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month â\200\234to address the whole
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â\200\234That provided the basis for
the breakthrough,â\200\235 the Govern-
ment source said. :

- This legislation would see the
release of all people convicted
of crimes in the struggle be-

tween Government and the

ANC. : _

_ There were certain aspects of
Prea;dgt de Klerkâ\200\231s letter that
the ANC rejected, and this is
â\200\230v'v'hnl1 Mr %wer,ghwr' Ra-
lî-\201)wevg, Mr -Mandelaf: mes-.
sage to Mr Bou '

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Government and
| understand-

arch on KwaZulu and
tâ\200\231s war, says Buthelezi |

JOHANNESBURG:
Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Chief
said

| yesterday that if the African

National Congress marched
on KwaZulu homeland it
would be an open declaration

. of war on the Zulu nation.

Chief Buthelezi, who is

Chief Minister of KwaZulu
and president of the Inkatha
Freedom Party, made the

statement after ANC leaders
announced they would con-
tinue with plans to march on

| Ulundi. the homeland's capi-

tal, early next week.

The secretary-general of the
ANC, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa,
and the South African Con-
stitutional Development Min-
ister, Mr Roelf Meyer, failed
to resolve difficulties yester-

â\200\230day on a meeting between the

South African President,

De Klerk, and the president
of the ANC, Mr Nelson
Mandela.

The ANCâ\200\231s inner council,
the 26-member National
Working ' Committee, and
Cabinet spent most of the day
cloistered in separate meet-
ings in a bid to clear the path
for a last-ditch summit on
violence.

Mr Ramaphosa and Mr
Meyer were to resume talks
â\200\234as soon as possible with a
view to resolving outstanding
questionsâ\200\235, a government
spokesman said.

The main sticking point was
the release from prison of
three members of the ANCâ\200\231s

military wing.

AFP, UPI

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iDipldrhats Oppose
march on Ulundi

PRETORIA â\200\224 DiplomatiÂ¢ Â¢emmun-
ity members vesterday expressed se-
vere reservations about the ANC's
decision in principle to proceed with
the protest march on Ulundi.

Most diplomats canvassed said the
| march would be a provocative act,
| contrary to the spirit of the national
peace accord.

They said the rigit of free political
expression needed to be weighed
against other factors, such as the pos-
sibility of violence, the effect reper-
cussions might have on the economy,
and what the march could achieve.

The decision to hold a march at
Llundi, tn the context of hostile state-
ments by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu
Buthelezt and the events at Bisho,

was Â¢learly contrary to a peace ac-
cord requirements that organisers of

any political event should â\200\234take into
account local sentiment and foresee-
able consequencesâ\200\235

Sapa reports the Law and Order
y Minmstry said in Pretoria that the
| organisers of the march had shown
contempt for the peace process and

the demonstration would .ne\â\200\230:abl v

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Lâ\200\234, TIM COHEN

lead to bloodshed.

A ministry spokesman said the
ANC should have learned the lesson
that mass action inevitably led to
conflict and violence.

â\200\234Tt is almost inevitabie that this
decision will fead to bloodshed, as it
did at Bisho, Ciskeiâ\200\235

RAY HARTLEY reports that DP
Law and Order spokesman Peter
Gastrow said political organisations |
had an inherent right to march, but |

â\200\234Âconfrontation and bloodshedâ\200\235 would
result from a march on (Mundi.

Cosatu yesterday accused the DF,
government and the media of whip-
ping up hysteria â\200\234to create a climate |
in which any attempt to challenge |
tinpot dictators in the bantustans . | |
would be viewed as irresponsible and
provocative'â\200\231 f

The union federation threw its |
weight behind the decision of â\200\234struc- !
tures of the democratic movement in '
Natalâ\200\235 to go ahead with the march in
a statement released yesterday.â\200\231

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THE abduction of a National Union of Metalworkers of SA official has been blamed by the union on problems in relocating inmates of the KwaMadala Hostel in the Vaal Triangle.

But police said yesterday the kidnapper of Numsa Vaal Triangle legal officer Stanley Tyelentombi would appear in court on charges of armed robbery.

Tyelentombi told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that on Tuesday he was abducted by people opposed to relocation of the KwaMadala Hostel dwellers to the KwaMasiza Hostel.

An attempt was made to move the mainly Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers from KwaMadala after the Boipatong massacre in which more than 30 people were killed in an attack apparently launched from the hostel. The removal has been foiled.

Tyelentombi said five youths entered his car opposite the KwaMadala Hostel and forced him at gunpoint to drive to a Boipatong house, where they collected assegais

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Hostel issue tied to abduction
and pangas.

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They then drove to a house in Sebokeng 1 where a man, who knew Tyelentombi, ac-

cused him of wanting to move KwaMadala residents to the ANC-dominated KwaMasiza Hostel where they would be killed.

The man then instructed the youths to put Tyelentombi in the boot of the car and drive him to the leadership of KwaMadaia, after which he would be killed, Tyelentombi claimed.

The Numsa official managed to escape on the way to the hostel. Police later found his car and arrested one of the five youths, Tyelentombi said.

Capt Piet van Deventer confirmed the

incident, saying the suspect would appear |
in the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court to- |

day on charges of armed robbery

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Numsa spokesman Alfred Woodington |

said the relocation of the KwaMadala in-
mates had to be addressed by all parties in
the Vaal Triangle who were signatories to |
the national peace accord. â\200\224 Sapa.

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Goldstone team probes cl

MAJOR Frank Duttom recently appointed
head of the Goldstone COMMISSION Natal
investigative unit, is probing claims that
Renamo soldiers were bused into KwaZulu
to assassinate ANC leaders ahead of a pre-
test march on Ulundi

Tensions in the Region rose dramatically
yesterday as the ANC released details of
the alleged Reparmw force and Inkatha
president Mangosuthu Buthe's claimed
police had found arms hidden near Ulundi
30 preparation for an attempt on his life

ANC northern Natal chairman Aarop
Ndlovu said substantive evidence had been

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handed W Duttom, who has been investigating
the case since Tuesday.

A senior KwaZulu administration official,
who was an impeccable source had
witnessed the arrival of the soldiers first
hand, Ndlovu said.

He said the Renamo squad, who spoke
Zulu and Portuguese, were met by
3 Captains Manzini of the KwaZulu Police.

He said investigators had shown the
force, who were "darker in blue than South
Africans", 35 in total and 18 assorted
nationally believed

The SA police had been involved for the

RAY HARTLEY]
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transportation of the Renamo soldiers and
the ANC had evidence of this, said Ndlovu

The ANC's three Natal regions and its
national leadership (this week gave the go-
ahead for the controversial march to take
place. No date has yet been set

BILLY PADDOCK reports that senior
ANC executive members have privately
expressed concern about the possibility
of a march on Monday with the immediate
future. They are worried that the
conflict will spread beyond Durban

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An ANC source said the national leader
ship would use the Lheepce granted w il Lo
decide on a date for the march lo posipene
the protest untit tensinns fessepad

Buthelezi to)d KwaZulu dignitanies at &
Shaka Day celebration at Nkandla iÂ» Kwa
Zubu yesterday police had discovered arms
caches hidden around Uland which were
part of "a plet to anlacx meâ\200\235

Sapa reports the Lomes of tuee Kwa-
Zaly cvil cervents, 2cged to be ANC
roembers m 2 pamyilet circulated three
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yesterday

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Meanwhile, security
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planped Shaka Day rally &t Kwa
pear Durban, amid fears of violen

This emerged after a sux-pour meeling
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iive people died in violence v Wwednesday

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â\200\230Economy to shrink 2% this yearâ\200\231

SA will trail
world upturn,
predicts Keys

WASHINGTON â\200\224 Economic recovery
in SA would lag a global economic
upturn by about eight months, Finance
Minister Derek Keys said yesterday.

Speaking to reporters at the offices of
the SA delegation to the annual meetings
of the IMF and World Bank, Keys forecast
that the SA economy would shrink about
2% this year.

â\200\234A recovery in the SA economy could be
expected to begin about eight months after
a recovery in the world economy. The lag
represents SA's relatively large proportion
of exports to GDP," Keys said.

The IMF's latest forecast for the world
economy revises downwards the fund's
predictions for global economic perform-
ance made in May this year.

The fund said world recovery would take
place at only a moderate pace over the
next 12 months.

Following global stagnation last year,
when world output grew by only 0,1%, the
fund is forecasting world growth of 1,1%
this year and 8,1% next year. Its forecasts
were qualified by warnings of downside
risks to global economic performance &ris-
ing from large budgetary imbalances in
several key economies.

At the same news conference, Reserve
Bank Governor Chris Stals said SAâ\200\231s eco-
nomic performance would have been flat
in 1992 â\200\224 that is, zero growth in GDP â\200\224
were it not for the effects of the drought.

Keys said his medium-term growth
target for the economy was a 4% annual
increase in real GDP. This would yield an
annual increase of 1% in per capita GDP
and would arrest the increase in unem-
ployment,

Governmentâ\200\231s draft programme for

structural adjustment of the economy, to be published in November, would not contain Draconian economic measures, Keys said. He hoped it would give signposts to indicate the direction of healthy development for several features of the economy.

â\200\234One of the more important things to be done in making concrete policy is then to convert that (the signposts) into programmes which are practical and in which people will have confidence and which will not be threatened.

â\200\234We would not like to produce something which is theoretically optimal but in practice likely only to cause trouble,â\200\235 Keys said.

He said he had an accommodative relationship with the ANC over economic policy formulation.

â\200\234I try to find the aspects in their policy with which I agree and to emphasise my agreement with those aspects, and I try not to make too much of a fuss about the bits that I don't like too much and which I hope will go away ~ such as nationalisation.â\200\235

SA wanted to see a successful conclusion to the current Uruguay Round of trade liberalisation talks organised by GATT, Keys said.

â\200\234The advantage to SA of the Uruguay Round proposals are & greater access to world markets for our exporters on a scale which we would find practically impossible to negotiate on a bilateral basis.

â\200\234The multilateral nature of GATT is, in itself, a tremendous advantage for a small country such as ours.â\200\235

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Peace hearing

THE national peace
committee was willing to
reopen a case in which it
found that ANC Natal
organiser Reggie Hadete
contravened the national
peace accord, to allow him to
put his case, committee
chairman John Hall said
yesterday

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BUSINESS DAY, Fnday,

Battle for Ulundi

HE last pitched battle at
Ulundi was in 1879. it is going
to take the efforts of peace
organisations, including the
Goldstone commission, the national
peace secretariat and its United
Nations monitors, to ensure that we
do not have another one this year.
This is the scale of the horror that
awaits ahead with
its planned KwaZulu
capital. No date has yet been set for
this confrontation: the first objec-
tive of the peacemakers will be to
see that the march is postponed in-
definitely. If it takes place, no
amount of monitors may be able to
prevent the casualties far exceed-
ing those at Bisho earlier this
month. The regions may be mil-
litant, but we cannot believe that
national leadership is hell-bent on
killing followers to their deaths.
Of course it should not be so.
Of course the ANC has the right to
peaceful assembly and peaceful
protest, and the right to demand
free political expression in Kwa-
Zulu as anywhere else in South
Africa. There should be no
bloodshed; ANC followers staging a
symbolic demonstration need not
be attacked by Inkatha supporters
or fired on by KwaZulu police. This,
however, is not what the march is
about, and both sides know it.
Inkatha and the ANC have been
involved in a low-intensity civil war
for nearly 2 decades. Thousands of
people have died. Many of them in
the start of clashes
United
Democratic Front before the ANC
was unbanned. Anybody who thinks

the Ulundi march will not be seized
on as a golden opportunity to settle
things once and for all is deluded or
impossibly naive.

The march will be seen as a dec-
laration of war, and Inkatha and
ANC supporters will act accord-
ingly. Some ANC leaders intend to
occupy Ulundi and to depose their
long-time foe, Chief Minister Man-

gosuthu Buthelezi, thousands of supporters, swept into a frenzy by ANC firebrands, are not going to march meekly to some official residence to hand in a protest note. They are unlikely to get the chance to sack the capital as the British did a century ago. Inkatha firebrands want the ANC to come and are openly relishing the opportunity to enable young warriors to wash their spears in enemy blood. The prospect of mob warfare.

Face-saving needed to avert tragedy. made its challenge. the ANC does not have to back off entirely. The march need not be cancelled, it can be inopportune at this time. Of logistical difficulty, or postponed to give tempers a chance to cool. Then the ANC can worry about free political activity in KwaZulu for its campaigners when the first free election takes place.

Neither organisation is noted for its political tolerance. The Ulundi challenge, ostensibly to the name of democracy, has raised tempers. increased distrust and spread hatred. It is going to make things more difficult for each in the other's territory; however it turns out. it will keep the peacemakers busy.

HE outcome of the general

amnesty debate will pre-

foundly affect the nature of

the society that emerges
from the transition. And yet the
debate is already showing signs
of giddiness,

I cannot be satisfied with the magis-

I cannot claim that the mere disclosure of
past abuses will safeguard the fu-
ture. Nor can it be restricted to
questions of moral or ethical flexibil-
ity, political compromise, or social
forgiveness. Ultimately, the debate
is about reconciliation, nation
building and democracy.

The arguments in favour of a gen-
eral amnesty pivot primarily on the
argument for forgiveness. One death
in our violent society is as repellen-
t as another, making it possible
to strike a moral equivalency be-
tween the crimes of the oppressor
and those of the opposition. To break
this cycle, we have to forgive. and
shut the door on the past

As Uruguay's former president Ju-
lio Maria Sanguinetti asked in 1986
"What is more just? To consolidate
the peace of a country where human
rights are protected today or to seek
retroactive justice that could com-

promise that peace?" It is a doom-
laden argument that warns of a coup

by sectors in the armed forces and
other institutions of the old system

which is popular in SA, though
[hippy and loose] The danger here
is not so much a coup in the classical
sense, but that a sector of society, as
I, a Latin American politician has no-
ted. "remains defiantly outside the
law" a kind of permanent de facto
coup. SA bristles with candidates
The argument reminds that the role
of Jawls beholden to political forces
and (that the new government sim-
ply does not have the strength to
bring the old regime to book. .
At the other extreme is the Soft
Revenge of the Freedom Fighter
thesis, associated with Albie Sachs.
He argues that trials, imprisonment
and punishment will perpetuate the
resentments, fears and insecurities
that can undermine the new society
So why not accept that the fruits of

vielory â\200\224 @ nonracial, democratic
society â\200\224 consthtule a form of jus-
bce thal better subslitutes for the
| more mechanishic, legal oneâ\200\235
Justice is dope in ways that do net

Amnesty must be
able to safeguard
future democracy

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HEIN MARAIS and MONTY NARSOO

threaten the crimimals - thew pon-
wshment s lo have "loslâ\200\235 Amnesly,
not amnesia, forgiveness, bul not for-
getlulnpess. The pasl is uncovered,
bul transformed from a destructive,
vengeful force mlo a healing and
healthy one

In the SA debate, the major argu-
menis against anp amnpesly are
Jegal/ethical ones: i coimes against
humanity are committed, the perpe-
traters must be punished Propo-
nents insist that there iz pothing
relative or negefiabile aboul cnmes
of such magoitude

New York-based Human Rights
Walch direclor Arych Neier argues
â\200\234as a matter of law we simply have
to say we are not geing to prant
clemency lo the mest grotesque
criminals. We may be forced to doso
on the basis of greater foree, but we
should never do so as a maiter of
law "

Anotber varianl argoes that the
rule of law most prevail in erder lo
prevent the ethical foundations of
ihe pew sociely from being compro-
mised. 10, at the outset of the new
society, justice is subordinaled so
dramatically lo the ehb and flow of
politics, the very foundations of the
democracy are undermined

But, says another argumenl, the
rule of law is not sply & meta-

hysic that apphes wnchangingly
aw is a part of sociely, and as such
it must be sensitive Lo the social will
In esseoce, this is the eyrrent appar

=nk position of the ANC. It objects not to the possibility that the wrongdoers might evade justice, but to wrongdoers absolving themselves unilaterally

Bul critics caution that any form of amnesty invites a repetition of human rights abuses. Amnesty implies a quiet nod to abuses somewhere in the future, when conditions force or allow the new state to position itself as the guardian of "order" against "chaos".

Some observers believe the underlying motives of amnesty were much less innocent than a trade-off with the previous military rulers. New civilian governments began pushing through IMF-type, neo-liberal economic programmes which were certain to aggravate social tensions. The new governments needed the military on side to see the structural adjustment policies through

The anti-amnesty argument has it that the amnesty itself hobbles the new democracy, and it poses important questions. Just how secure is a democracy that can be established only by suspending the rule of law? What are the prospects of a democracy which comes about only by admitting that the rule of law is subject to the whims of force?

Here in S, we have yet to con-

front the issue in such elemental terms. Our debate has not reached the phase of outright political blackmail. It either turns on ethical points, around claims of moral equivalency, or it circles the proposition that an amnesty, alter the truth is told, can seal off past resentments and pave the way for reconciliation

However, we should beware placing blind faith in the cleansing power of truth. When released into a society as tortured as ours, there is no guarantee that truth will yield mere peace, warm feelings

The Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano asked once of Latin Americans: "And did the absolution of military and paramilitary dictatorship granted by civilian governments consolidate democracy? Or did it in fact legalise terrorism, encourage violence, and identify justice with vengeance or madness?"

We return to the question on which the amnesty issue pivots: does it advance or retard democracy? Our conclusion rests on this bald bottom line: we must ensure that the abuses of the past cannot be repeated.

The rule of law cannot be compromised. A judicial process that clearly establishes guilt and innocence must be established. It should entail disclosure of crimes and identification of their perpetrators.

Finally, the framework of this process must prevent a re-enactment of the toothless, jittery government

ments so rapidly become experts. This would be the just way of solving the debate. But the debate has to be resolved also at the level of what is feasible. The balance of forces will shape a politically negotiated settlement, based on trade-offs and concessions. Very likely, an amnesty will be part of the deal, sweetened perhaps with a truth-telling process of sorts, and justified as a grand gesture of reconciliation. Do we just accept this? Reconciliation cannot occur by decree. It is not a spectator event where society magically becomes forgiving. The public, the Press, human rights groups and affected communities must keep the issue of justice on the agenda, must campaign and mobilise to empower the victims and to disempower the guilty. At the sociological level, it is active participation of the public (of, I think, civil society) that heals the wounds and bridges the divisions. It requires the ongoing resurrection of the past through monuments, documentation centres, media, commemorations and more. (Sadly, the process of forgetting has already begun in SA; the tenth anniversary of Neil Aggett's death passed almost unpoliced this year.)⁸ This is about more than just remembering. It is about safeguarding democratic and civilised values.

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The popular mobilisation to repeal Uruguay's amnesty laws in 1987 remains one of the most striking examples of such a process. For several years, the amnesty debate became the central focus of Uruguayan life. A fearsome barrage of threats and propaganda from the military and

the main political parties eventually
defeated the anti-amnesty forces

But, as one Uruguayan leisure vic-
tim put it â\200\234For once, they were the
ones who had to be afraid for the
first time, even I just for a few
months, we had them trembling that
justice might yet come. That was
satisfyingâ\200\235 :

L) This is an edited version of an
article in the latest edition of YWork
in Progress, of which Marsis is
assistant editor. Norsoo is an ex-
traditioner who sued the SAF for 107
years. In 1982 The police served out
of court two years later

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22 Ciskel headmen quit
after\â\200\230ftyhreat on livesâ\200\231

WHITTLESEA â\200\224

Headmen from 22 villages

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government puppets and anti-headman

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Accordingly, headmen once more 10 resolve 1s-

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WCC violence monitors-.
expected in 2 weeks

i EAST LONDON. â\200\224 An

advance group of ioience
monitors from the World

| Council of Churches is to
! be deployed

in South
Africa wvithin the next two
weeks,

This was diclosed by
the Anglican observer 10
the United Nadons in
New York, the Rt Rev Sir

Paul Reeves, after urriv-
ing tn East London â\200\234tast
night

Sir Paul, who will meet
State President De Klerk
today, arrived in East
London at the head of the
five-member Ecumenical
Eminent Persons Group.

The group amved 1a
the country on Tuesday to
lay the groundwork for

the Ecumenical Monitor-
ing Programme i South
Africa (Empsa)
â\200\234Monitors are 10 be de-
ployed in the Fastern
Cape. There will
force of berween 15, and
20 in the country which
will be rotating. The first
group of monmitors will be
bercÂ¢ in the next fort-
right,â\200\235 he said. â\200\224 Sapa

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Student sit-in at

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Kmbassy: Talks today

Cltizen Reporter

ABOUT 35 students of the University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo), who started a sit-in at the homeland's consulate-general in central Johannesburg yesterday morning, said they would spend the night there. The students arrived at the consulate at about 10.30 am and staged a sit-in in protest against the arrest of 100 of their peers by Bophuthatswana Police at the university in Mmabatho last Friday. Seven students are being held under Section 25 of the Bophuthatswana Security Act, which allows them to be held for 14 days without trial or charges being brought against them, according to a spokesman and second-year law student,

Miss Zondwa Mvulane.

Another 93 were later arrested at and expelled from the university for holding a class boycott and sit-in at the management building, ;

Miss Mvulane said two of the seven arrested students were South African Student Association (Sasco) members and five were members of the students representative council

Negotiations between ANC officials and the Bophuthatswana Embassy in Pretoria apparently secured a meeting of a student delegation with the ambassador this morning, when a memorandum is to be handed over

Due to transport complications, the students decided to spend the night in a stuffy hallway

of the consulate on the sixth floor. with no blankets and a meal of chips and could drink

Building management officials had been involved in negotiating with the students and attempting to resolve the problems as amicably and as quickly as possible

To this end, management had earlier requested a police contingency to leave the front of the building

The head of the ANC's PWV region, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, paid them a visit and said he would invite the United Nations monitoring team to view the Sit-in

"It is not an ANC sit-in, but it is part and parcel of the attempt to have a normal climate of learning and free political activity. We give them all

support." Mr Sexwale added that he had spoken to police

officials on the telephone and warned the building

management against the foolishness of allowing the police to try to remove the students

"We are very satisfied that they are disciplined and there is no threat to life or property. However, we are keeping a close watch on the situation," he said.

The memorandum demands the immediate and unconditional release of the arrested students and re-admission of those expelled, the removal of police from the front of the university, a meeting between the SRC and the University Council, and

renegotiation of other
student demands made in
April this year

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NP deplores
threats made
to journalists

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DURBAN â\200\224 The Na-

tal National Party yes.
terdav passed a resol-
ution Âfalling on all jour-
nalists 10 stand up for
the best traditions of
theyr profession

Usual proceedings at
the start of the partyâ\200\231s
congress were sus-
pended to allow 3 head
committee resolution on
the freedom of the Press
t0 be presenred from
the floor

After refemng to an
article in the Natal Wit-
ness in winch a journai-
ist lamented the South
African media's relue-
tance to lay any blame
on the Atrican National
Congress and South
Afncan Communist
Party for their actions at
Bisho on September 7, a
resolution was read to
(he congress.-

â\200\234The freedom of the
Press ls a precious ingre-
dient of true democ-
racy, and the National
Party of Natal reacts
with abhofrence at re-
ports that journalists
have had threats made
Âçn their lives in an effort
to slant their reporting
in support of the ANC.
/SACP alliance.

â\200\234The National Party
of Natal pledges itself to
the freedom of express-
ion of the meda and
urges ail jounmalists to
stand firm and be true
to the best traditions of
their profession.â\200\235

In his opening ad-

dress which followed,
NP regional leader
George Bartlett said the
NP truly believed there
could be no democracy
unless the media was
truly free of fear or
favour "â\200\224SOPJ

IhE G G

vBop and CP agree on |
â\200\234most Principles: Dy T

Citlzen Repaortes Dr Treumich and 33 Bophutswana's President,
THE Leader of the Cop. other CP membery â\200\234isited Lycag Mangope
SeIvalive Pgrty An. Bophu[arsâ\200\234~ana's Presi- â\200\234We finally established
dries Treurnicht. Said Jast dent, [ucag Mangope. that there s agreement
night that the Cp and Bo- Discussions between us on 4) import-
Phuthatswang hag agreed A statement released ant principles,â\200\235 sajd Dy
on all important prin. by Dr Treurnichr saiq he Treumichy
Ciples in discussiong OvVer had held many hours of â\200\234We both Supported
the past rwo days discussions With the righg of selt-determj.
nanon of our Tespective
PeOpies in theyr own tem
ones, and agreed thar 3
confederal syster of gov
crment would pe the
best way lo achieve thig
he saig
Dr Tre urmeht de.
sentbed the resujy of the
talks as â\200\234mogs satistacro
Iy and congratulared
M Mangope, hjs govern.
ment and the Tswana
People on what they had
achieved i their 15 years
ol mdependence
Example
f Bupnumarswand Was 3
Jx'ma cXample for other
â\200\235 African states o follow, /
| he sqid
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o it Y > /_H'' â\200\230 g A,,t.. â\200\224 ;
\\'\{ \"â\200\234Z e TN P e

Accord contravention: .
NPC to reopen case 7

IHE Naticnai Peace n the st it ts find , this must be
Committee (NPC) s o orns t M eared up. Justice must
be done and must b
seen 10 be done,â\200\235 Mr
adjudication panel to be all said.
binding, because he did
not attend the hearing The NPC was
e Peace Commit- awaiting the offi
strucnires are for sponse of the ANC and
benefit of all the the SA Communist Par-
parnes represented, and Y to the findings of the
mportant that f 2djudication panel. The

there is any doubt about Parmes have unal Sep

the just nature of the tember 30 lo respond

adjudication panel and - Suapa

CAPE TOWN. -
g between

This was in spite of
messages and proposals
sent back and forth yes-
terday between the gov-
ernment and the ANC's
National Working Com-
mittee, which met in Jo-
hannesburg for the sec-
ond day running

Mr De Klerk is due to
address the Natal con-
gress of the National

Party in Durban

afternoon and is ex-

pected to make com-

ments on the protracted

discussions, which have
so far proved fruitless.

Talks between M

and Roehrig

By Brian Stuart
Government and ANC ne-
gociators yesterday again failed to reach

an agreement which could lead to a summit be-
tween De Klerk and
State President D. F. Malan

The ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, aimed at
reducing the level of violence in the country

of Constitutional Devel-

opment, and Mr Cyril
Ramaphosa, secretary
general of the ANC, said:
"On September 14,
in the morning the request by
Mr De Klerk for an im-
mediate meeting with M
Mandela to discuss the
ongoing violence

Pre-conditions were
set by the ANC for such
a meeting, and the om-

passage came on in

ANC's demand for the

release of ANC sup-
porters convicted

crimes of violence

D S

Talks still deadlocked

which would be by the ANC
as a political prisoner

The most prominent
of these is Mr Robert
Mbeki, whose bomb
ing of a bar in Durban
resulted in three deaths,
and two people con-
victed of planting a land

mine in the Messina dis

trict. And subsequently
shooting policemen

The government has
agreed to the speedy re-
lease of prisoners whose

Larimer were committed

with a political motive,
but insisted that it can
not do this for ANC
supporters only. The re-
lease post-1994; however, the
view of people of other
whenever alignments

B

is on this principle
that the talks have been
stalemated now for
more than a week, with
Mr Meyers and Mr Ram-
aphosa repeatedly
meeting in an attempt to
find a solution

At one stage the gov-
ernment offered to
bring urgent legislation
before Parliament when
it meets on October 12,
enabling the govern-
ment to grant the re-
prieves requested, with
February 15 next year as
the deadline

It would meet the
deadline proposed by
the ANC, which has
whed for about 150

siech prisoners to be
feased by thon

T I L W Y W T R I T S y T P P - g T t e, oy

Al cach meetmnp,

bath men have held fur
ther discussions wir)

thesr primeipals. T his

happencd again yester-
day

Unless apicement s
reached (s week, there
would appear lo be little
bkelihood of Mr De
Klerk and Mr Mandeln
meehng belore MMy
Mandela leaves next
week for 2 visit lo Pakis
tan and mamland Ch
a

However, if cfforts lo
bl briiges succeed
today, the posst thily ol
v weekend moecting
'retoria as not roled
out

Governpient sources

saul yesterday they were

surprised a2 the inpsic
ence of the ANC on an
mmediate release
cortaing pso i
Pre-condition for
meelmg amned ar redue
g violence

â\200\234One cmnot just do
things beeoose they are
the will of a pasticular
pulitical gromp. It js e
scotial that all steps ap
ply equally 10 2l South
Alricans, repardiess of
political considern
ons,â\200\235 said one souice

"What 15 vrpent :
discussion about viel
ence, aimed ot strengrh- |
ening the Nattenai
Peuce Accord and s
stroctuses, and reducing
the endless and peed)cse
deaths and violernce

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I'HE row over the
ANC's decision to
march on Ulundi, the
capital of KwaZulu,
deepened yesterday.

Zulus angered by the
African National Con-
gress's attempt to annihi-
late the Zulu nation

Ulundi m
= row deepens

would stop the planned
march with their bare
hands, Inkatha Freedom
Party president, Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
said yesterday.,

In an address at a King
Shaka Day celebration
ceremony at Nkandla in

Ulundi march row %

FROM PAGE

Mandela.

The ANC intention was
to destroy KwaZulu and
it out of history.
Part of this plan involved
plots against his life,
Chief Buthelezi claimed.

The Inkatha Freedom
Party has requested the
Goldstone Commission
urgently to investigate
ANC allegations that
about 18 Mozambican
Renamo rebels had been
brought into South Africa

to counter the ANC's
planned march on Ulun-
di.

IFP spokesman, Su-
zanne Yos, said in Johan-
nesburg yesterday that
the ANC official who

made the claim, Dr Aar-
on Ndlovu, should be
called before the commis-
sion "as a matter of urg-
ency" == hopefully within
hours "to divulge this

2

IFP had no knowl-
edge of the allegation
and considered the state-
ment to be "in total viola-
tion of the National Peace
Accord and highly inflam-
matory

"These statements hike
these that cost lives, she
said, "This is war talk and

these statements cause
bloodshed
Dr Ndlovu said. In

fact, that he had no objec-
tion to revealing infor-
mation DISPOSE

"I have no objection to
handing the information
over but the point is what
can Goldstone do with
the information

He convinced his
information was authen-
tic, and independent in-
vestigations by a weekly
paper corroborated
his allegations

The Natal investigation
of the Goldstone

Was

newspaper

unit

Commission is to "urgent-

ly inquire" into the
allegations, commission
chairman, Mr Justice

Richard Goldstone, said
last night.

The inquiry was in response to a request from the Inkatha Freedom Party, he said.

The commission would consider further steps on receipt of a report from the investigation unit.

A Law and Order Minister spokesman said the organisers of the ANC alliance march on Ulundi had shown their contempt for the peace process and the demonstration would inevitably lead to

bloodshed.

The ANC should have learned the lesson that mass action inevitably led to conflict and violence

The Natal National

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l

Party leader, Mr George Bartlett, speaking at the official opening of the party's Natal Congress, said the planned ANC march on Ulundi, is an act of lunacy. At the present time it is totally irresponsible for the ANC to pursue this particular course at this particular time.

DP law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said the proposed march would result in confrontation and blood-

shed

If the march does, however, proceed, it needs to be closely monitored by international observers- and all actors need to play their role to ensure that violence

prevented violence

Â¢ Sce Page Four

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arch

Is [s
F

Northern Natal, Chief

Buthelezi repeated that |

he would not order any-
one to stop the marchers
should they approach
Ulundi

â\200\234The mood of the
people convinces me that
the people themselves
would stop the AN/
SACP alliance in s
tracks with their bare
hands and would 50
without a single
from me.â\200\235

The march reminded
him of the uncalid-for in-
vasion of KwaZulu by the
British in 1879 ;

Most of Chief Buthele-
ziâ\200\231s speech criticised the
ANC for crediting
tion of civil war

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brother was killing broth-
er

The ANC and South
African Communist Party
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nc believed

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people into

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Buthelezi

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recognised that

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b Avul)_.u\.v
relenticssly for the reiease
of its leader, Mr

Nl o
SeIhOR

aming into townships |

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We donâ\200\231t

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THE CITIZEN

want

O Selze power in
homelands

National

vesterday

had no in-

tention of S.Plzing poOw-
in homelands
geted for its mass ac-

tion campaign.

tar-

statement.

The NWC uiso rejected
the potion that marches
on homelands were an in-
vasion by â\200\234some imugin-
ary outsidersâ\200\235 or
premised on the facr tha

their teaden did not iden-
tify with ANC policies

It claimed the cam-
paign was to achieve free
political activiry and was
conducted by, and in the
interest of, the people in

the rermitories concerned

A programme of fur-
ther mass protests was be-
ing plaaned, but would be
reviewed periodically
â\200\234depending on progress
made with regard to the
ANCâ\200\231s 14 demands and
the other concrete issues
being addressedâ\200\235

A reÃ©view of the cam-
paygmn in the aftermath ot
the Bisho bloodbath had
made it clear better plan-
ung was needed

I'he campaign would
TOCUS on a constituent as
sembly and intenm gov-
ernment, measures to end
violence; refease of ait
pouucal pnsoners; frec
political acuwity in the

homelands, rural areas
and Right-wing contro-
led towns: restructuring
of the SABC; high food
prices and other socio-
economic issues: and soli-
darity with dismissed
workers

The NWC statement
further hit out at the gov-
ernment and the Demo-
cratic Party for apportion-
ing blame on the ANC for
the massacre of 29 people
in Bisho

It also rejected what it
interpreted as attempts to
isolate the SACP and to
sow division in the ANC
SACP/Cosatu-alliance
Sapa.

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DURBAN. â\200\224 Secur-
ity forces, United Na-
tions observers and in-
dependent groups have
established a security
communitiÃ© to monitor
Sunday's planned Sha-
ka Day rally in Kwa-
Mashu, near Durban,
amid fears of political
violence being trig-
gered by the event.
This emerged after a
six-hour meeting in Dur-
ban yesterday between
the KwaMashu Civic As-
sociation (KCA), the
African National Con-
gress, KwaZulu Govern-
ment officials as the rally
organisers, and the Na-
tal/KwaZulu Dispute
Resolution Committee to
try to calm rising feelings
Regional Dispute Res-
olution Committee
spokesman Dominick
Mitcheil said the rally or-
ganisers had undertaken
to approach Zule King

Goodwill Zwelithim's ad-
{ visers to request that the
{ rally venue be changed

=194

A request to this effect
was made by the KCA
and the ANC who have
alleged there is intimi-
dation in the Durban
township ahead of the ral-
ly

The Inkatha Freedom
Party, however, has ac-
cused the ANC of at-
tempting to disrupt the
rally and planning to at-
tack those attending it

Mr Mitcheil said that
should the rally go ahead,
the security committee
would be deployed in
KwaMashu to monitor
proceedings and to try to
prevent clashes.

They would also do all
they could to monitor
abusive and inciting lan-
guage following claims by
KwaMashu residents that

they had been taunted by

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VN Py o T

Joint group will {
monitor rally

s

armed men.

The security committee
would also look into poli-
cing plans for Sunday to
try to establish how these
could be adjusted 0 meet
township residentsâ\200\231 con-
cerns, said Mr Mitchell,

The issue of dangerous
weapons was also dis-
cussed with all parties
undertaking to discourage
the carrying of weapons

â\200\234The meeting observed
the general breakdown of
trust in the community
and the general level of
tension,â\200\235 said Mr Mit-
chell

The meeting arose
from a request by the
KCA to the Dispute Res-
olution Committee that
community fears be ad-
dressed. â\200\224 Sapa

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[From PAc |

| Âlewvone prosedure)

| The Stute

{ office said-

J In the light of your in-
f quiry it is confirmed that
I the Interim Report of the
Commission of Inquiry
'nto the Prevention of
Public Violeneee and In-
timidation (the so-called
Goldstone CommiSSxon)
concerning hostels has
bezn received and the
| State President has
| already given authority
for its release,

â\200\234The State President s

{ informed that, in the pro-
| cess of finalisation of the
| report, a somewhat ex.
! traordinary procedure
| was used, namely, that 5
| draft report was made
: 2available to both spokes.
men of the government

ment before the content
thereof was finaitsed
â\200\234The State Presidentâ\200\231s
information is, in addit-
ion, that there 15 no dif-
} fcrence between the draft
| and the final report, as
j published â\204¢
|

i.md the ANC for com-

|

Mr Justice Goldstone
night from

said Jast
S e S

President s

C A

â\200\230Unusua

Bloemfontein: 0
identical letter was sent to
WO members of the Cabi-
net ar the same time as
the letter to My Raina-
phosa.

"I deeply regret that

fome mischief maker
should scck lo embroi|
me in a political conflict.

Mr Justice Goldstone's
covering note to Mr Ram-
aphosa, on a letterhead of
the commission, was
faxed to Mr Ramaphosa
in Jchannesburg, It said:
â\200\234herewith draft ag dis-
cussed. Your comments
would be appreciated

â\200\234With kind regards. R
J Goldstone (chairman).

It was marked. P
Vale and confidentialâ\200\235,
which was underlined and
was signed by Mr Justice
Goldstone

Attached were two
pages listing the six points
on the hostels issue iy
what was headed â\200\234Draft
Report to the State Presi-
dent".

The State Presidents
Office said in jig response
183t night that My Dc
Kierk had already given
authority for the rclease
of the report

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Iâ\200\231 move Â»

As the imformation
contained in the drafe re-
port has not been official.
ly released for publication
by the State President,
The Citizen has decided
not te disclose the con-
tents

The Citizen esinbiished
last night that the draft re-
port had not' been sub.
mitted for comment to
the Inkathz Freedom Par-
ty, many of whose mem-
bers are hostel dwellers.
The IFP, therefore js very
much an intercsted party

However, IFp spokes-
man, Mr Walter Felgate,
after consultation with
the KwaZuly Chicf Mi-
mster and [Fp president,
Chief Mangosuthy Buthe-
lezi, told The Citizen the
IFP was â\200\234not Surprisedâ\200\235
that the draft report had

been submitted to the
ANC and members of the
government for com-
ment,

Mr Justice Goldstone
was in the habit of seek-
ing widespread comment
on matters the commis-
sion was investigating

In this particular in-
stance, the JFP had not
been privy to the draft
[C]port, but was satisfied

Citizen Reporter

A COPY of the confidential report of the Goldsione Commission on the hostels issue due to be released today at 200\224 was set by Mr Justice Richard Goldsione to the ANC secretary-

general, Mr Ramaphosa, for comment before its finalisation.

This was last night confirmed the

statement from office of the State President after announced by The Citizen. The Citizen yesterday received documentary evidence that Mr Jasiice

Cyri

Goldsione sent Mr Ramaphosa the draft of his report on the hostels issue on September 18,

the

the St

statement from the 'resident' of the hostel last night, this was justified as 2 extraordinary

procedure ' (ie

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Wal Duppen

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Politics

homelands not

free:

African Com-
munist Party secretary
general Chris Hani yes-
terday said his organisas-
tion and its allies were
engaging 10 mass action in

lands because
people in these territories
were denied the
right to engage in free
political activity.

Interviewed On the
SABC's Agenda pro-

cedure, Mr Hant denied
mass action was provoeca-
tion, saying the people 10
homelands had the right
to democracy.

On negotiations. Mt
Ham denied there were
people opposed to talks
within the African Nat-
ional Congress. SACP alli-

SOUTH

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PR 4

RIS1 SE R TR AT AN
- R Y Y Ak

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Hani 19

ance

1984 There are 10 people
;a the ANC and the Com-
munist Party who are op-

sed 10 negotiations,"

Asked why the SACP
did not stand on its own
and separate from the
ANC, Mr Hani said the
ANC/SACP alliance was
formed to fight apartheid,
and that there was good

reason for the alliance 10
continue until the realisa-
tion of 2 democrats
South Africa.

The SACP chief said
his organisation support-
ed the economic policy of
the ANC because the

resent stage of the strug-
gle against apartheid was
being led by the ANC.

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Arms discovered in the Tvl*f

NELSPRUIT. A large number of arms, including

336 AK-47 rifles, 40 sub-machine guns and 141 handguns, has been discovered through intensive investigation by police in the Eastern Transvaal.

Captain W Roux, of the Eastern Transvaal Criminal Investigation Division, said the arms had been seized since the beginning of the year, but an intensive Operation had been mounted in the past month.

Weapons shown at a press conference in Nelspruit { yesterday included the AK-47s, handguns, sub-machine guns, 30 handgrenades, two rocket-propelled grenade launchers, and thousands of rounds of ammunition as well as a number of homemade weapons.

Jfâ\200\230d

Police report says
AWB has 15 000 in

By Chris Steyn

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has established more than 150 Wenkommandos ("Winning Commandos" \200\235) with an estimated membership of 15 000, and has modelled its elite Ystergarde ("Iron Guard" \200\234Ir-onguard" \200\235) unit on the German SS.

These facts emerge from 3 confidential police report on political violence in South Africa. One section of the report deals with organised para-military structures of Right-wing groupings which, it says, have been responsible for 25 bomb blasts since April 1990,

According to the report, the Wenkommandos are situated mainly in the Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Free State, Northern and Southern Natal, East, West, North-commandos

and northern Natal (Vryoriginai

and far-Northern Transvaal. They have a well-structured command and rank set-up

The Ystergarde, which is regarded as the AWB's elite unit, consists of selected AWB members, including ex-police task force members and former SADF "recesses".

The report states that over 150 members have already received specialist training, which includes the handling of firearms and unarmed self-defence.

The purpose of the unit is to operate as a type of task force, activated only in emergency situations: as well as a para-military

wing of the AWB if a war
or a revolution should
break out in South Afri-
<a.

Another Right-wing

>

para-military unit, the
Boerekommando (Boer
Commando), has been es-
tablished in the Eastern
Transvaal as a result of
dissatisfaction with the
AWB leadership.

Members are trained in
combat and the handling
of firearms. According to
the report, a number of
former members of the
SADF's special forces are
willing to assist members
with training.

Another Right-wing
para-military organisation
that is listed in the report,
15 Die Boerestaatsparty
(BSP) (The Boer State
Party). It is said to con-
centrate on making the
Boer nation aware of
their identity, and to be
fighting for the restora-
tion of the old Boer re-
publics, namely Trans-
vaal, Orange Free State

g

heid) to their
status, as in 1902,

Dealing with intimi-
dation by the Right-wing,
the report states that the
mere presence of khaki-
clad right-wingers carry-
ing firearms constitutes
an intimidating effect.

Several instances dur-
ing which especially Black
youths were severely
beaten by Right-wing ex-
tremists occurred since
1990. On February 22 this
year, armed members of
the AWB Wenkomman-
do and the Ystergarde de-
livered written notices of

a threatening nature to
Black households in Pha-
Jaborwa.â\200\235

The report also notes
several recent inflamma-
tory statements by leaders |
of Right-wing extremist
orgamsatiens.

One of those relates to |
an incident in March ths
vear, when AWB leader
Mr Eugene Terre
Blanche told a group of

| supporters in Durban that

if the orgamisation had to
meet the ANC, it would
meet them â\200\234over the bar-
rel of a2 gunâ\204ç

He also warned that the
AWB would â\200\234shoot the
hell out ofâ\200\235 the police 1f
they ever aguin sct their
dogs on members of the
organisarion or fired on
them as in the Venters-
dorp clash

Throughout this meet-
ing AWB supporters
chanted: â\200\234Hang Mande-
laâ\200\235 and â\200\234The Boers are '

| xowng to plant bombs and

' shoot Blacksâ\204ç.

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@ g R

Bop forces not under
~ SA control:

MMABATHO. â\200\224 The
Bophuthatswana Govern-
ment yesterday brushed
aside suggestions that the
countryâ\200\231s security forces
come under the control of
the South African Gov-
ernment.

This week. US Assist-
ant Secretary of State for
African Affairs. Herman
Cohen. told the Senate
Foreign Relations Com-
mittee thut the United
Qtates held Pretoria ree

sponsible for the actions
of the defence forces of
the nomunallv-indepen-
dent homelands.

He was reterrering to the
killing by Ciskeian troops
of 28 African Nantonal
Congress supporters who
were marching on Bisho
on September 7

Bophuthatswana De-
fence Minister Rowen
Cronje said n a statement
that Mr Cohenâ\200\231s sugges-
tion was Câ\200\230tantamount 10

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asking the Botsh Gov
ernment (0 surrender
control of their secunty
forces to the French Gove
cramentâ\200\231.
Bophuthatswaniu was a
sovereign, independent
state and inteaded to con-
tipue t0 eXercise s sover-
cignty and its qutonomy
â\200\234Naturally this inctudes
absolute coptrot of the
varous arms of its secur-
ity forces,â\200\235 he said, â\200\224
N q_n_;

- Summit saved by
FW and Mandel

MK trio to be freed, general amnesty on cards

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The all-important summit on violence has been rescued by personal contact between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The Government has given the ANC an undertaking that Magooa\200\231s Bar bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres will be released next week, It is understood that the men will be released after applying for parole on Monday.

The Government dropped its insistence that they could only be freed as part of an effective general amnesty which would also cover offenders from other parties including the security forces. But it is understood the ANC gave some assurance that it would back a general amnesty once a transitional government had been installed.

A joint announcement on details of the agreement will be made later today.

In New York, United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has announced that President de Klerk and Mr Mandela are to meet â\200\234imminentlyâ\200\235.

Mr Boutros-Ghali based his disclosure of the leadersâ\200\231 meeting on what Mr Mandella told him late last night, saying he had been informed

{ that the last stumbling blocks to the summit had been removed.

However, the disclosure has immediately sparked yet â\200\230 another squabble, with the

Government claiming that Mr Mandela had no right to break the news unilaterally and had merely tried to jump the gun to try gain international credit.

The Star has learnt that Justice Minister Koble Coetsee last year undertook to release the three ANC prisoners after ANC leader Nelson Mandela in turn undertook to call off a hunger strike by prisoners and mass action last year. But the deal fell through after nothing was heard again from Mr Coetsee on the issue.

This led to the ANC insisting in this week's round of negotiations to remove obstacles to the summit that McBride and the two Mesina trialists â\200\224 Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube â\200\224 be released in addition to other ANC prisoners in order for the summit to take place.

Personal interventions by both Mr Mandela and President de Klerk have now made it possible for the summit on violence to take place tomorrow.

The leaders have been in contact by telephone several times since Wednesday night.

Mr Mandela earlier said his organisation would attend the summit if the Government gave an undertaking committing itself to â\200\234practicalâ\200\235 steps on these

- three issues,

Basic agreement was also reached between the Government and the ANC on the problems of securing hostels

Â® To Page 3 i

Summit is
saved by
FW and
Mandela

Â® From Page 1

J and curbing dangerous weapons
â\200\224 the other two issues which
the ANC set as conditions for
attending the summit.

The Government agreed to
fence a number of problematic
1 hostels, and it is believed the-
weapons question will be ad-
dressed by an arrangement
'{ whereby those who wish to bear
{ traditional weapons for cultural
1 purposes will have to apply for
permission.

â\200\2304 Constitutional Development

Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC
| secretary-general Cyril Rama-
4 phosa were due to meet once
-} more today to finalise the de-
tails of the summit.

-One of their tasks will be to
find an acceptable venue. The
Government would prefer it in
an official venue â\200\224 if for no
other reason because these
would be readily available. But
it is understood the ANC has re-
1 fused to meet on Government
turf and so a private venue is
being sought.

The Governmentâ\200\231s undertak-
lings were discussed yesterday

at an ANC national working
committee (NWC) meeting, but
no statement was issued to the
media afterwards.

Government and ANC nego-
tiators remained in contact last |
night and in a day of hard bar-
gaining, proposals were ex-
. changed between the Govern-
mentâ\200\231s negotiations policy
group and the NWC.

The core issue in yesterday's
-talks was still the ANC's de-
.mand that the Government un-
â\200\234conditionally release McBride
and the two MK cadres, held for
their part in landmine explo-
sions in the northern Transvaal.

The Governmentâ\200\231s position
had been that it would only re-
lease the three in terms of pro-
posed legislation that would en-

able it also to pardon offenders of other parties â\200\224 effectively a general amnesty.

Tight-lipped negotiators would not divulge whether and ' how either party had shifted from these positions, which they occupied at the start of yesterdayâ\200\231s round of talks.

he ANC-led campaign of mass action, and general amnesty, are both expected to be on the summit's agenda.

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By Esther Waugh

Political Reporter

The Goldstone Commission has changed its recommendation that all hostels should be fenced.

Now, in an urgent report to President de Klerk, it has suggested that only those associated with violence should be fenced.

The report to the State President said: â\200\234In view of the advice from its committee that violence is associated with only a limited number of hostels, the commission considers that its earlier recommendation that all hostels be fenced off is no longer appropriate.

â\200\234The commission has accordingly decided to modify that recommendation so as to make it applicable, where practical,

only to those hostels that have been associated with violence.â\200\235

On Monday Mr Justice Richard Goldstone presented an interim report on the violence in hostels to the State President, in the light of this week's discussions between the ANC and Government on the removal of obstacles to the summit on violence.

The fencing of hostels was one of the obstacles under discussion. 3

The Government earlier said it had accepted the Goldstone Commission's report on violence and would implement it in consultation with other parties.

The report noted that: â\200\234The criminality that is associated with those hostels is a matter that must be addressed and dealt with by the Government, which has the primary responsibility

for maintaining law and order.â\200\235

The Government is understood to have undertaken in discussions with the ANC, to fence certain hostels.

The Goldstone Commission said not all hostels were associated with violence, and that the problem should be seen as one of criminality in a limited number of hostels.

The commission recommended that the fullest consultation between all parties was necessary on the future development of hostels. The future conflict surrounding these issues is to be avoided.

A project on the issues underlying future hostel development has already been started by the Human Sciences Research Council, at the request of the Goldstone Commission.

For some hostels see Goldstone

Natal tension

Shaka Day rally

By Patrick Laurence
and Own Correspondent

Frantic efforts were made yesterday to prevent violent clashes between the IFP and ANC during this weekend's Shaka Day celebrations in battle-torn Natal, where tension has reached breaking point after the ANC's defiant announcement that it would march on Ulundi.

While Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that the Zulu nation would stop ANC marchers, international peace efforts focused on the Durban township of KwaMashu â\200\224 widely regarded as an ANC stronghold â\200\224 where Shaka Day celebrations will culminate on Sunday.

The potentially explosive KwaMashu rally will follow similar celebrations in Stanger tomorrow.

Security forces, United Nations observers and inde-

pendent groups yesterday established a security committee to monitor Sunday's planned rally. -

The ANC yesterday said it had requested that the rally â\200\224 to be addressed by Chief Buthelezi and King Goodwill â\200\224 be moved to central Durban to prevent bloodshed, but said Chief Buthelezi had

ordered the rally to be moved to central Durban to prevent bloodshed. A s

Chief Buthelezi . . . ANC marchers will be stopped.

refused.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP leader, addressing 5000 cheering supporters at a Shaka Day rally in Nkandla, northern Natal, said the planned march on the homeland's capital was the greatest threat to the Zulu people since the British army invaded Zululand more than a century ago.

«At no time since the conquest of KwaZulu in the Battle of Ulundi in 1879 has there been a greater threat against us as Zulus,» he said.

A leopard skin draped around his shoulders and a

stick and shield in his hand, Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC and its allies of wanting to wipe out KwaZulu

and its people.

«The people would stop the ANC marches with their bare hands.

I believe that we have already moved into the first phase of civil war,» he said, sending a ripple of anger through the crowd.

In KwaMashu, various meetings were held yesterday to defuse the tension amid claims that gun-toting people were forcing residents to attend the rally.

ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Hadebe alleged yesterday that heavily armed IFP members and KwaZulu policemen were intimidating the community.

«The situation is very tense ... these people have attacked our community after their rallies here, and we expect it again.»

On Wednesday, five people were killed in KwaMashu and the homes of three KwaZulu civil servants, reportedly ANC members, were torched, reports Sapa.

Hinting at counter-measures,

suress, Chief Buthelezi said:
â\200\234Enough is enough ... we
will no longer pussyfoot
around. We cannot allow
events (aimed at) the de-
struction of KwaZulu to take
their course.â\200\235

off the face of the earth and
repeated his warning that

_____, _ , _ , â\200\224-â\200\230â\200\224-â\200\224"â\200\224â\200\230â\200\224

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Boesak for UN body
CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Dr Allan Boe-
sak is to serve on a commission
to chart the future of the United
Nations.

Dr Boesak will serve on the
New Independent Commission [
on International Co-operation
which will produce proposals
for the UNâ\200\231s 50th anniversary
discussions tn 1995.

Why pick only
on Oupa Gqozo:

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South Africaâ\200\231s largest daily newspaper

The spectre
of Ulundi

HE very idea of an ANC march on
Ulundi is like the ominous begin-
ning of a horror film: one just
knows that blood and gore is in
store. But we should not resign ourselves to
panic just yet. It is highly significant that
the ANC, for all its warnings about an on-
slaught on Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s fiefdom, has
not set a date for the march. This suggests
that the organisation has been holding out
the threat as another means to pressure
the Government into acceding to its de-
mands on political prisoners, dangerous
weapons and hostels: with the summit
going ahead, the Ulundi march should â\200\224 at
least for the time being â\200\224 fade from view.
This will not, however, make the fraught
issue of the homelands disappear. It is
clear to anyone with eyes to see that an
ANC march on the KwaZulu capital would
be the most explosive initiative imagin-
able. For that reason â\200\224 for the sake of
saving lives â\200\224 the ANC should not contem-

plate going ahead with it, now or in the

simply true that this country cannot allow i

political â\200\234no goâ\200\235 areas in the run-up to ||
â\200\230democratic elections. The ANC may be i
ipursuing its own agenda in targeting Ulun. | "

'di, but one cannot dispute that there is a |
lack of political freedom in Chief Buthele- ".

\ 2{â\200\231s region and in other homelands.

What is needed is an independent, credible intervention. The National Peace Secretariat should take it upon itself to investigate the political climate in each and every one of the homelands (ANC- and Government-supporting) and issue a public report on its findings. This would afford President de Klerk the opportunity to lean on homeland leaders without being seen to be bowing to pressure from the ANC; he can demand from all of them assurances that every party that wishes to do so can organise in each area. If the leaders do not comply, he could apply a budgetary squeeze which would secure co-operation soon enough.

The current national political climate is sufficient to ensure that the Ulundi march is not about to happen. But while time is on our side, we must move to ensure it is rendered unnecessary, forever

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