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The Star 12-1-93

Gqozo claims bid to oust him

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo flew from Bisho to the Reef yesterday to make a series of shock claims, including allegations of a plot by Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) to topple his government.

The Ciskei military leader told a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport that both his government and the South African security forces had information about where the Apla unit responsible for the King William's Town golf club attack was hiding.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel denied last night that police knew the whereabouts of the unit.

SAP Public Relations Division head Major-General Leon Mellet said police were following up "certain information" about the golf club killings. Four people were

murdered in the attack.

Gqozo, who returned to Bisho directly after making his statement, said he had "confirmed intelligence reports" of a meeting held in Umtata a few days after Christmas between MK, Apla and the TDF.

According to his information, the groups had decided to launch a two-pronged attack on Ciskei and KwaZulu.

Gqozo said MK and Apla recruits in the final stages of their training would be used to carry out the attacks in Apla's name.

He implied that he wanted the SA Defence Force to launch cross-border raids into Transkei against Apla.

Answering questions at the press conference, Gqozo said: "Transkei should come clean on this because it is not only a festering sore for the whole of South Africa ... they must come clean whether they want war or negotiations peacefully."

"So, I think whatever

action to be taken by all South Africans should be welcomed ..."

Asked whether he was referring to military action, he said: "Definitely, because those people are military (people)."

Gqozo said his government "reserved the right to take any action we see fit ... anyone entering Ciskei with arms of war will be declaring war on Ciskei".

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa accused the South African Government of using Gqozo to do its "dirty tricks and, by doing so, shifting blame from themselves".

The ANC, MK and the PAC strongly denied that such a meeting took place.

MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda said there was no working relationship between the ANC's armed wing and Apla.

In a separate statement, the ANC said Gqozo's statement was a "mixture of outright lies and pure invention".

The organisation de-

nied there are or were MK bases in Transkei or that it had ever entered a pact with the TDF or any other body to launch a military offensive against Ciskei or KwaZulu.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said Gqozo "appears to be flying a kite" with his allegations, and that the PAC had no knowledge of any meeting.

Gqozo said SACP leader and former MK chief of staff Chris Hani had told MK members in Ciskei to launch attacks in the homeland, using Apla disguises.

Hani denied the claim, saying Gqozo lived in "some other wonderland". He was no longer MK chief of staff and therefore did not give instructions to its members.

Gqozo would not make any documents backing up his claims available to the press because it could expose his sources.

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Decision on Apla subpoenas delayed

By Helen Grange

The Goldstone Commission will decide on Monday whether to subpoena members of the PAC and Azanian People's Liberation Army, following their refusal to appear before a hearing into Apla activities yesterday.

Explaining the PAC's absence, the organisation's political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said at a press conference in Johannesburg that the PAC was discussing the matter with the Goldstone Commission's "principal, namely the regime", and therefore saw no need to attend the inquiry.

The Apla commander would respond on behalf of Apla should he think it necessary, Seroke said.

He said the Goldstone Commission had supplied the PAC with a copy of the police submissions concerning the organisation.

The submissions had outlined, among other things, the alleged locations of Apla bases in Transkei and 201 pseudonyms of alleged Apla trainee graduates about to be infiltrated into the coun-

try from Uganda.

The Star's Own Correspondent reports that during yesterday's Goldstone committee hearings in Port Elizabeth, SADF counsel Danie Pretorius said the PAC and Apla should be subpoenaed, but if no one came forward to give evidence, the committee should make a finding based on the information before it.

Counsel for the SAP also asked the committee to subpoena the witnesses. The police had a list of PAC and Apla members which it could make available.

● Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last night said the police would not testify before Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa's proposed commission of inquiry into Apla as the SAP had already testified on the matter before the existing Goldstone Commission.

Interviewed on TV1's *Agenda* programme, he said he was willing to accede to a request from Holomisa for access to the SAP's evidence given to the Goldstone Commission in Port Elizabeth last week.

The Star 12-1-93

CP still sits on fence over multiparty talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party's participation in a multiparty negotiating forum still hangs in the balance after the weekend meeting between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday: "The CP does not have to decide whether it wants to be involved in a Codesa, because Codesa is dead."

The Government and Cosag — which includes the CP — decided at their two-day meeting to convene a planning

meeting with Codesa groups and possible new participants.

Treurnicht said the acknowledgement of certain conditions would determine his party's involvement.

These included the right to self-determination; the party's rejection of an interim government and a constitution-making body as agreed to by the ANC and Government; the CP's rejection of Codesa decisions; the disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe; and that the authority in a new dispensation should not be vested in a central government but in the "governments of people or states".

SAP failures due to lack of willingness — report

The Star 12-1-93

The resolve of the police in tracking down perpetrators of political violence has been scrutinised by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

The failure of the South African Police to nail perpetrators of political violence is critically related to a lack of willingness to investigate such crimes, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) concludes in a recently published report.

The findings, titled "To Protect and Serve?", go further than British expert Dr P A Waddington, who was mandated by the Goldstone Commission to assess the adequacy of the police investigation of the June 1992 Boipatong massacre.

Waddington found the investigation "woefully inadequate" but added that the "omissions arose not from deliberation, but incompetence".

The IBIIR agrees that incompetence plays a part but contends that "a number of factors indicate that this cannot be the only reason".

The IBIIR, which was set up in 1989 precisely because attacks on anti-apartheid forces remained persistently unsolved, bases its report on court and inquest records, evidence before judicial commissions and its direct experience.

The element of unwillingness on the part of

the police was particularly strongly suggested by their investigations of the Trust Feeds massacre of 1988 and the assassination of activist/lawyer Bheki Mlangeni in early 1990, the report argues.

It lists numerous inadequacies in the Trust Feeds case which emerged when, after a change of investigating officer last year, seven policemen were eventually placed on trial for murder and four were convicted.

The initial investigating officer, Captain Patrick Watrus, admitted in court that he had failed to enter as an exhibit a police shotgun cartridge found at the scene and had attached no importance to the discovery of a similar cartridge in the vehicle of an accused, Captain Brian Mitchell.

There was no record of interviews held at the scene, the clothing of the victims was not sent for forensic tests and Watrus had omitted to interview Mitchell, who was the officer on duty at the time.

Watruss's replacement, Major Joseph van Zyl, did not even read the in-

vestigation diary of his predecessor and had neglected either to interview any civilians at the scene or to view videos.

Arrests were made soon after the investigation was handed over to Captain Frank Dutton in July 1991.

The IBIIR notes that three days after Mitchell's arrest, a special Pretoria police team was sent to Natal, comprising Major General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, Captain Andre Kritzinger and a Colonel Langenhoven.

The report notes that, "asked in court whether he thought the Pretoria team had come to sabotage his investigation, Dutton said that he saw it as a possibility".

Kritzinger himself was entrusted with investigating Mlangeni's death, answering directly to Van der Westhuizen.

Mlangeni was killed by an explosive concealed in the headphones of a tape recorder. This device was sent to former security policeman Dirk Coetzee, who left South Africa in 1989 after making startling claims of hit squad ac-

tions by police based at Vlakplaas, near Pretoria.

The recorder was forwarded to Mlangeni's legal firm when Coetzee failed to collect it at a Zambian post office.

The police investigation yielded no suspects, but a judicial inquest was held last year. The IBIIR report observes that Van der Westhuizen's evidence was "disturbing".

It states: "Van der Westhuizen justified the fact that Vlakplaas personnel had not been investigated on the grounds that all allegations against the unit had been investigated by himself during the course of the Harms Commission (into hit squad activity).

"When it was pointed out to him that Mlangeni had been killed six months after the Harms investigation was closed, Van der Westhuizen stated that he was confusing Mlangeni's murder with that of Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge.

In reference to Kritzinger, the report observes that he failed to supply samples from the

cassette in the lethal recorder to handwriting and fingerprint experts.

Kritzinger also admitted attempting to mislead Dr David Klatzow, forensic expert for the Mlangeni family, as to the whereabouts of Colonel Wahl du Toit, named by Coetzee as potentially critical to the probe.

The willingness of police to investigate train attacks was called into question.

The IBIIR notes that while investigating officers stated they had no informers to assist them, members of the ISU had informers. One such person, identified only as Zero One, told the Goldstone Commission that he had forewarned police of two attacks on the Soweto railway line, providing the names and hostel room numbers of several assailants and plan details.

Although some of the identified people were arrested, "Zero One" was never called to court to testify and the men were eventually released due to ... insufficient evidence". Police said Zero One had not been prepared to testify.

The IBIIR also comments on the time taken, in certain cases, in bringing prosecution. The report refers to Khutsong near Carletonville

where a special police investigation resulted in more than 100 charges being brought against a number of policemen.

Although 13 policemen were suspended in mid-1991, by the end of 1992 many cases against them had not yet been completed, yet all the policemen concerned were back on duty from August last year.

The IBIIR supported the police special probe in Khutsong, locating witnesses and escorting them to investigating officers. Not only were witnesses harassed and arrested, but an IBIIR researcher was charged with intimidating one of the implicated policemen. Charges were later withdrawn.

The IBIIR noted that while the investigation was underway, the police team responsible was grateful for assistance.

"However, once the cases (against policemen) came to court it would appear that the prosecution was never fully briefed on the board's role and this led to allegations that the board's researcher forced witnesses into police vans and that the entire investigation was a plot to rid Khutsong of police."

The Star

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Profligate politicking

THE Government has rightly turned down a request by General Holomisa to second Judge Richard Goldstone for Transkei's own inquiry into Apla's alleged use of the territory as a springboard for terror attacks on South African citizens.

A committee of the Goldstone Commission, appointed by President de Klerk in late 1990, is already investigating Apla. To appoint another commission would be a waste of time and money, a profligate duplication reminiscent of the discredited apartheid order.

Holomisa is contemptuous of the Goldstone committee's investigation, referring to it as a "kangaroo court". The committee is headed by a retired magistrate, Gert Steyn. Holomisa's gratuitous insult is, however, a slur on Judge Goldstone himself. It is illogical for Holomisa to insult the judge in one breath and to request that he be seconded to Transkei in the next.

Holomisa is unhappy with the Steyn committee's terms of reference; he wants it to investigate South Africa's alleged attempts to destabilise Transkei as well as Apla's Transkei connection. There is nothing to prevent Holomisa from petitioning either De Klerk or Goldstone to broaden the terms of reference.

Instead, however, he has refused to submit evidence to the Steyn committee, preferring to sneer at its activities even before it has pronounced on the issue before it. Holomisa has gone even further, insinuating that Goldstone has had his "arm twisted" because he agreed with Justice Minister Koble Coetsee's decision not to second him.

The ANC accepts Judge Goldstone's credentials and has even praised him for uncovering the existence of the SADF's covert Directorate for Covert Collections and its highly suspect activities.

If the Goldstone Commission is good enough for the ANC, it is good enough for Transkei's military junta. Holomisa should stop politicking and submit his case to the Goldstone committee without further ado.

The Star

12-1-973

Kader Asmal reflects on the process needed to create an acceptable new constitution

History must not repeat itself

IT is a truism if not a cliché that the constitution which will emerge in South Africa will be the result of intense debate, negotiations and parleying, not only between political parties but also between various interest groups.

The prescriptiveness with which the National Party has behaved over the past 44 years is not a credible option, not least because the structures of power and legitimacy have dramatically altered. Neither will the take-it-or-leave-it approach of Inkatha as reflected in its recent constitutional proposals provide a proper basis for constitution-making.

The legitimacy of the constitution will depend largely on the process involved in its making. A more open, participatory, accessible and inclusive process will result in greater acceptance, especially if a constituent assembly, with a democratic mandate, provides the ultimate imprimatur not only to the process, but also to the content of the constitution.

We shall draw on our own experiences in ordering our future, especially on the way a degenerate social order perverted parlia-

mentary sovereignty to ordain rule by law, rather than the rule of law. Lessons can also be learnt from the way structures of government and concepts have operated in other countries.

Foreign governments, with large resources, have drawn on the desire to learn by South Africans by sending representatives of parties to their countries in droves and foreign thinktanks continue to organise seminars here.

The previous hostility to lessons from overseas, traditionally a governmental response, is now rejected in favour of extrapolations from Belgium, Switzerland, the US and even India with nary a thought as to their relevance to South Africa.

It was therefore refreshing to read Patrick Laurence's lessons from Ireland for South Africa, (Opinion, December 2) following his visit to that country during the general election in November, when the coalition collapsed there. There is little or no comment on Ireland here, apart from short agency reports. "Think" pieces in our papers reflect the paddy-whackery of Anglo-Saxon South African attitudes, with their crude anti-Irish jokes.

Laurence therefore rightly concentrates on the established tradition of stable parliamentary democracy, with a continuity going back to 1922 and an electoral system which he finds so attractive that he hopes that "voices will be raised in favour of the single transferable system" here.

Having lived in Ireland for nearly three decades, I found Laurence's affection for the country touching. In the midst of the violence, the spirit of the people, their capacity for change by electing an exciting woman as president and their desire to concentrate on economic and social issues and to remove the dull hand of clericalism reflect the features of a mature democracy, where the ground rules are clearly accepted by all the parties.

The contrived blood-letting of emigration — where over one million young men and women, the cream of any society, have emigrated from Ireland in the past three decades — has, paradoxically, provided the stability for orderly government. If they had stayed, the position might have been different.

It is therefore churlish to disagree with Laurence on vital matters of history and fact. The Irish approach is only exportable if we understand their history and the way the constitution has worked.

For example, from 1933 to 1948, there was a single-party Fianna Fail government. For nearly 10 years, after independence, the Conservative Party which governed did so virtually under a state of emergency, because of its perceived threats from those who opposed the partition of the country. The constitution, the product of British legislation, was rejected by Mr de Valera who in 1937 drafted the present one which was adopted by a very small majority in a referendum.

In other words, they have had their preliminary debate about the nature and fundamentals of the kind of constitutional order they wanted. We have not even begun our debate.

When Fianna Fail is not in power, alone, there have been coalitions which have lasted for brief periods, been unstable and generally conservative. It is for this reason that the Labour Party has asked

for a rotation Prime Minister. It is not likely that the other parties would agree to this unique suggestion, but it reflects Labour's desire not simply to be a junior partner in office, but to wield power for the first time.

As for the electoral system, the single transferable vote was proposed by the British to protect Protestant and therefore privileged interests. The Irish have enthusiastically retained it, although the Ulster Unionists abolished it in the early twenties in Northern Ireland. It is the most complex system of proportional representation but congenial for small rural societies such as Malta, Ireland and Tasmania where it only operates. STV is not entirely proportional and the system has been manipulated through constituencies being gerrymandered in the interests of the larger parties.

Most important of all, it requires a high degree of literacy and understanding as to how to operate the system. No one really knows the extent of illiteracy in South Africa, but it is estimated that more than 60 percent of the country's women are illiterate. Such persons cannot order the complex

system of preferences to which Laurence draws attention.

It is therefore invidious to draw conclusions from the Irish experience. Enforced coalitions — called power-sharing by Mr de Klerk, with their built-in vetoes and frustration of majority rule — are quite different from voluntary coalitions, however unstable they may be. The list system as proposed by the ANC is not an attempt by "party bosses" to impose candidates of their choice, but reflects a genuine desire to encourage participation by parties which enjoy a minimum of support, especially in regions.

What we can learn from Patrick Laurence's essay is that constitutional proposals must be seen in their historical environment under their own, often restrictive circumstances; where power, community needs, our own compromises and the awesome legacy of past oppression all have to be reflected by the model which we shall adopt. □

● Kader Asmal is Professor of Human Rights at the University of the Western Cape and a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

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Citizen 12-1-93

DP becoming party of the centre, says Zach

Citizen Reporter

THE Democratic Party was transforming itself into the party of the centre for all South Africans, DP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday at the opening of the DP's first office in the Johannesburg CBD.

The office is intended as an informal walk-in venue for potential members, inquirers about the DP's policies and principles and for people who want to bring public issues to the DP's attention.

The DP was convinced it had an important role to play in South African politics, said Dr De Beer.

"It is in the interest of all South Africans that the only true liberal democratic party standing for a social market economy should have a strong and decisive voice in the Parliament of the new South Africa," he said.

Describing the National Party as "Johnnies come lately", Dr De Beer said people had to decide which was the real article—liberal democrats for 40 years, or the liberal

democrats two of three years.

The DP had never been accused of having any part in the violence and had never been accused of corruption.

"Nobody in the DP is making himself rich out of politics. We have always been anti-apartheid and we have always been anti-Communism.

"Every South African who believes in human dignity and equal rights, personal freedom and in the rule of law belongs with the Democrats," he said.

Citizen 12-1-93

Six more deaths from violence in Natal

DURBAN. — Two men have been shot dead and one woman has been seriously injured in two separate attacks at Fort Dunford near Empangeni in Natal.

This brings the total deaths from Friday to six.

Police said Mr Zamo-khile Mthethwa and Mr Isaac Mlangeni, both 21, were attacked and killed by a group of unknown gunmen on Sunday morning.

On Saturday evening, Miss Thandi Mthethwa (31), was also attacked by a group and shot in the head.

Miss Mthethwa is in a serious condition at the Ngwelezane Hospital.

The motive for the attacks is not known and no arrests have been made.

In further attacks Mr Thabani Khulu (30), was shot dead by unknown gunmen on Friday evening in Umlazi P Section south of Durban.

Mr Khulu was on his way to visit his girlfriend when a group of people asked him to take one of their injured colleagues — who had been stabbed — to hospital. He agreed but was then shot dead by the men accompanying the injured man.

Mr Khulu's body was found in the taxi he had been driving.

On Saturday in Kwa-Mashu north of Durban, two men were stabbed to death. Mr Thulani Myeza (21), had 15 stab wounds and Thami Mbambo (32), of D Section KwaMashu had 24 stab wounds. The motive for the killing was not known.

A KwaZulu policeman, Const S P Cebekhulu (27), stationed at Mada-deni police station near Newcastle, was shot dead by unknown gunmen on

Sunday at Section 2 in the area. He was shot in the head, armpit and leg. Empty 9mm cartridges were found on the scene.

— Sapa.

Citizen 12-1-93

APLA bases 'informal'

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on SABC TV's Agenda programme last night, there was no doubt there had been Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in Transkei.

According to his information, those bases had been small and informal. In some cases, APLA members had undergone a few days of "instant" training under a tree or in a house.

There was no doubt that some of these trainees had staged attacks on South African territory, but it was untrue that the South African security forces had exact information on the location of the APLA bases or the whereabouts of the APLA attackers, as claimed by Ciskei's leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqo-

zo at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Mr Kriel denied Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa's claims that he was waging a propaganda war against the Transkei leader in order to get rid of him.

He criticised Gen Holomisa, the Pan Africanist Congress and APLA for refusing to appear before the Goldstone Commission's committee hearing in Port Elizabeth to give evidence on APLA activities.

Mr Kriel said he was not prepared to send "my people" to the Transkei to appear before General Holomisa's proposed commission of inquiry into APLA activities in the Transkei.

The current Goldstone Commission was eminently equipped to handle the issue. — Sapa.

Citizen 12-1-93

ANC to meet Zim on exiles' status

AFRICAN National Congress official Iaphet Ndlovu will meet Zambian authorities to discuss the fate of ANC members who have been declared illegal immigrants in that country.

In a statement issued yesterday the ANC said reports in the media indicated the Zambian Government was considering the expulsion of ANC members still in exile there.

According to the reports, about 700 South Africans, most of them ANC cadres, were reluctant to return to South Africa and wanted to remain in Zambia.

Illegal

They were declared illegal immigrants in Zambia after forfeiting their refugee status.

The ANC statement said approximately 200 ANC members were still resident in Zambia. These included staff at the offices of the ANC, students still completing

their studies, and a number of people who had not yet received indemnity.

The refugees gave fear of township violence as the main reason why they did not want to return to South Africa.

Zambian Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba said there was no reason why South African refugees should be accorded refugee status since the voluntary repatriation deadline expired on December 31.

In terms of Zambia's immigration laws, illegal immigrants can be detained and deported to their home country.

A date for a meeting between Mr Ndlovu and the Zambian authorities has not been finalised. — Sapa.

B/Day 12-1-93

Inkatha and Azapo end feud

PEACE prospects in the West Rand township of Bekkersdal were improved yesterday when feuding organisations Inkatha and Azapo resolved to bury their differences.

The organisations told journalists in Johannesburg they had identified reasons for their feud, which had claimed at least five lives this year. These included:

- ☐ A lack of political tolerance among members;
- ☐ Declaration, by members, of certain areas as strongholds; and
- ☐ The involvement of a third party in the conflict.

WILSON ZWANE

The organisations said they had agreed on steps to restore peace in the township. These included ensuring that everyone had free access to public facilities, encouraging interaction where the two organisations co-existed and creating a forum at which political debates would be held.

The organisations also resolved to "expose" the involvement of a third party in their feud. Inkatha Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza and Azapo deputy national organiser

Monwabisi Duna would not say who the suspected "third party" was.

A peace rally would be held at the weekend.

Last week Inkatha, Azapo, the PAC and the ANC formed a joint committee to monitor the return of pupils to schools.

☐ Sapa reports that the Goldstone commission in Port Shepstone heard yesterday that there had been a dramatic decrease in political violence in the area since a peace initiative was facilitated by a Commonwealth observer last month.

Citizen 12-1-93

Azapo, IFP leaders prepare for peace

LEADERS of the feuding Azanian Peoples Organisation and Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday laid the groundwork for the restoration of peace in violence-torn Bekkersdal near Randfontein on the far West Rand.

In their third round of talks aimed at ending hostilities, the two sides agreed to stage a joint

peace rally, expose the alleged involvement of a third party in the conflict, and allow their members free access to public transport, schools and other facilities.

They also agreed on the formation of a joint monitoring committee, and the establishment of an inter-organisational forum to nurture political tolerance through debate and discussion.

The two sides, who were involved in vicious clashes during the past few weeks, said they had reservations about police activities, but they gave no details.

"Both parties will hold report-back meetings which will culminate in a peace rally," a joint state-

ment said.

They last met in the offices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Johannesburg on Friday and committed themselves to ending the fighting over political supremacy in Bekkersdal.

Police warned last week they would impose emergency regulations in the area if political leaders failed to restrain their respective combatants.

In other resolutions, Azapo and Inkatha said they would expose and discipline "criminal elements" fanning the conflict. They would also visit areas in the township where their members co-existed and encourage interaction. — Sapa.

Citizen 12-1-93

ANC, KwaNdebele party plan united front

THE African National Congress' FWV region and the ruling party of KwaNdebele's Government, Inkando ye Sizwe, have resolved to establish a united front "on all levels" with a view to the coming elections.

The two parties will implement a strategy of political tolerance, embark on a joint programme of action and jointly educate voters for the elections for a Constituent Assembly.

This was announced at a joint news conference in Pietermaritzburg yesterday by ANC FWV region spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa and Mr S.J. Mgidi of the IYS, following a weekend conference in KwaNdebele on political tolerance and voter education, attended by 256 delegates from both parties.

Political tolerance among the two parties could be seen as a "peace setter" and the possibility that similar arrangements could be entered into with other parties was not excluded. Mr Mamoepa said.

Both parties resolved there should be speedy movement towards a government of national unity.

In future members of both parties could have dual membership, the conference resolved.

In addition, it was decided that the chieftainship of rulers and kings would be respected.

Both parties agreed the basis for free political activity had been laid and that recruitment, the holding of meetings in any village or area should be allowed uninterrupted and that the right of expression and the right to constructive criticism should be allowed.

Representatives of the two parties should also refrain from inflammatory or derogatory statements.

"Every person would have the right to join the organisation of his choice," the parties resolved.

They decided to hold joint rallies to commemorate historical events, that Mr Mamoepa and Mr Mgidi should maintain an open channel of com-

munication and liaise with Northern Transvaal regions on issues of common concern.

The electoral education would be executed on a joint basis.

The parties also noted that education could play a role in promoting political tolerance. — Sapa.

Citizen 12-1-93

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Mystery

THE Mystery of APLA and Its Bases deepens.

The police say there are informal bases — houses where APLA members are trained — in Transkei.

A couple of newspapers claim they have evidences of these bases.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the military ruler of Transkei, says there are no bases.

APLA terrorists are reported to have slipped back over the Lesotho border after carrying out attacks.

The Lesotho Government says there are no APLA bases in Lesotho.

So far as Transkei and Lesotho are concerned, the attackers come from nowhere and return nowhere.

An American magazine, Newsweek, reports that APLA and senior members of the Transkei Defence Force signed an agreement under which APLA could use Transkei for attacks on Whites in South Africa in return for weapons for Transkei from abroad and the training of Transkei soldiers.

A newspaper claims to have a copy of a document, signed by the APLA chief of operations in Transkei, acknowledging receipt of a consignment of weapons from the Transkei Defence Force.

General Holomisa says arms were lent to the PAC and ANC to help their cadres protect leaders of these organisations on official visits to Transkei.

APLA declares war on all White South Africans.

But it claims that the man who said he was a spokesman of APLA was not a member of APLA.

At the weekend an APLA spokesman in Dar-es-Salaam said the organisation was not an anti-White terrorist group, but an army at war against settler colonialism in South Africa, the "last bastion of colonialism" in Africa.

The attack on the golf club in King William's Town, in which four Whites were killed, was "aimed at specific targets who were celebrating military successes over APLA".

These included SADF personnel and former members of Rhodesia's Selous Scouts.

And to think that the people present at the club that night thought they were members of a wine-tasting club that was having a function.

Are you confused? Well, you should be, but then isn't that what mysteries are about?

If you thought there was no more to the story, then you haven't been paying attention to the matter of the Goldstone Commission and its APLA probe.

The commission has been holding an inquiry into APLA, with sessions in Port Elizabeth. The PAC and APLA refuse to give evidence before it.

General Holomisa announces that Mr Justice Goldstone is to chair the Transkei's own probe into the allegations about APLA.

However, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee says that Mr Justice Goldstone cannot hold an inquiry in Transkei, and offers another South African judge instead.

General Holomisa accepts.

The PAC and APLA say they will appear before the Transkei commission.

Quite confusing, don't you think?

Yesterday Ciskei entered the fray, its military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo, claiming that the Transkei Defence Force, the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress are jointly plotting an attack on Ciskei and KwaZulu in the name of APLA.

This — as is his custom — is denied by General Holomisa.

So there you have it — the Mystery of APLA and Its Bases.

But, of course, the biggest mystery is how General Holomisa can play silly buggers with South Africa, although Transkei is financed by Pretoria and Pretoria supposedly has enough leverage to put General Holomisa in his place.

Perhaps the truth is that Pretoria has to live out the legend of Transkeian independence until the new South Africa dawns.

In which case, General Holomisa can continue to do as he pleases.

Gqozo told to produce evidence of 'plot'

GOVERNMENT yesterday called on Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo to hand over to the Goldstone commission evidence that Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Transkei Defence Force were secretly planning acts of terror.

Earlier in the day Gqozo claimed he had "confirmed intelligence reports" which proved the three armies were plotting the violent overthrow of the governments of Ciskei and KwaZulu.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said government encouraged Gqozo "to share the information he has with the Goldstone commission".

Government is believed to have been

RAY HARTLEY

angered by Gqozo's decision to make the allegations at a Johannesburg news conference instead of presenting them to the Goldstone commission's Port Elizabeth hearing on Apla.

Gqozo said he had decided to keep his evidence from the commission because the SA public needed to be made aware of the plot, and Judge Richard Goldstone would be given documents only "on a very selective basis" if he requested them.

He said MK, Apla and the TDF had met in Umtata shortly after Christmas to plan attacks on the governments of Ciskei and

KwaZulu "under the name of Apla".

Gqozo said SA security forces needed to take decisive action — possibly including military force — against the plotters.

The ANC, MK, Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and the PAC yesterday dismissed Gqozo's allegations.

The ANC described Gqozo's statement as "a mixture of outright lies and pure invention. There are not now, nor have there ever been, MK bases in Transkei. The ANC and MK have never entered a pact with the TDF or any other body to launch a military offensive against Ciskei or KwaZulu," it said.

□ To Page 2

Gqozo

PAC secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke denied the conspiracy claims, Sapa reports. Gqozo was "flying a kite", he said. "It is clear that he has an axe to grind with the Transkei Military Council."

MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda denied any meetings, other than "normal contact", had taken place between MK, Apla and the TDF. "This is in breach of the spirit of the national peace accord. Such statements have only helped fuel violence in the past," he said.

Gqozo's allegations that SACP secretary-general Chris Hani had instructed MK commanders in Ciskei to attack the homeland's government using Apla disguises

□ From Page 1

were untrue as Hani no longer held any command position in MK, Nyanda said.

Holomisa accused Gqozo of conducting a propaganda campaign against Transkei in collaboration with SA security forces, Sapa reports. Gqozo was welcome to bring his evidence directly to Transkei, or to invite Transkei investigators to Bisho, he said.

Gqozo said he had not communicated with Holomisa over the allegations because "he will definitely deny them".

Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said Gqozo needed to present proof of the plot to Goldstone, because this was "one place where the evidence would have value".

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B/Day
12-1-93

'PLOT' AGAINST CISKEI, KWAZULU

ANC, PAC
Holomisa
denial

Citizen 12-1-93 (1)

By Sapa and Citizen
Reporter

A TWO-PRONGED attack on the Ciskei and KwaZulu was being planned by the military wings of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress with the assistance of the Transkei Defence Force, Ciskei military leader,

Brig Oupa Gqozo, claimed yesterday.

He said the attacks would be carried out in the name of the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) by recruits in the final stages of their training.

The ANC, PAC and Gen Holomisa denied the allegations.

Brig Gqozo the chairman of Ciskei's Council of State, alleged the ANC

and the PAC, with their armed wings, had met TDF representatives in Umtata a few days after Christmas.

According to confirmed intelligence reports, the parties had resolved to launch a two-pronged attack on Ciskei and KwaZulu.

Recruits to the ANC and the PAC armed

TO PAGE 2

Citizen 12-1-93 (2)

'Plot' against Ciskei, KwaZulu

FROM PAGE 1

wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), in the final stages of their training, would be used to carry out the attacks — in the name of APLA.

Additional MK and APLA members were to be sent to the Ciskei and KwaZulu to participate in mass action campaigns against the homeland governments, Brig Gqozo said.

He claimed the TDF and APLA had met at least twice last year to explore ways "by which APLA elements could be taken into the TDF without arousing undue attention".

Brig Gqozo claimed that South African Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani had instructed MK cadres in the Ciskei to launch attacks in the homeland, disguised as APLA members.

"They were instructed to leave PAC pamphlets on the scene of the attack. MK members were also to wear PAC T-shirts while carrying out the attacks."

Furthermore, Brig Gqozo alleged, a number of MK members had returned to the Ciskei. "They have been instructed to join the mass action cam-

paign which is being planned for February 1993. Armed attacks will be carried out simultaneously in the Ciskei."

Brig Gqozo said it had been decided at the Umtata meeting, that all evidence of APLA and MK bases in the Transkei — at Herschel, Willowvale and Kentani — should be removed before a Goldstone committee investigation into APLA bases in the homeland began.

The meeting had decided that the Transkei Government should play for time and attempt to delay the progress of the Goldstone probe in order to remove all evidence of APLA and MK training.

It had also resolved that the TDF would take control of APLA and MK weapons and store them under extreme security in a secret TDF store, and all MK members appointed to the TDF would be temporarily removed, until after the investigation, he said.

Brig Gqozo also claimed to have information about where the killers responsible for the attack last year on a King William's Town golf club were hiding. The attack claimed four lives.

The information was already in the possession of the South African security forces, he said.

Gen Holomisa accused his Ciskeian counterpart

of conducting a propaganda campaign against the Transkei in collaboration with South Africa's security forces.

Since Brig Gqozo was a signatory to the National Peace Accord, he should hand his evidence to the Goldstone Commission.

If the commission wanted to ask the Transkei Government anything, they were welcome to do so at its own commission of inquiry into Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) bases in the territory. This could be done through normal diplomatic channels, Gen Holomisa said.

Brig Gqozo was also welcome to bring his evidence directly to the Transkei, or to invite Transkei investigators to Bisho.

Gen Holomisa said the South African Government was "using people like Brig Gqozo to conduct a propaganda campaign against us, after they failed with their attempts to smear us in Port Elizabeth".

The ANC said Brig Gqozo's claims were a mixture of outright lies and pure invention.

It denied that a secret meeting had taken place in Umtata and said neither it, nor its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had ever entered into a pact with the TDF or

any other body to launch a military offensive against the Ciskei or KwaZulu.

There had never been any MK bases in the Transkei, nor were there any at present.

"Brig Gqozo and his so-called 'intelligence' services are engaged in an extremely dangerous game by spreading such falsehoods. Their actions can only undermine the efforts all South Africans should be making to secure peace," the ANC said.

Mr Waters Tobari, the PAC's director of publicity, said Brig Gqozo's claims were ludicrous and full of "professional lies".

"Why should we want to attack the Ciskei? Brig Gqozo has never been a threat to the PAC, not will we ever overthrow a homeland, because we don't recognise their sham independence."

Mr Tobari also denied that the PAC and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Organisation, had met with MK and the TDF in Umtata.

The last time the PAC had met with the ANC was at the Patriotic Front Conference held in Durban, with 92 other organisations, in October last year.

There were no APLA bases in Transkei.

B/D Aug 12-1-92

DP meeting in Guguletu ends in brawl

CAPE TOWN — A DP meeting in Guguletu ended in chaos last night when scores of screaming protesters stormed the stage and fisticuffs broke out in the audience.

Several ANC leaders present were jostled, including Claremont MP Jan van Eck. Whites and journalists appeared to be singled out, with a number evicted to shouts of "whites and propagandists out".

Although the ANC condemned the disruption and blamed the PAC and Azapo for the violence, some loudly chanting ANC supporters were seen to take part.

Political Staff

Minutes after the first DP speaker — Siyathemba Malgas of the eastern Cape region — began his address by saying "the time for fighting is over", the hall erupted. DP pamphlets were flung in the air and the stage was stormed. Missiles were thrown and an egg narrowly missed keynote speaker MP Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg).

Punches were thrown at members of the DP, ANC and the media, while UN and EC observers looked on aghast.

Cape DP meeting broken up

CAPE TOWN. — A Democratic Party meeting in Gugulethu ended in chaos last night when alleged

Azanian People's Organisation supporters shouted down speakers and traded blows with other members of the 200-strong audience.

DP Youth regional chairman, Colin Douglas, declared the meeting closed barely 10 minutes after it had started in the Uluntu Hall in Gugulethu, about 20km from Cape Town.

Senior African National Congress members present distanced the ANC from the fracas, in which several people were slightly injured, a

banner was torn and DP pamphlets were thrown around.

Witnesses said an egg narrowly missed DP MP Robin Carlisle, somebody else apparently tried to hit Independent MP and ANC member Jan van Eck, and at least two Press photographers were manhandled.

Violence broke out shortly after DP Youth spokesman Siyathemba

Malgas appealed for an end to fighting.

He was shouted down by a large group of hecklers in the back of the hall, who filed in shortly before the meeting began about 7 pm.

There were shouts for people to sit down, and soon afterwards pamphlets were thrown into the air near the entrance

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Cape DP meeting broken up

FROM PAGE 1

to the hall.

A man who claimed he was from the Azanian Youth Organisation chanted "Down settlers, down".

Other apparent Azapo supporters clambered on to the stage, with scuffles spreading throughout the hall. A blue and yellow DP banner was torn when an angry DP supporter tried to wrest it from a demonstrator.

Mr Zleila Dubase, chairman of the ANC's "Unity Zone", called on ANC supporters to leave the hall, and shortly after 7.15 pm Mr Douglas said: "This meeting is over, it is broken up."

Later, ANC member, Ms Madeleine Fullard, said people shouting PAC slogans had thrown her to the floor and kicked her in the face when she was trying to get outside.

ANC national executive member, Prof Kader Asmal, said he had been elbowed when trying to pacify belligerents.

Western Cape ANC member, Johnny de Lange, said he had been punched in his face and back.

Mr Carlisle said it was impossible to meet under

the circumstances. "We have to come back and bicker on until democratic rights are accepted by that minority that denies them."

The Gugulethu meeting was the DP's second bid to address a Western Cape township audience. A meeting in Khayelitsha in December was broken up by people believed to be ANC supporters.

Mr Carlisle said the ANC had blamed Azapo and Pan Africanist Congress supporters for last night's disruption, adding: "The ANC seems to have done its best to control their supporters."

A United Nations observer, Mrs Helen Zim, said she had no idea what was going on. "I do not know who is responsible, I have no idea. It is very sad".

Mrs Zim, one of two UN personnel present, said she would be reporting that there had been no political freedom at the meeting.

DP supporters were seen trying to reason with hecklers, with Mr Carlisle remarking: "These guys don't want to talk to me. It's an indication that democracy has a hell of a long way to go."

Addressing a Press con-

ference after the disruption had subdued, Prof Asmal condemned the hooligan behaviour, saying: "No ANC member could have behaved like this this afternoon."

He said he and other senior ANC members had attended the meeting as monitors, "simply to listen, as is normal in any

disputation debate".

The "apartheid regime" was the ANC's enemy, not the DP, he said.

ANC regional chairman, Tony Yengeni, said the ANC could not deny anybody the right to speak and organise. "Our membership was definitely not involved as far as our reports go". — Sapa.

Dr T: We won't join Codesa

CONSERVATIVE Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has rejected any possibility of his party joining Codesa talks, stressing the "CP is not on its way to Codesa".

In a statement yesterday he called reports on this misleading, and added, "The Conserva-

tive Party does not have to decide if it wants to become involved in Codesa talks because the forum is dead".

Dr Treurnicht said certain demands and principles — notably self-determination — had to be acknowledged for the CP to decide in which negotiation forums it would participate.

He was reacting to suggestions that the CP might become involved in multiparty negotiations, sparked by the decision of the Concerned South Africans Group — of which the CP is a member — on Saturday to participate in a "multiparty

TO PAGE 2

CP won't join Codesa

FROM PAGE 1

planning conference" to prepare for eventual full-scale negotiations.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP, as part of Cosag, was involved with preparations for the multiparty planning conference, but it depended on what the committee "came up with".

According to Dr Treurnicht, the CP had consistently issued certain demands for negotiations. They are that:

- Self-determination for all volke and states who prefer it be non-negotiable;
- The CP rejected an interim government and a constituent assembly which could also be a Parliament — as agreed to by the government and the African National Congress;
- The CP did not recognise the decisions that had already been taken

by Codesa and rejected the principle of a unitary state;

- The CP insisted the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should be disbanded; and

- The authority in a future dispensation should not be vested in a central government but in the governments of peoples and states. In addition, these peoples and states should decide on the devolution of power.

"Depending on the recognition of these principles, the CP will decide in which negotiation forums it will participate," Dr Treurnicht said.

In an interview with Sapa, Dr Treurnicht said Cosag was already developing into "an alternative forum for negotiations".

He reiterated that Codesa was an unacceptable forum for negotiations, adding that certain Black leaders supported the CP in its rejection of Codesa.

The CP, like the Inkatha Freedom Party, felt that any future discussions had to be preceded by a conference of review, Dr Treurnicht added.

The Conservative Party yesterday strongly criticised the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) for an alleged campaign of disinformation, "with the assistance of willing media", against the party.

CP general secretary, Dr Jal Theron, was responding in a statement

to alleged AVU remarks on the CP's participation in a discussion forum at which the African National Congress might be present.

Categorically denying this, he said participation of the CP in constitutional discussions at which the ANC might be present had never been a point of dispute during talks with the AVU last year, as everyone had agreed the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was not an acceptable forum for negotiations.

Dr Theron said there were deep-seated differences over certain paragraphs in recommendations submitted by the CP's executive council at its congress in Pretoria on June 27 last year.

"The recommendations were not accepted and these paragraphs dealt with land areas and borders," he said.

It was also a lie that the five AVU members had been suspended by the CP, as all five had themselves voluntarily walked out of the party after they had set a midnight ultimatum they knew beforehand the party could not comply with.

"The CP deplores the sustained campaign of disinformation which is being conducted against it by the AVU with the help of willing media," Dr Theron said. — Sapa.

Citizen 12-1-93

PAC wants new forum

THE Pan Africanist Congress was prepared to join multiparty negotiations if a new forum, divorced from Codesa, was established, said secretary-general Benny Alexander.

The PAC would be happy to participate in such talks if they were chaired by a neutral, international figure with a specific agenda: to prepare for the election of a constituent assembly.

Citizen 12-1-93

Goldstone may look at violence in education

THE wide-ranging Goldstone Commission, presently investigating violence in the Eastern Cape and Southern Natal, might be turning its attention soon to South Africa's troubled education institutions.

The commission said yesterday it had received disturbing infor-

mation concerning a number of incidents of violence and intimidation in recent months against teachers and scholars.

"The commission requests any person with relevant information concerning this subject to furnish details in writing to the Secretary of

the Commission, Private Bag X858, Pretoria, 0001 by not later than February 28 1993.

"After consideration of any submission received by the commission it will decide whether any appropriate action should be taken." — Sapa.

B/Day 12-1-93

COMMENT**Bottom line**

WHILE our political leaders perceive a need to spread good cheer at the remotest sign of movement, a serious assessment of the state of the negotiating process requires a more realistic approach. One needs not only to examine more critically whether the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) will deliver the parliamentary Right and a number of homeland leaders into future negotiations. It needs also to be asked to what extent it matters if some or all of them cannot be tempted into the process.

The statement emerging from the Cosag/government meeting that agreement had been reached to begin convening a preparatory meeting can hardly be interpreted as a powerful signal that "negotiations are on track" — as both government and the ANC have sought to do. It hardly represents a clear commitment to negotiations. It is, potentially, merely a delaying tactic as Cosag parties decide for themselves where they are headed.

Related to this is the fact that Cosag itself is hardly a coherent force. For one thing, CP representatives were unable to bind their party even to the proposed preparatory meeting — they still need to discuss the matter with their principals. For another, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje, purportedly speaking for Cosag as a whole, said the organisation was totally opposed to an interim government as part of the process. Given that an interim government is an essential step, this would, in itself, appear to be an

insurmountable obstacle to the group's participation.

A saving grace could be Cosag's lack of coherence and consistency. The truth about Cosag is that, in addition to the Inkatha Freedom Party, it consists of the electorally spent white Right, seven insignificant homeland parties, and the governments of two "independent" homelands both entirely dependent for their survival on Pretoria's largesse. These groups late last year attached themselves to the coat-tails of the disenchanted Inkatha as their only hope of gaining any real influence in the designing of a future South Africa.

Their future remains dependent on Inkatha's tactics in the coming year. Inkatha is sending out mixed signals at this stage: chairman Frank Mdlalose spoke on Saturday of the need for elections to be held as soon as possible, and then refused to commit Inkatha to the agreements it had reached at Codesa. Multiparty talks without Inkatha would be highly unsatisfactory. The overall signs, however, are that Inkatha is having second thoughts about developing an alliance with racists and with homeland politicians who accepted the nominal independence offered them in the apartheid years.

Without Inkatha, the "third force" at the negotiating table is reduced to an electorally insignificant grouping. It would be nice if the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie agreed to participate in multiparty talks, but (as is the case with their left-wing equivalent, the PAC) the talks could continue without them.

B/Day 12-1-93

Treurnicht rejects Codesa III

LEFT- and right-wing political parties yesterday dismissed the possibility that they would participate in a Codesa III.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said weekend reports that his party would join other political organisations in Codesa talks, when multiparty talks resumed later this year, were "misleading".

"The CP does not have to decide whether or not to participate in Codesa because that forum is dead," he said.

And PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation would join talks only in a new forum, totally divorced from Codesa and chaired by a neutral, international figure, Sapa reports.

He said the new forum would have to have an agenda specifically directed at preparations for a constituent assembly.

The CP rejection of Codesa came after the Concerned South Africans Group, of which it is a member, agreed at a weekend meeting with government to participate in the planning of future talks.

Treurnicht said the CP stood by its pre-conditions for multilateral talks, including: self-determination for all "nations"; the rejection of an interim government and a constituent assembly which doubled as a

RAY HARTLEY

parliament; the rejection of all Codesa decisions that were opposed to the principle of a unitary state; the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe; and that the authority in a future dispensation not be vested in a central government, but in the governments of peoples and states.

"Depending on whether or not these principles are recognised, the CP will decide in which negotiation forums to participate," he said.

Meanwhile, the ANC's PWV region and KwaNdebele's ruling party, Intando ye Sizwe, have resolved to establish a united front "on all levels".

The parties said yesterday they had decided to implement a strategy of political tolerance, embark on a joint programme of action and educate voters on elections for a constituent assembly.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said political tolerance between the two parties could be seen as a "pace setter" and the possibility of similar arrangements with other parties could not be excluded.

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B/Day 12-1-93

Black teachers threaten to strike

KATHRYN STRACHAN

BLACK schools, which reopened yesterday, could be in for a repeat of last year's disruptions with teachers affiliated to the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) threatening possible strike action.

Sadtu assistant general secretary Thulas Nxesi said yesterday his union would protest against plans by the Department of Education and Culture to retrench about 3 200 teachers at 40 coloured schools.

But teachers would not strike before consulting all parties concerned, including pupils and parents.

Plans to retrench the teachers were suspended late last year when Sadtu teachers threatened to disrupt exams. But negotiations with the department failed to extract a guarantee that teachers would not be retrenched in the new year.

Black schools were desperately short of teachers, said Nxesi, and rather than retrenching teachers government should transfer them to schools where they were needed.

All the problems which triggered last year's "chalkdowns" still existed, he said. Teachers were still victimised for participating in union activities, despite the union being officially recognised, and the poor conditions at schools continued.

Nxesi said the most important task for the year ahead was to revive a

culture of learning and to develop a code of conduct.

Meanwhile, Judge Richard Goldstone yesterday announced that his commission was considering investigating violence and intimidation in schools, and requested people to submit any relevant information.

"In recent months the commission has received disturbing information concerning a number of incidents of violence and intimidation committed against members of the teaching profession and even in some instances on scholars," he said.

Sapa reports from Pietersburg that Azapo northern Transvaal spokesman Mautle Phasha yesterday called for an end to the disruption of education through teacher chalkdowns and the involvement of pupils in campaigns during school hours.

Department of Education and Training (DET) director-general Bernhard Louw said textbooks and prescribed books valued at more than R80m had been provided to black schools this year.

He said on the first day of the new school year, 2 374 public schools and 5 648 farm schools had registered with the DET, and more than 2.5-million pupils would enroll in public and state-aided schools.

B/Dag 12-1-93

LLOYD COUTTS

THE PAC yesterday refused to take part in a Goldstone committee investigation into the activities of its armed wing Apla, saying it saw no need to do so.

The organisation told a news conference it had received an invitation to participate in the hearing in Port Elizabeth yesterday and had been asked to extend the invitation to Apla at its Dar es Salaam headquarters.

The PAC said, however, that during a bilateral meeting with government in Botswana last year, it had agreed to continue talks on the armed struggle "in the broader context of a political solution". The matter had been on the agenda in bilateral talks "and we do not see the need to present ourselves to this commission", said PAC

PAC refuses role in probe of Apla

secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke.

Seroke said while there were no current talks with government, channels of communication remained open.

The Apla command would reply to the commission's request for its participation if it were deemed necessary. He said the commission had informed the PAC it would consider travelling to a neutral venue should Apla make such a request.

He said the commission should not act as an inquisition into PAC affairs.

Sapa reports the Goldstone committee hearing preliminary evidence on Apla will sit next on January 18 in Pretoria.

Citizen 12-1-93

APLA bases 'informal'

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on SABC TV's Agenda programme last night, there was no doubt there had been Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in Transkei.

According to his information, those bases had been small and informal. In some cases, APLA members had undergone a few days of "instant" training under a tree or in a house.

There was no doubt that some of these trainees had staged attacks on South African territory, but it was untrue that the South African security forces had exact information on the location of the APLA bases or the whereabouts of the APLA attackers, as claimed by Ciskei's leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqo-

zo at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Mr Kriel denied Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa's claims that he was waging a propaganda war against the Transkei leader in order to get rid of him.

He criticised Gen Holomisa, the Pan Africanist Congress and APLA for refusing to appear before the Goldstone Commission's committee hearing in Port Elizabeth to give evidence on APLA activities.

Mr Kriel said he was not prepared to send "my people" to the Transkei to appear before General Holomisa's proposed commission of inquiry into APLA activities in the Transkei.

The current Goldstone Commission was eminently equipped to handle the issue. — Sapa.

12-01-93

FORUM

Mercury report criticised

SIR — I wish to refer to your report by your Political Staff in The Natal Mercury of January 7 under the headline "ANC, GOVT, IFP in talks".

The second paragraph of the report reads: "Government and ANC negotiators are confident multi-party talks will soon be back on track, but IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi who pulled out of Codesa last year is treading warily".

I am astounded by the way your readers' intelligence is insulted with a blatant untruth of this kind. Everyone knows that Codesa 2 was destroyed when the ANC/SACP alliance walked out of it in June 1992 because they could not get their way. Everyone knows that while the IFP participated in Codesa with my support, that I never attended any of the plenary sessions of Codesa. The KwaZulu Government delegation and the King of the Zulu Nation and his delegation, I and the IFP attended both the conference on intimidation and violence called by President de Klerk in May 1992 and the National Peace Convention in September 1992, and I had been assured by President de Klerk that this would continue to be the case even when negotiations on the future South Africa commenced, but the State President reneged on this when the ANC/SACP alliance opposed it. As a result of this exclusion of a Zulu representation at Codesa I took a decision not to attend the plenary sessions of Codesa. I could not agree to the exclusion of the Zulu people at Codesa when other ethnic formations such as the Xhosas in both Transkei and Ciskei were represented by their government delegations and Vendas of Venda were represented by their government delegation and the Tswanas of Bophuthatswana were represented by their government delegation. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

It is therefore quite amazing that your political staff is so bent on misrepresenting me to the public that they should write something as apocryphal as saying that I pulled out of Codesa when I was never there at all in the first place. In spite of this position I still attended bilateral talks with President de Klerk and his Government delegations. When President de Klerk and the President of the ANC signed the Record of Understanding in September 1992 I merely said that I would stop having these talks (which were not Codesa talks in any sense) until I had consulted with my colleagues, with other leaders and with my other fellow South Africans to get their views on the Record of Understanding.

Deliberate distortions of my position on issues which have been going on in the media since 1990 must cease, if we seriously want negotiations to succeed and if we are going to succeed in our quest for peace. I met President de Klerk on December 10 with President Mangope and Brigadier Gqozo. The Cosag delegation that met with a Government delegation on January 8 and 9 resulted from that December 10 meeting. I do not know what your political staff refers to as "my walking warily". The position has not changed as Codesa is dead and it was killed by the ANC/SACP alliance who walked out of it and there is no way that even the IFP will go to anything called "Codesa" so that leaders of the ANC/SACP alliance can have opportunities to indulge in their theatrics of walking in and out of it as they please. After they destroyed Codesa 2, I proposed President de Klerk that a multi-party conference of Review should be convened as a matter of urgency to look at what went wrong at Codesa, and also to create another multi-party forum which would be more representative of the people than Codesa was and which would have mechanisms that will make walk-outs impossible. Because this came from me as a black leader, the President has so far ignored it up to now, although I proposed it in June 1992.

Do understand one thing, that no amount of cheap propaganda which is promoted at my expense, will make me shake from my very firm stand that we should have a fully representative forum if we want peace and we want the negotiation process to succeed. I am not intimidatable, and this includes all your efforts to portray me as the Spoiler.

MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI
President: IFP and Chief Minister