16/1/14

Amathemba ngokuhlangana

ILANGA December 10-12-92

komholi we-IFP nowe-ANC

DAN XULU

INKINGA engumshikashika yokungahlangana kwabaholi ababili abanohlonze eSouth Africa ngenhloso yokunqanda ukubhebhetha kodlame olukhunge the lelizwe ingase ixazuleke kulandela isivumelwano seNkatha Freedom Party (IFP) ne-African National Congress (ANC) sokuba kuhlangeane uMongameli we-IFP, uDr Mangosuthu Buthelezi kanye noMongameli we-ANC, uDr Nelson Mandela.

Lesisivumelwano sithathwe izolo ngolwesithathu yizithunywa ebezimele iqembu le-IFP ebeliholwa ngu-Sihlalo kazwelonke we-IFP, uDr Frank Mdlalose kanye neze-ANC ebeziholwa nguMnuz. Jacob Zuma, oyisikhulu se-ANC.

Izingqapheli zithi iSenzo sezithunywa ze-IFP ne-ANC sokufinyelela kulesivumelwano sokuhlanganisa lababaholi bobabili singase sibeyikhambi eliqanda ikhanda lokunqanda ukubhebhetha kodlame eSouth Africa.

Kulomhlango, obukwelinye lamahhotela apha mbili eThekwini, izithunywa zidingide kabanzi ngohlelo lomhlango ozokubaphakathi kwalabaholi.

Inhloso yalomhlango bekuwukuhlelela umhlango obhekwe umhlaba wonke ozokubaphakathi ku-kaDr Mandela noDr Buthelezi okungakazeki nokho okwamanje ukuthi uyobanini. Nokho-ke uDr Mdlalose efakazelwa nguMnuz. Zuma bakuqinisekile ukuthi lezizithunywa zizobuye zihlangane ngomhlaka December 29 nonyaka.

Lomhlango ubonakale ubayimpumelelo enkulu ekhombisa ubudlelwano kanye nobumbano phakathi kwezikhulu zalezizinhlangano. Lokhu kubonakale ngesikhathi abaholi banhlangothi zombili bencokolisana bedla amahlaya kunjeya. Umoya wonke bowunenjabulo, ukuhloniphana nokuzwana.

Phakathi kwezithunywa ze-IFP bekukhona uDr B.S. Ngubane, uMnuz. Lionel Mtshali, Inkosi Simon Gumede, uDr Dennis Madide noDr V.T. Zulu.

Kanti eze-ANC bekukhona uMnuz. Thabo Mbeki, uMnuz. Aziz Pahad, uMnuz. Eric Mtshali, uMnuz. Jeff Radebe, Steward Ngwenya kanye noSydney Mufamadi.

16/1/14

LLANGA 10-12-1992

Goldstone Commission advised: Change your terms of reference or you will fail

IT IS THE view of the IFP that conflict between the ANC and our organisation is rooted in our different responses to the problem of apartheid. Those responses began more than three decades ago and there has, in our view, been little substantive change in the strategies adopted by the ANC and IFP to bring about fundamental political transformation in our country.

This Commission has no mandate to investigate these differing strategies, since its terms of reference confine it to investigate the causes of violence since February 2, 1990.

It is for this reason that we are becoming more convinced by the day that this Commission will fail in its task to address the causes of violence in our land. By continuing to investigate individual outbreaks of violence the Commission will risk the grave danger of being presented with the effects of violence as if these were causes.

We are convinced that unless a serious effort is made to discover the root causes of violence, followed by practical steps to undo the effects that have flowed from them, there will be no peace.

Allow us to provide a brief overview of the differing strategies.

IFP PERSPECTIVE

Up until 1960 black political organisations had worked against apartheid through non-violent, though increasingly militant action.

After the banning of the ANC, elements within this organisation, including its current leader, embarked on a course of armed violence with the launching of MK, a decision frowned upon by the then leader of the ANC, Nkosi Albert Luthuli, and never democratically ratified by the ANC.

The armed struggle was codified in a document entitled "Strategy and Tactics of the ANC" published in 1969.

By the mid 1970s a full-blown revolutionary climate had taken root within the exiled ANC and growing militancy among the youth was encouraged - ANC followers were called upon again and again to make the townships ungovernable and to "kill township councillors and Bantustan leaders, who were collaborators".

We would remind the Commission that this campaign was not only directed against the apartheid state. KwaZulu and the IFP in particular have been the targets of ANC destabilisation policies

since the ANC failed in 1979 to persuade Inkatha to become its surrogate.

We would draw the Commission's attention to the ANC's "Commission on Cadre policy, political and ideological work, Internal Commission Report and Commission on Strategy and Tactics" issued in June 1985, which recommended the following:

"Mass democratic organisations, commu-

nity, women, youth and student organisations must be encouraged to continue their mobilisation of the masses in platteland townships, especially those adjacent to bantustans, so as to stimulate organisation even in those bantustans in which they are banned.

"Armed propaganda should be stepped up in the bantustans to go hand in hand with mass mobilisation as a first step to make these areas ungovernable.

"We should differentiate between puppet and traditional leaders and then take steps against the former, whereas the latter should be drawn into democratic organisations along with their followers.

"Rural organisers in each area should explore the possibilities of taking advantage of traditional and other organisations already in existence, e.g. cultural groups, initiation schools, burial societies, churches, opposition parties, welfare organisations, self-help associations including those established by the bantustan regimes".

On the "Bantustans" the document stated:

"Clearly the bantustans should also be the targets of our Movement's efforts to render South Africa ungovernable. However, the scope and the pace of our efforts will be determined by our Movement's organised strength in these areas".

"One of the questions most extensively debated was whether we should seek to advocate the overthrow of the bantustan administrations or whether we should focus exclusively on the struggle against Pretoria.

THE IFP made 8 submissions at the 4 December preliminary hearings of the Goldstone Commission to investigate the violence in Natal. This is an edited version of the overview presented by Mr Senzo Mfayela, Natal Organiser for the IFP. He took issue with the Commission's present terms of reference. Unless these are re-assessed, said Mfayela, to encompass an evaluation of recent political history, they will fail to address the fundamental causes of the violence.

"If the former applies, it would involve the establishment of (if only for a short period) a radical administration with sympathies for the liberation movement.

"By removing the puppets we would bring the people into direct confrontation with the racists, opening up the possibilities of transforming these areas into bases for the advancement of People's War".

This message was repeated ad infinitum in Radio Freedom broadcasts and ANC publications.

WAR AGAINST INKATHA

The open war against Buthelezi/Inkatha dates back to the early 80's. Inkatha had made it clear that it would be its own man and would take orders from nobody. That

was unacceptable to the ANC, which regards itself as the sole representative of all black people.

Following ANC Secretary General Mr Alfred Nzo's open attack - on the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter - on the IFP President, attempt after attempt was made on all fronts - inside SA and

outside - to present Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha as the worst enemies of the oppressed people.

Young people and workers were indoctrinated with the anti- Buthelezi propaganda, which inevitably led to hatred.

Little wonder that a UDF co-President told a public meeting in Durban in 1985 that it was going to destroy Inkatha and the "Bantustans".

SMASH INKATHA!

Nor was it surprising when another component of the ANC/SACP alliance, SACTU, said the following in a position paper issued in 1989.

"It is therefore inconceivable that the democratic movement and the broader national liberation movement can reach accommodation with the puppets in Inkatha.

"The onus is on us to neutralise Gatsha once and for all. The snake that is poisoning the people of South Africa needs to be hit on the head.

"Negotiations with Gatsha must be seen as negotiations with a leader of Bantustan Gestapo and a Junior Partner in oppression

and murder. Such negotiations can only serve short term objectives and must never compromise the long term objectives of the people, namely the total destruction of Inkatha and its corrupt leadership.

As recently as 1988 the then commander of the ANC's military wing, Mr Chris Hani, announced at a press conference in London that Umkhonto We-Sizwe was out to murder Central Committee Members of Inkatha as well as members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Hani also made a public call over the ANC's Radio Freedom for the "snake Buthelezi" to be "hit on the head." That call was repeated by other very senior ANC leaders.

KwaZulu has been the target of the ANC right up to the present time. A formal campaign to disband KwaZulu was launched by the ANC and its allies in July 1990. COSATU, an ANC ally, started a "disarm Buthelezi" campaign at the same time, claiming this was the only way to peace in Natal.

The South African Youth Congress (Sayco),

the predecessor of the ANC's youth wing had this to say at its congress in May 1990:

"..The main task of the present phase of our revolution is the total destruction of the internal structures of colonial rule and to replace them and the whole system of apartheid colonialism with organs of mass self-rule in the economic, political and social life experience of the whole of our people."

As far as "homelands" were concerned, the document (of the congress) claimed that "our theory and practice" must:

"now and at once, seek to destroy them and establish in their stead organs of people's self government and activation ..."

"As revolutionary youth, we must define and identify our enemy as the system of apartheid colonialism and, in this case, the system of the bantustans ... it is therefore the system of the bantustans we must bring to an immediate end as part and parcel of our route to total liberation."

It is interesting to note that this campaign to destroy KwaZulu was strongly opposed by the PAC, AZAPO and the leader of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, who predicted that it would lead to an escalation of violence.

Parenthetically, I would ask the Commission to consider whether much of what has been said by the ANC at this hearing and the demands it has made are not almost identical to what I have sketched.

We would draw the Commission's attention to the detailed "Guidelines for Comrades" issued by the ANC during September 89. These offered very detailed advice on how to

engage Inkatha in debate and how to use selective violence against those who did not bend to the will of the ANC.

They were designed, in the words of the ANC, to "finally crush Buthelezi's power base."

It is a matter of public record that the IFP and its predecessor have never embarked on a course of violence to overthrow the state. Its whole strategy was and remains one of getting control of the apartheid structures the government sought to create and to thus ensure that the policy could not be implemented and that the structures themselves could be used as measures against apartheid.

It established the Buthelezi Commission and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba as vehicles to engage the apartheid state constitutionally.

It negotiated with the Government for nine

months and was the author of the document spelling out the modalities for the unbanning of all political parties and the freeing of all political prisoners.

The IFP has done all in its power to halt school boycotts, rent boycotts, moves to disband all black local authorities and the intimidation of people to enforce stayaways.

The IFP has gone to great lengths to engage the ANC in debate over differing strategies to achieve liberation, but these initiatives have been scorned by the ANC. Let us give but four examples:

* ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said in April 1990 that talks with Inkatha were tantamount to "bringing the ANC to its knees";

* In December 1990 ANC Midlands leader, Mr Harry Gwala is known

for threatening to "take power by force", described negotiations with Inkatha as an "adventure" and recommended that the movement be "dealt with by other means".

* In a September 1987 message to comrades suggesting an end to necklacing and their recognition of others' legitimacy, UDF spokesman Maulana Farid Esack said however, that (the ANC) had warned against Inkatha "which was not part of the struggle."

* On April 2, 1990, the President of the ANC had agreed to address a joint peace rally with IFP President, Dr M G Buthelezi, at Taylor's Halt outside Pietermaritzburg. The meeting was called off at the last moment after some of Dr Mandela's

lieutenants, including Mr Harry Gwala, had (in Dr Mandela's words) "threatened to throttle him".

The IFP believes the ANC's ungovernability programme to be the father of today's violence. It is simply not true to state that this programme has been halted. No less a person than the ANC's President, Dr Nelson Mandela, has repeatedly said that all existing structures in black areas are irrelevant and said that they must be destroyed.

Only recently the ANC sought to overthrow the Government of Ciskei and it has threatened to try the same in KwaZulu and other areas that do not submit to its will.

The ungovernability programme not only aims to destroy constitutional authority, but it seeks to replace it with structures

that are illegal and are based on violence and coercion. People's courts operate on a wide front and have the express blessing of the ANC, that constantly calls for the "mushrooming of people's power".

The rural areas are the last bastions of peace and stability, where traditional family values are treasured. Now, we are told, they must be destroyed. Why? Because the amakhosi will not submit to the will of the ANC?

Urbanisation is traumatic for any society, no less so for us. This trauma has been made infinitely worse through the evils of apartheid, a policy which sought to break down family life in urban areas as a matter of deliberate policy. It is our submission to this Commission that the ANC has made itself guilty of a crime against the black people of this coun-

try by adding the evils of its ungovernability programme to the trauma already suffered by our people as a result of urbanisation.

The ANC's programme further destroyed the discipline and social cohesion of what was left of black family life. It broke down long established norms of behaviour and encouraged immorality and a lack of respect for the cherished values of Ubuntu.

Its policies have sought to break down all forms of respect. This has led to even greater social disintegration and has culminated in a lack of respect for life itself.

This is the cause of the violence in our country.

It is our considered view that this Commission must address these matters. If it cannot or will not do so, we believe another commission should be ap-

pointed to do so.

Unless this is done the denigration and hate in the hearts of people will not be stopped.

COMMISSION SHOULD ALSO INVESTIGATE:

Finally, we would like to make the IFP's position on a number of other issues clear. We believe the Commission should also direct its attention to the following:

- 1 The multiple activities of MK cadres;
- 2 The activities of heavily politicised youth;
- 3 The reporting of violence, and in particular the partisanship of violence monitors;
- 4 The probable use of ANC-established arms caches in the proliferation of automatic weaponry;
- 5 The assassination of IFP leadership figures; and
- C Partisan policing.

Umholi ukhuthaza ukufundwa komthetho-sisekelo omusha

ILANGA Dec-10-12-92

EGOLI.- Umholi we-Nkatha Freedom Party (IFP) eNtilasifali, uMnuz. Themba Khoza, ngempelasonto utshele izihlwele zentsha ye-IFP emhlanganweni obuseGoli ukuthi intsha kufanele isheshe ithole amakhophi omthethosisekelo omusha waKwaZulu naseNatal uma eseshicilelwe ukuze iwufundisise kahle.

UMnuz. Khoza uthe akufanele intsha ye-IFP yenze njengoba kwenza izimfamona ezigxeka lomthetho-sisekelo ezimane zawugxeka zingakawufundisise lomthethosisekelo. Uthe kukhona enye intatheli, athe ngeke alisho igama layo, esanda kugxeka kakhulu lomthetho-sisekelo kodwa okuthe uma isiwufundile ngosuku olulandelayo yawuncoma kakhulu. Uthe lokhu kukhombisa ukuchema okukhona kwabanye abantu.

UMnuz. Khoza uthe lomthetho-sisekelo ungowokuqala wentando yeningi nongabandlululi eSouth Africa. Uthe kodwa ufuna ukukucacisa ukuthi lomthetho-sisekelo akusiwona oweRiphabliki yaseSouth Africa, kodwa ungowakwaZulu naseNatal. Uthe kwenjwa ukuthi iNatal naKwaZulu iyoba nguhulumeni wesifundazwe uma sekusungulwe iFederal Republic of South Africa.

Maqondana neCodesa, uMnuz. Khoza uthe bona abazange beneliswe

yindlela eyayakhiwe ngayo, waphawula ukuthi uHulumeni waKwaZulu neSilo samaZulu nezithunywa zazingekho kuCodesa. Uthe kodwa naphezu kwalokhu izithunywa ze-IFP zasebenza kanzima ukuze kuphumelele umthetho-sisekelo omusha.

Uqhubeke wathi bajabha uma sekufadalala iCodesa okwalandelwa ngenye inkinga, leyo okwaba yiziteleka zikazwelonke ezagququzelwa yi-ANC kanye nebambisene nabo. Uthe leziziteleka ezazingadingeki kwakuhloswe ngazo ukuba kwesatshiswe abantu baseSouth Africa ukuba besekele i-ANC.

Uthe abantu abaningi, phakathi kwabo okukhona noMongameli we-IFP, uDr. M.G. Buthelezi, babikezela ukuthi lomkhankaso weziteleka uzophetha ngokuba kubekhona ukuhlupheka, ukufa kwabantu nokulinyazwa kwempahla. Uthe kwenzeka ngempele lokhu okwakubikezelwe nguDr Buthelezi.

Maqondana nesivumelano esenziwa phakathi kukaHulumeni neANC ngomhlaka September 26, uMnuz. Khoza uthe i-IFP ayisobe yazemukela izinqumo ezithathwe yi-ANC ezithinta amalungu nabalandeli be-IFP. Uthe ngenxa yalezizinqumo uMongameli we-IFP wahoxa ezingxoxweni noHulumeni. Uthe i-IFP izoqhubeka nokuhoxa kuze kufike isikhathi lapho lesisivumelwanosethulwa khona phambi kwenkundla yamaqembu ehlukene ukuze sicutshungulwe.

16/1/11

Buthelezi unveils new SA plan

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has unveiled a plan to combine his KwaZulu black homeland with white-run Natal province in an autonomous state within a federal South Africa.

Buthelezi, announcing the plan at a news conference in the homeland capital of Ulundi northwest of Durban, rejected suggestions that it amounted to a formula for secession - a scenario some political analysts say could lead to full-scale civil war.

Buthelezi said: "It is intended that once ratified by the electorate of KwaZulu and Natal, the new constitution will stand in force regardless of the direction taken by the constitutional process of South Africa."

Analysts described the document, which Buthelezi said he would send to Pretoria for

By Ian Mackenzie

approval, as the first step to a unilateral declaration of autonomy.

Buthelezi made the announcement on the eve of a crucial three-day bilateral meeting between President FW de Klerk's government and the ANC which is due to pave the way for the resumption of multi-party constitutional talks early next year - multi-racial rule envisioned one-man, one-vote elections for a national unity government by April 1994, or sooner if possible.

Buthelezi, angered by bilateral agreements between the government and ANC excluding the Zulu movement, said that his proposed

constitution would, "accelerate and direct the process of constitutional development".

"It is a challenge to the rest of South Africa to no longer delay the call for freedom and social justice. It is time to talk substance and stop politicking, and to get South Africa once and for all out of the horrors of apartheid without falling into the trap of socialism and populism," Mr Buthelezi said.

The constitution gives Buthelezi's proposed state the right to reject taxes or laws passed by a federal South Africa's central government. Its permission would be required before the central authority could station troops on its soil. The ANC's governing agenda on the other hand proposes a strong central government in a unitary state.

SA rivals meet

Cape Town (Reuter) - South Africa's Inkatha and African National Congress groups said they had a constructive meeting yesterday in an attempt to arrange a peace summit between their leaders, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela. Officials from the two sides told a joint news conference at a Durban hotel that they would meet again on 29 December.

The Inkatha chairman, Frank Mdlalose, earlier said the talks could help to end township violence, in which 3,300 people have died this year and more than 7,500 since 1990.

The Independent
10/12/92
London

SADF: July intake could be last Whites-only

Citizen Reporter
and Sapa

THE mid-year intake of White national servicemen next year could be the last exclusively involving Whites, it was confirmed by the Ministry of Defence yesterday.

The basis for future national service was still subject to negotiation, and White national service as embodied in the law remained the Defence Force's main source of supply of manpower for the present, a spokesman said yesterday.

"But the end is possibly in sight for White national service as we know it, depending on what comes out of negotiations to be conducted next year," he said.

A new system of military service, introduced as from the beginning of December, was announced by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg yesterday. It is the forerunner of a more flexible service system.

The new system will allow members of all population groups to join and

become part of an initial permanent force component of about 6 000 for periods varying between two and six years.

This is to become the largest component of the Permanent Force, with a small regular Permanent Force component remaining on until retirement age to fill middle, senior and top management posts.

According to General Liebenberg, members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) would be eligible to join the new force, provided that they accepted the principles of the SADF.

"They would have to become apolitical and loyal to the SADF," he said.

Members of the force would not be allowed membership of political parties, but could vote for any party of their choice.

Because APLA was a private army which said it was waging war against the country, its members as such would not at pres-

ent be considered. If individual members resigned and indicated they were sincere about joining the SADF, their applications might well be considered.

"We were in fact busy negotiating with the ANC on the question of accommodating MK members into the SADF. Discussions on this were, however, stopped when Codesa broke down.

"Negotiations in this regard will hopefully start soon again. At first on a bilateral level and later on a multilateral level," he said.

Also on the issue of MK and Apla members joining the force, Gen Liebenberg said that Blacks already made up 46 percent of all deployed soldiers to ensure internal stability, Whites made up 32 percent and Brown people accounted for 22 percent.

Through the new system persons can voluntarily join the Defence Force for a minimum period of two years and a maximum of six years. The remuneration and service benefits would

also be better than the current system.

The first priority for recruitment into the system will be trained members. Others, like school leavers were, however, also welcome to apply when they report for military service in January.

Gen Liebenberg spoke at a two-hour long Press conference at the South African Army College, Voortrekkerhoogte, together with the heads of the Air Force, the Army and the Navy, where the main aim was to discuss the rationalisation process the SADF was going through.

The SADF's Chief Staff Personnel, Lt-Gen Wollie Wolmarans said at the briefing:

"The SADF hopes to recruit 6 000 members by this new system which is called the Voluntary Period Service System (VPSS) which replaces the present Short Term Service System," Gen Wolmarans said.

He said the VPSS was not meant to replace the current National Service which still remained the only guaranteed source of personnel supply, Gen Wolmarans said.

He said the VPSS, which became effective on December 1, made provision for members of all population groups to voluntarily join the Defence Force for a minimum period of two years up to a maximum of six years.

"The new system created an opportunity to supplement the critical need for young recruits during the current transitional period by way of voluntary participation by members of all population groups," Gen Wolmarans said.

Gen Wolmarans added that the remuneration and service benefits of the new system would be considerably better than those of the current military service and service volunteer system.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

SADF

It was, we suppose, inevitable that the South African Defence Force would be cut back financially just like other government departments or services.

The country is strapped for cash, and every government department has to prune its expenditure drastically.

With the end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the signing of peace accords in Angola and Mozambique (we hope the accord in Angola holds), and relationships with Black Africa on a friendlier footing, the role of the SADF is no longer to guard our frontiers against possible aggression, but to help bring peace to this troubled and violent land.

It remains a deterrent, however, to any force, internal or external, that wishes to overthrow the existing order.

Nevertheless, although we accept the need for cuts in SADF expenditure and changes in its structures to meet the new conditions of a country in transition, there is a measure of disquiet.

Judging by yesterday's announcements, the SADF is not going to be what it was.

At least R174 million is to be saved by cutting 6 110 Army, Navy and Air Force jobs.

The retrenchments in the Army will be particularly severe among colonels, commandants and warrant officers.

The SADF is to launch a recruitment drive for 6 000 members under a new Voluntary Period Service System, open to members of all population groups, who would join the Defence Force for a minimum period of two years to a maximum period of six years.

"The new system creates an opportunity to supplement the critical need for young recruits during the current transitional period," a spokesman says.

But the changes mean that 6 000 highly skilled and experienced Permanent Force officers and men, many of them battle-trained veterans of the Border War, are to be replaced, in effect, by 6 000 raw recruits.

There are, it seems, major changes in the offing in national service, too.

The mid-year intake of White national servicemen next year may be the last exclusively involving Whites.

The basis for future national service is still being negotiated, and White national service remains in the meantime.

"But the end is possibly in sight of White national service as we know it," The Citizen was told.

The ANC wants its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to be merged with the SADF.

The SADF is prepared to accept Umkhonto we Sizwe and Azanian People's Liberation Army members, provided they accept the principles of the SADF and become apolitical and loyal to the SADF.

This will not satisfy the ANC.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, said this week that to start ending violence, the ANC should get a share of control over the security forces in the first half of the year.

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

At that stage, senior commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe should be given posts in the security forces, Mr Mandela said.

Although the SADF is at pains to stress that it is sacrificing men in order to be able to update and renew weapons systems, one has a feeling that the SADF is being weakened.

If this is so, it is a great pity, since we have always believed that the SADF should remain strong, that it should stay a bulwark for peace, and that it should not become a political pawn in the negotiations for a new South Africa or in the period of transition.

When the new South Africa dawns, it will be time enough to determine the SADF's future.

Meanwhile, despite the cutbacks, we hope the SADF will serve the country as effectively and efficiently as it has done in the past.

Jailed for ANC murders

Judge: Frustration has led to 'self-help'

PIETERMARITZBURG. — The failure to carry out sentences passed by the courts increased the temptation of communities to turn to self-help, a Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court judge said yesterday.

Sentencing W/O Hendrik Steyn to 18 years' imprisonment for murdering two African National Congress prisoners in August, Mr Justice Page said that in his view a "contributing source of considerable frustration to the police force is the premature, rash release of convicts before they have served their sentences".

This consideration was particularly applicable to Steyn's case, he said. Mr Simon Msweli, one of Steyn's two victims, was alleged to have been a hardened criminal who allegedly committed many murders.

Mr Msweli and his gang had conducted "a reign of terror" in the area. Knowing this, Steyn would have been able, with some degree of justification, to have felt Mr Msweli should pay for these crimes with his life, the judge said.

"You could also, in the light of recent events, have feared that any sentence that might have been laid down by the courts for the second deceased would not be executed.

"The frustration that would have resulted from this situation might have contributed to your actions.

"This is an apt illustration of what I would have thought should have been self-evident: that when the confidence of the community in a judicial system has been broken down by the non-execution of sentences properly passed by the

courts, the temptation of the community to turn to self-help increases.

"This applies especially to officers of justice upon whom the resulting frustration perhaps has the greatest effect."

Mr Justice Page accepted that these factors and their effects contributed to Steyn's reaction when he decided to murder Mr Msweli.

"I take it into full consideration as a mitigating circumstance, and it is precisely this circumstance that prompted me to regard the death sentence as a non-suitable sentence."

As a policeman and a protector of the community, Steyn was expected to have high standards of behaviour. However, his job also continually exposed him to considerable violence, aggression and conflict.

Steyn's job also brought him into constant

contact with the victims of violence, who were in a state of deep terror and grief, said the judge.

"At a higher level, you and other force members are worried and afraid of changes and disruptions occurring at present inside and outside the police force.

"The problems being experienced in the adjustment process have been considerably aggravated by continuous criticism of the police, which enjoys excessive publicity in the media, compared with the praise that should be afforded to members for the performance of their duties under extremely difficult circumstances."

Nonetheless, Steyn's crimes were "a reprehensible violation of your duty as a policeman".

Mr Justice Page said helpless, wounded people were cold-bloodedly executed.

"You should know, better than the ordinary subject, that you may not take the law into your own hands. How strongly you may have believed that Msweli deserved to die, it did not lie in your hands to administer it."

As far as Mr Michael Mthethwa, Steyn's other victim, was concerned, Steyn did not even have reasonable grounds for such a belief, the judge said.

He could not consider a imposing a light sentence because the courts should repeatedly show that they would not tolerate such actions from the police force. — Sapa.

BUS. DAY, TUESDAY 10 DECEMBER 1992

Bombing: police free trio after questioning

POLICE yesterday arrested three ANC/SACP members for questioning in connection with the alleged Apla bombing in Queenstown last week, a police spokesman confirmed.

An identification parade was held, but as none of them was positively identified, the three were released.

The SAP did not believe they had made a breakthrough in tracking down the attackers and said the men were arrested purely by "police following all leads and suspicions".

Both the ANC and the SACP have strongly condemned the bombings and attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown, urging restraint and reconciliation.

The police became suspicious of a car travelling with the three occupants in East London on Tuesday night. After follow-up operations, three men were arrested early yesterday.

A gas grenade, an R-1 magazine and two cartridges were apparently found in a search of the ANC Border region's offices.

The arrests have outraged the SACP, which accused the SAP of "playing politics instead of doing its work".

SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin said the detentions of the three

BILLY PADDOCK

men, including SACP member Vumile Ngcula, in connection with the bombings "would be utterly laughable if the circumstances under which they were detained were not so sinister".

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg said yesterday possible strikes against Apla military bases depended on political considerations.

"If we knew where these Apla bases were situated, it would be a government decision if we attacked them or not. Any actions (taken by the SADF) will have a definite effect on the current negotiation process," Liebenberg said.

The SADF did not know of any "clean" Apla bases in neighbouring countries. All known Apla bases were a mixture of several groups.

Meanwhile, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze warned the CP and other right-wing groups not to "play into Apla's hands" by threatening to form vigilante squads. "The police will not tolerate this in the slightest. It would just spark off further violence and even a race war that no one wants, except Apla," Kotze said.

De Klerk to meet 3 Black leaders today

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — Senior government members will join State President De Klerk today in talks with Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, President Lucas Mangope of Botswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei.

The talks, to be held in Pretoria, are expected to deal with constitutional issues, and to seek reconciliation ahead of renewed multi-party negotiations.

Each of the four leaders will be accompanied by a delegation of his gov-

ernment.

Mr De Klerk will be supported by Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, and the four National Party Provincial leaders, Mr Pik Botha (Transvaal), Mr Kobie Coetsee (Free State), Dr Dawie de Villiers (Cape) and Mr George Bartlett (Natal).

While the three Black leaders are all members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), this is not a formal meeting between the government and Cosag. It will take the form of a meeting between political leaders.

It will be the first discussion between Mr De

Klerk and Chief Buthelezi since the KwaZulu leader and his party, Inkatha Freedom Party, withdrew from bilateral discussions with the government.

Political observers believe it may clear the air about opposition to the government's Record of Understanding with the ANC in September, as well as the government's subsequent objections to elements of the IFP's Natal/KwaZulu constitutional proposals.

The four leaders last met at the conference on regionalism and federalism, called earlier this year by Mr De Klerk. The three Black leaders are

committed to seeking some form of regional autonomy within a new constitutional dispensation.

It is expected that they will use common ground in an attempt to overcome other differences and "misunderstandings".

The ongoing violence is also expected to be high on today's agenda.

A government spokesman confirmed yesterday that there was still no formal response from the PAC regarding the "declaration of war against Whites" by its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

APLA attack: 3 suspects freed

EAST LONDON. — Police have confirmed that three men, who were arrested at the ANC's East London office on Tuesday night in connection with the King William's Town massacre, have been released.

One of the men closely resembled a suspect from a police identikit issued after the November 28 King William's Town terror attack, according to a

TO PAGE 2

Wessels probed for 'hitting Kapil Dev'

By Michael Finch
PORT ELIZABETH. — South African captain, Kepler Wessels, will face an International

Cricket Council inquiry today over an incident in which he allegedly hit Indian allrounder, Kapil Dev, on the legs with

his bat last night.

The incident occurred after South African number three, Peter Kirsten, was run out

TO PAGE 2

APLA: 3 suspects freed

FROM PAGE 1

statement from the East London SAP yesterday.

At the time of arrest, the bona fides of the two other men "could not be established".

An identification parade was held, however, but nobody could be positively identified. "The three suspects were consequently released."

Police had in the meantime searched the ANC's offices yesterday morning, confiscating one R-4 rifle magazine, two R-4 cartridges and one tearsmoke grenade, according to the statement.

The arrests came after a policeman noticed a "suspicious-looking" vehicle in the vicinity of the East London City Hall, where a function was being held.

"The vehicle was followed by the police vehicle, and the suspect vehicle sped away when the driver obviously noticed that he was being followed. After a chase, the suspect vehicle came to a stop in front of the local ANC office," said the police statement.

While police reinforce-

ments were arriving, another vehicle sped away from the premises.

"After questioning the occupants of the suspect vehicle, their bona fides could not be ascertained. One of the occupants closely resembled a suspect portrayed in an identikit issued by the SA Police shortly after the King William's Town tragedy."

The three suspects were arrested and taken in for further questioning, and it was established that two of the suspects were trained members of the ANC's armed wing.

Reacting to the raid on its East London office, the ANC said the items found by the police had been handed in by members of the public whose homes had been attacked by Ciskeian security forces.

The raid was police harassment, the ANC said. A large crowd had gathered outside and a potentially explosive situation had developed during the search.

SA Communist Party senior spokesman, Jeremy Cronin, said in a statement to Sapa that those detained included Vumile Ngweni, an SACP mem-

ber. Mr Cronin did not identify the other two ANC members reportedly detained.

Mr Cronin said the people held by police were being detained "on suspicion of being involved in the alleged APLA bombings".

Mr Cronin added: "If the circumstances under which they were detained were not so sinister, it would be utterly laughable."

"Once more the South African Police have chosen to play politics instead of doing their work."

The Pan Africanist Congress said the events proved that government security forces were "demoralised, inept and confused".

The PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has claimed responsibility for the two attacks in the last fortnight in the Eastern Cape, which killed five people and wounded 35.

Lt-Gen Colin Steyn, Regional Commissioner of Police in Natal, yesterday assured the public the SAP would do everything it could to ward off attacks by APLA.

All SAP members and security forces had been put on alert, and plans to deal with any crisis had been made.

Gen Steyn appealed to the public to be "security conscious and alert" and to immediately inform the police if they encountered anything suspicious.

"Please help us help you," he said.

Natal restaurants have been put on full alert.

Fedhasa National Restaurant Guild chairman, Mr Robert Mauvis, said he had held high-level talks with the South African Police to ensure the safety of patrons during the holiday season.

Fedhasa members have been sent instructions on what to do should there be a terrorist threat or attack.

Mr Mauvis said 245 policemen and women had been drafted on to the beachfront and the central business district to support the SA Police's tourism assistance unit in combating crime.

Mr Mauvis commended the police force for ensuring that the crime level in Durban was presently at its lowest in eight years. — Sapa.

Holomisa: No APLA bases in Transkei

Citizen Reporter

MAJOR-General Bantu Holomisa, Transkei's military ruler, yesterday denied that there were any formal APLA bases on Transkei territory and invited South African authorities to carry out in loco inspections to test his claims.

General Holomisa was reacting to the news that a self confessed member of APLA, Mr Stephen Dolo, had said in court in East London where he is charged with attempted murder and arson, that he had trained APLA recruits at Sterkspruit in the Transkei.

"There are no official

training bases in the Transkei," said General Holomisa. "What there might be is informal meeting places, such as individual houses, where a small group of people might receive informal training in the handling of weapons, but that is happening throughout South Africa and not only in the Transkei".

Mr Dolo, who is charged with an attack on policemen in January in Lady Grey and on a farmhouse 3 km from Lady Grey, said in court that he had been trained in Uganda and had received orders in 1991 to go to Sterkspruit to recruit for APLA.

"What about the ANC's Self-Defence Units in South Africa?" he asked. "Where are they being trained? They

all can use weapons but you will not find any bases where they are being trained because they have all received training informally, and not at any formal ANC training bases.

"In fact the only training bases that I know of are those of the AWB, the existence of which there is public proof."

General Holomisa said he invited "South African judges" to inspect Sterkspruit "or any other place in the Transkei" in person to see if they could find any traces of a training base "to remove any suspicion that there might be."

"The Transkei Police in fact co-operates with the South African Police in following up any information received about training bases".

UN envoy leaves SA cautiously optimistic

Citizen Reporter

UNITED Nations special envoy to South Africa, Mr Tom Vraalsen, believes there is a reason for cautious optimism about the situation in the country.

Mr Vraalsen last night left for New York where he will report back to UN secretary-general, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, tomorrow morning.

At a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, he assured South Africans of the UN's diminished support.

Mr Vraalsen met political, business, church and

community leaders during his 17-day visit.

He said the recent momentum towards multi-party talks was a hopeful sign and evidence that the country's major political leaders were eager to "get down to business".

"A negotiated transition to a new political dispensation, based on democratic principles and respect for human rights, is essential if peace, stability and economic growth are to be achieved.

"The country's leaders are aware of this, and I believe the majority of

South Africans also know it."

Mr Vraalsen firmly believed it was time all parties in South Africa renounced violence and went to the negotiating table.

"All parties should be prepared to make a constructive contribution to the negotiating process. All parties should refrain from actions which complicate the process further."

All parties should also give their complete support to the National Peace Accord, and its structures.

Savimbi and Buthelezi have a great deal in common, writes Hugh Robertson



Africa's defiant losers

IT is fashionable in some quarters in Washington to liken Inkatha's leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to the leader of Umtata, Dr Jonas Savimbi. Both, it is argued, have an essentially tribal power base, both are the darlings of the same far-right protagonists in the US and elsewhere, both have been the beneficiaries of past support from the South African security establishment, and both face political opponents with Marxist lineage.

Now another comparison between them is being drawn — that both are losers who are having unordinate trouble facing up to the fact.

Savimbi, who entered Angola's internationally monitored elections with an unquestioning belief in victory, was roundly defeated; Buthelezi, so the reasoning goes, has conceded defeat even before free elections have taken place in South Africa.

This conclusion is arrived at by asking the question: If he were convinced that Inkatha could win a significant share of national support in free and fair elections, why would he choose to virtually abandon all of South Africa out-

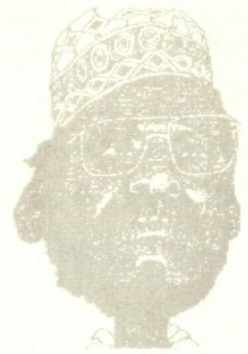
side the borders of KwaZulu and Natal and opt, instead, for a separatist regional solution?

What does the Buthelezi plan say to the supposed multitudes permanently settled in the country's industrial heartland who until now have been counted as Inkatha supporters?

For all practical purposes, Buthelezi has said that constitutional negotiations which will determine their fate are of no consequence to him or to Inkatha — or, at least, that is the widely accepted interpretation in America.

The responses of Savimbi and Buthelezi to national defeat are seen to stem from their apparently shared inability to grasp the political realities around them, the most important — and, for many Americans, the most disturbing — being their seeming inability to recognise the extent to which they are no longer masters of their own political destiny.

The power struggle in both countries has become internationalised to the point where none of the major players — not even the ANC and the National Party, or the MPLA government in Angola — could unilaterally impose a so-

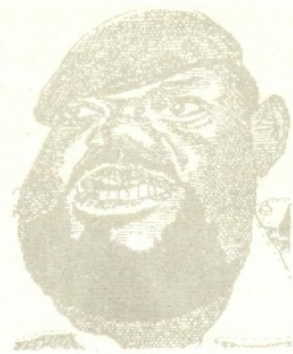


Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... opted for separation.

lution unacceptable to the international community.

A UNITA government brought to power by force of arms almost certainly would not be recognised even by the outgoing US administration, which in the past gave UNITA such bountiful support and whose political constituency has lionised Savimbi.

A regional solution in KwaZulu and Natal in defiance of what South Africans elsewhere might



Jonas Savimbi ... defeated in elections.

want almost certainly would face the same worldwide opprobrium.

Since international acceptance is essential to the economic rehabilitation of both countries, the constitutional course upon which Buthelezi appears to have embarked, and the violent response of Savimbi's followers to political defeat, has thoroughly alarmed influential Americans who are well disposed to southern Africa.

They see Buthelezi's initiative

as a reckless plunge into isolationism and believe it is especially dangerous because he will find it hard to return to the national constitutional debate without losing face.

Whatever he does now, they reason, he will have been seen to write off South Africa outside his own geographic field, he will have given credence to the view that he is a regional potentate rather than a national leader.

If Inkatha's leadership doubts the extent to which the negotiating process in South Africa has been internationalised, they should look more closely at the sudden, and universal, ostracism of the PAC and Apla this week following Apla's "declaration of war" against whites.

Not only was the disparate membership of the OAU united and mobilised against Apla's declaration, and the PAC's disavowal of co-responsibility, but there was condemnation from all corners of the world. The PAC, and Apla, if they are wise, will quickly learn that the classical revolutionary strategies of the Cold War are not acceptable, and that for the first time in decades the international

community is beginning to flex its muscle in a united and constructive way.

It has observers in Angola, and South Africa, it is intervening in Somalia, there is multinational intervention in Liberia. Some might flippantly call this neocolonialism on the grounds that the "right" of contrary forces in Third World countries to be as contrary as they please is being usurped by outside pressure, or by military action.

But the process of uniting the world behind efforts to bring peace and democracy to countries in Africa is being voluntarily — and enthusiastically — embraced at the UN, and by no group of countries more zealously than the Africans and by no leader more firmly than Africa's own Boutros-Ghali.

Inevitably, the role of the only remaining superpower is crucial to this process. But if the contrary forces in Africa find the Bush administration's strategy of using the UN to further democracy on the continent a trifle peevish then it is a safe bet to suggest that with the pending advent of the Clinton administration, they ain't seen nothin' yet. □

THE STAR, THURSDAY 10 DECEMBER 1992

'82 murder recalled by Margaret Calhoun

Ghost of Hlapane haunts the ANC

DECEMBER 16 marks the 10th anniversary of the unsolved and mysterious slaying of former senior ANC and SACP member Bartholomew Hlapane. Who is he, and what does a 10-year-old murder have to do with the present political crisis in South Africa?

Revisiting and redressing the case of Hlapane and other less-renowned dissidents may reflect the difference between the ANC prepared to play its part in a democratic South Africa, or an ANC that lacks the integrity to punish transgressors.

Hlapane, a man of high ideals, predicted that he would be assassinated for his testimony in March of 1982 against the ANC/SACP before a US Senate investigatory committee. Just prior to his public statement, he quietly told Senator Jeremiah Denton, who organised the hearing, that he would be killed for talking.

He went forward bravely, believing that his disclosure was essential for the long-term good of South Africa.

Hlapane was brutally gunned down in a hail of AK-47 gunfire in his home in Soweto, along with his wife, only nine months after his return from Washington, DC. One daughter, left for dead, survived to become a paraplegic. Another daughter escaped the attack.

Senator Denton's staff, filled with remorse and compassion, organised a trust fund to educate Hlapane's children at an American university.

Sixteen years before his US debut, Hlapane had turned State's evidence to expose Abraham Fischer's fundraising efforts for the SA Communist Party and his activity with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Hlapane was murdered for spreading his message to the international community — for testifying publicly before the US Congress — a dangerous precedent and one which if successful in exposing the ANC/SACP alliance and its secret financing, would have done immeasurable damage

to the cultivated democratic, image of South Africa's foremost anti-apartheid institution.

Born in the Free State, Hlapane joined the ANC in 1948. In 1955, Joe Slovo recruited Hlapane into the elite ranks of the SACP and by 1962 he had been co-opted into the Central Committee of the party, a position of power and privilege.

Hlapane quit the ANC after his arrests in 1963 and 1964. His alienation arose from what he regarded as ANC/SACP readiness to betray its members, not warning them of imminent arrests and not caring, as they had promised, for the bereft families.

Hlapane's testimony was compelling, especially to Americans who imagined the ANC was solely a democratic, grass-roots organisation opposed to apartheid.

As Hlapane testified, "no major decisions could be taken by the ANC without the concurrence and approval of the Central Committee of the SACP".

MK, he explained, "was the brainchild of the SACP and after the decision to create it had been taken, Joe Slovo and JB Marks were sent by the Central Committee of the SACP to Moscow to organise arms and ammunition and to raise funds for Umkhonto".

Hlapane and his wife's brutal murder, and the attempted killing of his daughter, may be regarded by some of the ANC as fitting punishment for a collaborator.

To others, he may be seen, in the tradition of more recent ANC dissidents, like Mwezi Twala, a heroic figure drawn to the party by its professed noble ideals, but repulsed by its tactics.

Hlapane's murder must be resolved, as must the murder, disappearances, and torture of other ANC members at the hands of its leadership. If the ANC seeks to govern in the future, it must confess, overcome, and compensate for the wrongs of the past. □

✕ Margaret Calhoun is Senior Africa Analyst of the International Freedom Foundation in Washington, DC.

ANC leaks: woman jailed

MASERU — A Lesotho woman was sentenced yesterday to five years in jail for contravening the Official Secrets Act.

She was found guilty of passing on classified information about the African National Congress and other liberation movements to a South African intelligence officer.

Masehloho Kao (32) pleaded guilty to contravening the

Act.

The prosecution said Kao had leaked a secret government file in March from the Ministry of Information, where she worked as a telex operator, to a South African officer identified as Michael Jantjie.

The court heard that Jantjie was based at Ladybrand, near the Lesotho border. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE STAR, THURSDAY 10 DECEMBER 1992

Mandela-Buthelezi meetings on cards

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A series of meetings between African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi could take place from next month to try to secure peace between their followers and keep constitutional negotiations afloat.

This stems from yesterday's meeting of seven-a-side delegations of the ANC and IFP at a Durban beachfront hotel. The two sides will meet again on December 29.

After a two-hour meeting Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, read out a prepared statement.

He said yesterday's meeting was basically a preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for a meeting between the leaders of the two organisations and their head committees.

"The meeting was held in a positive and constructive atmosphere. It began the process of identifying the issues that could form the agenda of a proposed summit meeting."

The two sides will now report to their principals.

Mdlalose will arrange the venue for the December

29 meeting with Jacob Zuma, the ANC's deputy secretary-general, who led the ANC delegation in the talks.

Watching

Both sides insist that as yet no date has been set for the proposed summit between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Political sources at the meeting said both delegations were aware that the whole world was watching them. They wanted to do their best to ensure the two leaders met, probably in January, and afterwards met on a more regular basis.

Sources said all the preconditions set by both

sides for a summit had been overtaken by the need for the leaders to meet in the interests of peaceful co-existence and South Africa's political future.

The ANC delegation comprised Zuma, Thabo Mbeki, Sydney Mafumadi, Aziz Pahad, southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe, southern Natal regional executive committee member Eric Mtshali and Steward Ngwenya of the ANC's PWV regional executive committee.

The IFP delegation comprised IFP central committee members Mdlalose, Chief Simon Gumede, Dr Ron Ngubane, Walter Felgate, Dr Dennis Madide, Lionel Mtshali and Dr V T Zulu.

THE STAR, THURSDAY 10 DECEMBER 1992

Decaying hostel shocks officials

Local and international officials were visibly shocked by the living conditions at Soweto's Meadowlands Hostel, which they toured yesterday.

The tour followed a formal agreement on November 30 between the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association (THRA) and the ANC that while some hostels — including Meadowlands — needed to be fenced to be "stabilised", all hostels needed massive upgrading.

Members of the ANC PWV region and leaders of the THRA inspected Meadowlands Hostel yesterday with monitoring groups, United Nations delegates and the press.

Some members of the touring group were visibly shocked when they walked into the single quarters to be confronted by dozens of women, children and men living in darkness. For these hostel dwellers, home means a single crumbling, cramped and airless room. The smell of rancid food, stale sweat and dampness was overwhelming.

While people dodged piles of rubbish, stepped over decomposing foodstuff and avoided marshy patches, it was discussed how best to use the R326 million set aside by the Government for upgrading Transvaal hostels.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said hostels were breeding grounds for violence. He called on the Government to forward the funds earmarked for upgrading to local development bodies so that improvements could begin. — Staff Reporter.

THE STAR, THURSDAY 10 DECEMBER 1992

'King' terror suspect arrests cause rift between ANC, Govt

Political Staff

A row blew up yesterday between the Government and the ANC as police arrested and then released three members of the ANC on suspicion of being involved in the recent attack on whites in King William's Town.

The attack has been widely attributed to the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

And it is understood that diplomatic efforts are being contemplated to isolate the PAC internationally as a follow-up to the worldwide condemnation of the organisation for failing to distance itself from the Apla terror campaign.

The ANC and SA Communist Party yesterday lashed out at the SAP for the arrests of three of their members, charging that the police were deliberately trying to embarrass the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Two of the three people detained were MK members and one was also a member of the SACP.

But police shrugged off criticism and said the three — two men and a woman — had been acting suspiciously on Tuesday night near the East London City Hall, where a function was taking place. Police said one of them resembled the identikit of a suspect in the terror attack on the King William's Town golf

club, in which four people were killed.

The three drove off in a car when approached and, after a chase through the streets of East London, the car stopped outside the ANC offices where the suspects were arrested.

Police raided the offices yesterday and confiscated a magazine and ammunition of a Government-issue R-4 rifle — of the type used in the King William's Town attack.

The three were released yesterday because they could not be identified in an identity parade.

SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin yesterday accused the SAP of playing politics.

Isolate

On the diplomatic front it was learnt that some Western governments are contemplating a concerted effort to isolate the PAC until it denounces the Apla campaign.

And it is understood the Government has stepped up efforts to mobilise international pressure against the PAC and has expressed the hope that the United Nations will take steps to halt its funding of the organisation.

South Africa's deputy director-general for multilateral relations, Jeremy Shearar, said he was sure the UN would now be aware that there was an inconsistency in its supporting an organisation persisting with terror attacks while also being in-

involved in a mission to end political violence.

Shearar suggested that the UN General Assembly might pass a resolution condemning the PAC and calling on the UN itself and member countries to withdraw support from it.

However, the Organisation of African Unity special envoy in South Africa, Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, denied reports that the OAU was considering cutting its funding to the PAC.

Police said that in their raid on the East London ANC office they had found two cartridges for an R-4 automatic rifle, an R-4 magazine and a teargas canister.

The ANC Border region said the items found by the police in its office had been handed in by members of the public whose homes had been attacked by Ciskei security forces.

It called the raid police harassment.

A large crowd had gathered outside and a potentially explosive situation had developed during the search.

The PAC said in a telephonic statement to Sapa last night that the events proved that Government security forces were demoralised, inept and confused.

Restaurants countrywide have been put on full alert.

Fedhasa National Restaurant Guild chairman Robert Mauvis said he had high-level talks with the SAP to ensure the safety of patrons during the holiday season.

Four more injured in Reef train violence

Crime Reporter

A man was stabbed and thrown from a moving train early this morning, bringing to four the number of commuters injured in train violence on the East Rand since yesterday.

The man was found next to the Sink Pan railway station. He told police he was stabbed by a group of men and thrown off a train. He was taken to hospital.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said three commuters were

attacked on trains in the region yesterday.

At about 6 am, next to the line between Germiston and Delmore stations, police found a man who had been pushed off a moving train. He was taken to hospital.

Another man, who had been stabbed in the chest, was found alongside the railway line at Elsburg station at about 7.15 am. He told police he was pushed off the train.

At 5.30 pm yesterday, a man was found stabbed and unconscious along the line between Wadeville and Katlehong stations.

UN to back Goldstone

The UN would give Mr Justice Goldstone every assistance in investigating activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), Tom Vraalsen, special envoy to the UN secretary-general, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Justice Goldstone called on the international community last week to help him launch an inquiry into Apla activities.

Vraalsen said such an investigation would be broadened to include Umkhonto we Sizwe, the security forces and homelands police. — Staff Reporter.

● Interview — Page 23

Supporting efforts towards peace

Before leaving South Africa at the end of a two-week visit, UN Special Envoy Ambassador Tom Vraalsen gave his impressions to the Editor-in-Chief of The Star, RICHARD STEYN, and senior political writer PATRICK LAURENCE.

MY GENERAL impression (on the situation in South Africa) is somewhat mixed.

Overall, after meeting all the parties participating in the negotiations, I am cautiously optimistic. Over the past few weeks there have been a number of encouraging developments putting the negotiations, so to speak, back on track.

There is obviously a convergence, a meeting of minds among some of the principal players. Also, the decision to convene a meeting of signatories of the Peace Accord, and parallel efforts aimed at resuming a multiparty conference in some form.

On the more negative side is the high level of violence, but I am encouraged to see that there is broad agreement that the violence must not be allowed to frustrate efforts aimed at a negotiated solution. Another negative is the economy, which is not able to provide new jobs.

One thing that I have stressed in all my meetings, right across the board, is that the negotiating process should be inclusive.

On Chief Buthelezi's federal option:

I see the proposal put forward by Chief Buthelezi a few days ago as a draft that will be one of the inputs to the negotiations when the multiparty conference is reconvened.

I have not spoken to him since the announcement. I have spoken to some of his chief advisers, which confirms the impression that this is a draft, one of many that will be on the table as they start negotiations.

On Apia and its alleged campaign of violence:

Any kind of violence in whatever form and from wherever it comes must be condemned. That is absolutely clear. I would encourage the PAC to take a very clear position on this. Whatever their relationship with Apia, I believe the PAC should come out very clearly and dissociate itself from or condemn this kind of activity.

You have probably seen the statements made both by the OAU representative and by the UN Observer Mission, as well as those of the Government and the ANC and others, which are unanimous that these types of activities are to be condemned.

On the UN's role so far:

The UN's main objective is to be supportive of the peace process. Its aims and efforts are to achieve a negotiated solution to the problems of the country, and to arrive at a new dispensation for SA. The UN is not here to interfere or to impose any kind of a solution; it is for the South Africans themselves to work it out. The Security Council has taken a decision that observers are to be deployed to work with the Peace Secretariat and to be supportive of the peace structures.

We believe that the Peace Accord is a very important element and part of the structure that you need in order to arrive at a negotiated solution. I believe the observers are doing their job. This is my impression and, from speaking to people, the comments I get are favourable.

It seems that the efforts

made by the observers are generally appreciated, so I think that is adequate for the time being. I do not think we need to consider changes in the mandate. I think they have sufficient flexibility.

As to the number of observers:

Well, for the time being, if I

should recommend changes, it might be only a slight increase in the numbers. But, generally speaking, it's enough.

On the UN's concern with South Africa:

The UN has been concerned with the situation in SA for decades. The fact that Mr Vance came, and that I'm here now, is

an expression of continuous concern on the part of the UN Secretary-General at the level of violence and the situation as far as negotiations are concerned.

It is also an expression of a desire on the part of the Secretary-General to be as supportive and helpful as possible in promoting and supporting the

process. I don't think one should underestimate the concern that you find not only in the UN but in the international community in general.

On the UN's image in SA, and his reception by South Africans:

From the UN's point of view there is a recognition that SA is

a totally different situation now than it was four years ago. I have been extremely well received by all parties, the State President, the Cabinet, by the ANC and all the principal actors. They have been very co-operative; they have been very generous with their time and my impression is that they appreciate the interest of the international community and of the UN.

On perceptions of the UN as an honest broker:

I have not met anyone who has questioned the impartiality and the objectivity of the UN.

On the people he met:

There is nobody I wanted to see that I wasn't able to see. Right across the spectrum, all have been very generous with their time.

On the role of the media:

It is extremely important. In this country, as in my own country, the media, to a large degree, set the agenda, via the electronic medium, TV/radio, or print. They should bear this very much in mind in the way they deal with the information they receive. I would wish that the positive things that happen get as much coverage as the more negative things. Unfortunately in this country, news tends to be negative, and the good things that might be small don't get the same kind of attention. So I think there has to be a balance here.

On his future role in SA:

That is for the Secretary-General to decide, because he is under an obligation to report to the Security Council at regular intervals and to provide the council with objective and impartial information so that it can act on the basis of such information.

So I'll submit my report to

him and then he, in turn, will submit his own report to the council. Whether there is anything more in the future for me, that is for the Secretary-General to decide; that's his prerogative.

On the Goldstone Commission:

I believe the work Mr Justice Goldstone and his commission is doing is extremely valuable to the whole process. It attempts to create confidence in the country and the UN is very supportive of what he is doing. If he should need support over and above what he is given, we would consider that favourably.

The UN is encouraged by the decision of the Government and the ANC to work with the judge and his commission on investigating the security forces and other armed formations. We sincerely hope that the remaining actors, so to speak, Apia and KwaZulu, will do the same. Judge Goldstone made an appeal the other day for support from the international community, particularly the UN, and we will do whatever we can to be supportive of him.

On investigation by Goldstone into Apia:

The PAC has said that the political leadership is separate from Apia, that Apia acts independently and that if Apia is to be investigated, so to speak, by the commission, a request will have to be made to Apia, and not the PAC.

Whether the UN profile should be higher:

There might be some who would like to see the UN taking on additional tasks, but nobody has put forward specific proposals. Changing the mandate of the UN is, after all, up to the Security Council. Generally speaking, there is satisfaction with the role the UN is playing. □

Hope at ANC-Inkatha talks

DURBAN — The first official face-to-face meeting between the ANC and Inkatha in more than a year ended in smiles yesterday with what appeared to be considerable progress being made and the stage set for a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting started on an ominous note, with the ANC delegates arriving an hour before Inkatha's. But after the two-hour meeting, journalists were told the talks had taken place in a "positive and constructive atmosphere".

The meeting had been "a preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for a meeting between leaders of the two organisations and their head committees", said a joint statement read by Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose.

It had begun the process of identifying items that should be on the agenda, the statement said. These would now be reported to the organisations' respective principals and the same delegations would meet again on December 29.

The ANC delegation was led by deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and included international affairs director Thabo

Political Staff

Mbeki and southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe. Among those with Mdlalose in the Inkatha group were central committee members Dennis Madide and Ben Ngubane.

Mdlalose later added that the delegations had been aware that "the whole world is watching us and we are doing our best to ensure that we reach the important point where our two leaders can meet".

The meeting appeared to have been held in good spirit, with outbreaks of laughter regularly being heard from behind the closed doors.

The two delegations then joined the four-hour-long special meeting of the Kwa-Zulu/Natal regional dispute resolution committee. Co-chairman MC Pretorius said last night the organisations had "announced the results of their meeting and indicated closer co-operation between the two parties".

The committee meeting, too, was "very positive in its approach" and while there were differences, these were aired without acrimony.

BUS. DAY, TUESDAY 10 DECEMBER 1992

Police find Transkei arms smuggling route

LLOYD COUTTS

POLICE say they have discovered a new arms smuggling route from Transkei into SA, complementing the two most commonly used passages from Mozambique and Swaziland.

SAP spokesman Capt Pieter Brandt said the Transkei route was used regularly, but would not elaborate.

He said arms were carried either directly from Mozambique or through Swaziland into Natal, the eastern Transvaal, the PWV and Soweto.

Brandt said cordial relationships had been developed with Mozambican authorities through a liaison forum to combat the smuggling of arms, a large proportion of which came from former Frelimo soldiers.

"The liaison forum is a great thing. From the Mozambican side they are doing their best to curtail (smuggling) and information is exchanged on a regular basis."

Brandt said police had paid R541 736 for the recovery of 6 448 illegal weapons recovered between January 1 and November 19 this year. This included 746 AK-47 assault rifles, 12 light machine guns and 2 215 pistols.

The cost of AK-47s on the black market was between R500 and R1 500 but prices could be reduced dramatically depending on circumstances, he said.

Police paid up to R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of an AK-47, and up to R2 500 for a carbine. However, the transaction was subject to investigation.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said payment for the recovery of arms was part of a multidimensional strategy to remove illegal arms from the streets.

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, December 10 1992

3

UN, OAU tour hostel X

ADRIAN HADLAND

SOWETO's troubled Meadowlands hostel was visited yesterday by UN observers and OAU representative Shaddy Sibajene in an effort to comprehend the violence that has reduced large sections of the hostel to a burnt-out shell.

The visit comes in the wake of a recent agreement signed by the ANC's PWV region and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association in which reconciliation between hostel dwellers and nearby communities was deemed essential before upgrading and development could be undertaken.

ANC PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale said joint rallies between hostel dwellers and members of surrounding communities would be organised as a

way to encourage the peaceful reintegration of the region's 32 hostels.

Sexwale reiterated the demand of the association/ANC agreement that funds earmarked by government for hostel upgrading be transferred to the National Housing Forum.

He called on business, the churches and the UN to contribute to the upgrading programme and said visits to other hostels were to be arranged.

Meadowlands hostel chairman Wesley Dlamini, who showed the UN, OAU, ANC and media representatives the condition at the hostel, said the hostel issue had to be depoliticised if any progress was to be made.



ANC PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale, centre, inspecting Meadowlands hostel yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BETHA

New fears raised over ANC policy

BUSINESS leaders are expressing new fears this week that the ANC wants to break up the all-powerful conglomerates without creating the proper climate for investors to buy the unbundled companies.

The ANC last weekend reasserted its commitment to implementing antitrust policies that will force the dilution of ownership and increase competition.

Meanwhile, mining houses Anglo American and Gencor, are preparing to go ahead with the R3,5bn Columbus steel venture, an investment which some argue would not be made without the existence of strong domestic conglomerates.

Businessmen say SA's foreign exchange controls, which the ANC has indicated will not be abolished under a new government, would limit both the interest of foreign investors in buying the unbundled businesses and any outlet for local companies to spend their profits.

"The unbundling necessitated by an antitrust policy would merely redistribute voting power among existing shareholders and have no effect on the distribution of actual wealth," JSE president Roy Anderson said.

According to McGregors Online Information, about 78% of the market capitalisation on the JSE is owned by four conglomerates: Anglo has 34%, insurance group Sanlam 16%, RembrandtControlling Investments 15% and SA Mutual 14%.

The ANC sees the implementation of an antitrust policy as a way to redistribute wealth, help improve competitiveness in the economy, create new ownership opportunities and thus encourage foreign investment.

But SA's conglomerates say

NANCY KEATES

foreign investors are unlikely to enter the country even if unbundling occurs. They say the possible attraction of an end to the country's political turmoil and violence would be countered by excessive regulation, including foreign exchange controls and high import tariffs.

Analysts say government is blocked from reducing tariffs by strong opposition from business and the ANC, who say SA companies cannot suddenly compete internationally when at home they face double-digit inflation, a 48% corporate tax rate, low productivity and a prime lending rate of 17,25%.

Even if local buyers for the unbundled businesses are found, which is unlikely given the deepening four-year recession, the conglomerates say they will be hard pressed to find ways to spend their earnings because foreign exchange controls limit foreign acquisitions.

If the unbundled conglomerates were to reinvest their earnings in SA, "then the issue of size becomes a problem again," says Anglo spokesman Michael Spicer.

SA conglomerates say their size allows them to invest money in the local economy that smaller businesses cannot, pointing to four recent investments by major corporations, including the Columbus steel venture, Anglo's R1bn Namakwa Sands titanium mine, Gencor's R7.2bn aluminium smelter at Alusaf and energy group Engen's R670m refinery expansion project.

"If ever there was evidence of the positive role of large corporations, then this is surely it," says Gencor chairman Brian Gilbertson. — AP-DJ.

BUS. DAY, TUESDAY 10 DECEMBER 1992**COMMENT****Recovery's base**

THE signals are understandably mixed at this stage of SA's economic cycle, but anecdotal evidence is growing that our economy is emerging from depression.

Disbelief is likely to follow an attempt to tell that to the hospitality industry, which is talking of its bleakest Christmas season in years, to the still growing number of people being retrenched by the mines and factories and to the retailers who suffered real drops in spending even on non-durables in this year's third quarter.

But signs of a soundly based recovery are there nonetheless. Business confidence is growing and stock market prices are rising as investors, becoming more confident of our political and economic outlooks, are reluctant to sell.

Stronger year-on-year car sales for the past two months owe more, perhaps, to technical factors than to a fundamental change. And we are probably best advised to discount the improvement as an indication of a consumer-led recovery. Demand for credit, a better indicator of consumer intentions, remains weak as households continue to reduce their borrowings and aim for security over consumption.

For signs of an imminent soundly based recovery we should look at the inventory and capital investment cycles. Again some of the evidence is anecdotal — packaging firms suddenly having to hustle to satisfy demand, for example. But more important are the number of

major export-based projects being announced: Columbus stainless steel, Alusaf aluminium smelting and Namakwa mineral sands.

Most are an act of faith at a time when Safto's export index is tumbling, when minerals prices are in retreat worldwide and when even the Japanese economy appears to be in danger of sliding into recession. Their success will depend almost entirely on metals prices as we approach the turn of the century.

These ventures also show that we will be relying on our major private or public sector institutions and on SA's mining or industrial groups to help pull us out of recession and to create jobs. And they are in part doing so with projects that will benefit all South Africans.

That is one way of looking at the state-owned IDC's one-third participation in Columbus. The IDC is doing its job properly, realising investments in going concerns and ploughing the proceeds into greenfields projects which will generate new jobs and exports. Anglo and Gencor initially got together over Columbus because of the project's size. The fact that they finally took in the IDC as a partner shows that the ability to mobilise finance which comes from size will continue to count in large ventures.

Apparently gloomy consumption-linked data and projections should not be cause for despair. We seem set to emerge from this depression on the back of new investment and exports. And that is the soundest recovery we could want.

COMMENT & OPINION

Goldstone Commission advised: Change your terms of reference or you will fail

IT IS THE view of the IFP that conflict between the ANC and our organisation is rooted in our different responses to the problem of apartheid. Those responses began more than three decades ago and there has, in our view, been little substantive change in the strategies adopted by the ANC and IFP to bring about fundamental political transformation in our country.

This Commission has no mandate to investigate these differing strategies, since its terms of reference confine it to investigate the causes of violence since February 2, 1990.

It is for this reason that we are becoming more convinced by the day that this Commission will fail in its task to address the causes of violence in our land. By continuing to investigate individual outbreaks of violence the Commission will risk the grave danger of being presented with the effects of violence as if these were causes.

We are convinced that unless a serious effort is made to discover the root causes of violence, followed by practical steps to undo the effects that have flowed from them, there will be no peace.

Allow us to provide a brief overview of the differing strategies.

IFP PERSPECTIVE

Up until 1990 black political organisations had worked against apartheid through non-violent, though increasingly militant action.

After the banning of the ANC, elements within this organisation, including its current leader, embarked on a course of armed violence with the launching of MK, a decision frowned upon by the then leader of the ANC, Nkosi Albert Lutulu, and never democratically ratified by the ANC.

THE IFP made 8 submissions at the 4 December preliminary hearings of the Goldstone Commission to investigate the violence in Natal. This is an edited version of the overview presented by Mr Senzo Mfayela, Natal Organiser for the IFP. He took issue with the Commission's present terms of reference. Unless these are re-assessed, said Mfayela, to encompass an evaluation of recent political history, they will fail to address the fundamental causes of the violence.

nity, women, youth and student organisations must be encouraged to continue their mobilisation of the masses in township townships, especially those adjacent to bantustans, so as to stimulate organisation even in those bantustans in which they are banned.

"Armed propaganda should be stepped up in the bantustans to go hand in hand with mass mobilisation as a first step to make these areas ungovernable.

"We should differentiate between puppet and traditional leaders and then take steps against the former, whereas the latter should be drawn into democratic organisations along with their fellows.

"Rural organisers in each area should explore the possibilities of taking advantage of traditional and other organisations already in existence, e.g. cultural groups, initiation schools, burial societies, churches, opposition parties, welfare organisations, self-help associations including those established by the bantustan regimes".

On the "Bantustans" the document stated:

"Clearly the bantustans should also be the targets of our Movement's efforts to render South Africa ungovernable. However, the scope and the pace of our efforts will be determined by our Movement's organised strength in these areas."

was unacceptable to the ANC, which regards itself as the sole representative of all black people.

Following ANC Secretary General Mr Alfred Nzo's open attack - on the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter - on the IFP President, attempt after attempt was made on all fronts - inside SA and outside - to present Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha as the worst enemies of the oppressed people.

Young people and workers were indoctrinated with the anti-Buthelezi propaganda, which inevitably led to hatred.

Little wonder that a UDF co-President told a public meeting in Durban in 1985 that it was going to destroy Inkatha and the "Bantustans".

SMASH INKATHA

Nor was it surprising when another component of the ANC/SACP alliance, SACTU, said the following in a position paper issued in 1989.

"It is therefore inconceivable that the democratic movement and the broader national liberation movement can reach accommodation with the puppets in Inkatha.

"The onus is on us to neutralise Gatscha once and for all. The snake that is poisoning the people of South Africa needs to be hit on the head.

"Negotiations with Gatscha must be seen as negotiations with a leader of Bantustan Gestapo and a Junior Partner in oppression and murder. Such ne-

the predecessor of the ANC's youth wing had this to say at its congress in May 1990:

"...The main task of the present phase of our revolution is the total destruction of the internal structures of colonial rule and to replace them and the whole system of apartheid colonialism with organs of mass self-rule in the economic, political and social life experience of the whole of our people."

As far as "homelands" were concerned, the document (of the congress) claimed that "our theory and practice" must:

"now and at once, seek to destroy them and establish in their stead organs of people's self government and activation ..."

"As revolutionary youth, we must define and identify our enemy as the system of apartheid colonialism and, in this case, the system of the bantustans ... It is therefore the system of the bantustans we must bring to an immediate end as part and parcel of our route to total liberation."

It is interesting to note that this campaign to destroy KwaZulu was strongly opposed by the PAC, AZAPO and the leader of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, who predicted that it would lead to an escalation of violence.

Paraphrasing, I would ask the Commission to, consider whether much of what has been said by the ANC at this hearing and the demands it has made are not almost identical to

months and was the author of the document spelling out the modalities for the unbanning of all political parties and the freeing of all political prisoners.

The IFP has done all in its power to halt school boycotts, rent boycotts, moves to disband all black local authorities and the intimidation of people to enforce stayaways.

The IFP has gone to great lengths to engage the ANC in debate over differing strategies to achieve liberation, but these initiatives have been scorned by the ANC. Let us give but four examples:

* ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said in April 1990 that talks with Inkatha were tantamount to "bringing the ANC to its knees";

* In December 1990 ANC Midlands leader, Mr Harry Gwala is known

for threatening to "take power by force", described negotiations with Inkatha as an "adventure" and recommended that the movement be "dealt with by other means".

* In a September 1987 message to comrades suggesting an end to negotiating and their recognition of others' legitimacy, UDF spokesman Maulana Farid Esack said however, that (the ANC) had warned against Inkatha "which was not part of the struggle."

* On April 2, 1990, the President of the ANC had agreed to address a joint peace rally with IFP President, Dr M G Buthelezi, at Taylor's Halt outside Pietermaritzburg. The meeting was called off at the last moment after some of Dr Mandela's

lieutenants, including Mr Harry Gwala, had (in Dr Mandela's words) "threatened to throttle him".

The IFP believes the ANC's ungovernability programme to be the father of today's violence. It is simply not true to state that this programme has been halted. No less a person than the ANC's President, Dr Nelson Mandela, has repeatedly said that all existing structures in black areas are irrelevant and said that they must be destroyed.

Only recently the ANC sought to overthrow the Government of Ciskei and it has threatened to try the same in KwaZulu and other areas that do not submit to its will.

The ungovernability programme not only aims to destroy constitutional authority, but it seeks to replace it with structures

that are illegal and are based on violence and coercion. People's courts operate on a wide front and have the express blessing of the ANC, that constantly calls for the "mushrooming of people's power".

The rural areas are the last bastions of peace and stability, where traditional family values are treasured. Now, we are told, they must be destroyed. Why? Because the amakhosi will not submit to the will of the ANC?

Urbanisation is traumatic for any society, no less so for us. This trauma has been made infinitely worse through the evils of apartheid, a policy which sought to break down family life in urban areas as a matter of deliberate policy. It is our submission to this Commission that the ANC has made itself guilty of a crime against the black people of this country

by adding the evils of its ungovernability programme to the trauma already suffered by our people as a result of urbanisation.

The ANC's programme further destroyed the discipline and social cohesion of what was left of black family life. It broke down long established norms of behaviour and encouraged immorality and a lack of respect for the cherished values of Ubuntu.

Its policies have sought to break down all forms of respect. This has led to even greater social disintegration and has culminated in a lack of respect for life itself.

This is the cause of the violence in our country.

It is our considered view that this Commission must address these matters. If it cannot or will not do so, we believe another commission should be ap-

pointed to do so.

Unless this is done the denigration and hate in the hearts of people will not be stopped.

COMMISSION: SHOULD ALSO INVESTIGATE:

Finally, we would like to make the IFP's position on a number of other issues clear. We believe the Commission should also direct its attention to the following:

- 1 The multiple activities of MK cadres;
- 2 The activities of heavily politicised youth;
- 3 The reporting of violence, and in particular the partisanship of violence monitors;
- 4 The probable use of ANC-established arms caches in the proliferation of automatic weaponry;
- 5 The assassination of IFP leadership figures; and
- 6 Partisan policing.



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The armed struggle was codified in a document entitled "Strategy and Tactics of the ANC" published in 1989.

By the mid 1970s a full-blown revolutionary climate had taken root within the exiled ANC and growing militancy among the youth was encouraged - ANC followers were called upon again and again to make the townships ungovernable and to "kill township councillors and Bantustan leaders, who were collaborators".

We would remind the Commission that this campaign was not only directed against the apartheid state, KwaZulu and the IFP in particular have been the targets of ANC destabilisation policies since the ANC failed in 1979 to persuade Inkatha to become its surrogate.

We would draw the Commission's attention to the ANC's "Commission on Cadre policy, political and ideological work, internal Commission Report and Commission on Strategy and Tactics" issued in June 1985, which recommended the following:

"Mass democratic organisations, commu-

"One of the questions most extensively debated was whether we should seek to advocate the overthrow of the bantustan administrations or whether we should focus exclusively on the struggle against Pretoria.

"If the former applies, it would involve the establishment of (if only for a short period) a radical administration with sympathies for the liberation movement.

"By removing the puppets we would bring the people into direct confrontation with the racists, opening up the possibilities of transforming these areas into bases for the advancement of People's War."

This message was repeated ad infinitum in Radio Freedom broadcasts and ANC publications.

WAR AGAINST INKATHA

The open war against Buthelezi/Inkatha dates back to the early 80's. Inkatha had made it clear that it would be its own man and would take orders from nobody. That

negotiations can only serve short term objectives and must never compromise the long term objectives of the people, namely the total destruction of Inkatha and its corrupt leadership.

As recently as 1988 the then commander of the ANC's military wing, Mr Chris Hani, announced at a press conference in London that Umkhonto We Sizwe was out to murder Central Committee Members of Inkatha as well as members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Hani also made a public call over the ANC's Radio Freedom for the "snake Buthelezi" to be "hit on the head." That call was repeated by other very senior ANC leaders.

KwaZulu has been the target of the ANC right up to the present time. A formal campaign to disband KwaZulu was launched by the ANC and its allies in July 1990. COSATU, an ANC ally, started a "disarm Buthelezi" campaign at the same time, claiming this was the only way to peace in Natal.

The South African Youth Congress (Sayoc),

what I have sketched.

We would draw the Commission's attention to the detailed "Guidelines for Comrades" issued by the ANC during September 89. These offered very detailed advice on how to engage Inkatha in debate and how to use selective violence against those who did not bend to the will of the ANC.

They were designed, in the words of the ANC, to "finally crush Buthelezi's power base."

It is a matter of public record that the IFP and its predecessor have never embarked on a course of violence to overthrow the state. Its whole strategy was and remains one of getting control of the apartheid structures the government sought to create and to thus ensure that the policy could not be implemented and that the structures themselves could be used as measures against apartheid.

It established the Buthelezi Commission and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba as vehicles to engage the apartheid state constitutionally.

It negotiated with the Government for nine

Candid friends

THERE are those who are clearly thrilled by the contents of the constitution introduced by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and adopted by the Legislative Assembly.

There are others, however, who, whilst applauding the initiative, nevertheless adopt the posture of candid friend of KwaZulu by questioning what they see as procedural or tactical flaws in the presentation. Their main criticism is that KwaZulu government seems to have broken with the multi-party process in its attitude especially to the proposed referendum to ratify the constitution.

It is always necessary to distinguish between candid friends and those whose criticism and advice are a cloak for cleverly hostile propaganda against KwaZulu or the IFP.

Our candid friends some of whom played a leading role in previous initiatives of the Chief Minister, Nkosi M G Buthelezi recall the consensual and multi-party character of the Buthelezi commission and the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba and urge that this style be maintained. They advise that the present initiative be promoted at all forums and that flexibility be exercised in order to win over the people of South Africa and the world to federalism for our country. All this is very creditable and sound advice.

But one is bound to ask - where have our candid friends been in the last twelve months or the months since May, 1992?

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) began with much fanfare a little under a year ago. The KwaZulu government was

not regarded as significant enough to be invited to Codesa. His Majesty the King of the Zulus and his delegation were excluded.

In months of hard negotiating every stratagem was employed to prevent full and comprehensive discussion of a federal future for South Africa. It was said this should be left to an elected constituent assembly. Plans for transitional government were put forward by the ANC and by the government alike which would eventually have precluded a federal South Africa.

Over and over again the IFP delegation had to block initiatives which would have led inexorably to a unitary future.

In the meantime there was a reluctance in the media to place before the country the federal alternative to unitary government. Important articles by even the Chief Minister of KwaZulu on federalism were suppressed.

But, worse still, the negotiating forum Codesa was ruthlessly scuttled by the ANC and its allies. Mass action was embarked upon to browbeat and blackmail the government in order to move negotiation in the ANC direction. The end result was the notorious Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC in which the IFP and KwaZulu were slated to play the role of scapegoat to seal the unholy alliance.

At that point one would have expected our candid friends to raise a howl of protest at this flagrant violation of every tenet of multi-party negotiations.

There are those who believe

that KwaZulu politicians should merely twiddle their thumbs until the ANC and the NP government have sorted things out for presentation to other parties. There is hardly any outcry at the unilateral ultimatum and mass actions of the ANC which totally undermine the multi-party negotiation process. Similarly there is hardly any outcry at the bilateral actions of the ANC and NP.

But let the KwaZulu government, which is not even regarded as a worthwhile negotiating partner, take a bold initiative entirely within its rights, then strictures and warnings abound from all sides stressing the need to maintain the multi-party negotiations process. Which multi-process? The one at Codesa was scuttled and you did not protest.

In other words, dear candid friends, the negotiations have unfortunately been deliberately politicised by the ANC and the government over the protests and warnings given by the Chief Minister Nkosi M G Buthelezi. The hope of national consensus and friendly give and take have been replaced by hard bargaining and struggles for power.

The rules of the game have been unilaterally or bilaterally altered and not by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, KwaZulu or the IFP. Maybe now you will understand why KwaZulu has been forced to adopt new tactics different from those of the old days when everyone was a gentleman. Constructive aspects of your advice will be gladly accepted but only in the context of the new rules of the game.

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