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Report by the Association for Rural Development

TRe NATAL merRcury

Land transfer  
/Ã© e 0,0 7.'- \_ q 2 Â®

bargaining chip

for KwaZulu

HE governmentâ\200\231s re-  
Thectares of state land  
a routine administrative mat-  
in the game of negotiations  
Quite simply, the planned |  
region.  
where land claims or land ten-

Â® A  
: 'T  
cently exposed plan to  
transfer about. 600 000  
in Natal to KwaZulu adminis-  
tration seems to be more than |  
ter. Land seems to have be-  
come a major bargaining chip  
and winning support for a fed-  
eral option for South Africa.  
transfer will further  
KwaZuluâ\200\231s power in the  
KwaZulu has become in-  
creasingly visible in areas  
ure rights are at issue. At re-  
cent land claim hearings in

Natal (Impendle, Roosboom

and Charlestown), KwaZulu  
made representations to the  
Advisory Commission on  
Land Allocation (ACLA) and  
appeals to the communities  
claiming land.

" A meeting at Vryheid in  
September, held by the  
Northern Natal Farmworkersâ\200\231  
~and Residentsâ\200\231 Committee  
was jointly addressed by Jurie  
Mentz, National Party MP for  
Vryheid and Stephen Sithebe,  
KwaZulu Minister of Interior.  
The meeting saw IFP and NP  
members form a joint co-  
ordinating body for the area.  
This seems to indicate grow-

ing co-operation between the two parties around land. Recent government attempts to reach the goal of buying support from homeland parties, have contradicted its own undertakings on land reform. In March 1991, in

its White Paper On Land Re- |

. form, the government undertook to abandon policies of apartheid land allocation. This included scrapping laws which regulated access to land on the basis of race and an end to incorporation of land into the self-governing territories. ;

tiations

|

Also in 1991  
Of Racially Based Land Mea-

sures Act was passed, provid- |

ing for the establishment of

ACLA, with the brief to advise

the State President about al--

location of undeveloped state

land. /

Then in March this government scrapped the discredited Department of Development Aid (DDA) and the South African Development Trust (SADT), and put the land formerly held by these departments under the department;ts of agriculture, land and regional affairs and public works.

Despite these measures, which appeared to be moving away from the apartheid policies of the past, the government has continued to |

- undermine movement to

genuine settlement of the land issue. Establishing ACLA did not stop government attempts to try to sell off land being claimed by dispossessed communities. The ' government tried on two

.occasions to sell off various

â\200\234 which were bein;

farms in the Estcourt district claimed by the AmaHlubi tribe. On both occasions public protest over the intended sales managed to halt them.

Following the halting of the

sales, the chairman of ACLA, |

Judge van Reenen, called on the gbovernment to freeze sales of all land that was the subject of dispute. In May this year, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Kraai van Niekerk,

. also undertook that land tak-

en over by the government in terms of apartheid policies would not be sold. And the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Dr Jacob de Villiers, pledged that black communities driven off their

-+land by past policies would be

given a chance to put their claims to ACLA.

the â\200\230Abolition

year

Again, these undertakings have not stopped further attempts to get rid of land being claimed. Recently, a government department hurriedly sold off some 6 000 hectares of land in the northern Cape which is being claimed by the Majeng community.

Despite undertakings in the 1991 White Paper that homeland consolidation would end, in March this year some 3 million hectares of land was handed to the six homelands. This followed dissolution of the DDA and the SADT.

The current plan to transfer land to homeland administration comes under a veil of secrecy and an absence of consultation with communities who live on the land. De-

â\200\230spite repeated requests for

the areas earmarked for transfer to be made public, the government has remained silent. Despite communitiesâ\200\231 written objections to such transfer, government is yet to consult with them. There has only been ongoing consultation with homeland governments.

Past attempts to force homeland control onto communities have not achieved

\* the desired results and are un-

likely to do so in the current situation. In the South Africaâ\200\231s current highly volatile situation, there is a very real danger that land transfers to homelands will lead to more violence and for this reason alone should be stopped.

Why the ANC wants to march on Ulundi: PATRMAN fei)brtsÂ» {  
i y THE Na7all meRcURy

/6 foz/aa N

|KwaZul  
libertiesâ\200\231

HE secretary of the

\* ' southern Natal region of

the African National

Congress, Mr Sâ\200\231bu

Ndebele, has outlined in detail

the reasons for the

organisationâ\200\231s decision to pro-

mote mass action against the  
KwaZulu Government.

Last week both Mr Ndebele  
and Mr Jeff Hadebe told a gath-  
ering in Durban that the ANC  
would, in fact, lead a march to  
Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu,  
to protest against the perceived  
lack of political expression in  
the region.

" There has been some  
scepticism in political circles as  
to whether a physical march  
will take place, given the sheer  
strength of the IFP-supporting  
amabutho (regiments) which are  
likely to confront any such pro-  
test, especially north of the  
Tugela. i

Mr Ndebele said in an inter-

view with The Natal Mercury  
that the KwaZulu issue had to  
be seen against a much wider  
backdrop as far as ANC strategy  
was concerned. In Natal the  
organisation had been gravely  
concerned with the question of  
the ongoing violence and there  
had been protests on March 3  
and 4 this year in both Durban  
and Pietermaritzburg in sup-  
port of an interim government  
and a constituent assembly.

Now the strategy was focusing  
on the question of the  
bantustans, in which some 50%  
of the total African population  
of South Africa lived. As far as

KwaZulu was concerned, more than 70% of the Zulu people fell directly under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Government.

Under the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, a great deal of power which had been centralised under the SA Gov-

U uses powers

ernment devolved to the so-

called homelands. It was only

basically areas such as foreign affairs which were reserved for the central Government.

Mr Ndebele pointed out that all the self-governing regions and independent homelands had their own police forces.

Homeland governments controlled where their residents

- lived, how they were housed,

what health and welfare services such as pensions were available and had jurisdiction over infrastructure such as roads.

KwaZulu, in particular, had used its powers to exterminate civil liberties, he maintained.

There was no free political expression in the region, he asserted, although in areas such as KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Transkei and Venda all political

organisations had the right of

freedom of association and of protest. For example, according to the ANC spokesman, the ANC and PAC could meet and operate freely in the Transkei.

Mr Ndebele said a distinction should be drawn between the KwaZulu Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC had no quarrel with the IFP: should it come to power it would allow the IFP to function and to operate freely.

He said that, in KwaNdebele, after elections for the legislative assembly had been held, a more progressive movement had been installed in spite of the sometimes restrictive nature of

the Bantu Homelands Constitu-  
tion Act.

However, the regional secre-  
tary said, the system in  
KwaZulu was â\200\230â\200\234riggedâ\200\235 so that  
60% of the seats in the Legisla-  
tive Assembly were reserved for  
chiefs â\200\224 voted in by the regional

authorities â\200\224 and 40% for elect-  
ed members, in other words, lo-  
cal MPs.

â\200\234Even if the ANC were to de-  
cide to contest the KZLA elec-  
tions, and constituted the  
majority party, we would never  
be able to win, because the ma-  
jority of seats are reserved for  
the chiefs, who back the IFP,â\200\235  
Mr Ndebele said.

He said there was no way that

people living under the control |

of the KZ Government â\200\224 such  
as teachers, nurses and clerks â\200\224  
could have their grievances  
addressed.

He referred to Mondayâ\200\231s state-  
ment by Dr Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi that the tens of thou-  
sands of civil servants working  
under the control of the  
KwaZulu Government should  
either accept the legality of this

- government or â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230get out.â\200\235

â\200\234At the last annual conference  
of the IFP in Ulundi, members

â\200\234Is this not the highest degree  
of political intolerance?,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr

Ndebele asked.

He said the ANC was not a

of the party were urged to pull  
out of the Convention for a  
Democratic South Africa:  
(Codesa).

government but recently had al-  
lowed members of the Returned  
Exiles Committee under Mr Pat  
and put their case at the move-

Hlongwane to hand in a petition  
mentâ\200\231s offices in Durban.

people  
p objected



IN 1983, Dr Buthelezi, in  
spite of protests from several  
quarters, held a rally in  
Lamontville to which the  
of the townshi

strenuously.

Is the IFP and the KwaZulu

Government telling us that it is  
of expression that any protest

against itself as a government  
can only result in bloodshed?

so violently opposed to freedom  
Mr Ndebele asked.

to extirminate civil

O

DONALD WOODS:

O

IT is disturbing to read that Mr lessly, nobly and idealistically. Well, I bloc which helps South Africa self-

HARRY GWALA:  
SYMPATHISE with Mr Donald

Harry Gwala of the South African Where is it? Is it Cuba, where no Woods's ravings against me. Ob-

Communist Party addressed a meet- newspapers are permissible? Is it viously ing of 300 chanting students of the China, where people may not post

University of Cape Town because their that is my old university and there is North Korea, where the nation has to thoughts up on a wall? Is it

nothing less suited to a university bow to the statue of yet another to- than chanting students.

7 . talitarian bloody fool?  
In fact, chanting as such belongs to

The African National Congress is

opening words  
versity studen

we represent two v;vorl\_â\200\230ds\_ â\200\224 that of a decaying colonial .lmperial-\_ ist era and that of the comgngâ\200\224of-age; of the oppressed, exploited and down-trodden masses. His very

â\200\224 300 chanting uni-  
sâ\200\235 and â\200\234my old uni-

the Middle Ages when witches were to be commended for hosting under!"erSitY"â\200\224â\200 \230revemWWMQ'W'Siï~\201fi??

credible or to Pretoria under the its umbrella such a wide spectrum of Nats, Nuremberg under the Nazis or South African organisations striving China where students arenâ\200\231t allowed for freedom. But if Mr Gwala is typi- in' Tiananmen cal of one component of them, the SACP, it is time the ANC reviewed

to demonstrate  
Square.

Mr Gwala is reported to have told the chanting few that the United Nations, the European Community and the Commonwealth sided with â\200\230the South African Government; that the United Nations were made up of â\200\234Wall Street capitalistsâ\200\235 and that the â\200\234British = Commonwealthâ\200\235 had attacked the Falkland Islands to make â\200\234super profitsâ\200\235.

All of which suggests that Mr Harry Gwala is a screaming twit.

If this is the level of debate he has to offer in the new South Africa, heaven help the new South Africa. I had thought that public idiocy in the national debate was limited to the likes'â\200\230of Eugene Terreâ\200\231Blanche or Dr. â\200\230Treurnicht, but now it seems they have an appropriate colleague in the silliness stakes in Mr Gwala. -

Without devaluing Mr Gwalaâ\200\231s past contribution in the campaign against racism and without doubting his proven courage â\200\224 in other words, without suggesting that he is Gwala by name and gwala (igwala is a coward) by nature â\200\224 I would nevertheless like to know how anyone could imagine that a Falklands operation costing Â£22 billion for the sake of 1700 sheep farmers could result in a profit. But if that is how the South African Communist Party does its arithmetic, it qualifies as a worthy associate of Ceaurescu, Ulbricht, Brezhnev and other dictators who wrecked their countriesâ\200\231 economies and impoverished their populations.

In view of Mr Gwalaâ\200\231s remarks, it is instructive to compare the aid rendered by various countries to the campaign against apartheid led by the African National Congress. The following non-communist countries â\200\224 Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holland and Finland â\200\224 each contributed more than a hundred times more than the stingy Russian communists, whose aid was limited to weapons they didnâ\200\231t need and whose racism was notorious among African students in Moscow and other parts of what used to be known as the Soviet Union.

As to their satellite states of Poland, East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, their combined contributions came to less than those of the people of America and Britain, who presumably come under Mr Gwalaâ\200\231s label as â\200\234Wall Street capitalistsâ\200\235. g

His remarks imply that there is some alternative; some communist.

its links with this organisation and spokespersons such as Mr Gwala.

If history shows us anything it

shows us that individual liberty is inseparable from general liberty;

that freedom of the majority cannot be sacrificed to the dictates of an unelected minority and that the communists of this world share with the Nats the peculiar addiction of rule of the few over the many in the twisted belief that the self-anointed minority knows best what is in the interests of the unconsulted majority.

These twisted beliefs are not why Nelson Mandela spent a lifetime in prison. Nor should they be used now to alienate the victims of oppression from truly democratic countries which genuinely wish to help introduce democracy to South Africa.

The European Community gives hundreds of millions of rands a year to development in South Africa. Mr Gwala should be challenged to disclose how much has been contributed by countries which at any time shared his shabby creed.

Far from contributing money to countries abroad, we now see that they didn't even distribute resources properly at home beyond the privileged and self-elected few, and that their poor ravaged countries are now ecological disaster areas which will take decades to repair.

Such obscenities as the numerous palaces of the dictator Ceausescu and the dachas or the nomenklatura

in Russia, East Germany and other

former slave states, and the enslavement

of hundreds of millions for

more than 50 years which we don't recall Mr Gwala ever criticising might be forgotten in the fullness of

time. But not if Mr Gwala has the gall

to speak as if these rotten regimes stood for something better than the West he maligns. :

It is indeed an imperfect West but a million times better than the East he associates with, whose discredited creed he appears to want to inflict on the already overburdened people of South Africa: Those many who acknowledge the ANC as the vanguard of national liberation must

increasingly ask why its views have -

to be articulated by persons such as Mr Gwala. ;

Â© Donald Woods is a former editor of the Daily Dispatch who was banned and fled South Africa in 1977.

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That there were 300 predominantly African students and not more than a half dozen white students is a clear indication of a big divide in this country. Africans were small in number only 300 because for centuries the South African universities were a preserve for privileged whites. The few Africans who reach university level today do it under prohibitive white domination and white discrimination with its inferior bantu education. =~

Mr Woods is angry because, the oppressed sang songs and chanted about their own liberation. Which slavemaster would not storm at the slaves who sang about breaking the chains of bondage? The slavemasters of Rome crushed the rise of Spartacus against bonc;age:b\_e\_eaus after all, slaves were not human beings but only articulate tools.

The cynicism of Mr Woods in trying to sow seeds of division within the ranks of the African National Congress is too cheap a stunt B oppressed to swallow, Since when has Mr Woods suddenly fallen in love with the ANC? This reminds one of the saying of old: Is Saul also

among the prophets? What Mg Woods says shows a glib ignorant he is of the ANC. As a white man he says things from the privilege of power. At this juncture we might remind Mr Woods that It is not the consciousness of men that determines their social being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness. Africans do not join the ANC as a convenience as the likes of Mr Woods often do, but out of the given. objective conditions. Africans are segregated and live in squalor in juxtaposition with affluent cities where they provide abundant cheap labour which ever uses their bargaining power so Thus they find themselves willingly in the national movement, trade unions and the Communist Party. Of course Mr Woods has the choice to join a political party which to all intents and purposes preserves

What is this white ci

ite ci i

Athens and Rome, were built

ilt by

slaves. Remove child labour,  
womenâ\200\231s labour, @ng\_i-;untqlg:lpmg 9?  
â\200\234work together with â\200\230cglg;uahgatiqn,

and there would not be the whiteciv--  
ilisation Mr Woods boasts of. To him,

of course, capitalism and exploit-

ation of men by men is a millennium

just as feudalism with its lords and fiefdom was a gift to the barons and lords from above. Hence the divine rightsof kings. |

It is not necessary to enter into debate with Mr Woods on socialism as he has only reflected the depth of his ~ â\200\230ignorance about the tenets of Marx-

ism-Leninism, and he in the course, .of his life has proved to be one of the | greatest gladiators in defence of capitalism and its highest stage â\200\224 â\200\230imperialism. I should like to remind Mr Woods that where we are today is not because of the magnanimity of the likes of him but because of the gallant struggle and sacrifices made by the oppressed, together with the support of the international community that has always stood against apartheid.

" Perhaps we should do a bit of poli-

- tical economy here, not for the ~ venomous mind of Mr Donald Woods but for the reader who might care to think. Apartheid came about in order to create primitive accumulation for Afrikaner capital. Hence the border industries and so-called

â\200\234homelandsâ\200\235. This was both neo-colonialism and Nazism. Hence the

reign of terror, unrivalled rule of the police and death in detention.

Throwinthekillersquads.

It is the sum total of all these things which brought about the armed struggle by the oppressed of this country. In all this big capital, through the laws of capitalist development, made huge profits by com-

peting for border industries, and taking advantage of dppressed wages. In the course of this a comprador class emerged among Afri- ~ cans, which served as a conduit for the poor goods manufactured in the border industries, and manned the apartheid structures.

Mr Woods tells us that white civi- lisation was giving us aid for â\200\234civil libertiesâ\200\235 in the form of EEC hand- outs in order to embark on a non-violent pacifist path. Therefore we have to be careful not to rock the boat.

Unfortunately Mr Woods and the African masses are on different wavelengths. He is talking of civil rights. The masses are in a political struggle and politics is all about power. Mr Woods may rave and twitch about the Soviet Union. It is not his noble West that gave us material aid to bring the apartheid regime to its sense of talking. We talk not because we are weak but because we are strong. If Mr Woods wants to declare war on us we shall gladly give it to him.

Our path is strewn with the bodies of our martyrs. To us civil liberties are only a reflection of the political struggle at a given time. The unity between the SACP and the ANC was sealed in blood and tears and no likes of Mr Woods will tear it asunder.

^ Harry Gwala is a member of the national executive committee of the ANC and a member of the central executive committee of the SA Communist Party. : ' ;

ANC and SACP

executive committee

member Harry

Gwala (below) is a

screaming wit,  
says former Daily

- Dispatch editor

Donald Woods  
(above) in an article  
in the Daily  
Dispatch last week.  
Here we reproduce

" Woods's 2002 article, and  
Gwala's response.





Dismantling the homelands is a difficult and dangerous task, argues Patrick Laurence

â\200\230Puppetâ\200\231 label is misleading

SOUâ\200\230Iâ\200\231H Africa's constedlation of  
~black homelands,â\200\235 conceived  
25 the pinoacle of apartheid social  
engineering. is proviag to be the  
mosL dilficult aspect of the apart-  
heid sysiem o dismantle.

A whole range of apartheid  
Jaws â\200\224 Irom the prohibition on in-  
tersacial sex and marriage 10 the  
denial of freedom of movement  
and unfettered properts rights to  
blacks â\200\224 have been abdolisbed  
wilh relative ease.

Bul dissolution of the ethnical-  
ly based â\200\234homelandsâ\200\235 is @ roore  
complex apd dangerous task.

The massacre at Bisho, 20d the  
risk of more bloodshed in the

event of ANC-Ied protest marches  
i against the governments of Bo-  
phuthatswana and KwaZule, is  
clear evidence of that.  
Tbhe main reason cap be  
" semmed up in ope word: empow-  
erment. The bomeland system has  
. facilitaled the emergence of black  
leaders, who â\200\224 contrary lo propa-  
ganda â\200\224 are oot roere poppets.

While they do not have the  
power of President de Klerk or  
ANC leader Nelson Mandela, they  
are not powerless. With varying

degsees of skill and iD different  
ways (hey have asseried their  
presence politically and given Do~  
tice (hat, {ar from disappearing,  
they intend 10 play a role in deter-  
mining the future.

Ope simpte fact contradicts the  
popular view that leaders of the  
10 "bomelandsâ\200\235 are marioneiles  
manipulated by Pretoria: five of  
(be 10 leaders have aligned thero-  
selves with the ANC.

The exercise of power by lhese  
supposed puppets against the  
wishes of Pretoria is not bew:

@ Ooe of lhe first acts of Trams-  
kei afler it became the first  
â\200\234plack homelandâ\204ç to be graoted  
partial self-government by Pre-  
toria ln 1963 was to scrap â\200\234Bantu  
Educationâ\200\235, the potorious system  
designed lo perpetuate black ser-

vilude.

@ Similarly, after Transkei became nominally independent in 1976, it scrapped 3 whole series of apartheid laws and, in defiance of apartheid ideology, turned itself into a non-racial polity.

@ It is a matter of record that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi of Xhosa â\200\224 whom ANC

o move @ inig

propagandists depict 3s Mr de Klerk's proxy â\200\224 thwarted the bid by apartheid ideologists the late 1970s and early 1980s o pressure all 10 of these quasi-states into accepting â\200\234 independenceâ\200\235.

Their aim, as the Status Acts which conferred nominal independence on four of these Inland homelands shows, was to deprive blacks of South African nationality on the pretext of conferring the nationality of (their designated tribes) homelands on them.

The most dramatic recognition that the men serving in these apartheid structures need not be Pretoriaâ\200\231s puppets has come from the ANC itself: when Chief Buthe-Yezi prepared to launch Inkatha in the mid-1970s, the ANC saw it as 2 vehicle which could advance, not retard, the cause of liberation and sought to influence its activities from abroad. ;

As Oliver Tambo, the ANC's immediate past president, has acknowledged, Inkatha was the product of an agreement between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi, who, as Mr Tambo has similarly admitted, only assumed the reins of leader-

ship in KwaZulu after consultations with the ANC.

The ANC-Inkatha partnership, as South Africa knows too well, ended acrimoniously, with the ANC accusing Chief Buthelezi of dressing Inkatha in ANC colours and building it â\200\234 into a personal power baseâ\200\231 and Chief Buthelezi riposting that the ANC's exiled leadership was trying to hijack Inkatha for its own ends.

Since then, and particularly since the release of Mr Mandela in February 1990, the ANC has applied, with conspicuous success,

the same stratagem of winning  
the support of the Transkei leaders to its side.

Its allies include two leaders  
who came to power in military  
coups: General Baotso Holomisa of  
Transkei and Brigadier Gabriel  
Ramashuwana of Venda.

Today Transkei is seen by some  
observers as an ANC fief, with its  
defence force allegedly providing  
training facilities, logistical sup-  
port and weapons for ANC gueril-  
las at the expense of South Afri-  
can taxpayers.

Venda, like Transkei, is a mem-  
ber of the ANC-led Patriotic

Front. The ANC's wooing of Brig-  
adier Ramashuwana, a South Afri-  
can-trained policeman, is an even  
more spectacular triumph.

Brigadier Ramashuwana's  
April 1990 coup, carried out to re-  
store "law and order" and wel-  
comed by President de Klerk as a  
bulwark against chaos, is suspect-  
ed as having been instigated by  
South Africa's military establish-  
ment. The military's rationale, it  
is hypothesised, was to organise

by their own hand rather  
than allow ANC activists to over-  
throw the enfeebled and incompe-  
tent administration of Venda's  
last president, Frank Ravele.

It is well known that Brigadier  
Ramashuwana was jeered by  
ANC supporters shortly after he  
took power. The suspicions suggest  
that Brigadier Ramashuwana,  
having feigned towards the ANC  
to silence his opponents, is still  
Pretoria's man and that he may  
yet move in another direction.

President de Klerk, having lost  
the battle for Transkei, in part be-  
cause of suspicions that Pretoria  
had sided with South African com-  
panies which were allegedly rip-

ping off Transkei, has not been  
idle. He has drawn five of the  
leaders to his side, in large mea-  
sure by positing a future South  
Africa with strongly based region-  
al governments. His five black  
allies believe or hope they will be  
able to wield power within  
strongly entrenched regional gov-  
ernments, instead of being over-  
whelmed by an ANC-controlled  
central government.

The competition between the ANC and the De Klerk administration for the loyalties of the home-land leaders has strengthened their position. Neither the ANC nor Mr de Klerk dare ignore their wishes for fear of driving them into the opposing camp.

There is one more point reason while their wishes cannot be ignored. All have men under arms. Four of these 10 quasi-states have their own armies. All 10 have their own police forces. -

The leaders may be despised in some quarters as puppets. The guarantees of their security (forces, however, are real, as Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's soldiers showed at Bishe on September 7.0 .

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THE STAR, WEDNESDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Seize the  
â\200\230moment -\_

HE rebuilding of a â\200\234climate condu-  
cive to negotiationsâ\200\235 â\200\224 South Afri-

B canspeak for a state of mind in

which politicians are prepared to  
talk rather than fight â\200\224 was given a con-  
siderable boost yesterday by ANC presi-  
dent Nelson Mandela. In an important in-  
terview with this newspaper, he sent out a  
message of conciliation and urgency. Com-  
promises on all sides were necessar{, he  
said, in order to pull South Africa back  
from the brink of disaster. .

Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s words are welcome in-  
deed, and they deserve to be received and  
reciprocated in kind by Mr de Klerk, This  
should help to alter the mood of the coun-  
try, and to lift ordinary people out of:-a  
months-long trough of despondency. We  
have seen before how fragile is public con-  
fidence, and how cavalier the politicians  
have been in allowing it to be so badly da-  
maged. ]

But, of course, expressions of hopeful  
gentiment are not enough. We look to Mr  
Mandela to ensure that his reading of the  
situation generally â\200\224 and his recognition  
of the parlous state of the economy in par-  
ticular ~â\200\224 filters through to all ranks o  
his organisation and its allies. .

While insisting on the democratic right  
to launch mass action, the ANC leader said  
that everything possible should be done to  
avoid so damaging the economy that it be-  
came irreparable. He went so far as to say  
that a report from Finance Minister Derek  
Keys had â\200\234frightenedâ\200\235 him.

Similar fears have not penetrated Cosa-  
tu, whose leaders called yesterday for an  
income tax boycott, stayaways and con-  
sumer boycotts. Unlike demonstrations and  
petitions, these acts are certain to score  
direct hits on the already-wounded econ-  
omy. Cosatu is specifically choosing tactics  
which make life very difficult for business,  
and which deepen the economie crisis.

Mr Mandela has made a courageous and statesmanlike intervention. Now for the difficult part: in the interests of the economy, he must crack the whip over the heads of his followers and allies. /

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THE STAR, WEDNESDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

i AR

. Natal camageb;

\ g

y A NEW and ominous pattern is emerging

& in Natal's killing fields. Men masquerading as soldiers or policemen are murdering innocent people with pitiless efficiency. The latest victims, eight Inkatha Freedom Party members, were shot and burnt to death when the bakkie in which they were travelling was ambushed by unknown gunmen near Umgababa, on the south coast. The attackers wore uniforms, according to survivors.

The Umgababa massacre came barely a week after 12 people were murdered at Ensagweni, near Port Shepstone. They were all IFP members, 10 of whom were waiting for transport to a meeting. Again the killers reportedly wore uniforms. -

. Earlier, on August 28, uniformed men, claiming to be members of the SAP fire-arms unit, raided the house of a headman, and IFP leader near Richmond. They demanded two rifles issued by the KwaZulu government; then lined the man, his wife and their six children against a wall and shot them. A black soldier was later arrested in connection with the slaughter.

These killings are as appalling and as

- dangerous as the massacre of ANC supporters at Boipatong and Bisho. They must

! .-beinvestigated with the same urgency.

â\200\224

â\200\224



YOS â\200\224

special session

- . By Peter Fabricius

Political Correspondent

The Government is pre-  
paring a range of legisla-  
tion for next monthâ\200\231s  
short session of Parlia-  
ment to prepare the stat-

ute books for transitional -  
government.

Bills to set up a transi-  
tional executive, phase  
out the apartheid-based

â\200\234own affairsâ\200\235 govern- Â°

ment departments and  
abolish further by-elec-  
tions are those in the  
pipeline.

. \* However, Constitution-  
al Development Minister  
Roelf Meyer yesterday  
cautioned against pre-  
mature speculation and  
said no announcements  
would be made until the  
Government had consult-  
ed other interested par-  
ties.

lf Bills for the transi-  
tion were tabled this  
year, they would be en-  
abling measures which  
would be implemented  
only once agreement has  
been reached.

He stressed, though,  
that no final decisions  
had been reached and  
said sieculatlon in the  
press t  
mature.

The speculation fol-  
lows leaks from the Na-  
tional Partyâ\200\231s caucus at  
the weekend at which  
Cabinet Ministers  
briefed MPs on their  
plans. -

NP sources said the  
legisiative programme  
could be firmed up at

is week was pre-

Roelf Meyer . . .  
cautioned against  
premature speculation,

today's weekly meeting  
of the Cabinet,

The legislative package for the short session could include measures to set up a transitional executive comprising all the main negotiating parties to run alongside the Cabinet during the first phase of transition and to supervise the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly and interim legislature.

The legislation to abolish own affairs would enable the Government to

phase out the system,

starting with the integration of the separate white, coloured and Indian departments of education, agriculture, health, budget, and local government and housing.

It is understood that the Government intends maintaining the ministers' councils in each of the three administrations, at least for now. Another proposed

measure would abolish

by-elections.

GNESDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

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16 '32 17:15 VOS-IFF 444 2

AR, 'WEDNESDAY,

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

New hope for a speedy  
return to negotiations has

been raised by ANC lead-

er Nelson Mandela's con-  
ciliatory remarks in an  
interview with The Star  
and a positive response  
from the Government  
last night.

Mr Mandela's overture to  
the Government for a quick  
resumption of negotiations  
welcomed by the Govern-  
ment and others as positive  
and conciliatory has im-  
proved prospects for a meet-  
ing soon between Mr Mande-  
la and President de Klerk to  
discuss the issue of violence.

This in turn is the key to a  
return to formal constitu-  
tional negotiations, sus-  
pended in June.

The Government yester-  
day welcomed the positive  
and conciliatory tone of  
many statements made by  
Mr Mandela in his interview  
with The Star on Monday.

It trusts that this attitude  
will be reflected in the ac-  
tions and statements of other  
ANC leaders as well, Gov-  
ernment spokesman Dave  
Steward told The Star.

Reasonable -

On his return from a trip  
to Zambia last night, Mr  
Mandela said the summit  
was crucial for progress in  
the peace process.

The Government should  
take the initiative by releas-  
ing political prisoners, ban-  
ning the public display of  
dangerous weapons and  
closing off hostels.

I sincerely hope Mr de  
Klerk will carry out these  
reasonable demands and  
help me to convince every-  
one around me to meet.

Mr Mandela said in the interview that â\200\234to save the country from disasterâ\200\235 the ANC was eager to restart negotiations and the Government need make no new concessions for this to happen.

It would be enough for it to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

16 SEPTEMBER 1992

He was deeply concerned about the state of the economy, following a recent report from Finance Minister Derek Keys which he had found â\200\234frighteningâ\200\235.

His remarks were welcomed by politicians and business organisations yesterday, although the IFP expressed reservations.

Reciprocate

Mr Keys said he was â\200\234glad to see economic realities are sm'tin% to figure in the decisions of major playersâ\200\235,

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew said Mr Mandela's â\200\234reasonable-ness and statesmanlike attitudes should be reciprocated by everyone concerned about the countrrs well-beingâ\200\235.

National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe hoped for action to back up Mr Mandelaâ\200\231's words. .

â\200\234The fact only three issues must be addressed by the President before they can meet, and the more realistic terms in which Mr Mandela defines these issues, is progress indeed,â\200\235 he said.

SA Chamber of Business chief economist Ben van Rensburg welcomed Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s â\200\230â\200\230recognition of i economic realitiesâ\200\235.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry welcomed Mr Mandela's gesture and hoped other parties would respond similarly.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said steps to get back to negotiations were to be welcomed. But he did not think Mr Mandela's remarks represented a sudden conversion to the politics of moderation and compromise. He attributed them to the negative local and foreign criticism of the ANC's revolutionary agenda.

THE STAR, WEDNESDAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1982

Ulundi \*

sstill on

By.Kalzer Nyatsumba ./  
Political Reporter ~ \

The ANC's plans to march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi were still on despite Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's warning this week that such a march would trigger a civil war, ANC southârn Natal regional chairman Jeif Radebe said yesterday. . -~  
'He.sald that unlike the march which was planned to take place in Bophuthalswana . on Saturday, the march on Ulundi had not been callâd off. However, ANC â\200\230southern Natal regional secretary S'bu Ndebele said the final decision Y would be taken at 'â\200\234a higher levelâ\200\235, adding that the-mass action would involve â\200\234creative 'strate;ie,s"â\200\230 s it et % 2  
\_ Their statements came after the news that the ANC had called off its march on Mmbatho following Mr Justice Rî-Âhard Goldstoneâ\200\231s intervention. â\200\230Observers had believed that the Ulundl, march Wwould: also be called off, - ME iR  
\*.:fwwaZulu ChiÃf Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Buthelezi warned the - ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance on Monday that a march on.Ulundi would lead to â\200\234a bloodbathâ\200\235. . Such a march, he said,\*Wwould - be the opening salvo-in the start of a.South. African eivil.. war. L

people more control over

their lives and ensuring that public services are efficient and appropriately tailored to local conditions are widely accepted. However, the constraints on what powers can be devolved have not been clearly spelt out in the debate on federalism.

These include, firstly, the need for the authorities to be able to ensure sound macroeconomic management. A prerequisite for implementing effective stabilisation policies is that sub-central governments' autonomy over taxation, borrowing and spending must not clash with effective overall management.

Secondly, if markets are to operate efficiently, distortions must be minimised. Differences between regulations, standards and the structure of taxation across regions introduce distortions, inhibiting resources from flowing to best use. The more marked the differences, the more severe will be the distortions. Giving regions power to distort economic conditions in their favour is likely to have chaotic results which, in the long term, will benefit nobody.

It is not as a means of giving

Thirdly, related to this, is the need to co-ordinate redistribution nationally so that the burden of this intervention is spread evenly across the country. This restricts the room for manoeuvre that can be given to the regions not only in terms of progressive taxation but, more significantly, in the structure of spending.

- It is the pattern of public expenditure, especially on social services, which largely determines the redistributive content of fiscal policy. In SA, the severe spatial mismatch between the location of resources and needs, largely resulting from apartheid planning, is a further reason why redistribution needs to be co-ordinated nationally.

Fourthly, given the inevitability of large-scale urbanisation in coming decades, urbanisation policies are required which enable consistent intervention both at the origin and destination of demographic flows. If re-



\*

SA should aspire to  
erman model of  
lism

unitary

PHILIP VAN RYNEVELD

gions are given the power to  
compete in making themselves as  
unattractive as possible to poor in-  
coming migrants in the hope that  
migrants will go elsewhere, then im-  
plementing coherent urbanisation  
policies will be impossible.

These constraints limit signifi-  
cantly the autonomy that can be giv-  
en to regions, rendering much of the  
thinking on federalism among gov-  
ernment and its Codesa allies  
unworkable. Their proposals are

- particularly inappropriate given the

slaggering increase in the mobility -  
of goods, people, services and infor- -  
mation over the past two decades.

It is this increased mobility which  
has led to the creation; for example,  
of the single European market; and  
the need, troubling to many. Europe  
ans, to shift the balance of power -  
making powers from the level of the -  
nation state to a co-ordinated, Euro-  
pean-wide level. The Maastricht  
treaty is an important step in  
rationalising that inevitable process. -

Against this background: it be-  
comes clear that, given modern eco- -  
nomic conditions, it is inappropriate  
to think of regions in SA-as mini-  
national governments.. While only

- the governments will admit it openly,

it would appear that this apartheid

arew

Instead, the important policy-  
making focus of regions should be  
expressed collectively at the  
national level, probably through a  
second chamber, so that national

policies are sensitive to regional

variation. . -

Regions also have an important  
role in enhancing local control over -

how nationally determined policies  
are implemented, ensuring that they

local authorities.

The German constitution has de-  
veloped largely in this direction, The -  
only area where the 16 German '

Länder have significant autonomy is  
over cultural issues. However, their  
influence over national policies  
through the Bundesrat - the second  
chamber - has increased over the  
years, and they have substantial re-  
sponsibility for implementation of  
national policies. Germany is often

characterised as a unitary federal -

system, a label well worth aspiring  
to in SA!

It follows that, if regions are re-  
quired to enrich national policies and

paradigm still) determines each of the 16 strengthen local control within the

the thinking on federalism in Ger-  
many and among its allies.

framework of these policies, then the  
seven regions recently unveiled at

adapted to local needs. This  
requires regions to work closely with

government's conference on federal-  
ism are too big. The same is true of  
the 10 regions proposed by the ANC's  
constitutional committee, (The pro-  
posal was not accepted at the ANC's  
May policy conference, pending fur-  
ther debate.)

" Smaller regions are required to

\* give voice to the different logic in  
life in different areas. The non-

metropolitan areas need to be sepa-

- rated from the metropolitan areas so

that the non-metropolitan voice is

- not swamped by the more vocal and

increasingly large metropolitan pop-  
ulations in some regions. )

- By the same token, the capacity of

the metropolitan-areas to deal with

massive . population growth over

coming decades will be impaired by  
a regional-layer between them and  
the centre. Smaller regions can work  
more flexibly and intimately with  
the local level, ensuring that as much  
power as is feasible can be moved to  
this level, . :

Most revenue will have to con-  
tinue being collected at national  
level with a large proportion being  
transferred to the regions and locali-  
ties, much of it earmarked to ensure  
implementation is within the terms  
of national policies, but some of it  
unconditional. :

A pen  
comm

national finance  
ion should assist in ensuring

\*

-his 15 gone fairly, transparently and  
in a manner that enables clear plan-  
ning and is not subject to arbitrary  
political interference. This is a much  
better way of getting resources into  
areas of greatest need than trying to

- Join poor areas with rich ones within

large regions and hoping this will  
ensure the required redistribution.  
It is sometimes argued that having  
more, smaller regions somewhere  
between 15 and 25 would make  
government more expensive. How-  
ever, if regional governments are  
not thought of as mini-national gov-  
ernments, this need not be the case.  
Furthermore, having smaller re-  
gions would obviate the need for an-  
other level of government which, in  
the context of seven or 10 regions,  
would be necessary. Replicating  
national bureaucracies seven times  
over, as appears to be the intention  
in the new NP model, would be an  
enormous drain on state coffers.

Smaller regions would add variety

to the country's politics and, in the  
short term, would reduce the poten-  
tial for conflict in areas such as  
Natal by avoiding a winner-takes-all  
situation.

Substantial decentralisation is  
necessary to enhance democracy, as  
well as ensure that when problems  
arise responsibility does not always  
get passed to the centre, as this un-  
dermines the potential to maintain

fiscal discipline. But this must happen within the framework of coherent national institutions.

The balance is a delicate one. For this reason it is a pity that the NP's political strategy is so dependent on an alliance with existing homeland leaders and other institutions spawned by apartheid, as this diminishes the capacity for reason to be brought to the design of perhaps the single most important element of our new constitution.

] Van Ryneveld is employed by the Economic Policy Research Project,

University of Western Cape, which -

undertakes research for organisations in the democratic movement's. This article represents a personal view and should not be construed as ANC policy.

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7TIZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER â\200\2341992

Peace march an actâ\200\231  
of faith: De Beer .

3 Citizen Reporter

CHURCH leaders and  
members of Parliament,  
in support of the immedi-  
ate resumption of nego-  
tiations and the end to vi-  
olence, yesterday called  
on the countryâ\200\231s main pol-  
itical players to put South  
Africaâ\200\231s intercsts ahead of  
selfish party politics.

Addressing a group of  
about 300 people who  
marched through Johan-  
nesburg yesterday in a  
non-party political march  
for peace and negotia-  
tions, onc of the speak-  
ers, Democratic Party  
leader, Dr Zach de Beer,  
said the march was an act  
of faith by South Africans  
of diverse backgrounds to  
show that they believed  
that the country could  
suceeed.

He said a problem with  
the main players was that  
they had already started  
to fight elections even  
though a constitution for  
these clections had not  
been laid down.

â\200\234First establish a new  
constitution and then  
fight elections, I appeal to  
you (main players) to say

and do what you know to  
be right and have faith

. that the people will fol-  
low.â\200\235

The march was led by,  
among others, DP MP Mr  
Tony Leon, Dr De Beer,  
the International Pente-  
costal Church of SA  
president, the Rev Fred-  
erick Modise, Bishop Pet-  
er Storey of the Method-  
ist Church and Pastor Ray  
McCauley of Rhema Min-  
istries.

Other groups represen-

ted were the Temple Israel Congregation, the United - Conservative Congregation and Women for Peace.

Marchers held banners with slogans "Peace Now" and "Negotiations Now" and John Lennon's song "Give Peace a Chance" played over the loudspeakers as the group marched through Johannesburg.

Addressing the group outside the Civic Theatre Mr Storey said that a strong message to all parties in the country should be that any party that needs violence to further

its cause could not be trusted with the future of South Africa.

He said simple steps had to be taken to ensure

that violence ends and ne-

gotiations proceed. These steps included that the main political party leaders should be seen together, that peace on the ground be kept by all and that a peace force consisting of all groups be instated and that the people be disarmed.

He said everyone had a part to play in bringing peace to the country.

Mr McCauley appealed to the main political players to rise above selfish party politics and get along with serious talks,

He also appealed to these leaders not to ignore the church in finding a solution as the church's role was a vital and facilitating one.

As the group dispersed a small crowd of about 30 people from the Wits Workers' School held a protest gathering nearby, concerning the increase in their tuition fees.



TIZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

â\200\230Unrest abating, but

g I\ Citizen Reporter

ALTHOUGH the number of unrest-related incidents has declined since [1990, the number of deaths in these incidents i has increased â\200\234out of al { proportion.

( This fact emerges from #the unrest statistics for Tthe past few years contained in a confidential government report.

According to the report, there were 8 072 incidents of political violence in 1989. This figure rose to an all time high of 17 088 in 1990, but declined to 8815 during 1991. For the first six months of 1992 4 489 incidents were reported.

The number of people killed in these years proportional to the number of incidents, has however been steadily growing. In 1989 659 people lost their lives in political violence,

while in 1990 the figure rose to 2 674,

In 1991 2240 people lost their lives in political violence, even though the number of unrest incidents in that year dropped almost by half compared to 1990, In the first six months of this year 1181 people had already died in political violence,

#### Firearms

Attributing the increasingly high mortality rate to the fact that â\200\234â\200\230more use is being made of firearmsâ\200\235, the report states that a great number of guns are now in circulation.

The number of policemen killed in political violence has also been rising. In 1989 71 policemen



were killed, as opposed to 107 in 1990. During 1991, 137 lost their lives while in the first six months of 1992 alone, 96 members

- death toll rising "

of the force have been killed, The figure is now 170.

The report states that the government attributes the sharp increase in violence to the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and other organisations,

Instead of becoming political parties, they remain liberation movements at heart, with the ANC only paying lip service to its undertaking to suspend the armed struggle, says the report.

The report adds that although 2 240 people had died in unrest related violence in 1991, 14 693 persons were murdered in non-unrest-related incidents over the same period.

The use of the necklace method of murdering people has also increased since 1991, the report states. In 1991 24 people were killed in this manner, compared with the 23 people already killed in this manner during the first six months of 1992. Necklace murders reached an all time high in 1986 when 306 people were killed in this manner.

Proportionally more people have been killed by being burnt to death other than by the necklace method in 1992 than in any other previous year, states the report. In 1990 101 people were burnt to death, while in 1991 102 people were killed in this manner.

In the first six months |

of 1992 alone 76 people  
have been killed in this  
manner,

CITIZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

â\200\230Govt report warns  
il war possible

'â\200\234â\200\230â\200\224..-

â\200\234c1v1

By Arthur Kemp

IF ALL private arm-  
ies, including the  
ANCâ\200\231s, are not dis-  
banded civil war is  
possible in South Afri-  
ca, says a confidential  
government report on  
political violence re-  
cently submitted to the  
Cabinet for considerat-  
ion.

The report, a copy of  
which is in The Citizen's  
possession, deals with vi-  
olence from all quarters,  
including- the Right and  
Left wings.

It says peace can be at-

tained only if all private  
armies are disbanded.  
â\200\234If, due to political  
reasons, parties and orga-  
nisations, including the  
ANC, do not want to ac-

cept this then we must inâ\200\231

all honesty acknowledge  
that the possibility of a  
civil war is not excluded,â\200\235  
reads the report.

The question of Umk-"

hoato we Sizwe (MK)  
has, according to the re-

thercfore qualifies as a  
private army, the report  
says.

Secondly, the ANC's  
armed struggle was a mili-  
tary failure. Mr Chns  
Hani, MK's chief of staff,  
had admitted this in the  
February 1991 issue of the |  
SACP journal, Umseben- '  
2i.

â\200\234The ANCâ\200\231s unwilling-  
ness to implement the  
existing agreements on  
MK has an aggravating '  
cffect on the ereation and

expansion of other private armies which see themselves in opposition

port, caused the government great concern and

has been an issue since August 1990, when the Pretoria Minute signed.

The ANC has failed to

implement agreements on MK, arguing that it is a "people's army", not a private one. The ANC also maintains that MK played a significant role in forcing the government to the negotiation table and should therefore enjoy a special status.

The report says both these assertions are incorrect. "MK was formed by a small group of ANC/SACP members falling under the political command of the ANC" and

was

to the ANC," says the report. "These structures include the AWB's Winkommandos, Ystergardes and Rooivalke as well as the Boerekommando of the Eastern Transvaal."

"The report also makes mention of the decision by the Chief Minister of

4 KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, to set up

panded its activities since February 1990.

"This practice casts doubts on the ANC's true intentions.

"Information currently available to the police

JF points to the fact that during

1991 a total of 971 confirmed cases of ANC members

in 2011 "self protection units" for ' leaving South Africa for  
Inkatha Freedom Party | training.

! members in Natal,

The report goes on to  
detail how, instead of  
scaling down its activities  
and training, MK has ex-

Since the beginning of  
1992 alone more than 300  
ANC members have left  
the country for military  
training.

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i11ZEN, 16 SEPTEMBERK 1992

NPâ\200\231s Parliament plans  
on congress agenda, -â\200\231

Political Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 Some  
details of government  
plans for the October sit-  
ting of Parliament, in-  
cluding preparations for a  
government of national  
unity, are expected to be-  
come known during the  
National Party's Trans-  
vaal Congress, which  
starts tomorrow.

President DÂ¢ Klerk,  
who begins his fourth  
year in office on Satur-  
day, will address the con-  
gress on Friday momming.  
The current violence, the  
negotiation process and  
the October sitting are  
Likely to be among the  
topics he will discuss,

Following last week-  
end's NP caucus meeting,  
there has been wide-  
spread speculation that  
legislation will be intro-  
duced next month with  
the following purposes:

Â® To cnable the State  
President to set up a gov-  
emment of nartional  
unity, by appointing  
people outside of Parlia-  
ment to Cabinet or quasi-  
Cabinet posts.

Â® To enable the ad-  
ministration of â\200\234own af-  
fairsâ\200\235 departments of the

three Houses to be ration-  
alised under single, nat-  
ional departmeats.

Â¢ To cnable Black  
â\200\234own affairsâ\200\235, now del-  
egated to the six self-gov-  
erning territories, to be  
similarly administered  
within the rationalised  
state departments. .

Â® To abolish all future  
Parliamentary by-elec-

tions. The party presently holding 2 seat would nominate a replacement in the event of a vacancy.

All these would set the stage for interim government, while 2 new constitution is drawn up.

Responding to inquiries yesterday, Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, said media speculation had created the incorrect impression that final decisions had already been taken.

â\200\234The government has not yet decided on the

package of legislation which it will present in this year's short sitting of Parliament,â\200\235 said Mr Meyer.

â\200\234Further consultation will take place with other

institutions involved, before announcements are

made.

â\200\234If legislation of this nature is introduced, it will be of an enabling nature, with a view to its implementation after further consultation.â\200\235

Mr Meyer will speak on constitution issues in an address to the NP Transvaal Congress at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, tomorrow afternoon.

Natal death toll

DURBAN. At least 195 people were killed in political violence in Natal during August the highest monthly death toll in the province since early 1990, according to the Human Rights Commission,

In its monthly bulletin on unrest, the HRC said there had been an alarming increase in unrest-related deaths in Natal with the Port Shepstone and northern Natal areas the worst hit.

Forty-four people were killed in the Port Shepstone area in August

with Murchison recording 41 of these murders. The death toll for the entire South Coast was 68,

There had also been a dramatic increase in deaths in the North Coast region with 55 killings recorded there,

The Durban Functional Region was also hard hit, recording 45 deaths last month.

The only area to witness a decrease in deaths was the Midlands with 40 deaths recorded last month and 27 this month (August), said the bulletin.

shows

Focusing on the South Coast, the HRC said the extremely serious situation there had led to a growing refugee crisis and the breakdown of schooling. Murchison and Foweni were worst affected.

Violence-racked Esikawini on Natal's North Coast recorded 35 killings last month. The attackers targeted homes



of ANC-aligned members  
ina seemingly systematic

campaign to eliminate the .

orgaaisation and its alljesâ\200\231  
leadership in the icgion,  
the HRC claimed.

The report said investj-

increase:

mation leading to the ar-  
rest of those responsible

gations by independent  
monitors pointed to a hit-  
squad operating in the  
area.

Focusing on the Kwa-

Zulu Police, the HR(â\200\234;  
said residents from Fol-:  
Mission,

weni, Adams  
Esikhawini

and;  
UmZinyathi had impli-;

cated the KZP in attacks;  
on them and submissions  
had been made by the SA  
National Civic Organisa-  
tion to the Goldstone  
Commission to investi-  
gate the role of the KZp  
ia political violence.

Â® Police have offered a  
R20 000 reward for infor-

HRC }

for Mondayâ\200\231s massacre at  
Umgababa on the Natal  
South Coast in which  
eight people were killed.  
A group of 16 people  
were on their way to work  
when gunmen, wearing  
army uniforms, opened  
fire on the bakkie in

- which they were travel-

ling. Eight people es-  
caped the attackers.

However, seven people  
in the back of the bakkie  
were shot and the bakkie  
set alight. Their charred  
bodies were found by  
police. â\200\224 Sapa.



N men arrive as./

train

MORE international  
observers arrived in  
South Africa yesterday  
as attackers butchered  
more train commuters  
in Johannesburg and 2  
cold-blooded attack in  
Natal set back local |  
peace efforts. il:  
The SAP also an- ifs  
nounced 168 police offi- i  
cets had been killed in the â\200\230

political turbulence this JI;

year.  
After killers dressed in d

military gear shot dead  
eight lnkatha Frecedom |  
Party supporters people s  
at Umgababa. in Natalon;  
Monday, the IFP said it  
was suspending its in-  
volvement in peace ef-  
forts ia Richmond. Police 1  
offered R20 000 for infor-  
mation leading t0 the ar- |  
rest and conviction of the  
assalants.

The SA Council of  
Churches and Congress of  
SA Trade Umons con:

demned the murders. Co-  
satu blamed the attack on  
Â«shadowy death squadsâ\200\235  
and the SACC said the at-  
tack was usenselessâ\200\231.

The IFP also demanded  
that a special unit should  
be established l@ inyesti-  
gate the role of the Afri-  
can National Congressâ\200\231  
military wing, Umkhonto  
we Sizwe, in the wake of  
the murder of 32 IFP sup-  
porters in four recent at-  
tacks in KwaZulu.

In a fresh outbreak of |  
train attacks, police said |  
three people were killed

and 11 others injured in  
attacks on Jjohannesburg-

|  
deaths m

the country to help halt  
the internecine violence  
in which more than 6 000  
people have died in the  
past two years. '

Three senior Common-  
wealth observers arrived  
yesterday to liaise with  
United Nations counter-  
parts and officials of the  
National Peace Commit-  
tee.

The UN on Monday  
night announced the ap-

pointment

ment of 3 special en-  
voy to South Africa, Mt  
Virendra Dayal, who  
would visit the country.  
for a week and meet the |  
government and a host of  
other political groupings.

The first 18 of 50 ex-  
pected UN observers ar-  
rived in Johannesburg on  
Sunday under the lead-  
ership of Tanzania's Is-

land trains early on

Monday.

The three, including 2

women, were killed on 2  
(rain at Soweta's New Ca-  
aada Station. Police said  
the woman was stripped  
of her clothes and tossed  
from the train.  
International observers  
continued to stream into

mat Steiner. â\200\224 Sapa. J

awaiian  
self-rule

By Sandra Oshiro  
HONOLULU, Haw-  
aii... â\200\224 Native. Haw=â\200\224:  
ailans\_are increasing. -

~their . dtma'i-\201as-toL;

self-government as Â°  
the islands prepare to  
mark the 100th anni-  
versary of the mon-  
archyâ\200\231s overthrow.

It was on January 17,  
1893 that US naval  
troops, acting at the  
instigation of White  
businessmen, forced the  
abdication of Queen Li-  
liuokalani. Hawaii be-  
came a US territory in  
1900 and the 3Uth state  
of the union in 1959,

As the centennial of  
the coup approaches,  
native Hawaiians are  
becoming increasingly  
insistent in demanding a  
restoration of the is-  
landâ\200\231s sovereignty and  
the righting of perceived  
wrongs dating back 100  
years,

Dr Richard Kekuni  
Blaisdell, a physician  
and spokesman for the  
pro-sovereignty group  
Ka Pakaukau feels  
nothing less than full in-  
dependence from the  
United States will serve  
the purpose.

â\200\230lilegalâ\200\231

The United States, he  
said. seized control of  
Hawaii and continues t0  
control the islands in vi-  
olation of international  
law. â\200\234It is an illegal oc-  
cupation by a colonial  
power,â\200\235 he said.

The demand for sov-  
ercignty comes ut a time  
when native Hawaiian  
culture is in full revival.  
Hula dancers abound,  
Hawaiian music has a  
considerable following

"

and Hawaiian culture and language are studied more and more in classrooms.

But conditions among the 185 000 native Hawaiians are not good.

Since the turn of the century, Hawaii has gone from an agricultural economy dependent on sugar and the pineapple to one reliant on tourism. Most native Hawaiians were left behind as this new economy emerged.

A recent report of the US Congress Office of Technology Assessment showed native Hawaiians die at a rate 34 percent higher than that of all other races in the United States.

They also have far higher rates of heart disease, cancer and diabetes than the rest of the nation. And they have less access to medical

care than others living in Hawaii.

Largest groups

No one ethnic group represents a majority in the islands. Whites make up the largest group with 33 percent of the population. followed by the Japanese (22.3 percent), Filipinos (15.2 percent), Hawaiians (12.5 percent), Chinese (6.2 percent) and other races.

Those of part-Hawaiian ancestry are growing in numbers, largely

as a result of marriages with members of other ethnic groups.

But the pool of pure-blooded Hawaiians is dwindling and some such as Larry Miike of Papa Olu Lokahi, 2

health programme for native Hawaiians, whom their decreasing numbers has serious implications for the survival of the native culture.

Legislation was introduced in the Congress earlier this year to establish a blueprint for Hawaiian sovereignty that might operate in a way similar to native American Indians and Eskimos, that is, as nations within a nation.

But there was no consensus on the proposal and it was withdrawn until a consortium of Hawaiian groups reviews the options for self-government under a separate Hawaiian nation.

Along with the call for sovereignty are demands for US compensation for the loss of lands and other resources in overthrow, and recognition of legal rights to sue the federal government for a breach of trust in its handling of Hawaiian affairs.

Although President Grover Cleveland denounced the 1883 military overthrow as illegal, the United States

the 1883 .

s want

eventually agreed to annex the islands, prompted by pro-annexation forces who spread rumours that British

forces were poised to take over the islands if the United States failed to act.

Changes

Native Hawaiians like Governor John Waihee were successful in push-

/ing for changes to the

state consgrution 1M  
1978.

The amended consti-  
tution gave special fish-  
ing and gathering rights  
to native Hawaiians and  
cstablished the Office of  
Hawaiian Affairs to  
manage the assets of the  
pative Hawaiian people  
held in ftrust by the  
state. !

This year, Mr Wai-  
hee's administration  
also approved \$12 mil-  
lion (R32,4 million) in  
Â¢ompensation for pative  
Hawaiians for the  
stateâ\200\231s illegal or unau-  
thorised use of lands set  
aside for native Haw-  
aian homesteading.

Another \$13,8 million  
(R37,2 million) was ear-  
marked for developing  
home and agricultural  
lots for Hawaiians.

But the state main-

" ains it is the federal

govenment that bears  
the heaviest responsibil-  
ity and must compen-  
sate pative Hawaiians  
for the overthrow and  
other wrongs committed  
before Hawaii became 2  
state in 1959. :  
So far tbe Bush ad-|  
ministration has deaied  
such responsibility. â\200\224  
Sapa-Reuter.



TIZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

Mandela will  
meet FW if . -/

AFRICAN National  
Congress president Nel-  
son Mandela returned  
from Zambia last night  
and confirmed he was  
prepared to meet the  
State President on condit-  
ion that Mr De Klerk  
gave undertakings on  
three key issues.

They are the fencing off

of hostels, banning public

display of dangerous  
weapons and the release  
of political prisoners.

If he makes an under-  
taking and stipulates the  
time-frame within which  
he will implement those  
undertakings, we will be  
prepared to consider  
them, Mr Mandela told  
reporters at Johannes-  
burg's Lanseria Airport.

Mr Mandela said it was  
not up to him to define  
this time-frame.

There was a crucial  
need for a meeting with  
Mr De Klerk because an  
agreement between the  
government and the ANC  
is vital for the peaceful  
move forward.

Mr Mandela said if Mr  
De Klerk made the three  
undertakings, it would  
help him to convince  
everybody around me to  
meet the government so  
that we can try to address  
the problems facing the  
country.

13: 04 VOs-IF

THE CiTl

â\200\224 > â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

153

IZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

.~ Probe of ANC men

!

1 FROM PAGE 1-

persons who returned to South Africa under the temporary indemnity granted by the government.

The evidence is to be presented to the government before the question

â\200\224â\200\224a

of permanent indemnity or amnesty comes up for review on May 30, 1993, as well as to the relevant Attorneys-General.

â\200\234Further cases could be opened against other ANC members as the investigation proceeds,â\200\235 a

senior police spokesman said.

He said that where evidence was available, all cases of atrocities in ANC camps were being investigated, as well as all incidents of terrorism in South Africa where there was evidence that particular members of the ANC were instrumental in exercising control of terrorist units sent into

| South Africa to carry out

!

designated acts at the direct instructions of senior ANC members.

â\200\234We are also examining the issue of collective re-

sponsibility of the ANC hierarchy for all civilian deaths arising out of acts of terrorism from 1985 onwards, because of the directive at the Kabwe conference of 1985 that soft targets should be attacked,â200\235 he said.

A fresh look was being taken at all 265 deaths which were known from the ANC's own records to have occurred in its camps, as well as the 178 civilian deaths (132 of which were Blacks) which occurred between 1980 and the end of 1989.

Investigations were also taking place to establish responsibility for the 62 civilian deaths in acts of terrorism since the beginning of 1999.

According to the spokesman, evidence in the investigation of past cases has been obtained from court case records where individuals were mentioned, ANC publications and documents, and direct from potential witnesses, a number of whom had indicated they would be prepared to testify if called upon  
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Citizen Reporter

A FULL-SCALE investigation into past crimes in which senior members of the ANC may be implicated as the controllers of terrorists in South Africa, is being conducted by a special - police team established for the purpose.

Seventeen dockets have been opened on a number of serious charges, including murder, sabotage and terrorism

One of the recently promoted Lt-Generals of the police is in overall charge of the investigation.

'j'fl]lcsc investigations

date back to terrorist incidents which were committed in South Africa before the unbanning of the ANC in February 1990, and include the 1983 Pretoria car-bomb in which 19 people died, and a number of other major terrorism incidents.

Investigations are also taking place into possible

â\200\234criminal liability arising

out of atrocities in ANC camps.

Four dockets have also  
been opened against  
senior ANC members re-  
lating to crimes including  
armed robbery, terror-  
ism, and illegal murder  
which occurred after  
the October 1991 indem-  
nity cut off date agreed to  
by the government and  
the ANC.

The investigations into  
past crimes all involve

o FBI-201AGEZ :

LT G  
dockets

\_opened

DUIIBAN

African National Congress is pressing ahead with its planning for a march on Ulundi.

In spite of mounting pressure to call off the march for fears of massive bloodshed, Natal ANC leaders were adamant yesterday that they were still planning the controversial mass action,

The organisation yesterday called off its march on Bophuthatswana, scheduled for this weekend, and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that a march on Ulundi would spark civil war.

ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said: "We are going ahead with our plan to march on Ulundi. We

haven't called it off."

IZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

Ulundi march is on

FROM PAGE 1

. Goldstone Commission said there was little it

Southern Natal ANCA, could do about the

regional secretary Sibusiso Ulundi march at this Ndebele, however, said.

the final decision would be taken at a higher level and the mass action ! would involve creative strategies.

It was not clear whether this meant the organisation was planning other activities should the national leadership decide that a march would be inappropriate,

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday responded with surprise to claims that the plans had been put on hold following his intervention, saying he had not yet even discussed the Ulundi march with the ANC.

Mr Goldstone did confirm that he had discussed the ANC's proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and had subsequently been told it would not take place. He had not, however, raised the Ulundi issue.

A spokesman for the

]

stage as no date had been fixed or details announced.

march would have a national focus, but could not say at this stage who would lead it.

Mr Radebe also reacted to Mr Buthelezi's warning that an ANC march on Ulundi would be "the opening salvo ... in the commencement of a South African civil war".

This, said Mr Radebe, was another indication that the KwaZulu Government was not willing to countenance freedom of expression, association or assembly north of the Tugela River. ;

ANC head office spokesman Gill Marcus said the Bophuthatswana march, scheduled

ed for Saturday, had  
been called off because  
proper plans had not  
been finalised.

The proposed march  
on Ulundi was still at a  
planning stage.

Mr Radebe said the  
planning was being

undertaken  
ANC's three Natal rc-  
gional branches. No  
date or route had been  
fixed yet but "we are  
definitely going to press  
ahead".

He added that the

Some other organisa-  
tions and partics have  
vrge the ANC to re-  
consider its plans to  
march on Ulundi. This  
pressurc may give rise  
to discussion on the  
whole issue of mass ac-  
tion against homelands  
when the ANC National  
Working Committce  
meets in Johannesburg  
on Wednesday. Sapa.

.



@9: 98 VOS-IFF 444 =

T1

Mandela must 3  
concilia

THE National Party wel-

comed Mr Nelson Man.,

dela's conciliatory tone!  
but demanded action

which would back up his |  
words, NP secretary-gen. ;  
eral Dr Stoffe] van dcr[  
Merwe said last night.

He was commenting on;  
the African National;  
.Congress presidentâ\200\231s in-  
terview with g Johannes-  
burg newspaper, which  
Wwas published yesterday,

â\200\234The fact that he has  
indicated that a5 far as he  
is concerned there are  
only three remaining out-  
standing issues to be ad-  
dressed by the Stace  
President before the lead-  
â\202-IS &n meet, and the  
more realistic terms i  
which Mr Mandela de-  
fines these jssues, js pro-  
.gress indeed,â\200\235 Dr Vap  
der Merwe said in a state-

ZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

ment,

In the exclusive inter-  
view, Mr Mandela said to  
â\200\234save the country from  
disasterâ\200\235 the ANC was  
Cager to restart negotia-  
tions â\200\224 and wanted to  
make it 25 easy as possible  
or the government to do  
50,

The government need  
ot make any new conces-  
sions to the' ANC lo get  
talks under way again, Mr  
Mandela said. It had only

to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and the United Nations  
to convey Mr Cyrus Vance on the issues of hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons,

Mr Mandela made clear that if State President De Klerk delivered on earlier promises, the ANC was ready to talk again.

He was prepared to accept undertakings in good faith from Mr De Klerk on the three outstanding issues in order to get South Africa out of the quagmire,

Dr Van der Merwe said in reaction: The fact that Mr Mandela now says that he is prepared to go. Accept undertakings from the State President in

good faith in contrast

to the attitude of the

SACP/ANC alliance during (their) mass action week a month ago is a step in the right direction. i

However, Mr Mandela's pro-negotiation approach is in stark contrast to the shrill and threatening pro-mass action stance adopted by the SA Communist Party in its;

The release of only two days ago, when it accused the State President of murder by proxy and the government of conspiracy at Biko.

This Jekyll and Hyde (

tory words: Stoffe]

proponents of negotiation

" face of the SACP/ANC alliance gives rise to some questions, Dr Van der Merwe said.

Who is the public to

I believe? The reckless  
Communist radicals in the

1 ANC like Kasrils, Hani,  
i1 Gwala and Cronin or the

| |OB Whose behalf Mr Man-  
! Idela apparently obviously  
ftalked in The Star?

\1

\* â\200\234 From day to day one

1 | wonders who has the up-

i | per hand, â\200\235 Dr van der  
| Merwe added. â\200\224 Sapa. -

P.2:

q992

1

GARANKUWA. â\200\224 Bo-  
phuthatswana police of- !  
ferred R2 million to a wit-  
ness and said they would  
help him escape if he did  
not reveal details of the  
operations of  
squadâ\200\235 in the homeland, '}  
a commission of inquiry Y  
heard yesterday. '  
- Bearing a badge sport-  
ing African National Con-  
gress colours, David Mzi-  
mela (26), of Winterveld  
in Bophuthatswana, was  
giving evidence before Mr  
Justice' H N Hendler,  
- chairman of a Commis-  
sion of Inquiry into Mzi-  
melaâ\200\231s allegations that

hit-squads.

Mzimela, who was sen-  
tenced to death for mur-  
|der but whose sentence  
1  
â\200\231was later commuted to 15  
,.yearsâ\200\231 imprisonment, yes-:  
,today told the commis-:  
sion he had been a mem-  
i ber of a hitssquad called:  
: Zebra Force. g

He said he had been in-

â\200\234hit-}.

police were involved in

involved in the bombing of

Police offered  
for my silence:

three homes, including  
that of Dr Sam Motsue- |  
of the National African  
Federated Chambers of  
Commerce.

nyane, former presidentt

The Rev I D Makhudu 4

R2-mâ\204ç

,  
/

Killer/

He said that on May 15,

"

k during the commissionâ\200\231s

hearings, legal counsel for  
Bophuthatswana told him

â\200\230to â\200\234go and wait outsideâ\204ç.

â\200\234Later a policeman,

who operated with me, by

of Garankuwa died when ;i the name of Penyenve,  
Dr Motsuenyaneâ\200\231s bouse 3 came to me.â\200\235

was bombed  
March 1986.

Mzimela produced cop- :  
jes of letters which he said  
he had sent to State Presi-  
dent De Klerk and ANC  
leader Mr Nelson Mande-  
la conceming the opera-  
tions of Zebra Force. i

Mzimela then gave evi-  
dence about the bribe he  
was allegedly offered.

during f

Mzimela told the com-  
mission Penyenye gave  
him a master key which  
he claimed would open ail  
the doors in prison.

Penyenye allegedly told  
Mzimela that if he es-  
caped he would be met at  
Mabopane Railway Sta-  
tion and given R2 million  
to aid his getaway. â\200\224  
Sapa.

ITIZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER

New methods needed

p. 22

1892

to beat crime:

By Fred de Lange  
THE South African  
Police said yesterday  
serious crime had in-  
creased to such an ex-  
tent that new methods,  
including more com-  
munity involvement,  
would have to be used  
to overcome the prob-  
lem.

The chief of the policeâ\200\231s  
department of Crimae Pre-  
vention and [nvestiga-  
tion, Licutenant-Cieneral  
Basie Smit, said in Pre-  
toria yesterday on any  
given day the police had  
to investipate 318 000 se-  
rious crimes.

The escalation in Â¢rime

had reached such a stage  
that the police and the  
state could no longer af-  
ford to be all things to all  
people.

Priorities now had to be  
identified and the police  
would have to be more  
selective in the type of  
crimes they investigated.

â\200\234We must spend time  
and energy oOn cases  
which matter. This would  
leave less time for of-  
fenses under the Liquor  
Act, prostitution and  
gambling.

â\200\234Instead we must  
spend more time on  
crimes such as drug deal-  
ing because the destroy-  
ing effect of drugs on the

cannot be  
emphasised,â\200\235 he

community  
over

said.

Gen Smit said the solution was in mobilising the resources of the wider community.

Crime could only be really solved and minimised with the positive involvement of the community. )

For this reason, he said, the police could never get a programme of police community relations off the ground if the negative media reports against the police continued,

The public had the right to know the facts

... but â\200\230getting a grip on the situationâ\200\231

THE SA Police yesterday claimed they were â\200\234â\200\230getting 2 gripâ\204ç\* on the crime situation in South Africa.

The Witwatersrand Crime Combatting and Investigating Chief, Maj-Gen Chris Serfontein, said serious crime had increased by 12,9 percent in 1990 compared with the previous year, while the increase between 1991 and 1992 was â\200\234oniyâ\200\235 3,21 percent (717 000 cases) as compared with to 1991 (695 000 cases).

The solving rate for serious crimes had increased since the inception of the SAPâ\200\231s National Crime Plan, with 38 000 more people having been arrested and charged in court in the first six months of this year compared with the same period last year, said Gen Serfontein.

More than 387 000 people had been arrested and charged in court last year, while about 500 000 suffered the same fate this year so far, he added.

Gen Serfontein said that during the past six

months, the crime in-

crease had been the lowest in the Western Cape (1,09 percent) compared with the previous year, while the highest serious crime increase was recorded in the western Transvaal = (10,49 percent),

The Witwatersrand had

. shown an increase of 3,24

percent during the same period.

Natal had registered a decrease of 1,82 percent in more serious crimes.

According to Gen Serfontein, the figure had dropped since February this year, when the SAP

introduced their National Crime Plan.

In May this year, the SAP recorded a negative crime figure of 4,61 percent.

A total of 132 000 burglaries in white homes occurred monthly during the first six months of this year, said Gen Serfontein.

There had been a sharp increase in fraud cases during the past four years with almost 20 000 being investigated involving almost R3,7 billion.

Sapa.

ing reduced,

AP

and they had the night to know that the South African Police had achieved great successes.

Gen Smith said a total of 62 percent of all serious crimes in South Africa took place in the Johannesburg/Soweto area, in Natal and the Western Cape.



To combat this, more policemen have been sent to these areas.

Initial figures show that if 12 000 cases of arson in Natal are not counted, serious crime in Natal is be-

Similar figures for the other two regions also show a reduction in the spread of serious crime.

In spite of this, there was still an increase of 321 percent in serious crime in the first six months of this year, with armed robbery and fraud also showing big increases,

Attacks on elderly people increased by almost 30 percent this year with an all time high of almost 50 percent more attacks of this kind in August this year compared with August last year.

But, on the positive side, a decline of 20 percent in the number of burglaries are being experienced in spite of the fact that 132 000 burglaries are reported : every month.

EN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

Police death toll is 168 -

A TOTAL of 168 policemen have been murdered this year, of whom 73 had been on duty and 90 off-duty.

These figures were disclosed at a police conference on Crime Combatting and Investigation, The Present and Future, by Gen Daantjie Huggett, attached to the Violent Crimes Investigation unit of

the SAP. . .

The attacks on policemen were shocking and

their lives had become cheap, he said.

Gen Huggett vowed attackers won't succeed in demoralising the SAP with these increased violent

attacks on the force. . )

The attacks had to be condemned in the strongest

possible terms, Sapa.

P i i i e

ie'TiTIZEN, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

-

|â\200\235 Cosaty .-  
| onradio

A NEW weekly labour  
programme to be broad-  
cast on 11 stations of  
SABC Radio will start to-  
day.

The Congress of SA  
Trade Unions will spon-  
sor the programme â\200\234not  
only as a service to our  
members, but as a service  
to all workersâ\200\235, Cosatu  
said in a statement in Jo-  
hannesburg yesterday.

â\200\224 Sapa.

@9:02 VOS-IFP 444 2198

USINESS

DAY,

Train killings flare up as  
safety-talks stay.

IN A bloody incident three people  
were killed and nine injured on a  
train as it passed through four  
stations on the Soweto line yes-  
terday morning.

The killings came as negotiations  
over commuter safety between the  
SA Rail Commuter Corporation, po-  
lice and ANC-aligned groups re-  
mained on hold after Friday's deci-  
sion to consult constituencies.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene  
Opperman said the killings were  
probably all committed by one gang  
of youths. One victim was stabbed to  
death before being stripped naked  
and flung from the train, he said.  
Another corpse was removed from  
the train at Langlaagte Station.

In spite of this the train's run con-  
tinued uninterrupted and two more  
bodies were thrown off,

Asked why the train had not been  
stopped or searched between the sta-  
tions, Opperman said police could not  
be everywhere at once. There were  
200 railway stations in the region,  
nine of which were in Soweto.

Cosatu issued a statement yester-  
day saying train killings were

r

to covert activity which had also  
sparked renewed violence in Natal

Durban-based DP unrest monitor  
Roy Ainslie said yesterday men in

RAY HARTLEY

SADF uniforms, who were killing

residents of several Natal townships,  
could be part of a third force,  
Elements who were determined to

destabilise the situation were mas-  
sacredly mediating after an attack what part of the

quarantined as SADF troops.

Regulations were needed to cut  
down on the availability of SADF and

police uniforms to the public, Ainslie %

said. An SADF source said greater  
control over the distribution of uni-  
forms was being investigated.

!} In the latest Natal incident, guo-  
i men in SADF and police uniforms  
i killed eight Inkatha supporters in  
! Umgababa on Monday, raising the  
toll in this type of violence to 32 in  
recent weeks.

Sapa reports Natal police have  
Â» offered a R20000 reward for infor-

mation leading to the arrest and con--

viction of those responsible for the  
Umgababa attack.

The SA Council of Churches and

linked Cosatu condemned the murders, with

on hold

Cosatu blaming the attack on â\200\234shad-  
owy death squadsâ\200\235. But Inkatha  
called for the establishment of a spe-

Âcial unit to investigate whether Umk- .

16 SEPTEMBER 1992

- honto we Sizwe played a role in at-,

! tacks by people in SADF uniforms.

\* Ainslie said there were very few

i cases where attacks in Natal had

\* been proven to be linked to either the

5 ANC or Inkatha,

â\200\234Inkatha's ability to evaluate im-â\200\231

Â«

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H

% the victims and the attackers come .

W from is highly suspect,â\200\235 he said.

%

A Human Rights Commission

, statement said yesterday 195 people

â\200\230had died in Natal in August.

Meanwhile, three senior Common-  
wealth observers arrived yesterday  
to liaise with UN counterparts and  
national peace committee.

In Schweizer-Reneke yesterday a UN observer stepped in to dampen & potentially dangerous situation after police fired teargas and unleashed dogs on ANC marchers. Following negotiations the town council permitted the protest to proceed nearby.

At least 28 people were injured during a stampede that followed the police action. R

B T

" BUSINESS DAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

March on F'W"s' home

{ THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP  
Â¢ alliance plans to march on  
f,, President F W de Klerkâ\200\231s  
31 Cape Town residence on  
'{Friday to plant crosses  
't commemorating the Bisho  
i massacre. It has also pledged  
ito â\200\234jamâ\200\235 Cape Town streets on  
v October 12, forcing De Klerk  
. to attend the opening of  
â\200\230- Parliament by helicopter.

SS DAY,

16 SEPTEMBER\204ç1992

FW urged to give undertakings

Mandela calls  
for help on  
peace summi

) ANC president Nelson Mandela last  
- night appealed for President F W de  
Klerk\200\231s help in creating conditions to  
get their peace summit off the ground.  
Arriving back in Johannesburg after a  
short visit to Zambia, Mandela said an  
undertaking from De Klerk on the release  
of political prisoners, the fencing of hostels  
and the banning of the public display of  
weapons would be sufficient to get the two  
rleadex's talking face to face.  
Â¥ ] Mandela indicated last night that he was  
!}) facing pressure from within the ANC to  
: maintain a hard line in regard to talks with  
government.

Mandela said he hoped De Klerk would  
give the undertakings which would help  
him to â\200\234convince everybody around me to  
meet the government so that we Âçan try to  
address the problems facing the country.

â\200\234If he makes an undertaking and stipu-

" lates the time frame within which he will  
implement those undertakings, we will be  
prepared to consider them,â\200\235 he said.

Although the ANC has postponed its pro-  
posed march on Bophuthatswana this  
weekend, Cosatu has announced an escala-  
tion of mass action and the SACP has  
saluted the role mass action has played in  
obtaining government agreement on 2 con-  
stituent assembly.

It is believed that Finance Minister

Derek Keys's concern about the poor state â\200\230  
..of the countryâ\200\231s economy has played a role  
~in prompting the' ANC. leader to redouble -  
efforts to break the negotiations deadlock.

Keys recently gave ANC economic plan- .  
! ning department head Trevor Manuel and !

others a detailed analysis of the extent to  
: which major economie sectors had de-



clined. Manuel conveyed this information

Stoffel van der Merwe welcomed.  
. la's recent conciliatory tone. The fact that  
"Mandela had only mentioned three out-

PATRICK BULGER  
and PETER DELMAR

to Mandela, who said it frightened him.

The Keys presentation was made at the recent launch of the Mont Fleur economic scenarios compiled by a widely representative team including ANC economists, businessmen and academics. The scenario paints a picture of GDP falling by 2% annually by 2000 if a generally acceptable government is not installed.

The NP caucus was also shocked by the presentation at a symposium in the Eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

Keys has said it is necessary to cut public sector consumption of GDP from its current 21% to 16% in the next four to five years, and boost private fixed investment to about 22% to produce annual growth of 3% or 4%.

Keys said yesterday he was pleased economic realities were starting to figure in the decisions of the major players in SA.

Sacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg said the chamber welcomed the obvious recognition by the ANC and Mr Mandela of the reality that the economy is a very determining factor in whether a political transition will be successful or not.

We hope that this will result in the calling off of further mass action which would result in further damage to the economy and loss of life, Van Rensburg said.

Sapa reports that NP secretary-general

de-

standing issues was progress indeed, said Van der Merwe.  
However, Mandela's approach was in  
O To Page 2



9: 10 VOS-IFP 444 3193

SINES

AY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

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Mandela  
stark contrast to the shrill, threatening  
mass action stance adopted by the SACP.

Inkatha dismissed Mandela's comments  
as a desperate attempt to save face.

National chairman Frank Mdlalose said:  
"The ANC has quite simply bitten off more  
than it can chew, and is now reaping the  
rewards of intensively negative interna-  
tional and domestic criticism of its revolu-  
tionary agenda."

BILLY PADDOCK reports that ANC ne-  
gotiator Mohamed Valli Moosa last night  
spelled out further details of the organisa-  
tion's conditions for a summit between De  
Klerk and Mandela.  
~ The ANC had identified at least 120  
. prisoners who clearly fell within the terms  
. of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agree-  
i ments on indemnity.

\* They had to be released immediately,  
and an agreed time frame established for  
the rest to be freed, he said.

The ANC had also identified 18 hostels in  
the PWV it believed were being used to  
launch attacks on its supporters. Special  
security arrangements had to be made at  
these sites.

C From Page 1

"We are happy to negotiate and compare  
our list of hostels, which we have given to  
the Goldstone commission, with that of  
government. Once we agree on a final list,  
we want to see government acting imme-  
diately, by starting to fence off the hostels  
and upgrade security at the entrances to  
prevent weapons being taken in or out. We  
also want the hostels checked to ensure no  
weapons are being stockpiled," he said.

"We also want definite commitments on  
the blanket banning of the carrying of  
weapons in public before we can move on  
to the final phase of the summit on vic-  
lence," said Valli Moosa.

The ANC was eager to see substantive  
constitutional negotiations on track again

as soon as possible, but there was no question of rushing into situations that would not be successful.

Valli Moosa said: â\200\234We cannot allow the summit to fail, which is why we are insisting on these obstacles being resolved first. We are very worried that at the end of the summit neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President de Klerk should say that there was not much progress.â\200\235

BUSINESS DAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

Code of conduct to be |  
drafted for ANC leader%.

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC Women's League has begun drafting a code of conduct for ANC leaders in the wake of the Winnie Mandela saga.

The ANC's national working committee yesterday accepted Mandela's resignation from three key posts but the former Mother of the Nation still faces possible disciplinary action, including expulsion.

The committee is due to consider & report on 2 demonstration in favour of Mandela earlier this year. The report recommends that the demonstrators be brought before a procedural inquiry.

And a second investigation into allegations of corruption in the ANC's social welfare department was still being set up, the league said, 1

Referring to a letter from Mandela to her former deputy and alleged Jover Dail Mpofu that was leaked to the media recently, the ANC said it finds it necessary to reiterate that the allegations contained in the letter of a campaign within the organisation aimed at Nelson Mandela are completely without foundation.

In a recent edition of the league's publication, The Rock, the league's general secretary Baleka Kgosit-sile said the suspension of Mandela and others underlined the need for a code of conduct for leaders.

Our ability to deal honestly and firmly with signs of similar situations in our ranks will go a long way in determining transformation of our society.

2 09:10 VOS-IFP 444 3193

SINCE DAY, 16 SEPTEMBER 1992

200\224\200\224\200\224

DP slates 200\230season 5  
of dark madness 201

"DIRK HARTFORD

DP SPOKESMAN Robin Carlisle has  
condemned Cosatu's call for more  
mass action as 200\234another season of  
dark madness 200\235.

He said Cosatu 200\231s mission was to  
bring about change by force rather  
than negotiation.

And Anglo executive director Bob-  
by Godsell said yesterday the organi-  
sation would be happy to meet Cosatu  
to find constructive solutions to 200\234pre-  
vent conflicts 200\235 as nothing positive  
could be achieved by attacks on indi-  
viduals or organisations.

Godsell was responding to Cosatu 200\231s  
decision at the weekend to target the  
company with industrial action be-  
cause of dismissals during the recent  
metalworkers' strike.

Cosatu, meanwhile, has called on  
employers to respect the desire of  
workers to commemorate the Bisho  
massacre on Friday, when the vice-  
presidents are to be buried. 200\230

Workers will stay away in the east-  
ern Cape and Border regions.

@ Comment: Page &

oAY, 16 SEPTEMBER

992

COMMENT  
e i

" Double game

OSATU leaders find it impos-  
sible to operate without re-  
sorting to the old double game  
â\200\224 playing to the gallery with  
fearsome, unrestrained rhetoric  
while they engage in earnest, 80-  
phisticated, behind-the-scenes talks  
which could teach its alliance part-  
ner, the ANC, a great deal about  
compromise and flexibility.  
It is difficult to determine whe-  
ther grassroots militancy out there  
makes this tactiÂ¿ necessary or whe-  
ther â\200\224 more likely â\200\224 it has just  
become a destructive habit. Either  
way, the union federation seems  
oblivious to the fact that the rhetor-  
ic, whether or not backed up by  
action, can have serious conse-  
quences for those negotiations and  
for economic confidence in general,  
The shopping list of proposed ac-

tions published on Monday is & case  
in point.

Take, for example, the threat-  
ened â\200\234tax revoltâ\200\235. The whole idea of  
a campaign based on the principle  
of "no taxation without representa-  
tionâ\200\235 is an alluring one, and in line  
with the best traditions of western  
democracy. But it is a campaign  
Cosatu has tried repeatedly but

" unsuccessfully to launch since 1986.  
The practical constraints are enor-  
mous, so it has been no more than a  
symbolic reminder of South Afri-  
caâ\200\231s racial injustices each time.

This time, though, the proposal is  
cynical and inappropriate. For one  
thing, provided the politicians get  
their act together, we are only a  
matter of months away from the

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establishment of a broadly repre-  
sentative interim government.

| More importantly, only last week

Cosatu leaders met Finance Minister Derek Keys and various of his colleagues for, apparently, constructive discussions on the economic forum. The only discord, it is understood, was that Keys indicated that his Cabinet colleagues were unhappy about the threat of an anti-PAYE campaign.

The Cabinet, President de Klerk included, was made sceptical about the idea of an economic forum by Keys's conservative predecessor Barend du Plessis. Now, by re-launching a hostile tax campaign, Cosatu is not making it easy for Keys to sell to the Cabinet his constructive views on the issue. If the process runs into opposition from the Cabinet, Cosatu will have only itself to blame.

The federation's threat of occupations/blockades of all cities and

towns to mark the opening of Par-

liament is yet more bluster. The wisdom of the parliamentary sitting is questionable. But Cosatu's threat, while clearly unachievable as we learned from the August mass action campaign, is nevertheless designed to frighten and intimidate.

Cosatu's rhetoric may, as one cynic put it, liberate the organisation's leaders to take cosy teas with Ministers in private rooms. But it is not just a game. One day the costs of that rhetoric, already being paid by many of us, will catch up with Cosatu too.



Report by the Association for Rural Development

The NAT7AL NeRcury

Land transfer  
(eâ\200\224 OT â\200\224 T2

bargaining chip

for KwaZulu K

in negotiations

HE governmentâ\200\231s re-  
cently exposed plan to  
transfer about. 600 000

hectares of state land  
in Natal to KwaZulu adminis-  
tration seems to be more than  
a routine administrative mat-  
ter. Land seems to have be-  
come a major bargaining chip  
in the game of negotiations  
and winning support for a fed-  
eral option for South Africa.  
Quite simply, the planned  
transfer will further  
KwaZulu's power in the  
region.

KwaZulu has become in-  
creasingly visible in areas  
where land claims or land ten-  
ure rights are at issue. At re-  
cent land claim hearings in  
Natal (Impendle, Roosboom  
and Charlestown), KwaZulu  
made representations to the  
Advisory Commission on  
Land Allocation (ACLA) and  
appeals to the communities  
claiming land.

A meeting at Vryheid in  
September, held by the  
Northern Natal Farmworkersâ\200\231  
and Residentsâ\200\231 Committee  
was jointly addressed by Jurie  
Mentz, National Party MP for  
Vryheid and Stephen Sithebe,  
KwaZulu Minister of Interior.  
The meeting saw IFP and NP  
members form a joint co-  
ordinating body for the area.  
This seems to indicate grow-  
ing co-operation between the  
two parties around land.

Recent government attempts to reach the goal of buying support from homeland parties, have contradicted its own undertakings on land reform. In March 1991, in its White Paper On Land Reform, the government undertook to abandon policies of apartheid land allocation. This included scrapping laws which regulated access to land on the basis of race and an end to incorporation of land into the self-governing territories.

Also in 1991 the Abolition

of apartheid policies of the past, the government has continued to undermine movement to genuine settlement of the land issue. Establishing ACLA did not stop government attempts to try to sell off land being claimed by dispossessed communities. The government tried on two occasions to sell off various farms in the Estcourt district which were being claimed by the AmaHlubi tribe. On both occasions public protest over the intended sales managed to halt them.

Following the halting of the sales, the chairman of ACLA, Judge van Reenen, called on the government to freeze sales of all land that was the subject of dispute. In May this year, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Kraai van Niekerk, also undertook that land taken over by the government in terms of apartheid policies would not be sold. And the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Dr Jacob de Villiers, pledged that black communities driven off their land by past policies would be given a chance to put their claims to ACLA.

Again, these undertakings have not stopped further attempts to get rid of land being claimed. Recently, a government department hurriedly sold off some 6 000 hectares of land in the northern Cape which is being claimed by the Majeng community.

Despite undertakings in the 1991 White Paper that home-

land consolidation would end,  
in March this year some 3 mil-  
lion hectares of land was  
handed to the six homelands.  
This followed dissolution of  
the DDA and the SADT.

The current plan to transfer  
land to homeland administra-  
tion comes under a veil of se-  
crecy and an absence of  
consultation with communi-  
ties who live on the land, De<

ite repeated request8 for

Why the ANC wants to march on Ulundi: PATRICK LEEMAN reports  
THE NAAIRLAND MERCURY

/6 Feb, 1992

KwaZulu uses powers

the African National

Congress, Mr Sâ\200\231bu  
Ndebele, has outlined in detail  
the reasons for the  
organisationâ\200\231s decision to pro-  
mote mass action against the  
KwaZulu Government.

Last week both Mr Ndebele  
and Mr Jeff Hadebe told a gath-  
ering in Durban that the ANC  
would, in fact, lead a march to  
Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu,  
to protest against the perceived  
lack of political expression in  
the region.

There has been some  
scepticism in political circles as  
to whether a physical march  
will take place, given the sheer  
strength of the IFP-supporting  
amabutho (regiments) which are  
likely to confront any such pro-  
test, especially north of the  
Tugela.

Mr Ndebele said in an inter-

HE secretary of the  
I | |sout'.hem Natal region of

view with The Natal Mercury  
that the KwaZulu issue had to  
be seen against a much wider  
backdrop as far as ANC strategy  
was concerned. In Natal the  
organisation had been gravely  
concerned with the question of  
the ongoing violence and there  
had been protests on March 3  
and 4 this year in both Durban  
and Pietermaritzburg in sup-  
port of an interim government

and a constituent assembly.

Now the strategy was focusing  
on the question of the  
bantustans, in which some 50%  
of the total African population

of South Africa lived. As far as KwaZulu was concerned, more than 70% of the Zulu people fell directly under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Government.

Under the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, a great deal of power which had been centralised under the SA Gov-

ernment devolved to the so-called homelands. It was only basically areas such as foreign affairs which were reserved for the central Government.

Mr Ndebele pointed out that all the self-governing regions and independent homelands had their own police forces.

Homeland governments controlled where their residents

. lived, how they were housed,

what health and welfare services such as pensions were available and had jurisdiction over infrastructure such as roads.

KwaZulu, in particular, had used its powers to exterminate civil liberties, he maintained.

There was no free political expression in the region, he asserted, although in areas such as KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Transkei and Venda all political organisations had the right of

freedom of association and of protest. For example, according to the ANC spokesman, the ANC and PAC could meet and operate freely in the Transkei.

Mr Ndebele said a distinction should be drawn between the KwaZulu Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC had no quarrel with the IFP: should it come to power it would allow the IFP to function and to operate freely.

He said that, in KwaNdebele, after elections for the legislative assembly had been held, a more progressive movement had been installed in spite of the sometimes restrictive nature of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act.

However, the regional secre-

tary said, the system in KwaZulu was rigged so that 60% of the seats in the Legislative Assembly were reserved for chiefs and voted in by the regional

authorities and 40% for elected members, in other words, local MPs.

Even if the ANC were to decide to contest the KZLA elections, and constituted the majority party, we would never be able to win, because the majority of seats are reserved for the chiefs, who back the IFP, said Mr Ndebele.

He said there was no way that people living under the control of the KZ Government such as teachers, nurses and clerks could have their grievances addressed.

He referred to Monday's statement by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the tens of thousands of civil servants working under the control of the KwaZulu Government should either accept the legality of this government or get out.

At the last annual conference of the IFP in Ulundi, members

to exterminate civil liberties

of the party we out of the Constitutional Democratic (Codesa).

Is this not the of political into Ndebele asked.

He said the African government but lowed members of the Exiles Committee

IN 1983, Dr spite of protests

strenuously.

Is the IFP and Government so violently opposed of expression that against itself as can only result in Mr Ndebele asked



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 up-Mr Cebekhulu's claims about .

the death of Dr Asvat.

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- knows about the death. \Â°

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â\200\230Asvat's death.â\200\235 | :

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-been- abducted from the manse. -

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@ Mrs Mandela told the MCC i

.â\200\231 thÃ© youths â\200\230voluntarily came to .

ber house because they. were.

\_â\200\234tired of heing soaomnea by the

b priestâ\200\235.

@ The youths' were lde..u4ed as ...

.Cabriel Mekiwe, - Thabiso Mono,-

. Ratiza Cebekhuiu, St ompze Sex-

peiand â\200\230{enny (Kgese).

- @ When- we'approached â\200\230Winnje

â\200\230we ' did not divulge that we

\_kmew'the number of youths in- -

.'volved beeause Storapie. â\200\234was

. feared dead by our informantsâ\200\235. .

â\200\230oThe MCC interviewed Mr

. Mekwe, Mr Mono aund. Mr.Ce- -

" bekhule. â\200\234During the intervies,:

" 'we noticed that both.of them

(Mekwe and Mono) had-scars on

- thelr bodies. They denied hav-

ing been assaultedâ\200\231 They main-

| tained that the. Injucies. were, -

"susuaned â\200\234whea they feil from

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from â\200\230Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s home thatâ\200\231:  
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Mandela Football Club. â\200\230'I'hev,

, ,0 Mâ\200\230ekwe and Mono saâ\200\230d theÂ\$ .  
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Mrs Mandela had. to produce

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at'the meet.ng TR

@ MrÂ\$ Mandela accusad L.nev;A

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ingâ\200\231.with her husband and \Ir  
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Why the ANC wants to march on Ulundi: PATRICK LEEMAN i'cports â\200\230  
â\200\230 L THE - Naa L

KwaZul

.,,-,â\200\230;}}!\_\_ pusicn , :  
-~ HE secretary of the  
."southern Natal region of

.the African National

- Congress, Mr S'bu .

Ndebele, has outlined in detail

the reasons for the.  
organisationâ\200\231s decision to pro-'

.mote mass action against the  
KwaZulu Government.

\* Last week both Mr Ndebele  
and Mr Jeff Hadebe told a gath-  
ering in Durban that the ANC  
would, in fact, lead a march to  
Ulundi, the capital of KwaZulu,  
to protest against the perceived

lack of political expressionâ\200\230\_ln-

the region.

There has been some-

scepticism in political circles as  
to whether a physical march  
will take place, given the sheer  
- strength -of the IFP-supporting  
â\200\230amabutho (regiments) which are  
likely to confront any such pro-  
test, especially north of the  
Tugela. PR

Mr Ndebele said in an'inter-

view wif.h The Natal Mercury

\_ that the KwaZulu issue had to

be seen against a much wider  
backdrop as far as ANC strategy

â\200\234was concerned. In Natal the  
-organisation had been gravely

concerned with the question of

ernment devolved to the so-

â\200\234.called homelands.It was only

basically areas such as foreignâ\200\231

affairs which were reserved for

. the central Government.

the ongoing violence and there -

had been protests on March 3 and 4 this year in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg in support of an interim government

-and a constituent assembly. .

Now the strategy was focusing on the question of the bantustans, in which some 50% of the total African population of South Africa lived. As far as KwaZulu was concerned, more than 70% of the Zulu people fell directly under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu Government.

Under the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, a great

Mr Ndebele pointed out that all the self-governing regions and independent homelands had their own police forces.

Homeland governments controlled where their residents -

. lived, how they were housed,

what health and welfare services such as pensions were

available and had jurisdiction .

- over infrastructure such as

deal of power which had been °

centralised under the SA Gov-

roads.

KwaZulu, in particular, had used its powers to exterminate civil liberties, he maintained.

There was no free political ex- - -

pression in the region, he asserted, 'although in areas such as KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Transkei and Venda all political

' organisations had the right of

/3245 CURY

Y u-uses. p()wers Â¢  
ibertiesâ\200\231

rrcedom of association and of

protest. For example, according to the ANC spokesman, the ANC and PAC could meet and

- operate freely in the Transkei.

Mr Ndebele said a distinction should be drawn between the KwaZulu Government and

the Inkatha Freedom Party. -

The ANC had no quarrel with the IFP: should it come to power

it would allow the IFP to

function and to operate freely.

He said that, in KwaNdebele, after elections for the legislative assembly had been held, a more progressive movement had been installed in spite of the

- sometimes restrictive nature of

the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act.

" However, the regional secretary

said, the system in KwaZulu was rigged so that

- 60% of the seats in the Legislative Assembly were reserved for

chiefs elected in by the regional

W  
to extend

terminate civil

R

authorities elected and 40% reserved for

ites

I

ed members, in other words, local

cal MPs.

Even if the ANC were to decide

to contest the KZLA elections,

and constituted the

majority party, we would never be able to win, because the majority of seats are reserved for the chiefs, who back the IFP," Mr Ndebele said. He said there was no way that

people living under the control

of the KZ Government such



as teachers, nurses and clerks â\200\224  
could have their grievances .  
addressed. oy oy  
He referred to Monday'â\200\231s state-  
ment by Dr Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi that the tens of thou- -  
sands of civil servants working  
under the control of the  
KwaZulu Government should

\_ either accept the legality of this  
" government or â\200\234get out.â\200\235 -

â\200\234At the last annual conference  
of the IFP in Ulundi. members

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of the pÃ©riy wefÃ©â\200\230i-u.r'g"?d top  
out of the Convention for a

Democratic Souq\_trh\_\_ A}X\_â\200\231r\_i'ca'

(Codesa). it e  
.. â\200\234Is this not the highest degree

â\200\230of political intp{erance?,â\200\235 Mr  
He said the ANC was not a

; Ndebele asked.

government but recently had al-  
lowed members of the Returned  
â\200\230Exiles Committee under Mr Pat

t any protest  
government

Hlongwane to hand in a petition  
and put their case at the move-  
ment's offices in Durban. ... -  
â\200\234IN 1983, Dr Buthelezi, in  
spite of protests from several  
â\200\230quarters, held a rally in  
Lamontville to which the people  
â\200\234of the township objected  
"â\200\234Is the IFP and the KwaZulu  
Government telling us that it is  
â\200\234 so violently opposed to freedom  
- of expression tha  
. against itself as a

strenuously. . 7. -

ult in â\200\230bloodshed?â\200\235

can only res

â\200\230Mr Ndebele asked.

Report by the Association for Rural Development  
THE NATAL Meriury  
Land transfer

bargain  
for KwaZulu ,  
in negoti

HE government's recently exposed plan to  
transfer about 600 000  
hectares of state land  
in Natal to KwaZulu adminis-  
tration seems to be more than  
a routine administrative mat-  
ter. Land seems to have be-  
come a major bargaining chip  
in the game of negotiations  
and winning support for a fed-  
eral option for South Africa. :  
Quite simply, the planned  
transfer will further  
KwaZulu's power in the  
region. e Y

ations

e

ures Act was passed, provid-  
ing for the establishment of  
ACLA, with the brief to advise

land. TR 5

Trust (SADT), and put the  
land formerly held by these  
departments under the de.

+, KwaZulu has become in-  
creasingly visible in areas  
where land claims or land ten-  
ure rights are at issue. At re-  
cent land claim hearings in

Natal (Impendle, Roosboom e

and -Charlestown), KwaZulu  
made representations to the  
Advisory Commission on  
Land Allocation (ACLA) and  
appeals to the communities  
claiming land. S

" A meeting at Vryheid in -  
September, held by the  
Northern Natal Farmworkers' .  
"and Residents' Committee.

was jointly addressed by Jurie  
Mentz, National Party MP for |  
Vryheid and Stephen Sithebe,  
KwaZulu Minister of Interior.  
The meeting saw IFP and NP  
members form a joint co-  
ordinating body for the area.  
This seems to indicate grow-  
ing co-operation between th  
two parties around land. :  
Recent government at-  
tempts to reach the goal of  
buying support from home-  
land partges, have contradict-  
ed its o undertakings on  
land reform. In March 1991, in  
its White Paper On Land Re-  
.form, the government  
undertook to abandon poli-  
cies of apartheid land alloca- .  
tion. This included scrapping  
laws which regulated access  
to land on the basis of race  
and an end to incorporation  
of land into the self-governing

territories. =

and regional affairs and pub-  
. lic works. - :

Despite these measures,  
which appeared to be moving  
.away

-ciesâ\200\231 of the past, the govern-  
'ment has continued to

~undermineâ\200\235movement to  
.genuinÃ© settlement of the  
/land issue. â\200\230Establishing  
ACLA"did not â\200\230stop govern-  
\_ment attempts to try to sell  
. off land being claimed by dis-

possessed communities. The -

government tried on two  
.occasions to sell off various

farms in the Estcourt district -

. which were being claimed by  
the AmaHilubi tribe. On both

occasions public protest over

the intended sales managed  
to halt them. . -

Following the halting of the

\_sales, the chairman of ACLA, '

Judge van Reenen, called on  
the government to freeze sales

of all land that was the sub-

ject of dispute. In May this year, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Kraai van Niekerk, . â\200\230also undertook that land taken over by the government in terms of apartheid policies would not be sold. And the Minister of Regional and â\200\230Land Affairs, Dr Jacob de Villiers, pledged that black - communities driven off their .=]land by past policies would be given a chance to put their - claims to ACLA. =~ .7 -

g chip

Also in 1991 the â\200\234Abolition - Of Racially Based Land Mea- .

the State President about al- - location of undeveloped state - : 2 :

.Then in March this year : government scrapped the dis- ! credited Department of Development Aid (DDA) and the : South African Development

partments of agriculture, land

from n the apartheid poli-

Again, these undertakings have not stopped further at-

. tempts to get rid of land being

claimed. â\200\230Recently, a govern-

. ment department hurriedly

sold off some 6 000 hectares of land in the northern Cape which is being claimed by the Majeng community. 3, o - Despite undertakings in the

- 1991 White Paper that home-

-Land consolidation would end,

in March this year some 3 mil-

lion hectares of land was handed to the six homelands.

This followed dissolution of

the DDA and the SADT...

The current plan to transfer

land to homeland administra--

ation comes under a veil of secrecy and an absence of consultation with communi-

- ties who live on the land. De-,  
->Spite.repeated requestsâ\200\231for

the areas earmarked for transfer to be made public, the government has remained silent.  
-Despite communitiesâ\200\231 written

. objections to 'such transfer,

government is yet to consult with them. There has only been ongoing consultation with homeland governments.

Past attempts to force homeland control onto communities have not achieved

\* the desired results and are un-

likely to do so in the current situation. In the South Africaâ\200\231s current highly volatile Situation, there is a very real danger that land transfers to homelands will lead to more violence and for this reason alone should be stopped.

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