

Pretoria seeks backing for federalist plans

By Patti Waldmeir
in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africa's ruling National Party will today host a conference of right-of-centre political parties in an attempt to build a united front behind the demand for a federal constitution for post-apartheid South Africa.

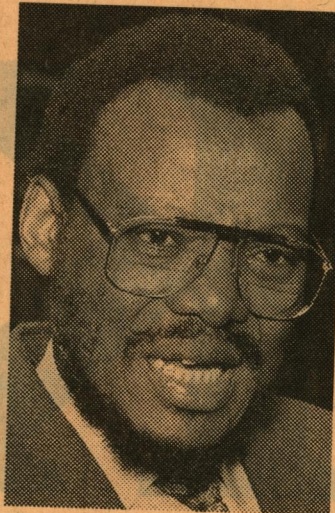
The issue of federalism - the degree to which political power is devolved to regional and local level in the new South Africa - is likely to prove the most contentious issue to be resolved whenever formal talks on a new constitution resume between the National Party and its main black opponent, the African National Congress (ANC).

Though the ANC pays lip-service to the concept that power should be devolved to regions, it nevertheless envisages a highly centralised state where most important decisions are taken at central government level. The power to levy taxes would also be highly centralised, undermining further the political power of regional parliaments.

The National Party, along with federalist allies such as the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, the governments of black homelands such as Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, and some of the many Afrikaner separatist movements, believe that South Africa's highly fractious multi-ethnic society cannot be governed peacefully by a majority party ruling from the centre.

Under a federal constitution, these ethnically based minority parties would retain a far greater share of power than in a centralised, unitary state, and for this reason, the ANC remains highly sceptical of such a constitution.

ANC officials say government uses federalism as camouflage for its real aim: to pre-



Buthelezi: ANC's arch-rival

serve white privilege in a black state, by guaranteeing the National Party a disproportionately large share of power. Many also oppose federalism because it would give the ANC's arch-rival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party, probable control over what is now Natal Province (boundaries would be redrawn under a new constitution).

The ruling party will today try to counter these criticisms by presenting proposals on how political and fiscal power should be distributed between central, regional and local level. The other main participants at the conference will be Inkatha and other black homeland parties, as well as the new Afrikaner Volksunie party, formed after last month's split in the ultra-right Conservative Party. The liberal Democratic Party, which has long advocated federalism, will send only an observer delegation; it says it is reluctant to join a National Party coalition against the ANC.

PEACE MOVE BY FW IN CISKEI

ANC, Gqozo showdown looms

THE South African Government was extremely concerned about the situation which had arisen in the Ciskei/Border region and had been in contact with all the parties concerned in an endeavour to ensure a peaceful resolution of the situation. State President De Klerk said in a statement last night.

The battle lines were drawn in the Ciskei yesterday in preparation for today's ANC-led march on the capital Bisho, aimed at ousting military leader, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

While the Ciskei leader has banned the march and South Africa has declared five Eastern Cape districts unrest areas and sent in police and SADF reinforcements, the ANC

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Peace move by De Klerk

FROM PAGE 1

and its allies, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, announced they would go ahead with the march.

Mr De Klerk exchanged letters with ANC president Nelson Mandela on Friday and the government has held discussions with Brig Gqozo.

The government has sent Defence Deputy Minister Wynand Breytenbach and Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh to the area to negotiate with a view to the proper management of the situation.

The government had also been in constant contact with the Peace Secretariate to ensure that the letter and spirit of the Peace Accord were observed, Mr De Klerk said.

"Simultaneously, it has taken steps, through the declaration of unrest areas in order to enable the Security Forces to deal effectively with the volatile situation on the South African side of the border, and to ensure that protest actions will be peaceful, lawful and in accordance with the terms of the Peace Accord and the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission."

"The South African Government will remain in close contact with the government of the Ciskei and the other parties involved, and will continue to do everything possible to ensure a peaceful outcome," Mr De Klerk added.

According to a report from East London, Mr De Klerk accused the ANC of not acting in the spirit of the Peace Accord.

Mr Mandela, for his part, blamed the government for adding to the tension in Ciskei by sending units of the SADF to the area.

"It is this type of action (which) strengthens the perception that the SADF is biased towards Brigadier Gqozo."

Mr Mandela said the planned demonstration would not differ from the mass activities which had occurred throughout the country.

"In fact, in our view it is similar to the mass demonstration which was conducted at the Union Buildings on August 5."

In the letter, Mr De Klerk said the government had no objection to peaceful demonstrations which took place "within the parameters of the National Peace Accord

and the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission."

"For this reason I do not question the key objectives of the organisers of the planned march as they have defined them," Mr De Klerk wrote. He expressed his hope that the organisers would ensure in their planning that the "reasonable conditions of other parties involved" would be accommodated.

Mr De Klerk's letter concluded with a wish that a confrontation, leading to possible loss of life should be avoided at all cost as it would have "incalculable implications for all of us". — Sapa.

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ANC 'plotting to topple de Klerk ally in Ciskei'

By Ross Dunn in Johannesburg

THE African National Congress hopes to oust the leader of the black homeland of Ciskei, Brig Oupa Gqozo, a key black ally of President de Klerk, sources in the organisation said yesterday.

The ANC hopes 100,000 supporters will march on Bisho, capital of Ciskei, today and remove Brig Gqozo. The South African government has declared a state of emer-

gency in the 100-mile "white corridor" separating Ciskei and the homeland of Transkei, which is controlled by a military regime sympathetic to the ANC.

Mr Chris Hani, the South African Communist Party leader, who is heading the march, said: "We want Gqozo toppled. We are sick and tired

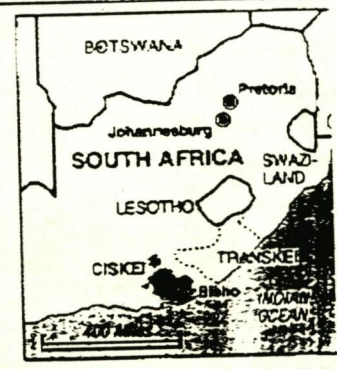
of him." He said the ANC would ignore the state of emergency. If the march leads to violence "de Klerk will be held personally responsible", he said.

Mr Hernus Kriel, Law and Order Minister, said police and defence force reinforcements would be sent to the area. "The security forces

have taken the necessary measures aimed at preventing violence and are ready to deal with any situation which may arise in affected areas.

"No activity which could result in loss of life, injury or damage to property will be tolerated," he said.

● Gunmen opened fire on a group of Inkatha Freedom Party members in a Natal township, killing 10 and injuring 14, police said. — AP



ENTERTAINMENTS

ANC to march on a centre of apartheid intrigue

A WHITE line across a minor road outside King William's Town in the Eastern Cape will, for a few hours today, define the divide between the new South Africa and the old. The African National Congress plans to march to the line — an otherwise unmarked international boundary no government but Pretoria recognises — and then to cross it. On the other side of the line sits the target of the ANC's wrath, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, military dictator of the Ciskei black "homeland". The brigadier would happily shoot every marcher who steps into his territory, but it will be Pretoria that decides what its puppet will do.

But why is the ANC concerned with deposing a man whose power will evaporate with his borders under a post-apartheid constitution? Interviews with former senior intelligence officers from Ciskei and South Africa reveal the extent to which the "homeland" of 1 million people became a key element of the security forces' anti-ANC strategy after President FW de Klerk ushered in the "new South Africa" in February 1990.

The purpose of the strategy, according to a former Ciskei intelligence chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Zanonzi Zantsi, and a former South African intelligence officer, Colonel Gert Hugo, was to prevent the ANC from organising in Ciskei, and also to build a covert military force for use beyond its borders, especially in the neighbouring Transkei "homeland".

The two territories are important targets for subversion because they are populated by Xhosas, widely considered a pillar of ANC support. To this end, South African Military Intelligence (MI) set up a unit that deluded Brig Gqozo, then an ANC sympathiser, into believing the ANC was trying to kill him, and set up a political party in Ciskei modelled on the ANC's arch-rival, Inkatha.

"The South Africans demanded Gqozo must stop aligning himself with the ANC. At the same time they peppered him with disinformation. They told him Unkhonto weSizwe [Spear of the Nation — the ANC's armed wing] was trying to overthrow him. It was a total strategy to divide the Xhosas in Ciskei from the Xhosas in Transkei, and to alienate Gqozo from the ANC. It was very successful," Col Zantsi said.

His account is backed by Vuyo Malane, a former bodyguard to Brig Gqozo who joined the covert unit set up by the South Africans, and by another Ciskei officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Lalela Naka. All the sources say they were forced out by the South Africans because

Brig Gqozo was still in his pyjamas when senior Ciskei Defence Force officers came to him in March 1990, a month after Nelson Mandela's release, to ask the brigadier to replace the unpopular dictator, Lennox Sebe. The coup shook Pretoria's security establishment, suspicious of Brig Gqozo's ANC sympathies.

Col Hugo, then with the South African Defence Force (SADF), and later to head Ciskei's military intelligence, met the coup leaders at the South African ambassador's residence.

"The whole atmosphere in the intelligence community was that the messiah [Mandela] had come and that there was going to be uprising and revolution. The SADF already had an intervention plan against Ciskei if it became an ANC or unfriendly camp. The Ciskei contingent came to see us; they were afraid of military intervention. Gqozo was there, wearing a windcheater over his pyjama top, and we called [Foreign Minister] Pik Botha from the ambassador's residence. We persuaded Pik that Gqozo would be OK," Col Hugo said.

But Brig Gqozo's appearance the day of the coup on a platform with the ANC led South African Military Intelligence to conclude that he would either have to be brought on side or driven out. Within weeks, Anton Nieuwoudt, an MI officer

Ciskei's African Democratic Movement has copied Inkatha's tactic of bullying or bribing tribal headmen into joining

with a long history of covert work, had turned the dictator's head and by mid-1990 set up International Research (IR) as the brigadier's personal intelligence organisation. Its headquarters was Brig Gqozo's Blacklands farm. Col Hugo says that although Mr Nieuwoudt had officially left the South African Defence Force, he continued to report directly to Military Intelligence. Col Zantsi watched as International Research's influence over his boss reduced him to near-permanent paranoia.

"Gradually Gqozo started shifting. Then the whole disinformation thing started. Always IR's information centred around the ANC. Always it was plotting to take over Ciskei. Always funny things, not credible. I asked Nieuwoudt one day about why the information was always about the ANC but not one piece of intelligence about the South African Defence Force or South Africa. He said the main danger was the ANC," Col Zantsi said. All the while, International Research was building a secret military force and stockpiling weapons, including anti-tank launchers and Semtex explosives that had little relevance to the defensive role of the Ciskei Defence Force.

The pro-ANC military ruler of Transkei, General Bantu Holomisa, was high on the IR's hit-list. In November 1990 a disgruntled Transkei officer, Colonel Craig Duli, lost his life in a botched coup

that Pretoria clearly knew about beforehand. The surviving conspirators said Brig Gqozo was expected to provide back-up from covert forces in the Ciskei.

In the middle of last year another key element of the strategy was put into place, the creation of Brig Gqozo's own political party, the African Democratic Movement (ADM). Mr Nieuwoudt intended it to cause the same anti-ANC disruption in the Ciskei and Transkei as was provided by Inkatha in Natal, and later the Reef. Brig Gqozo insists there is nothing sinister about the ADM.

So does its general secretary, Basie Oosthuizen, a 28-year-old white man with a background in the military and intelligence but no political experience. He was on International Research's payroll for three months while he was head of the ADM. He says nothing should be read into his payment by an intelligence organisation. "When I was recruited by Gqozo to come and work for him, International Research offered to pay my salary for an interim period. It was simply an administrative convenience. I had nothing to do with IR," said Mr Oosthuizen, who previously worked for a Military Intelligence front company providing anti-Communist material to South African Defence Force units. He is now also employed as advisor to the brigadier.

The ADM has copied Inkatha's tactic of bullying or bribing tribal headmen into joining the movement and resisting ANC influence in their villages.

By the time the ADM was up and running, International Research's existence was well publicised. Brig Gqozo acknowledged an intelligence role and formalised IR's relationship with his government by renaming it the Ciskei Intelligence Service (CIS) in mid-1991.

The South African government and army have consistently denied involvement in or knowledge of IR and CIS. Yet, when it was apparent that Mr Nieuwoudt and his colleagues were out of control and cooking up a scheme to build a private army, the South African Defence Force chief, General "Kat" Liebenberg, and the then Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans, met Brig Gqozo in August last year to tell him that the organisation would have to be shut down. Revealingly, Mr Nieuwoudt and his colleagues were "taken back" into the SADF. But, according to Col Hugo, the strategy remains in place, if lower-key, because the myth of "homeland" independence permits the South African authorities to claim such activities are beyond its jurisdiction.

power, certainly still in the hands of Gqozo in Ciskei, but the policy is still to prevent the ANC from developing support and to develop the ADM. The South African Defence Force and Military Intelligence are still there, running the Ciskei Defence Force. And Gqozo still phones Nieuwoudt for advice," said Col Hugo.

I hope to see the ANC march on the 1st of July 1990

'Winnie Mandela love letter' revives row over ANC funds

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

THE Winnie Mandela imbroglio blew up in South Africa again yesterday with publication of an alleged love letter from the wife of the African National Congress leader to a young lawyer, which hints at financial irregularities in her administration of an ANC bank account.

The letter was leaked to two Sunday newspapers, in what appears to have been a calculated move to destroy any political comeback by Mrs Mandela. Both newspapers said they were not able to get comment either from Mrs Mandela or her alleged lover, but were satisfied the letter was genuine.

Signed cryptically "It's me", the letter reads as a passionate and intimate diatribe directed at an unfaithful lover, in this case Duli Mpofu, aged 30, one of Mrs Mandela's defence lawyers in her assault trial last year and subsequently her deputy as head of the ANC's welfare department.

The letter was written on March 17, a few weeks before Nelson Mandela announced he was separating from his wife. The reference to financial irregularities comes in a paragraph which reads: "You think you can just wish away certain things Duli, not with me. I tell you I'm in trouble with the Simmonds Street a/c which reflects over R160,000 (£32,000) drawn over a period for you ... Ayob [Ismail, the Mandela

family lawyer] has been sent by Tata [Mr Mandela] to get an accountant to investigate my a/c! I tell you Ntombi [an official in the welfare department] is gossiping about the cheques we used to ask her to cash in the name of the Dept and how I gave you all the money and you and I are now being investigated."

Several months after the letter was written, the ANC disclosed it was investigating the disappearance of R400,000 from its welfare accounts.

Mr Mpofu was sacked as deputy head of the department in May. Mrs Mandela was herself suspended from her post as head of social welfare at the time of the separation announcement. Her supporters are demanding her reinstatement.

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The Star 7/9/92

Weekend violence claims 25

Staff Reporters

Continuing violence has claimed the lives of at least 25 people around the country since Friday.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, three people were killed and five others, including a policeman, injured yesterday in running battles throughout the day, police said.

Police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said police came across the body of a man who had been burnt to death in the township at about 6.20 pm.

Ten minutes later they found the bodies of two other men nearby with stab and hack wounds.

Captain van Deventer said that earlier in the day three people were

injured and two houses were set alight when two groups attacked each other with knives and firearms.

Residents said five people were shot and wounded and 23 stabbed.

In Vosloorus, yesterday, a man was stabbed to death with a spear and his body set alight, police said.

A commuter was killed when he was attacked and thrown from a speeding train near the Fellside station, Germiston, early on Saturday.

On Friday night a policeman was shot dead and robbed of his firearm in Katlehong.

Two people were killed in the Vaal Triangle and another narrowly escaped a necklacing.

Yesterday police found

the body of a woman who had been murdered and raped in Boipatong.

On Saturday, Isaac Nyamatha (46) found the body of his son Leva Philip (27) in Union Road, Evaton Small Farms, police said.

He had bullet wounds in his chest and stomach and his car was missing.

Also on Saturday, Sam Mofokeng, of Sasolburg's Zamdela township, was travelling in his minibus in Zone 7, Sebokeng, when he was stopped by about 40 youths.

Mr Mofokeng was dragged out of the minibus and the youths tried to necklace him, police said.

Mr Mofokeng managed to escape from the youths, who chased him with the bus.

● At least 14 people were killed on Natal's troubled south coast on Friday and Saturday, police said.

On Saturday, members of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) shot dead a man believed to be a "people's court official" whom they had linked to three murders in Port Shepstone.

Police spokesman Colonel Ray Harrald appealed on Saturday to people not to take the law into their own hands, referring to the massacre of 10 Inkatha Freedom Party Youth League members in Bomela on Friday night which was believed to be a retaliation for the murder of four ANC members in nearby Langebella on Thursday.

Defiant response to court order restricting area of protest

ANC marches on Bisho

Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

BISHO — The ANC decided today to defy a court order to march only to Independence Stadium, and was set to march into the Ciskeian capital, according to the organisation's Border vice-chairman, Andrew Hendricks.

The ANC was granted conditional permission at 1.40 am today to march into the stadium.

By midday the King William's Town cricket field, Victory Park, where the march was due to begin, was

packed with protesters.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and senior ANC-SACP-Cosatu leaders, including Harry Gwala, Steve Tshwete, Gertrude Shope and Tokyo Sexwale, were introduced to the crowd.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys entered the Victory Park stadium carrying an NPS flag.

ANC Border secretary Lucille Meyer told The Star the march was going ahead and the situation would be continuously assessed on the way to Bisho.

Demonstrators are carrying warm clothing and food

'Hostile homelands'
targeted for mass action
— Page 5

after ANC leaders yesterday vowed that they would sleep in Bisho if necessary. SACP leader Chris Hani yesterday said the protesters would not leave Bisho until Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had been removed as head of state by the South African Government.

Most shops in King William's Town in the vicinity of Victory Park have been closed. South African security force members were doing spot body searches on ANC supporters.

Today's march follows a dramatic court application heard at the home of the Zwelitsha chief magistrate. The ANC was granted permission to march to the stadium today.

The magistrate, Mr DB Tali, who was compelled to make a decision after a Supreme Court application brought last night, granted permission at 1.40 am.

He ruled that protesters would be allowed into the stadium only between midday and 4.30 pm and would not be allowed to carry weapons.

The ANC discussed Mr Tali's decision early today and decided to march on the

town and not the stadium.

Dr Gildenhuys said this morning there was still potential for violence and appealed for calm.

"The Regional Dispute Resolution Committee will monitor the march."

The Minister of Law and Order, Hernus Kriel, accompanied by the Commissioner of the Police, General Johan van der Merwe, this morning arrived in King Williams Town to monitor the situation to ensure that the ANC's proposed mass action against the Ciskei proceeds in the most peaceful and orderly manner possible.

The Minister said: "I again emphasise that the efforts of

the South African Government are strongly guided by its policy of recognising the civil liberty of peaceful protest. However, lawlessness, unlawful actions and the illegal carrying of weapons will not be tolerated.

"All the actions of the South African Government and the security forces will therefore take place within the framework of the law and rulings made by the magistrates concerned."

He said, however, that should there be confrontation within the borders of the Ciskei, the South African authorities would strongly consider offering cross-border

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Defiant ANC marches on Bisho

● From Page 1

der assistance.

Security on the invisible border between Bisho and King William's Town was stepped up this morning.

A Ciskei security force roadblock, comprising dozens of armed soldiers with teargas masks and helmets, armoured vehicles and trucks carrying rolls of razor wire, was being set up at a point on the border.

All cars were searched, causing a backed up queue stretching well into King Wil-

liam's Town.

A second line of Ciskeian soldiers are in position 50 m from the roadblock towards Bisho.

Soldiers are also deployed in the veld, and on the main road, security force members, armed with light machineguns on tripods, are positioned on the roofs of several government buildings.

South African police and army helicopters circled overhead near the border.

In King William's Town, several armoured

vehicles patrolled the streets.

A police-army roadblock was been set up outside King William's Town on the road from Alice.

Several SAP and SADF vehicles were parked at the entrance to King William's Town's Victory Park, from where the march was due to start.

Hundreds of protesters, some who had come from as far afield as Cape Town, were toy-toting into the stadium from early today.

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The Star 7/9/92

'Hostile homelands' targeted for mass action

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC-led tripartite alliance's "rolling mass action" is to be taken to "hostile homelands" to ensure free political activity. The Star has been reliably informed.

ANC sources said KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana would be targeted along with Ciskei because of "widespread repression".

The homelands campaign was due to begin today with the

march on Bisho.

The sources said the assessment of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) at its three-day meeting in Johannesburg last week was that the mass action programme had made the alliance "much stronger and more coherent on the ground".

According to the sources, the ANC's decision not to return to full-scale negotiations last week was motivated by the Government's failure to give the organisation "something practical

which we could deliver to our constituency".

"The Government's response to our demands was vague. The Government says it is concerned about violence, but it does not go further to say it will ban the carrying of 'traditional' weapons.

"It acknowledges that some hostels are sources of the violence, but it does not then go on to say it will fence off these hostels," one source said.

The "practical steps" the ANC had expected included the

release of all remaining political prisoners, the banning of the carrying of "traditional" weapons, the fencing of hostels and the subsequent upgrading of hostels into family units, as well as the disbanding of Koevoet.

The sources added that the organisation's "Transition to Democracy Act" which was released last week was "a major initiative" and one which would take the debate about an interim government "to a much higher level".

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

ANC strategy

THE ANC strategy is clear.

It has decided not to return to the constitutional negotiations because, among other reasons, it prefers to continue the talks between ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer.

Any agreements — it claims the government has accepted the idea of a Constituent Assembly — are to be regarded as final and are not to be amended by any subsequent negotiations involving other parties.

In other words, the ANC regards the one-to-one talks as binding.

By elevating the discussions to this level, the ANC sidelines the Inkatha Freedom Party and all the other negotiators.

If this is accepted, there will be trouble, particularly from the Inkatha Freedom Party, which will not take this lying down.

The government should suspend the talks between Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa.

If it does not, then it should put in a tougher negotiator than Mr Meyer and make it clear that any understanding it reaches with the ANC is subject to review, amendment or rejection by the broader conference.

The second prong of the ANC strategy is to intensify mass action.

It believes the first rounds of mass action have been a success. The aim was to mobilise the masses. To the extent that it had a successful general strike (though intimidation played a great role), caused disruption by sit-ins at government offices, and further mucked up the economy by reducing business confidence and frightening off investors, the ANC did achieve some of its objectives.

However, since it did not paralyse the country or bring down the government, it did not achieve the great victory it had hoped for.

The intensification of mass action is intended to put further pressure on the government to accept the ANC's demands.

The government must not cave in to this ANC blackmail or it will erode its position even further.

The third prong of the ANC strategy is to topple the governments of Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, which are against the ANC and are regarded by the ANC as allies of the government.

The first to come under attack is the government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei.

The ANC plans to stage a massive march on the capital, Bisho, today to oust Brig Gqozo.

The fact that the march is being organised by Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani, Communist revolutionary Ronnie Kasrils and others of this ilk is a clear indication that the Communists are running the ANC.

The government has declared a state of emergency in the 207 km "White corridor" that separates Ciskei and Transkei.

Police and Defence Force reinforcements have been deployed from East London to Queens-town.

The ANC response is that the government will be responsible if there is bloodshed.

That is nonsense, since the ANC is deliberately setting up a confrontation.

If the government does not intervene, it can accept that Bophuthatswana will be the next target of the ANC.

The government assisted President Lucas Mangope to maintain power when there was a coup against him.

But the ANC is still determined to oust him. Successful action against Brigadier Gqozo will increase the pressure to get rid of President Mangope.

KwaZulu will not be as vulnerable, since it is not only Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, who stands in the ANC's way, but also Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

If the ANC wants a bloodbath — and defeat — it will have them if it tries to take over KwaZulu.

Meanwhile, the ANC, which claims to be democratic and to want a democratic South Africa, shows more and more that it has not the faintest regard for democracy, but wants to take over the country by making it ungovernable by violence, intimidation and confrontation — and to get its way by blackmail.

The Star 7/9/92

3 policemen killed, 11 injured in attacks

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
and Melody McDougall

Three policemen were killed and 11 were injured in separate attacks around the country at the weekend.

In Katlehong on the East Rand yesterday morning, gunmen attacked Sergeant MR Malama and took his firearm, police said. He died in the Katlehong Hospital.

Early on Saturday morning, Assistant Constable BB Sibiyi

was stabbed to death in Kwa-Dabeka, near Pinetown. A Natal police spokesman said two men had been arrested.

Also on Saturday, Constable TP Mpeke was shot at the police barracks at Protea police station in Soweto. A police spokesman said police could not rule out the possibility that he was shot by another policeman.

Eleven policemen were injured in two hand grenade attacks at Wesselton in the eastern Transvaal on Saturday.

The first attack occurred

when Ermelo police went to investigate a murder. The road was barricaded and a mob confronted policemen near the body. A member of the Violent Crime Investigation Unit, Sergeant DD Hall, fired two warning shots into the ground, a police spokesman said. A hand grenade was thrown at the policemen from the crowd, and Sergeant Hall was wounded.

Later, a hand grenade was thrown at policemen at the scene of another murder. Ten policemen were injured.

The Star 7/9/92

Potential for violence high, warns Peace Secretariat

Ciskei march gets nod

Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

BISHO — In a dramatic court application heard at the home of the Zwelithsha chief magistrate, the ANC was given permission to march on Bisho today.

The magistrate, Mr DB Tall, who was compelled to make a decision after a Supreme Court application brought last night, granted

permission at 1.50 am.

He ruled that protesters would be allowed into the Bisho stadium only between midday and 4.30 pm and would not be allowed to carry weapons.

ANC Border chairman Soks Sokupa told The Star the decision had lowered the potential of violence.

The ANC was discussing Mr Tall's decision early today.

Yesterday the ANC vowed to continue with the march into the Ciskei capital and

'Hostile homelands'
targeted for mass action
— Page 5

ANC leaders said demonstrators would not leave Bisho until Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had been removed as head of state by the South African Government.

However, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said today there was still potential for violence and appealed for

calm.

"The Regional Dispute Resolution Committee will monitor the march," he said.

Security on the invisible border between Bisho and King William's Town has been stepped up.

Early today, a Ciskei security force roadblock, comprising dozens of armed soldiers with teargas masks and helmets, armoured vehicles and trucks carrying rolls of razor wire, was being set up on the border.

All cars were searched,

causing a backlog stretching well into King William's Town.

A second line of Ciskeian soldiers is in position 50 m from the roadblock towards Bisho.

Soldiers are also deployed in the veld, and on the main road security force members, armed with light machineguns on tripods, are positioned on the roofs of several government buildings.

South African police and army helicopters circled overhead near the border.

In King William's Town, several armoured vehicles patrolled the streets.

A police-army roadblock was being set up outside King William's Town on the road from Alice.

Several SAP and SADF vehicles were parked at the entrance to King William's Town's cricket field, Victory Park, from where the march was due to start.

Protesters, some from as far afield as Cape Town, were toiling into the stadium from early today.

The Star 7/9/92

Northern suburbs move towards joint administration

By Anna Cox

The constitution of the Northern Joint Negotiating Forum (NJNF) — which will investigate ways to facilitate the joint administration of a large metropolitan area — was formally signed and approved on Friday.

NJNF signatories are the

councils of Sandton, Alexandra and Marlboro Gardens, the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Alexandra Civic Organisation, the East Bank Residents' Association, and the Alexandra Land and Property Owners' Association.

"The NJNF is a negotiating forum which is investigating and formulating viable, non-

racial, democratic, sub-regional and local government structures. The body was launched in 1990 and since then major successes have been achieved through the ongoing process of negotiation and consultation," said NJNF chairman Peter Gardiner.

The aims of the NJNF are to: investigate and implement

a joint administration for the three municipalities; further the development proposals to accommodate the Alexandra community; continue interim assistance to the Alexandra council; upgrade and improve the living standards of Alexandra residents; and to prepare the foundations for a nonracial local authority.

Warnings of 'massive loss of life'

Ciskei march to go ahead ANC alliance

THE ANC-led tripartite alliance march on Bisho today would go ahead, the alliance said late last night.

The announcement came at the end of a day of dramatic developments which included talks involving the national peace secretariat, intervention by church leaders and a bid by the Ciskei government to have the march declared illegal.

At the Ciskei Supreme Court in Bisho last night an application by the territory's Commissioner of Police for the Chief Justice, Judge Bobby Pickard, for an interdict to prevent the march going ahead was heard. All the parties agreed, however, to wait to hear first what the magistrate's decision was.

At a special hearing last night at the home of the Zwelitsha district chief magistrate D B Tali the Ciskei Police's Crime Intelligence Services head Brig M W Nkani alleged the ANC and its allies had smuggled huge amounts of weapons and ammunition into the Ciskei to be used during the march.

The allegation was contained in a memorandum he filed in which he opposed an ANC application for permission to stage the planned march.

The ANC's lawyers contested Nkani's allegations.

Nkani also charged that the ANC would not be able to control the crowd, which national organisers maintained would top 100 000.

The ANC's lawyers argued, however, that the ANC alliance was quite capable of controlling the crowd, and asked the chief magistrate for permission to march, albeit

TIM COHEN and
PATRICK BULGER

under certain conditions.

At the time of going to press the magistrate was still considering the issue.

Church leaders, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SA Council of Churches head the Rev Frank Chikane, suggested earlier that Ciskei hold a referendum to test support for its government.

They proposed that the march and occupation of Bisho be called off if the Ciskei government committed itself to holding a referendum within 21 days to determine its "acceptability".

They made the proposal in view of the "potential violent confrontation and massive loss of life likely to take place" if the march went ahead.

An ANC spokesman said from East London that the organisation was prepared to accept the referendum suggestion.

National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys warned that the march could result in "horrible bloodshed", but hoped the secretariat would be able to find a solution.

Gildenhuys said he had met Ciskei cabinet ministers who were adamant that the marchers would be stopped by force if they entered the homeland.

Sapa reports that in a personal exchange of letters between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela De Klerk accused the ANC of not acting in the spirit of the peace accord.

Mandela, in turn, blamed government

□ To Page 2

Ciskei

for adding to the tension in Ciskei by sending SADF units to the area.

"It is this type of action (which) strengthens the perception that the SADF is biased towards Brigadier Gqozo."

In the letter, sent to Mandela's office on Friday, De Klerk said government did not object to peaceful demonstrations which took place "within the parameters of the national peace accord and the guidelines of the Goldstone commission".

At the weekend, government declared unrest areas in some magisterial districts neighbouring Ciskei, including East London, King William's Town, Stutterheim, Cathcart and Queenstown.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said: "The security forces have taken the necessary measures aimed at preventing violence and are ready to deal with any situation which may arise in the affected areas. No activity which could result in

loss of life, injury or damage to property will be tolerated."

The Ciskei council of state has vowed that the marchers — who are due to gather in King William's Town — will be prevented from entering Ciskei territory.

ANC border spokesman Lucille Meyer said the ANC regarded the unrest promulgation as "provocative", but added police had given the undertaking that this did not mean the march would be prevented from taking place on the SA side of the border.

Gqozo, due to attend De Klerk's federalism conference in Pretoria today, confirmed at the weekend he would be remaining in Bisho to oversee events there.

ANC national executive committee member Raymond Suttner said an appeal had been made to Ciskei security forces to come over to the side of the marchers.

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The Citizen 7/9/92

3 die, five hurt in Alex

THREE people were killed and five others, including a policeman, were injured in sporadic incidents of stonethrowing and other violence in Alexandra township yesterday.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Capt Piet van Deventer, said that at 6.20 pm police came across the body of a man who had been burnt to death, and 10 minutes later found the bodies of two other men

nearby. They had stab and hack wounds.

Shortly afterwards a man who was stabbed in the back by unidentified attackers was taken to Alexandra Clinic.

TO PAGE 2

Alex deaths

FROM PAGE 1

Earlier in the day three people were injured and two houses were set alight when two groups attacked each other with knives and firearms. The injured were taken to the Alexandra Clinic and the fire brigade extinguished the fires.

Police used teargas

and rubber shot to disperse stone-throwers after a policeman sustained a slight injury when he was struck in the head by a stone and another policeman was almost hit by an axe. A man was arrested.

Teargas was again used later in the day after a warning to stone-throwers to disperse...

— Sapa

The Citizen 7/9/92

Hani: We're going to remove Gqozo

BISHO. — "The battle lines are drawn," Mr Chris Hani, SA Communist Party secretary-general, told hundreds of residents at an open-air gathering in Ndevana village, in the Ciskei outside Kingwilliams-town, yesterday morning.

"Tomorrow we are going to Bisho to remove Oupa Gqozo."

To cheers from the crowd, he lashed out at Brig Gqozo, calling him President De Klerk's "puppet" and "kitchen boy".

"We are sick and tired of him (Gqozo). We are not afraid of him. We must remove him from power tomorrow so we can elect an interim administration in his place."

"Not later than tomorrow," Mr Hani stressed.

"We must disband the homelands. We know only one South Africa."

The ANC alliance wanted a crowd of more than 100 000 at today's march, Mr Hani said.

"And we are going to stay in Bisho until De Klerk gives the positive answer that Gqozo is removed."

"We will sleep there if we have to," he said to loud applause.

He urged them to bring provisions, and warm clothes, on the march.

At the nearby village of Phakamisa, also in the Ciskei, Mr Hani further spelt out the intention of today's march, the first in the ANC alliance's so-called "fourth stage" or

"exitgate" of its mass action campaign.

"After him (Gqozo) we are looking at (Bophuthatswana president Lucas) Mangope and (KwaZulu president Gatsha) Buthelezi, and from there to De Klerk," Mr Hani said.

"Fellow senior SACP and ANC member, Ronnie Kasrils, who joined Mr Hani on his whistle-stop tour of Ciskei villages over the weekend, said at Ndevana:

"We know why the regime is hanging on to its puppets Gqozo, and that madman in Zululand, Gatsha Buthelezi. They use their stooges to further oppress people."

"Enough is enough. Vat jou goed en trek," he said to laughter and cheers from the villagers.

"Their day is over and nothing will stop the people," Mr Kasrils said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is due to arrive in East London today to join the march, in which representatives from all over South Africa will participate.

The chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, warned that the march could result in "horrible bloodshed", but hoped the secretariat would be able to find a solution.

Dr Gildenhuys said he had met Ciskei Cabinet Ministers who were adamant that the marchers would be stopped by force if they entered the homeland.

The Ciskei Defence Force said it had not been

given orders concerning the march.

A spokesman said the military government was embroiled in negotiations with other parties and the army was awaiting the outcome of the negotiations.

No precautionary measures had been taken, the CDF said, and the administrative secretary of the Council of State, Brig B H Muller, said he was unaware of any government precautions.

ANC national executive member, Raymond Suttner, said the movement no longer wanted the symbolic removal of the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Gqozo.

"Mr De Klerk should take Gqozo in a plane back to Kroonstad," Mr Suttner said, adding the organisation intended having an interim administration in place in Bisho.

The alliance said it would occupy Bisho until its demands were met.

Mr Suttner called on President De Klerk to prevent loss of life during the march.

A Border ANC executive member, Dr Chippy Oliver, dismissed Press reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were combat ready to protect the demonstrators today should they be attacked by the Ciskei security forces.

The only people protested were the leadership of the alliance, he added.

Local observers had

been invited to monitor the march, but unlike the last march, there would be no international observers, Dr Gildenhuys said.

Marchers will begin gathering at the Victoria Grounds in Kingwilliams-town at 7 am. The town council has given permission for the march.

The president of the Border ANC, Silumko Sokupa, said judging from the "anger and determination" of the people of Ciskei, more than 100 000 people were expected to participate in the march.

In Bisho yesterday the churches were packed as hundreds of churchgoers prayed for a last-minute peaceful resolution to the looming showdown.

But as a security official at the Amatola Sun in Bisho said, "There's now little chance of a compromise."

The hotel management issued a letter to all guests, advising those leaving today to do so no later than 9 am, "to ensure that you have no delays in getting through any roadblocks that may be set up".

For those remaining, "we would like to advise you that we may have to curtail some of our hotel facilities".

A similar march a month ago was only defused at the last moment when Brig Gqozo allowed a crowd of more than 30 000 to enter the Ciskei and hold a rally. — Sapa.

The Citizen 7/9/92

Mass action in Bop

THE ANC's PWV Action Council is to meet today to develop a mass action programme for the "promotion of free political activity" in Bophuthatswana's Mabopane region, north of Pretoria.

Spokesman for the ANC's PWV region, Mr Ronnie Mamoepe said this decision follows an incident in Mabopane in which veteran ANC activist, Mrs Frances Baart (83), collapsed after Bophuthatswana police allegedly threw a teargas canister at her.

He said Mrs Baart and

other ANC Women's League members were attending a meeting at the Roman Catholic Church in Mabopane yesterday when police disrupted the proceedings and demanded to see a permit for holding the meeting.

"When they failed to produce a permit, and while their leaders were still discussing the matter with the police, they were given 15 minutes to disperse," Mr Mamoepe said.

"Suddenly, and without warning, a teargas canister was thrown at

Mrs Baart and, overcome by the fumes, she collapsed while the police stood there laughing at her."

It was obvious from this and other incidents experienced by the ANC in Bophuthatswana in the past that there was no climate for free political activity in the homeland.

There had been several such incidents in the Mabopane region since the beginning of the year, including one in which about 100 ANC Women's League members were arrested in Hammanskraal, he said. — Sapa.

The Citizen 7/9/92

Referendum call hits

snags

BISHO — A last-ditch attempt by church leaders to prevent a bloodbath when the ANC alliance marches on the Ciskei capital Bisho today has into trouble last night.

The church leaders have proposed the ANC and its allies call off the march, and all parties, including Brig Gqozo, commit themselves to a referendum within the next 21 days "to test the will of the majority of the people of Ciskei".

"The South African

Government has a problem with the proposal, the ANC says it is prepared to negotiate it; and, Brig Gqozo says no go," the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, said at a Bisho hotel last night.

He returned earlier from a meeting with Brig Gqozo in the Ciskei capital.

"You can't talk to him

(Gqozo) at all," Dr Gildenhuys said.

"He jumps up and down, and says 'not a foot in the Ciskei — no go'."

Dr Gildenhuys added: "As far as the South African Government is concerned, its problem is that if it accepts a referendum in the Ciskei the next thing the ANC might demand a referendum in South Africa.

"The ANC says it is prepared to negotiate the proposal," he added. — Sapa

The Citizen 7/9/92

ANC 'smuggled arms'

FROM PAGE 1

night hearing in Bisho in front of a chief magistrate in which he opposed an ANC application for permission for the planned march.

The ANC's lawyers contested Brig Nkani's allegations at the special hearing at the home of the chief magistrate of the Zwelitsha District, Mr D B Tali.

Earlier yesterday, at a Press conference in East London, the chairman of the ANC Border region, Mr Soks Sokupa, was adamant no weapons would be carried in the march.

He insisted the march would be peaceful from the side of the ANC and its alliance partners, as happened a month ago at a similar mass action

march.

This time, though, the organisers have said they plan to "occupy" Bisho until the territory's military leader, Brig Oupa Gqozo, has been ousted.

Brig Nkani maintained last night that "ordinary riot control measures, without endangering the safety of the public, is impossible" today.

"Huge amounts of weapons and ammunition were smuggled into the Ciskei since the end of August 1992, which are going to be used at the mass action," he claimed.

Brig Nkani said he had obtained the information "on oath".

He also charged that the ANC alliance would not be able to control the crowd which,

according to the march organisers will top 100 000.

The ANC's lawyers argued, however, the ANC alliance was quite capable of controlling the crowd, and asked the chief magistrate for permission to march, albeit under certain conditions.

In the Ciskei Supreme Court in Bisho, last night, an application for an interdict against the march going ahead was made by the territory's Commissioner of Police to the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Bobby Pickard.

All the parties agreed to wait first to hear what the magistrate's decision was.

It was expected late last night or early today.

— Sapa.

ANC has smuggled in arms — claim

BISHO. — The ANC and its allies have smuggled "huge amounts" of weapons and ammunition into the Ciskei to be used at today's march on the capital, Bisho, the head of the Ciskei Police's Crime Intelligence Services, Brig M W Nkani, alleged last night.

The allegation was contained in a memorandum he filed at a late

TO PAGE 2

The Citizen 7/9/92

Kaunda invitation is bizarre

DURING the last week in August, both Mr Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee, and Dr A Gildenhuys, chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, said that the National Peace Accord had failed.

If, indeed, we are to believe their statements, then surely it is bizarre for them to have invited Dr Kenneth Kaunda, the former Zambian dictator, whose 27 years of Socialist rule (1964/1991) pushed Zambia into bankruptcy and destitution?

It should also not be forgotten that Dr Kaunda for many years allowed his country to be used as a key operational base by the ANC in its conflict with South Africa.

Just what wise and unprejudiced advice can we expect from this rejected Socialist?

Don't Messrs Hall and Gildenhuys realise that we, the taxpayers, have

had enough of bodies such as the NPA and the Goldstone Commission operating with such spectacular lack of success?

If, indeed, the Peace Accord has proved a dismal failure, it should be scrapped without further waste of taxpayers' money. The United Nations monitors can then return to America, where their services can be put to better use.

Judge Goldstone appears to have carte blanche on the numbers of people he invites from abroad. Like Peter Waddington, they stay for ten days, cause havoc, and then return to their own strife-torn countries.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys, told a Press conference in Pretoria that the economy was deteriorating at an alarming rate. We question the feasibility of pro-

ceeding with endless convoys of foreigners visiting South Africa at our expense.

Every week brings yet another flood of meddling "do-gooders" into the country. They stay for three to 10 days, enjoying the good old South African hospitality, then go back home and criticise their South African hosts and their inability to get the country back to normality.

It is more than time that all this costly nonsense came to a halt and that the De Klerk government got down to the job for which it is paid: Governing the country and finding its own solutions to the crisis it has itself precipitated.

AVRIL BUDD

Chairman

Support Police Action Group

Bryanston

The Citizen

7/9/92

Govt's intentions to be clarified today

THE government will shed light on its intentions with regionalism when it hosts an indaba on federalism in Pretoria today.

The advantages government sees in federalism should be interesting, because a Law Commission report on Constitutional Models released last year said that regionalism could not preserve the ethnic interests of Whites.

The government should not be concerned by this, since it has clearly distanced itself from racism.

It is believed that the government used the commission's report as a reference document when it drew up its own proposals.

In none of South Africa's nine development areas, the Law Commission said, do Whites or Asians constitute an absolute majority.

But, according to the data in the report, Coloureds, at 61 percent, constitute such a majority in the western Cape.

If a federal or confeder-

al system is implemented, they would be the king of the castle in the country's most beautiful region.

Blacks constitute a majority in seven of the nine regions.

When broken down into ethnic groups, the Xhosas are an absolute majority in region D — the eastern Cape, Ciskei and parts of Transkei.

Zulus constitute an absolute majority in region E — Natal, KwaZulu and parts of Transkei.

Northern Sothos are the majority in region G — the Northern Transvaal and the region's homelands.

In region H — the all-important Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal triangle area — Whites constitute the largest bloc, 35 percent — but not an absolute majority, according to the report.

The commission warned that regionalism based on ethnic division's would be "still-born".

It added, "...the constitution must avoid rigidifying ethnic groupings as

such and making them the building blocks of the form of government."

The reality is, of course, that the political process is currently being conducted on this basis.

The Law Commission believes that federalism can be "viable", if based "on a socio-economic basis".

The commission examined all the techniques and devices employed in group federation, consociation and power-sharing in various countries. In one of its case studies, it noted that "power-sharing cannot be imposed on a reluctant majority", referring to Cyprus' system, which broke down in violence in 1963.

The commission said that "peace, harmony, altruism and the will to be accommodating and to share power are not going to descend on this country overnight".

The report suggests that a combination of constitutional models and mechanisms can be used.

— Sapa.

Goldstone to probe S Coast murder of IFP members

THE Goldstone Commission would investigate the murder of Inkatha Youth League members at Port Shepstone on Friday night, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

At least 10 people were killed in Natal's Bomela township by unknown attackers firing AK-47 rifles.

The judge said the commission would take immediate steps and Lt-Col H Heslinga, a member of the staff of the commission, would be requested to "make urgent and on-the-spot enquiries

and report back to the Commission".

Further steps would be considered after receipt of the report.

Of the 10 people killed in Bomela, police said eight were supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Bill Dennis said about 10 gunmen opened fire on a group of young IFP supporters gathered for a trip to Ulundi for a youth congress on Saturday.

Six people died instant-

ly in the 10 pm attack and two others died in hospital, he said. The victims were aged between 18 and 22.

The police spokesman said two men, one shot and the other hacked, were found dead about 2 km from the scene of the shooting.

Police were investigating the possibility the two incidents were linked.

Col Dennis said 16 other people, including a four-year-old child, were wounded in the attack on the IFP youths.

On Saturday, regional police commissioner, Maj-Gen Colin Steyn, offered a R50 000 reward for any information leading to the arrest and conviction of the culprits.

• An alleged "people's court" official who police had positively linked to three murders was killed in a follow-up operation by an Internal Stability Division unit on the troubled Natal South Coast on Saturday, according to another SAP spokesman.

Two other men, linked to several murders and incidents of arson, were arrested in the operation.

Internal Stability Division spokesman, Lt-Col Ray Harrauld, said 14 people had been killed in the Port Shepstone area in the past 24 hours.

An Internal Stability Division unit based at Port Shepstone had been deployed, and during the operation a suspect was killed.

"He had been positively linked to three murders and two attempted murders and he was also allegedly responsible for people's courts in the area as an official."

Two suspects were also arrested. "Two Black men were arrested and positively linked to a number of attempted murders, murders and arson in the Gamalakhe area", said Col Harrauld.

Police were maintaining a strong presence in the area as revenge attacks still threatened.

"Please don't take the law into your own hands," he said in a plea to the communities involved.

"We issued the same call yesterday and it apparently fell on deaf ears." — Sapa.

The Citizen

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Whites could take law into own hands: HNP

Citizen Reporter

THE HNP has warned that Whites could start taking the law in their own hands if the government continued being unable to restore law and order in the country.

The HNP leadership is to arrange a meeting with the police and the South African Defence Force to discuss what it termed the current lack of law and order and chaos in South Africa.

The party decided at its annual congress which was held in Pretoria on Saturday that the HNP's views and those of Whites in South Africa should be put to the security forces.

Whites were also urged to consolidate themselves in "security structures" because if the govern-

ment did not do its duty to restore law and order, Whites had to take the law into their own hands.

The party's chief secretary, Mr Louis van der Schyff, said in a statement after the congress that since February 1990, respect for authority had disappeared and tens of thousands of criminals had been set free on the community where they continued their criminal activity.

Capital punishment was no longer applied and there was a tendency by some courts to become soft on criminals when it came to punishing them.

The HNP therefore demanded that the self-respect and integrity of White policemen be restored; that they be prop-

erly armed and that the defence force be used to assist the police in restoring law and order.

The party also wanted an immediate state of emergency and even martial law to enable the security forces to act more effectively.

Mr Van der Schyff said if the government continued forsaking its duty, the HNP would consider its own defence force, free of infiltration through the security forces, to protect the lives and property of Whites.

The congress also agreed the HNP should not take part in the negotiation process because the ANC was still the enemy. Incidents such as the Church Street and the Johannesburg bombs would

not be forgotten and a call for negotiations was a call for betrayal.

A decision was also taken to become more involved in schools, not to pay Model C school fees, to become active in school control boards or to just make a noise in general at schools.

A fund, called For White South Africa, was also established at the congress with the aim of collecting more than R1 million before December 16.

The fund would be used to inform Whites about what was really happening in South Africa because the HNP felt the media was not doing this. The first R100 000 was collected at the congress.

FORMAL constitutional negotiations remain at a standstill, but the process of political alliance building is intensifying. Today's NP-convened federalism conference is, whatever NP leaders may say, designed to consolidate the group which will sit opposite the ANC at the negotiating table.

One key participant will not be at the conference. Ciskei's Brig Oupa Gqozo will instead be directing operations in his capital Bisho, where an ANC-organised march aims to spoil the NP's alliance-building party.

The ANC has high hopes that the march, and the appeal to Ciskeian security forces and public servants to come "onside", will spell the end of Gqozo's rule. (The referendum proposed by the SA Council of Churches as an alternative to the march could arguably have the same effect.) Before Gqozo decided not to risk leaving town on the day of the march, ANC organisers had optimistic visions of the military leader not being able to return to his seat of power later today after the federalism conference.

ANC strategists also envisage Gqozo's downfall as just the beginning of a series of events which will displace, or at least undermine, the NP's key black allies and hence weaken its bargaining position. Therefore, while limited negotiations continue, mass action will carry on, this time focusing on the margins of the NP alliance.

At an alliance summit meeting on August 23 the ANC and its allies examined the mass action campaign and how it could move forward. Owing in part to the success of the march on Bisho last month — about 50 000 attended — the ANC Border region approached the summit with a proposal that the campaign against Gqozo and homeland leaders be elevated to a national issue.

ANC spokesmen argued that, because the homelands are part of SA, the lack of free political activity in their borders affects the ANC's national organising capacity.

According to the SA Labour Bulletin's

interpretation of that meeting, the alliance decided to target Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu.

"In part we need to decide whether to go for them all equally at once or whether we first mount a major national campaign against Ciskei in particular. We also need to consider actions against major financial supporters of Bophuthatswana, like Anglo and Standard Bank," the alliance proposed.

In other words, while the August mass action campaign had shown conclusively that Pretoria was immune to a Leipzig strategy, its satellites may not be.

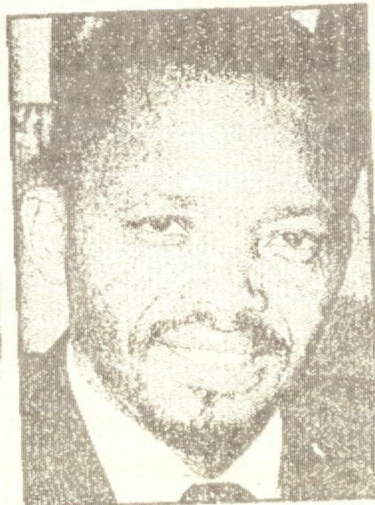
ANC NEC member Raymond Suttner, involved in organising today's march, describes Gqozo as the "weakest link" in the chain of black political figures who are, actually or potentially, the NP's electoral allies. He is unelected, there is resentment in his security forces towards the white command structure, and he is highly unpopular among the civilian population, the argument goes.

"Part of our build-up is an appeal to Ciskeian security forces and the public service to come over to us. This could mean the collapse of the Ciskei's public administration," Suttner believes.

But he is not yet making any firm predictions. "The ANC's Ciskei ini-

ANC plan to drive a wedge into the Nats' alliance

PATRICK BULGER and ALAN FINE



□ GQOZO ... the 'weakest link'

tiative is a germ, an embryo, of a process, although not a process whose completion we can yet see. But it is, therefore, more than just a Border initiative. If Gqozo goes, (Lucas) Mangope would be our obvious next target," argues Suttner.

The ANC also sees the campaign as a way of maintaining the strategic initiative, by forcing President F W de Klerk into making an uncomfort-

able choice now, rather than at his leisure. "At some stage De Klerk would have had to choose whether allies like Gqozo were worth their trouble. Now he will be forced into making that decision now. Can he afford a bloodbath as the price of maintaining that alliance, or is Gqozo becoming more a liability than an asset?" Suttner says.

But the ANC's alliance-building strategy (and alliance-breaking strategy where the NP's allies are concerned) is not limited to the old blunt instrument approach of mass action. The proposed Transition to Democracy Act — published by the organisation on Thursday — would, if made into law, remove the entire legal and constitutional base of potential NP allies.

It would achieve this through the simple devices of redefining SA according to its 1910 boundaries, limiting regionalism during the interim period to the old provincial system and replacing the tricameral Parliament with a single 400-member national assembly to serve as an interim legislature and constituent assembly.

These steps would eliminate the independent homelands and the legal basis for the administrations of Mangope and Gqozo. They would subsume the self-governing homelands

and their administrations and political leadership, such as KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Qwa-Qwa's Kenneth Mopeli, under the four provincial administrations and central government. And they would eliminate the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, their political leaderships (the majorities allied to the NP) and their administrations.

This feature of the ANC's transitional proposals is therefore likely to be contested bitterly.

The only way these groups would be able to remain representative would be through election to the national assembly. A few, most notably Buthelezi, would probably be elected. But it is unlikely that the parties of the bulk of NP-aligned homeland and House of Delegates politicians would succeed in obtaining the requisite number of votes to be elected by proportional representation — unless they were given space on the NP list of candidates. Members of the NP majority in the House of Representatives are, of course, already there.

The same would apply to homeland and tricameral politicians in the ANC's patriotic front camp — they, too, would lose their historical constitutional and legal base. But, says Suttner, those leaders are not perturbed: "They have committed themselves to a single SA. The basis of the alliance is agreement on a future which would alter their social base. They recognise that their existing base would disappear."

Some of the homeland leaders who have allied themselves to the ANC may have done so through conviction, but others have done so because of a reluctant assessment that the old game is up, and any hope of a political future will depend on the ANC's largesse.

Not all have assessed present circumstances in the same way. Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo and others believe that they will be able, through a strongly federalist alliance with the NP, to retain at least some of the ethnically based regional powers they enjoyed under apartheid.

And that, in essence, is the basis of the divide between the old homeland and tricameral politicians.

LETTERS
B1 Day 7/9/92

B1 Day

7/9/92

Letters

Dear Sir,
YOUR report on the hearing of the bail application of Mr Leonard Veenendaal (Business Day, September 4) says that "(T)he judge also berated the Justice Minister for not coming to a decision on an extradition request from Namibia's government."

Such inference should not be drawn from the proceedings. Minister Coetsee was not "berated" by the Judge. Counsel for the Minister was asked by the court why the Minister had not yet taken a decision. This was amply explained by counsel, inter alia with reference to negotiations between the SA and Namibian governments which still had to take place on September 4.

NIC GROBLER
Press secretary
Justice Ministry

□□□□

Dear Sir,
THE SA Institute of Race Relations has always cherished a reputation for fairness and impartiality. Its unbiased reports were not only author-

ative but also highly respected. Not so today Executive director John Kane-Berman has steadily emerged to play the role long ago planned for him by Ulundi.

At first his pro-Inkatha utterances were somewhat muted. Recently, though, he has cast caution to the winds, making increasingly belligerent partisan noises. He attacked the SA Council of Churches. He released a report purporting to show that "cultural weapons" did not kill as many people as AK-47s. He strongly condemned mass action. Now he questions the existence of a third force (widely believed to be Inkatha members working with maverick security people).

Chief Buthelezi is a patron of the SAIRR, which he regularly visits, accompanied by his adviser and speech-writer Rowley Arenstein. Arenstein, of course, was punting federalism at a recent Institute of Multi-Party Democracy conference.

Why this subterfuge? Why don't these two gentlemen admit they support Inkatha and drop this pretence of being independent agents? The SAIRR is left very little credibility acting as it does as Inkatha's research and information department.

G K BOTHA
Durban

B / Day

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Alex joins northern councils in forum

VIOLENCE and the breakdown in national negotiations had retarded progress towards a single municipality for the Sandton/Alexandra area, Northern Joint Negotiating Forum chairman Peter Gardiner said at the weekend.

Speaking at the signing of the forum's constitution, he said the document would smooth the way to joint administration, but no time framework had been agreed on for the complete unification of municipalities in the area.

Representatives from the TPA, Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) and the town councils of Alexandra, Randburg, Sandton and Mulberry Gardens were among those who signed the constitution.

Gardiner said the new constitution

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would unlock "the efficiency and savings inherent in joint municipalities."

"Apartheid measures have in the past left a trail of confusion," he said.

In a statement, the forum committed itself to:

- ☐ the implementation of joint administration;
- ☐ the furthering of "development proposals to accommodate the Alexandra community"; and
- ☐ preparations for a nonracial local authority in the northern region.

ACO representatives present at the signing said they had no mandate to comment on the document.

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ANC gets some new deadlines

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC has launched its own newspaper in the eastern Transvaal.

The Congress is edited in Nelspruit by ANC official Jackson Mthembu, who said it was not only a mouthpiece for the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP alliance, "but for those communities who are without water, those communities who have no vote, those communities who are under a constant threat from gangsters, the SAP and the SADF".

However, the newspaper also contains a mock voting form, featuring the ANC, AWB, Azapo and other parties as contenders.

It notes: "As we are continuously breaking and rolling the skull of apartheid, let us build our branches into strong electoral constituencies. Our recruitment drive is not only aimed at increasing membership but canvassing more votes for victory."

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HRC's Coleman says business must act 'to save its economy'

UNCONTROLLABLE violence and economic decline were pushing the government extremely close to conceding to majority rule, newly elected Human Rights Commission national chairman Max Coleman said last week.

"They will only take the decision to agree to elections when the pain of holding on exceeds the pain of letting go," he said.

Coleman said in an interview he believed business could play a vital role in ending the violence by putting pressure on government to accept majority rule.

"The business community probably hold the key to the whole thing. It's their economy that is going down the drain."

He said government's planned conference of parties favouring federalism was a strategy designed to retain regional powers because they would not win a democratic election.

A behind-the-scenes battle between the political and security arms

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of government was inhibiting the state's ability to end violence, he said.

He accused the security establishment and Inkatha of a campaign to destabilise the ANC and its allies to weaken their bargaining power at the negotiating table.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, the HRC defended itself against recent attacks on its impartiality by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As a human rights body, its brief had always been to disseminate information about the observance or violation of human rights by the "apartheid state".

"We agree then ... that our perspective is one of bias against apartheid," it said.

"But it would be ludicrous to suggest the HRC has a need to invent or distort the human rights record of the apartheid state when the record is already so prolific in its detail."