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DAILY NEWS

13-03-92

# Buthelezi will not be part of interim body

Daily News Reporter

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he will not participate in an interim executive government as presently constituted but called instead for a referendum on the nomination of such a structure.

"If there were a reconciled South Africa and united country which would mandate an executive which Codesa might nominate by means of a referendum or other means of testing opinion, we might have something different to contemplate," he said in Ulundi yesterday.

According to Dr Buthelezi, people expecting him to participate in the interim executive government were actually asking the people of KwaZulu "to give Codesa a blank cheque which they would be expected to honour".

Dr Buthelezi also said the executive government would not be successful because it would not be "legitimised as an organ of a government of national unity".

"I would not like to be in an executive that would have to move against the Conservative Party, the AWB, organisations to the right of them and against the PAC and Azapo and or-

ganisations to the left of them."

Questioning Codesa's representativeness, the Chief Minister repeated his call for KwaZulu to be admitted at Codesa.

"It is quite intolerable that anybody, including the central Government, can think that committees of Codesa drawn from the ANC, Cosatu, SACP, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress and other political parties who are altogether nationally inconsequential can decide on the fate of the largest ethnic group in the country without even consulting them."

Pointing another finger at the ANC, Dr Buthelezi said grassroots IFP constituencies were convinced that ANC members were killing them.

"What would be their reaction be to me sitting with Dr Mandela in some kind of interim executive arrangement?" he asked.

Confirming the notion from certain ranks that Codesa was moving too fast, the KwaZulu leader said time was needed to ensure that Codesa led to national unity and not to national divisions and escalation of conflict and violence.



# Appeal to the courage of the Afrikaner people

**P**OLITICS today. Let me add my tickety's worth. I recently watched two English politicians being interviewed on SABC-TV — one was Labour and other Conservative.

My blood pressure rose as I listened to them trying to outdo each other with threats against South Africa. Sanctions were going to be re-imposed, sporting events cancelled, no more investments, and so on.

Since then every country — with the possible exception of Outer Mongolia — has threatened us. The whole dark eye of the world has been fixed upon us. Strange how all their own problems are forgotten in their haste to project onto us their own failures.

Even harder to understand is their disregard for all the other races in South Africa who would suffer if the whites were crushed. So much for logic, understanding, Christian love, fair play and all the other values trotted out by the Western world.

Short memories too, those English politicians had. What about the thousands of men and women from South Africa who died in two world wars. They were not considered.

Remembering how our ex-servicemen's organisations were not allowed to lay a wreath officially in London on Armistice Day, black, white, coloured and Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen from this country who died in the fight for freedom were overlooked, brushed aside, of no consequence. It was only with the coming of Mrs Thatcher that the worth of our country was again recognised. Now she is gone, the wets and the wimps are having another field day.

Of course our referendum is important. Anyone with half a brain knows it. But do

## VOICE FROM THE WILDERNESS

Ian Player



we need the threats and the never-ending interference, particularly from those whose backyard is pretty messy and full of weeds?

We face a political crisis in this country that we have to resolve. No one else can do it for us. Repeated interferences will exacerbate what is already a dangerous enough situation.

I was able to cast my first vote in a general election in 1948. I wanted to vote United Party and for General Smuts, but it was a choice between Labour and the Nats in my constituency. Fortunately, Labour had a pact with the United Party so my vote was safe. From then on I voted in every election for the UP until it ceased to exist. Then I joined the New Republic Party and when it folded, I joined Worrall's Independent Party and then the Democratic Party where I still remain, and will continue there.

I fought the Nationalist Government all my adult life because I believe they were wrong and were leading South Africa into a cul-de-sac, or perhaps the Afrikaans "straat loop dood" is more applicable. I did, however, have good friends amongst the Nationalists. Piet Koornhof was one. He came out on trail with me. I knew he was fighting an internal battle to bring South Africa back into the international fold with honour.

I have always admired the courage of the Afrikaner. In war, on the mines, in politics, in sport and in the conservation field

there have been many with whom I have associated who were the bravest of the brave. Louis Botha, Smuts, Hofmeyer, Laurens van der Post, T.C. Robertson, De Villiers Graaff. These were the men with whom the English-speaking South Africans could identify.

The Malans, Strydoms, Verwoerds, the P. W. Bothas: they saw a different vision, heard the beat of another drum. But they never lacked courage and fought everyone in their own stubborn, courageous way.

Dr Treurnicht and the men following him are in this mould — a formidable people.

Was it a Damascian experience or cold political logic that persuaded President F. W. de Klerk to take his people out of the cul-de-sac and make them face the reality that we live with 35 million other people, that apartheid was a chimera, a nightmare of unreality that could only lead to total destruction?

One thing is certain. Whatever it was that persuaded F.W. de Klerk to make the move, it could never have happened without plain, raw guts.

The benefits were quick to follow. International sporting acceptance, visits to international leaders; promises of investment, rapprochement with the ANC, and praise from Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The threat of bombs in supermarkets receded. We had asked for a national convention for 20 years and Codesa became the first step.

The Zulu delegation objected to the unitary state and I agree whole-heartedly.

Union in 1910 was a mistake and we must not repeat it. The rights of minorities to govern themselves must be fundamental to a new constitution.

Codesa is the place to argue it out and the longer it takes the better will be the result.

What a tragedy Dr Treurnicht and his party are not in there fighting with typical Afrikaner courage. A great many white people would be very happy to see them at Codesa as they have an enormous amount to contribute.

I am going to vote Yes in the full knowledge that it will not be the end of our troubles. It will be the beginning of new ones, but the bee of hope from Pandora's box will have a chance.

Let me appeal to the courage of the Afrikaner.

This is a time to face the reality of the modern world and to undo much of the damage done since 1948.

We need a confederation of Southern African States from Harare to Cape Town. This must be our new African vision. We can make it happen.

The English-speaking South Africans have often been pilloried from aboard and within, but we have always tried to do what is right. So to para-phrase Lord Nelson, "South Africa expects the English-speaking South Africans to do their duty".

To vote negatively will keep us in the "straat loop dood". Forty-two years of that is enough.

But let me remind our political leaders that when the voting and the shooting is over, we will again have to face the environmental problems of our country.



# S. Africa vote defines future

## Key rivals put aside similarities

By Chris Erasmus  
Special for USA TODAY

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — Two white Afrikaner leaders from similar religious and farming backgrounds are pivotal players in this nation's crucial referendum Tuesday on sharing power with the restive black majority.

**Frederik Willem de Klerk:** The South African president, born into an elite and religious farming family, might seem an odd choice for destroyer-in-chief of his country's old racial order.

But that's the role he'll take on if voters in Tuesday's whites-only referendum agree to continue political reform and power sharing with the black majority.

Violence is on the increase in South Africa's black townships. De Klerk has met with hostility as he campaigns. He was shouted down by right-wing students at a university.

On the stump, de Klerk issues dire warnings: "A 'no' vote will spell disaster. ... They (blacks) will rise up in anger," he says. He has vowed to resign if the referendum is defeated.

After law school in the 1950s, de Klerk's National Party organizing efforts pushed him to prominence. In 1978, he was made a cabinet minister and served under the iron fist of former President P.W. Botha. When



By Adil Bradlow, AP

**STREET SHOOTING:** Medics treat a man for gunshot wounds in Alexandra Township on Thursday as outbreaks of violence continued in the area around Johannesburg.



Reuters

De KLERK



AP

TREURNICHT

### ANC warns townships on violence

The African National Congress warned Thursday that violence in black townships could cause whites to reject political reforms.

The ANC — South Africa's major black nationalist group — opposes voting that excludes blacks. But it has nonetheless urged whites to support reforms by President F.W. de Klerk and has kept a low profile.

"Time after time we see the death toll mount at moments of great importance in the politics of this country," said the ANC.

Botha suffered a stroke in 1989, de Klerk vaulted into the party leadership. In two years, de Klerk has rid South Africa of almost all the apartheid laws and has begun negotiations which could lead to a multiracial interim government by the end of the year.

De Klerk turns 56 Wednesday,

the day after the referendum. He hopes to celebrate with a "yes" vote.

**Andries Petrus Treurnicht:** Like President F.W. de Klerk, he was born into a religious farming family.

But unlike the reformist president, Treurnicht, 71, nicknamed "Dr. No" by his

detractors, has always been a proponent of apartheid.

Spokesmen for his Conservative Party have made it plain that all the major apartheid laws will come back if his party comes to power.

Treurnicht (TRUR-nikt) says a "yes" vote will bring social chaos.

He headed the ministry of Bantu (black) Administration and Education in 1976, when black schoolchildren protested rather than take their lessons in Afrikaans, the "language of the oppressor."

The move triggered the Soweto student uprising of June 1976 and a wave of violence that left 700 people dead — most of them black.

The uprising marked the beginning of the black rebellion against apartheid.

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By Laurence Jolidon

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# ANC to probe camp torture allegations

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC yesterday revealed the terms of reference of a commission of inquiry appointed to probe allegations by former prisoners of torture in ANC detention camps outside South Africa.

Addressing a press conference at the ANC offices in Johannesburg, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the commission would be headed by three advocates: Lewis Skweiyaya, SC, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla. An independent lawyer, advocate Elna Revelas, had been appointed to interview witnesses, visit detention camps and lead evidence before the commission after her own investigations. She would, in effect, be acting as the former exiles' lawyers and act independently of the ANC and the commissioners, Mr Ramaphosa said.

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The findings of the commission would be by majority vote, he said, with each member carrying a vote of equal weight. Individual members would also be allowed to write separate reports.

Any ex-prisoner would be entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary of the commission and should contact him care of Mashile, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.

## Court told why police shot young motorist

By Philip Zoio

A Johannesburg motorist was shot dead by members of the Flying Squad after he had driven down the wrong side of a road at high speed in what police believed was a stolen car, a Johannesburg inquest heard yesterday.

Vaughn Milne's father, George, said his son's car had twice been reported stolen in 1990 and 1991. Each time the car was found. Mr Milne said he had been unable to inform police and traffic officials of the recoveries.

Questioned by B Roux, for the police, Mr Milne said he was unaware that his son had been found with a blood alcohol concentration of 0.29 g/100 ml.

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Roos, Sergeant H Assor told the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court he had shot at the driver of a Ford Laser after fearing that the car would cause an accident.

Sergeant Assor said the car, driven by Mr Milne jun, sped past on the wrong side of Modderfontein Road after 10 pm on July 19 1991.

He chased the car with his siren on and blue light flashing. Radio control confirmed the car had been reported stolen.

At one stage, the cars reached 160 km/h, but they slowed down before the police started shooting. The Laser stopped after Sergeant Assor had fired 15 rounds. Mr Milne was found dead in the driver's seat.

The inquest continues on May 12.





Mr Kobie Coetsee

## 'Interim government probably to be phased in'

DEWETSDORP. — Proposals for an interim government are not finalised, says Justice Minister and Free State National Party leader Mr Kobie Coetsee.

But he said at a referendum meeting here yesterday that it would probably be introduced in phases, possibly first at Cabinet level.

There were 26-million people outside the government. A great deal of the economy was in their hands and one could not negotiate and at the same time break down, he said.

Mr Coetsee said it was not possible to bind the government to a fixed time for an interim government, but there had to be sufficient time.

Addressing about 100 people, Mr Coetsee said there were a number of reasons why there had to be a plan, through negotiation, for a constitution in which all South Africans could participate.

Once the coloureds had been brought into the constitutional process after 1983 they had stopped boycotting

schools and other institutions, no longer went on strike nor threw stones.

Mr Coetsee said that once the constitutional position of the coloureds had been finalised, Mr P W Botha had given instructions for the position of blacks to be investigated.

Legislation had been finalised but had never been implemented because Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party could not take part and lacked credibility as long as other leaders were in exile or in jail.

To get a credible forum in which black people wanted to participate, Mr Botha, Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Coetsee, as a member of the Cabinet, had taken steps to involve ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Coetsee said that it was with Mr Botha's knowledge and approval that he had made it possible for the release of Mr Mandela and others, and for organisations to be unbanned.

(Report by Enid Rhodes, 404 Old Mutual Building, 53 Maitland Street, Bloemfontein).



The Star 13/3/92

# Buthlezi sticking with 'yes' call

By Shaun Johnson  
Political Editor

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dealt a blow to Conservative Party claims that he is in sympathy with the CP's idea of racially separate states for a future South Africa.

The Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister has also quashed rumours he might be shifting his support from a "yes" to a "no" vote in next week's referendum.

A confidential memorandum, prepared by Chief Buthelezi for his discussions with Dr Andries Treurnicht and other CP leaders in

Ulundu on March 7, reveals that he rebuked Dr Treurnicht for "being somewhat too prone to see agreement between us on some issues we discussed in Durban on January 6".

He pointed out to the delegation that he believed:

- There must be one South Africa with a universal adult franchise, albeit with heavily devolved powers to second-tier level.

- Blacks and whites cannot be "unscrambled" in economic, political and social life.

- A confederation of racially divided states inside South Africa is "unthinkable".

- Although Codesa is not "trustworthy" at present, the CP must participate in order to "put it right".

- The IFP's call for a "yes" vote in the white referendum stands, because "white South Africans once and for all must show their ability to break away from the past".

Mr Buthelezi's rejection of the CP's partition is in line with statements by other homeland leaders rejecting CP suggestions that they favour its policy of partition.

Dr Treurnicht issued a statement today indicating an important shift in CP homelands policy in response to the statements.

He said the viewpoints of the homelands leaders were "entirely reconcilable" with CP policy which did not prescribe to others on constitutional matters.

"The Conservative Party envisages a future South Africa which consists of one or more ethnically based states alongside a multi-ethnic dispensation," he said.

This statement indicated a shift away from the official CP policy of an SA divided exclusively into ethnic states and towards the approach of certain CP MPs who argue for a smaller white "volkstaat" existing alongside a unitary state.



Sat. Star 15/3/92

## THE PAC SAYS: It's all inconsequential

THE referendum is no more than a fight between slave-drivers about who wields the bullwhip, believes the PAC. National organiser Maxwell Ntshangweni says the question on March 17 is about who will "control the lives of the African people".

"It confirms that whites intend to entrench existing power structures. It cannot be a genuine vehicle for change when four-fifths of the population are locked out."

The PAC therefore believed the result of the referendum was "inconsequential". It would continue the struggle for freedom of "oppressed Africans" in all its current forms, including the armed campaign by the Azanian People's Liberation Army. The fact that the CP had constantly repeated the APLA threat in its referendum campaign was proof it "realises how strong we are".

Mr Ntshangweni added that if there was a "Yes" vote, it would "tend to dampen the militancy of the people". If there was a "No" vote, it would "sharpen the people's resistance and anger and make them more determined to seize their freedom".

(Report by Brendan Seery, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

## AZAPO SAYS: De Klerk the same as Treurnicht

DEPUTY president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, feels the referendum is a giant non-event. "The situation doesn't alter for us whether De Klerk or Treurnicht is in power; there is very little difference between the two devils."

The 45-year-old Umlazi doctor — who cut his political teeth as a founder member of Steve Biko's Black People's Convention — offers this analysis of the negotiation process: "De Klerk offers no negotiated settlement — he holds all the cards and dictates what is going to happen. He has even managed to admit all his puppet states (the homelands) to the process."

Azapo was not opposed to negotiation, it was not acceptable that the "oppressor should be able to dictate terms". Given a "Yes" vote, Codesa would not provide a unitary democracy but a coalition between the ANC and NP in a dismembered country, protection of minority rights and a capitalist economy. "All the representatives at Codesa except the ANC are based on ethnic affiliation and they won't legislate themselves out of existence."

(Report by Sam Sole, 18 Osborne Road, Grayville.)

## THE IFP SAYS: We must negotiate now

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthezi has publicly rebuffed the "No" campaigners who tried to draw him into their side. Speaking at Ulundi, he called for the establishment of one sovereign parliament, opposite to the CP model which wants the country to be broken up into nation states. On February 20 he released a statement urging whites to support President F W de Klerk. This week he reaffirmed his view.

He reiterated his stand that a whites-only referendum before any constitutional changes were made was ill-conceived, but said that holding of a whites-only referendum at the commencement of negotiations was an entirely different matter.

The whole world was ready to receive South Africa back into the international community. Investors were looking at SA with new interests and international bankers were ready to support economic development. "We must continue with negotiations," he said.

Any attempt by white political parties "to determine their own future unilaterally" would fail.

(Report by Dean Delport, 18 Osborne Road, Grayville.)



## Buthlezi's anarchy warning

13-03-92 Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi says that voting Yes in the referendum "could amount to voting for anarchy if the ANC got away with what it wanted to do with Ciskei".

The warning came yesterday after a meeting where Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo apparently briefed Dr Buthelezi on the alleged African National Congress plot to unseat the chairman of the Ciskei Military Council.

The KwaZulu leader also gave the Government a stern warning that it might lose the referendum if it "continued to ignore the ANC's contravention of the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent signed at Code-sa".

People who had already decided to

vote Yes might start asking themselves whether they should continue doing so.

Central to his warning was the fact that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, "was still intact".

According to him, memories of many people were still fresh when late last year Mr Mandela said openly that he was "not prepared to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe — which is now being used to destabilise Ciskei.

"The Government must do something, not only for the sake of Brigadier Gqozo, but also for the Government itself."

Dr Buthelezi's warning came only a day after he had confirmed his support for a Yes vote in the referendum.

News by Ido Lekota, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.

See Pages 2, 6 and 13

## Black bishop urges whites to vote No

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A black church leader who congratulated the Conservative Party on its by-election win in Potchefstroom has now called on whites to vote No in Tuesday's vital reform referendum.

The head of an umbrella organisation of African churches, Bishop Isaac Mokoena, yesterday became the first black leader to publicly endorse the white right wing's campaign.

Bishop Mokoena said that although blacks were not taking part in the referendum, he was concerned about the future prospects of the Church in South Africa under a "hand-in-glove ANC and South African Communist Party government".

Bishop Mokoena claims to represent four million people in the Reformed Independent Churches' Association.

He denied that he was supporting a party which would bring back apartheid if it won a general election, saying: "Dr Treurnicht has said he would not bring apartheid back. I believe they would be forced to build on what President de Klerk has done."

Dr Treurnicht said in Durban this week that Bishop Mokoena and "more than four million black moderate Christians" were witness to the acceptance among other nations of the CP's idea of self-determination.

News by C. le Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.



# Violence soars as poll nears

*The Star Friday March 13 1992*

By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
Crime Staff

## 27 slaughtered on the Reef in two days

The unrest death toll countrywide since the announcement three weeks ago of Tuesday's referendum reached a staggering 204 yesterday — almost double the figure for the 21 days before the referendum was announced on February 20.

The Human Rights Commission said 204 people had died in political violence in the last three weeks. A total of 111 were killed in the pre-

ceding three weeks.

The ongoing Reef carnage claimed two more victims with the discovery yesterday of the bodies of two people who had been "necklaced" in seething Alexandra.

Their gruesome killing brought the Reef death toll to 27 in the past 48 hours.

In heated reaction to the soaring death toll, the ANC described the killings as a national disaster and Azapo called on blacks to consider

a boycott of Reef trains.

In a crime-prevention operation at Longdale station in Johannesburg, police yesterday discovered three petrol bombs hidden in a train from Soweto.

An SAP spokesman said: "One can only imagine in horror what people would be planning to do with a petrol bomb on a crowded train."

He said police had searched two trains on the Soweto-Johannesburg line and disco-

vered several dangerous weapons, including numerous sharpened steel pipes.

Two men, allegedly carrying weapons on the train, were arrested and are due to appear in the Newlands Magistrate's Court today.

Claiming that the violence was neither sporadic nor mindless, but part of an orchestrated campaign, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) yesterday offered a R10 000 reward for informa-

tion leading to the arrest and conviction of people involved in political violence.

It also announced it had set up a special witness protection programme to ensure the safety of witnesses.

In a separate statement, the LHR announced that four eminent international jurists would be arriving in South Africa at the weekend to investigate political violence.

The ANC warned yesterday that the political vio-

lence could only favour those who wanted a "no" vote.

NP general-secretary Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said he did not believe the level of political violence had increased dramatically since the announcement of the referendum, "so I do not think it would have swung the referendum result in any way".

The SAP, facing growing criticism that not enough was being done to curb the carnage on Reef trains, said its work was being hampered by commuter loads and a lack of co-operation

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# Buthelezi links votes warning to ANC and Ciskei

*X* Daily News Reporter *X*  
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Roos, Sergeant H Assor told the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court he had shot at the driver of a Ford Laser after fearing that the car would cause an accident.

Sergeant Assor said the car, driven by Mr Milne jun, sped past on the wrong side of Modderfontein Road after 10 pm on July 19 1991.

He chased the car with his siren on and blue light flashing. Radio control confirmed the car had been reported stolen.

At one stage, the cars reached 160 km/h, but they slowed down before the police started shooting. The Laser stopped after Sergeant Assor had fired 15 rounds. Mr Milne was found dead in the driver's seat.

The inquest continues on May 12.



# ANC to probe camp torture allegations

*The Star Friday 13 Mar 1992*

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC yesterday revealed the terms of reference of a commission of inquiry appointed to probe allegations by former prisoners of torture in ANC detention camps outside South Africa.

Addressing a press conference at the ANC offices in Johannesburg, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the commission would be headed by three advocates: Lewis Skweiyaya, SC, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla. An independent lawyer, advocate Elna Revelas, had been appointed to interview witnesses, visit detention camps and lead evidence before the

commission after her own investigations. She would in effect be acting as the former exiles' lawyers and act independently of the ANC and the commissioners, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The commissioners would probe complaints relating to:

- Detainees' conditions while they were held.
- Their allegations of maltreatment.
- Complaints about the loss or destruction of their property.

## Objectivity

Mr Ramaphosa said the commission would compile a report to be presented to the ANC president and would be required to make recommendations consequent upon its findings.

He said the commissioners

would be allowed to decide whether proceedings would be held in public or private. Their first sitting would be between March 23 and 25, and every month thereafter until June.

Mr Ramaphosa stated it was unreasonable to say the inquiry was "the ANC investigating itself", saying the independent investigator would see to the objectivity of the findings.

The findings of the commission would be by majority vote, he said, with each member carrying a vote of equal weight. Individual members would also be allowed to write separate reports.

Any ex-prisoner would be entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary of the commission and should contact him care of Mashile, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.



B. Day 13/3/92

## German MPs to visit SA

DARIUS SANAI

SENIOR members of the German parliamentary committee on economic affairs are to visit SA early next month, in what an embassy spokesman described yesterday as "getting down to the nitty-gritty" of renewing business relations between the two countries.

The committee's trip comes hot on the heels of the visit to SA earlier this month by German Economics Minister Jurgen Mollemann and a delegation of high-powered bankers.

The spokesman said the committee's members would meet various business groups and politicians during their six-day stay.

The German deputy minister for post and telecommunications would visit SA later next month, with a group of communications specialists.

The purpose of their trip would be to look into co-operation in the telecommunications field.



B. Day 13/3/92

## Envoys shocked by CP racism

SENIOR foreign diplomats said they were "shocked and devastated" by the CP's "immobile and racist outlook" after the party held its first briefing for the diplomatic corps in Cape Town yesterday.

One European ambassador who attended the briefing said he was "depressed and upset" by the way CP leader Andries Treurnicht, who chaired the briefing, did not even attempt to disguise his regressive ideas.

Another senior diplomat said: "We expected them at least to put on a show, to try and elegantly disguise their stubbornness and inflexibility."

"But their way of dealing with diplomats is horrible: they have these weird ideas and they are entrenched deep inside them: they can't change."

Diplomatic sources yesterday also rebutted claims by Treurnicht that there was "no chance" of the international community reimposing sanc-

DARIUS SANAI

tions and boycotts if there was a "no" vote.

Treurnicht said yesterday morning that the CP had the best chance of ensuring "peace, stability and socio-economic development", better than that of the NP or its negotiating partners.

A spokesman for the US embassy said that if a CP victory in an election led to a retreat from Codesa negotiations, it would be a "devastating step backwards towards international isolation and domestic discord in SA".

Diplomats will not go on the record to predict what would happen if the CP won an election because, they say, the question is hypothetical.

But European diplomats said privately yesterday that any attempt to derail Codesa or reimpose a repackaged apartheid system would elicit a "highly negative reaction".

Report by D. Sanai, TML, 11 Diegenet St. Jhb.



B. Day 13/3/92

## ANC warns of 'offensive'

IF THE CP ever came to power, the people of SA would launch an offensive on the new regime that would make everything else look like a Sunday school picnic, ANC official Mohammed Valli Moosa said yesterday at a referendum debate with the CP and the NP at Wits University.

Moosa said within three months of that onslaught the CP would talk to the ANC.

He said the NP had not come to the negotiating table out of choice. "It was at great cost to ourselves, and it was only because none of their other plans worked."

Jacques Theron, CP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, said his party would rather side with the AWB, despite its neo-Nazi standpoints, than with communists, as they shared the same ideal of a boerestaat.

"Afrikaners feel strongly that we want to rule ourselves. It's not that we're racist. We don't want blacks to rule us — just as we don't want Americans or Eskimos to rule us," he said.

Theron said his party was opposed to Codesa because it did not believe the forum was democratic. The ANC and the NP were "conniving" and holding secret discussions, he said, and they had already

KATHRYN STRACHAN

decided on a undivided SA.

He denied that a "no" vote would be detrimental to the country's economy. A "yes" vote was a vote for a communist/Marxist ANC government, and the instability that would follow would be a far greater deterrent to foreign investors, he said.

Deputy Regional Planning Minister Andre Fourie said it was imperative that parties moved away from the "one-man, one-vote" system, where a straight majority took all. "We need to create mechanisms where basic agreements are reached by consensus rather than vote, and minority rights are protected," he said.

The country's most critical problem was the staggering unemployment rate, he said. He warned the ANC about "talking glibly" about nationalisation because, he said, SA would die like the rest of Africa if it did not get foreign capital.

Employment was fundamental, said Fourie, because "people who are employed do not need to steal. People who are employed do not need to commit violence".

Report by K Strachan. TML 11, Diagonal St, Jhb.



B-Day 13/3/92

## ANC, Ciskei row to 'be resolved'

BILLY PADDOCK

FAURESMTIH — The dispute between the ANC and the Ciskei government over ANC plans to depose the homeland's government would be resolved today, Foreign Minister Pik Botha predicted last night.

He told a referendum meeting he was to discuss the issue with ANC president Nelson Mandela later last night.

Informed sources said earlier yesterday the ANC's national leadership was unhappy with the way in which its Border region handled the issue.

Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo — backed by Inkatha and other parties — last week called for the suspension of Codesa deliberations over an ANC mass action plan he claimed aimed to depose his government.

An emergency meeting between government, Ciskei and the ANC last week agreed Codesa would continue its work.



## Township death toll mounts

# Unrest may sway voters, ANC warns

AT LEAST 21 people had died by last night in a two-day wave of unrest which the ANC said was bound to drive whites into voting "no" in next week's referendum.

As warring parties in Alexandra — an unrest flashpoint — met to sign a peace declaration, police found the bodies of a man and a woman who had been neck-laced.

Sapa-Renter reports that almost 60 people have died in unrest countrywide since the weekend.

The recent spate of train attacks continued yesterday, with four people dying in an attack on a train near Boksburg on the East Rand. Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweek said three of the victims were thrown from a moving train. The fourth was shot dead. Since Wednesday at least 12 people have died in Reef train attacks.

Police also confirmed yesterday that pupils at three Heidelberg schools had been subjected to political intimidation. The ANC claimed youths who said they were Inkatha members disrupted activities at the schools when they went looking for ANC members.

Police said they had not yet made any arrests in connection with a bomb blast which destroyed a water tanker at the Zevenfontein squatter camp north of Johannesburg on Wednesday night.

The ANC said in a statement the violence could only work towards a "no" vote and warned that black anger was reaching boiling point. "The only forces that gain are those who are against peace and freedom," the ANC said.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) said the daily death toll in political vio-

### WILSON ZWANE

lence had climbed to 11,6 this week. This supported the belief that the new wave of violence was aimed at destabilisation ahead of the referendum, the HRC said.

Alexandra representatives of the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC, Azapo and church and civic organisations yesterday deplored the violence in the township, which was sparked by a sniper attack on Inkatha mourners at a funeral on Saturday.

In a joint peace declaration, the organisations said the incident led to unnecessary loss of lives. However, "we, as organisations, agree to work together to contain the situation", they said.

Alexandra Clinic spokesman Dr Tim Wilson said the clinic treated two people for gunshot wounds yesterday.

Inkatha Alexandra chairman Simon Nxumalo said yesterday although his organisation was committed to the national peace accord, unruly elements were looting residents' property.

Residents in Alexandra's 5th Avenue said they feared for their lives as they did not know when attacks would be launched from the nearby Madala Hostel. Yesterday numerous residents moved out of their homes.

ANC Alexandra spokesman Obed Bapela said police and SADF reinforcements were needed to bring violence in the township under control.

Azapo yesterday issued a statement in which it said it was considering a train boycott on the Reef to protest against attacks on commuters.

PWV dispute resolution committee

☐ To Page 2

## Unrest

chairman Charles Nupen said a Greater Soweto dispute resolution committee sub-committee on train violence would meet on Monday to discuss the problem.

"The problem is so big that policing alone cannot deal with it entirely. An initiative involving business, trade unions, political organisations and all other interest groups is needed to resolve this."

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrauld said police had no idea who was behind the train attacks.

Asked what police were doing to ensure the safety of commuters, Harrauld said it was impossible to deploy policemen on all trains and in all coaches. There was not sufficient manpower to man the more than 1 200 trains.

Meanwhile, a committee of inquiry into train violence is preparing to probe Reef train attacks. The committee, set up by Mr

Justice Goldstone's standing commission into public violence and intimidation in February, will establish:

- ☐ The nature and causes of violence and intimidation;
- ☐ Whether it aims to achieve any political goal; and
- ☐ Who is involved and what steps should be taken to curb or prevent it.

Committee chairman advocate Neil Rossouw said it was hoped the committee would start hearing evidence next month.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that Lawyers for Human Rights said yesterday it had instigated a special witness protection programme for unrest witnesses. It also announced a R10 000 reward for information leading to conviction of those responsible for the current wave of violence.

Report by W Zwick, TML 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● Picture: Page 3

B. Day

13/3/92



To: H.E. THE CHIEF MINISTER.

# R10,000 REWARD

## Appeal to hostel dwellers

A reward of R10,000 (TEN THOUSAND RAND) will be paid to any person or persons furnishing information which leads to the conviction/s for murder of any person or persons proved to have organised politically motivated killings carried out by a group or groups of hostel dwellers during the period 1st January 1990 until now on:

- township, shack or hostel dwellers;
- persons attending night vigils or funerals;
- passengers on trains.

Our lawyers will treat all information in strict confidence. Protection of informants will, where required, also be arranged.

Please contact Mr Moloi at our Pretoria office at 713 Van Erkon Building, 217 Pretorius Street or telephone: (012) 21-2135.

Or, contact Mr Sello at our Johannesburg office at 3rd Floor, Zambesi House, Corner Commissioner and Von Wielligh Streets, or telephone: (011) 331-3465.

**ISSUED BY LAWYERS FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS**

ADVERT IN NEW NATION  
OF 13/3/92.

Why Appeal to "Hostel  
Dwellers" only.



FAX

TO Dr G BUTHELEZI

0358-202070

Dr F Mdlalose

0358-202470

Mr M. McKengie

081 - 307 4964

RANDBURG SYN

March 12, 1992

## IFP asks for Randburg comments

THE INKATHA Freedom Party's Sandton branch feels many South Africans are not being consulted, nor represented at Codesa.

Dr E Bernard, an IFP delegate serving on Work Group 1, whose task is to "create a climate for free political participation" has called on the people of Randburg for comment on this brief.

What is needed is the "nuts and bolts" application of these principles.

"The business community in particular could be of great assistance in this matter."

He added: "I believe it is undemocratic for the 190 delegates to Codesa to decide SA's future, without reference to the people they are supposed to represent."

"It would be appropriate for a political,

concrete proposals to achieve peaceful change in SA to be welcomed.

"There should be input on specific suggestions on the socio-economic reforms necessary in this country."

"Since the SA taxpayer is bankrolling Codesa, I believe a report back is appropriate."

"Codesa is currently our best shot at peace and it deserves the unreserved support of all our South Africans who believe in peaceful change."

He said there was, however, a real concern that the Nats and ANC had a bilateral extra-Codesa pact.

"President De Klerk should allay these fears."

Address comments to  
PO Box 56312,  
Pinetown 2123.

D:

I:

This was sent out prior to being  
told to stop writing letters

- E. B.



The Star 13/3/92

## 2 killed in Phola Park attack

Staff Reporters

Two people were killed and several injured when gunmen, some dressed in khaki, opened fire on Phola Park just after 11 am today.

According to a witness a "large contingent" of vehicles with about 20 white men drove down the Vereeniging Road at about 11.10 am.

Shots were fired towards Phola Park, fatally wounding two people. Several others were injured.

The eyewitness said members of the Phola Park Committee called the police and army to intervene. At the time of going to press, police were still searching the area.

A police constable was also shot and wounded near the camp today. It is not yet known if the shootings were related.

A police spokesman said a Sergeant Kriel from Klip River was travelling in a police vehicle past Phola Park squatter camp on the R556 when shots were fired from the squatter camp with an AK-47.

An ambulance spokesman said paramedics transported him to safety and fought to stabilise his condition. He was airlifted to a Johannesburg clinic.



# The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

## More terror on the trains

**T**HE PATTERN has almost become established: whenever a major political development or peace initiative is in the offing, faceless men appear, spreading anarchy and terror. Unhappily, it is not surprising that violence has erupted in Soweto, Alexandra and elsewhere on the Reef in the run-up to the referendum.

Even so it seems to have surprised the police. Despite past experience, and past undertakings, they still are not establishing the necessary presence at railway stations and on trains that might have deterred some of the savage attacks of this week.

The targets were black people, but the overall effect is one of destabilisation, spreading alarm and despondency among everyone who longs for peace.

It is vital that the police take a far more pro-active role in combating this wave of terrorism, especially in such politically fraught times. Getting to the root cause would clearly help, but even then solutions will be a long time coming. That does not mean, though, that the forces of law and order can throw up their hands and say the mayhem is beyond their control.

Quite possibly the violence may have developed a momentum of its own, the original instigators having departed the scene. Perhaps fighting spreads from one incident to the next with the combatants not really knowing whom they are attacking, or why.

But even if this were so, it would explain only part of the problem; for there are still signs of orchestrated action on the part of shadowy and unknown forces. In concerted outbreaks of savagery at least 25 people died in train attacks this week within 24 hours. The anonymous killers seem to have no obvious motive; another common feature is that they are never caught.

No one expects miracles overnight, but the Government needs to make far greater efforts to find out who is behind the violence and why. The BBC this week made serious allegations of security force involvement in the ongoing carnage. All such allegations should be put before the Goldstone Commission with minimum delay.

The Star

13/3/92



The Star 13/3/92

# Fears of Alex violence after double necklacing

Staff Reporters

Fears of renewed violence in Alexandra township this weekend have been expressed following a chilling double necklacing murder only hours after the signing of a peace declaration in the township yesterday.

The ANC today warned of "massive plans" over the weekend to undermine the peace declaration.

Police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweek said the burnt bodies of a man and a woman were found outside the Old Man's Hostel.

"They had been necklaced. Three burnt-out tyres were found nearby," Captain van Zweek said.

The murders brought to at least 18 the number of people killed in political violence in Alexandra since Saturday, when

gunmen ambushed an IFP funeral procession.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronolo Mamoepe called on the security forces to increase their presence in the township over the weekend — when both the ANC and the IFP hold funerals for their slain members.

Mr Mamoepe's warning comes after the ANC, Azapo, IFP, PAC and church and civic bodies signed a peace declara-

tion in the township yesterday.

At a press conference held in the township, the multiparty representatives condemned the latest wave of violence.

In a major breakthrough, the ANC agreed to postpone the funeral of slain member Dilon Mayiza until Sunday to avoid a potential clash with IFP funeral-goers. Mr Mayiza was to have been buried tomorrow — the same day that IFP member

Thokoza Xaba, whose funeral was disrupted by last Saturday's attack — will be buried.

The ANC and IFP undertook to urge their constituencies to act with restraint at the burials.

Any problems regarding the funerals should be reported to the Rev Philip Shongwe (443-6367), Father Ronald Cairns (440-1744), the Rev Ngubane (443-6041) and Tony Rutherford (882-0051).



B. Day 13/3/92

## Red Cross attacks ANC over camps

THE ANC had denied the International Committee for the Red Cross access to camps abroad where, it is alleged, it is holding prisoners, the Red Cross said yesterday.

"Officially, the ANC has invited us to visit the camps," said Marc Henzelin, an ICRC official based in Pretoria, in an interview. "But in practice, we have not been able to carry out the invitation. We have met the highest representatives of the ANC several times over the past year, but to no avail."

He said the Red Cross now believed there was little chance that the ANC would allow it access to the camps, most of them in Tanzania or Uganda.

The Red Cross knew the ANC still ran camps, but until it made on-site inspections it could not say if camp residents were being held against their will.

The ANC said last August it would end its 15-year-old policy of barring the Red Cross from its camps.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus was adamant yesterday that the Red Cross had not been denied access to camps.

Marcus reiterated an earlier ANC statement extending an open invitation to the Red Cross to visit the camps, and said they were "free and welcome to do so". — Sapa-Reuters.



FOR HE FROM I.M.. PLEASE GIVE TO HIM THIS MORNING

OPINION

17/03/92 06:59  
March 13, 1992

# Viewpoint

## Buthelezi fights the Cause of Minorities

John Patten

**T**HE tactics of Inkatha and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in relation to the reform process are intriguing, and should not be dismissed simply as obstructionism... though they undoubtedly also have that effect. They smack strongly of a back-to-the-wall last stand.

From a potential losing position, Dr Buthelezi is seeking to use whatever strong cards he can muster to ensure he remains a major political player on the national scene. In this endeavour he is showing the consummate skill of a tough and experienced politician.

Only this week, political researcher Jannie Hofmeyr claimed all research work conducted so far on party political support had consistently indicated the IFP as a very insignificant player, contrary to the widely held public view.

The public view, of course, has been affected by the continuing strife between the ANC and IFP as they vie with each other for

support in the Reef townships and the towns and countryside of Natal/KwaZulu.

Outnumbered and outgunned in many areas, the IFP have sought to use the Zulu nation as a rallying base to prevent ANC efforts to undermine and marginalise the party. The struggle has to some extent been ethnicised by the IFP to secure Zulu solidarity, and the violence has been an inducement to Zulus to seek protection from the violence through attaching themselves to their ethnic roots.

Dr Buthelezi is similarly using the Zulu nation as a battering ram into Codesa, claiming that the Zulu king has a right to representation and that the KwaZulu government as well as the IFP should be represented.

It is of little consequence to his cause that these demands would throw the composition of Codesa into a state of some disarray. If the Zulu king is represented, then the principle that only political parties have a

place at Codesa is breached. Then other traditional leaders would probably also have to be included.

If the KwaZulu government is admitted, then other non-independent homeland governments would have to be admitted, and Codesa would grow yet more unwieldy.

If these demands are met, the balance of Codesa changes from seeking consensus on how to govern South Africa as one state, to the probability of having to accept the ethnic power bases established under apartheid as part of a settlement involving the division of power.

There are already signs that Dr Buthelezi can look to some influential support, if that is his goal. The Ciskei row is an example.

Before the SA Government's intervention to force Ciskei to allow free political activity in its territory, the ANC's plans to pressure Ciskei — with mass actions that could be construed as

trying to unseat Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — drew opposition from four parties represented at Codesa: the Ciskei itself, Inkatha, Qwaqwa's Dikwankwetla Party and Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party. Their stand was also supported by Bophuthatswana and by Solidarity.

What has been sparked there is a bandwagon of minority interests, all of which could suffer at the hands of ANC mass action methods and which seek security in the power base they represent at Codesa.

This week Dr Buthelezi took his campaign a stage further at the opening of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly session with warnings that he would keep his options open on future alliances, that he would be willing to pursue regional options outside Codesa, and that he would not honour any Codesa agreement involving KwaZulu to which he was not party.

His prediction that Codesa would fail if the Conservative

Party was not a participant, coupled with his utterance that he would go to the "heart of Afrikanerdom" (many now interpret the CP as the "heart of Afrikanerdom") in his campaign and his questioning of President de Klerk's attitude and power, could only have the effect of raising conjecture about his commitments to present reform efforts through Codesa. The CP, for instance, has rejected participation at Codesa in spite of efforts made to get it to the table.

Yet, Dr Buthelezi stopped short of pulling out of Codesa. He has also confirmed again his support for the Yes vote in the referendum, and sits challengingly placed in relation to both the Codesa participants and the non-participants who feel threatened by Codesa. It is French-style politicking in the De Gaulle tradition.

What it comes down to is not really the question of whether the Zulu king gains representa-

tion at Codesa or not. It is something much more that Dr Buthelezi is fighting for, and something in which he is striking chords of harmony in minority groups who can become important factors in the final political settlement SA is seeking.

The cause can be generalised to go past the place of the Zulus in a future SA. It is the Cause of Minorities.

Unless adequate protection of minorities is provided (through devolution of power, seems to be the implied message of Dr Buthelezi), there can be no consensus.

Even though Codesa has been working to a system of "sufficient consensus", Dr Buthelezi is making it clear that no consensus would be sufficient unless this issue is addressed and resolved. The Zulu nation, and other minorities by implication, will have to find an honoured, distinctive and secure place in the new SA. That is his challenge to the ANC.

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MarsCommunication  
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