

Can priests remain neutral in politics?

Ministering to a changing society

By FATHER S'MANGALISO MKHATSWA

The unbanning of peoples' organisations coupled with the release of political leadership, the return of exiles and the drive for political unity have prompted many religious believers to ask: What is the social responsibility of the church today? With that emerged another question: Dare priests be identified with any political party?

Many people take it for granted that the church has a public and social responsibility as well. To the best of my knowledge the church has never been totally neutral in its intervention in human affairs.

Jesus was crucified by the Roman fascists. They accused him of stirring up trouble, by inciting the people to rebel against Roman imperialism.

When Constantine, the Roman Emperor, was baptised in the Fourth Century, he and his successors effectively coopted the church.

Then followed colonialist expansionism, which was given pastoral ministry by the church.

In World War 2 the church took sides in the conflict.

In the Vietnam war chaplains ministered to the Marines. In South Africa chaplains ministered to the SADF, whose reason for existence was to market the apartheid monster through violence.

Fairness

In fairness to the church though, it is not directly responsible for all the actions of the governments concerned.

The church intervenes in the affairs of people morally and materially. Salvation is another word for the total liberation of people.

Church leaders know they cannot achieve that liberation by preaching hell and thunder sermons only. Life itself is a struggle. The quest for a life free of all oppression, repression and exploitation is literally a life and

FOCUS

death struggle.

The role of the church in society is largely determined by the felt needs of the community. Needless to say the mission of the church transcends the immediate material necessities of life.

The church is the servant of the people.

Against this backdrop one must therefore conclude that:

(a) The church in collaboration with democratic forces should continue the struggle against apartheid till it is dismantled.

(b) The church must support those social elements which promote democracy, justice and unity among our people.

(c) The church should be seen to be for the truth in season and out of season.

(d) To avoid the impression that the functioning of the church is to lecture, moralise or comfort the victims of oppression, Christians must actively participate in the popular struggles of the people.

Transform

(e) It is impossible to transform social structures without active involvement in those structures

There are topics which are seldom discussed calmly or without emotion. They include money, sex, religion and politics. Precisely because of this, intelligent debate on these subjects



Father Smangaliso Mkhatswa

is usually sacrificed on the altar of expediency or irrational emotionalism.

During the past two weeks church leaders have had calls on whether ordained clergy should be permitted to join political parties. The media are partly to blame for this hysteria.

To clear the air, we need to define our terminology.

People equate politics with "dirty party politics". They uncritically conclude that anyone who has any association with a political organisation wants power, influence, money etc.

There is another way of using the word "politics". That is, political morality, philosophy or values upon which every state should be built. According to the

classic separation of church and state the function of institutional church lies in the latter.

It is not a rival political party, although there is nothing wrong for the church to prefer one among several political options. It is a cliché to say that politics affects every aspect of our lives.

Another misunderstood word is church. This can mean the institutional church with its official policies, traditions and official leadership. In this sense there are many churches or congregations in South Africa. We have, for example, the mainline English speaking missionary churches as well as thousands of African independent churches.

There is no single church, even though all churches have certain beliefs and traditions in common. The word "church" also refers to the people, the believers, worshippers.

Very often the concept of church is associated with the pulpit, hell fire sermons often punctuated by a promise of salvation. It is a community of fellowship and reconciliation.

Poverty

The church does preach about poverty, injustice, repression and landlessness. But the average person is pleasantly "shocked" when the preachers say something about economic empowerment, political and other struggles, peoples' education, redistribution of wealth, resources, etc.

The priest is supposed to be a kindly, sweet old man who hugs, prays and blesses his people without a care in the world.

Priests or ministers are expected to be "spiritual and moral trouble-shooters".

***Due to space limitations today, this article will be continued in Sowetan tomorrow.**

COMMENT

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Bloody political fighting must be stopped

THE African National Congress and Inkatha must do much more than denounce the violence that seems to spring from their supporters.

Four people died in Kagiso at the weekend and rumours of attacks and counter-attacks continue.

This violence has claimed thousands of lives in Natal and is now spreading to other areas.

The first step to be taken as a matter of urgency is for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela, accompanied by their lieutenants, to meet, with peace the only item on the agenda.

It no longer matters who started the fight. What is important is that it must be stopped.

Indeed, pressure is on the ANC to initiate such meetings even if it has done so in the past.

The ANC, which enjoys wide support for the sterling work it has done, and the sacrifices made by its leaders, must now move fast to make peace.

While we understand its leaders accusing the police of a seeming tardiness to end the violence, the ANC must show its strength by stopping it from spreading.

The ANC leadership stresses discipline. This must be implanted in all organisational structures. The same must be said of Inkatha.

Acts of thuggery by members of political organisations besmirch their leaders' reputations.

Education is new weapon - Mrs Tambo

EDUCATION must be the new weapon in the liberation struggle in South Africa, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

Speaking at ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's house in Orlando West, Soweto, Tambo, who arrived earlier in the day after 30 years in exile, said generations of oppressed people had waited for the day which was about to dawn.

Right track

"For decades we have tried to bring this Government to the table for talks. Now at last South Africa is on the right track."

She said the future was in the hands of the children.

"If they are not educated, the years of struggle will be jeopardised. Education is the new weapon in the liberation struggle and our youth must arm themselves with books."

Speaking of the women's role in the struggle, Tambo said without women the defiance campaign would never have got off the ground.

Comrades

Sitting around her were former comrades who had taken risks when they launched the first consumer boycotts in the Vaal area and burnt their passes.

"Each phase of the struggle needs a different strategy. Today there are the talks, tomorrow we will construct a new non-racial and democratic South Africa for all the people." - Sapa.

Kagiso toll is 10: police arrest 57

By Sapa and
Cobus Oosthuizen

THE death toll in the faction fighting Inkatha and an alliance of other groups believed to be sympathetic to the ANC, in the Kagiso township near Krugersdorp, has risen to 10.

Passenger transport came to a standstill yesterday morning, and tensions were growing following the death of four people during a skirmish between feuding factions at a hostel in the township on Sunday night.

West Rand police liaison officer, Lieutenant Henriette Bester, said a police patrol team reported sporadic incidents of stone-throwing in the area yesterday morning.

A Kagiso resident who telephoned Sapa early yesterday alleged that several Inkatha hostel-dwellers had mobilised in the vicinity of a men's hostel (where four men were killed on Sunday night) in preparation for a raid on the township.

Another resident said rumours were doing the rounds that Inkatha members had given instructions for a work and school stay-away yesterday, aimed at preparing the ground for a raid on Kagiso residents.

Sunday night's fighting between Inkatha members and opponents allegedly broke out after a group of Inkatha members returned from a rally in Soweto.

Yesterday afternoon Lt Bester said six more people had died violently in clashes during the day.

She said the bodies of four men who had been shot were found in the township at about 9 am.

"A man was fatally

wounded and another slightly injured when police fired shotguns after tearsmoke and rubber bullets failed to have an effect on a group of people who rushed at the police during an illegal gathering at the Kagiso Hostel," Lt Bester said.

She said a sixth body was found in the vicinity of the hostel later. It had several stab wounds.

Police blocked off roads and no traffic had been allowed into the township.

After the arrival of police enforcements 57 people were arrested on charges of public violence.

A Krugersdorp businessman who did not want to be identified told The Citizen in a telephone call yesterday that according to some of his employees who lived in Kagiso, ANC members

distributed a circular in the township on Friday after learning about the Inkatha rally to be held on Sunday.

He said the circular, which had been signed by "concerned Kagiso residents" warned people about the Inkatha rally.

The businessmen said that while Inkatha members attended their rally on Sunday, ANC members had held another rally "for non-Zulu hostel residents in an effort to polarise the situation".

"This brought the situation to a flashpoint," he said.

He added that ANC members had allegedly gone around the township on Sunday night trying to raise support for non-Zulu residents who had allegedly been evicted from the hostel. They stirred antagonism towards Inkatha members.

Arm with books: Mrs Tambo

EDUCATION must be the new weapons in the liberation struggle in South Africa, Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC President Oliver Tambo, said yesterday afternoon.

Speaking in the sitting room of the Mandela mansion in Orlando West, Soweto, Mrs Tambo said generations of oppressed people had waited for the day about to dawn.

"For decades we have tried to bring this government to the table for talks. Now at last South Africa is on the right track."

She said the future was in the hands of the children.

"If they are not educated the years of struggle will be jeopardised. Education is the new weapon

in the liberation struggle, and our youth must arm themselves with books."

Speaking of the women's role in the struggle, Mrs Tambo said without women the defiance campaign would never have got off the ground.

Mrs Tambo arrived at Jan Smuts yesterday and joined scores of ANC supporters in singing Nkosi Sikelele Africa.

She gave a clenched fist salute. Flanking her was Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, and UDF Co-president Albertina Sisulu.

"I feel so totally emotional as I stand here this morning. I last saw my country 30 years ago.

Much has changed and again not much has changed."

Mrs Tambo is primarily here to relaunch the ANC Women's League in Durban on Thursday on a national front, to coincide with International Women's Day.

The decision to launch the Women's League was taken by the ANC leadership in exile after consultations with the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw).

It is also aimed at absorbing members of women's groups from the United Democratic Front (UDF), the SA Youth Congress (Sayco), the SA Students' Congress (Sansco) and well as from

the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Actor appears in court on drug charge

Court Reporter

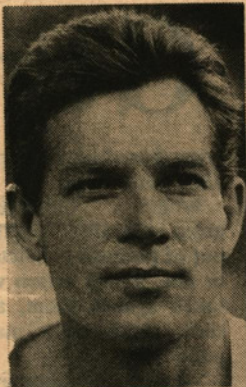
SOUTH African actor, Gavin van den Bergh, who played a leading role in *Ballade vir 'n Enkeling*, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on a drug charge.

The prosecutor, Mr J Gouws, informed the magistrate that Mr Van den Bergh (34), of Pretoria Street, Troyeville, and four others had been arrested on Friday.

He also said that in all probability Mr Van den Bergh would stand trial separately as would Mr Andrew Kennedy (36), of Killarney Road, Sandhurst.

Also charged with possession of dagga are Mr Dean Vermaak (26), of Umgaza Road, Gallo Manor, Mrs Penelope Kennedy (38), of Killarney Road, Sandhurst, and Mr Michael Voges (33), of Houts Bay.

They will all appear in court again on October 1.



Gavin van den Bergh

Bail of R300, granted to the accused after their arrest, was extended.

Koreans swim — 38 die

SEOUL. — Thirty-eight people drowned at the weekend when nearly a quarter of South Korea's population of 42 million thronged river banks and beaches to escape a heat wave, police said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Gold surges, shares tumble

By Don Wilkinson

GOLD advanced in world precious metals markets yesterday, closing at \$382/382,50 an ounce in London and in Zurich at \$381/384 after a peak \$384,50 which caused some profit-taking.

While the continued uncertainty in the Gulf played a part in the metal's move above \$380, a major influence was the renewed weakness in the US dollar.

Dealers feel that the US currency has lost much of its safe haven status following a number of official statistics indicating the strong possibility that the US economy is faced with recession.

Towards the close of currency trading in Europe the dollar was hovering around its record closing low level against the bellwether German mark, reached at the end of 1987, when it was DM1,5680/700 to the dollar. Yesterday it briefly touched DM1,5668 before a finish of DM1,5733/40.

London dealers feel, however, that gold's recent performance has been somewhat disappointing in view of the steep rise in oil prices.

Additionally, the Gulf crisis does not appear to have caused any marked

buying of gold by Middle Eastern countries.

Early reports from Wall Street indicated a fall in the Dow Jones index of over 100 points and this impacted on the London market.

Both centres clawed back some of their earlier losses, but remained nervously weak.

With the major markets in some turmoil, share prices on a nervous Johannesburg Stock Exchange also sought lower levels, although the all-gold index lost only nine points on Friday's finish, to close at 1 638 after a mid-day improvement to 1 655.

Industrials came under pressure, however, leading stock Barlows finishing 90c off at R37,35, and the index ended at 3 028 compared to Friday's 3 073, helping to move the overall index 43 points lower to 3 167.

The dollar's international weakness helped the rand to move modestly higher at R2,5810/25 to the dollar against Friday's close of R2 5945/60.

But it failed again to make ground against the European majors, sterling moving up to R4,8445/95, while there was a sharp fall in the finrand to R3,96/98 from Friday's R3,87/90 close.

25 years as voters, yet .

STAR

7 Aug. 1990

WASHINGTON — Looking back 25 years, Roy Terry recalls vividly the one thing that separated him from the white students at Atlanta's Morehouse College.

They could vote. He, like 75 per cent of America's blacks, could not.

But on August 6 1965, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, which banned literacy tests, poll taxes and other measures used to discourage blacks from entering the polling booths.

The Act guaranteed the right to vote, especially in the South where few blacks could cast their ballots.

"The thing we have gained from the Voting Rights Act is more leverage, more elected black officials," said Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

Mr Terry, now a clothing manufacturer, was one to benefit. Not only could he vote but his family gained from special programmes established in the wake of the Act to offer greater opportunities to minorities.

Violence

Helped by government contracts to make military camouflage and firefighters' uniforms, Mr Terry's family firm raised its annual revenue from about \$100 000 in 1963 to more than \$12 million now.

"Minority purchasing goals ... that we participated in have been a benefit of the Voting Rights Act," Mr Terry said.

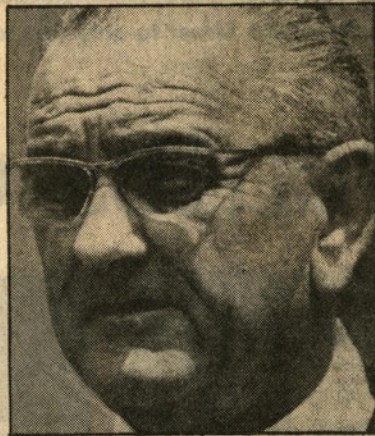
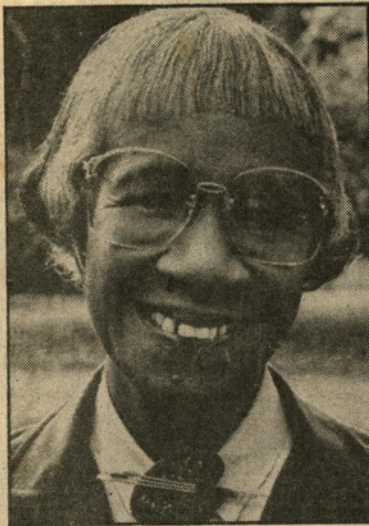
On the 25th anniversary of the Voting Rights Act, more than 7 000 elected black officials were serving in local, state or federal offices, but the votes that put them there were often difficult to cast.

Enthusiastic blacks travelled long distances to register, only to encounter violence.

"There was resentment that black people could participate in the process," said former Representative Shirley Chisholm of New York, the

Blacks in the United States yesterday marked the 25th anniversary of the Voting Rights Act, which guaranteed their right to vote.

LORRIE GRANT reports.



President Lyndon Johnson (top right) signed the Voting Rights Act in August 1965. "There was resentment that black people could participate in the process," says Shirley Chisholm (left), the first black woman in Congress. President Bush (bottom right) has taken note of black sensitivities and his party is trying to win their support.

first black woman in Congress.

"Battles emerged at voting places, especially in the South, and often polls were not located so that they were accessible for everyone," she said.

Ms Chisholm was elected to the House of Representatives in 1969 and served New York State until 1982. She remembers the early days when Congress was run by "old-line, die-hard, white Southerners".

"There was always a battle about colour, making sure appropriations would be allocated fairly," Ms Chisholm said.

"Practically every piece of legislation required an amendment to specifically include women and blacks. It seemed ironic that in a democracy we had to put in amendments to see that blacks and women wouldn't get left out."

But slowly and steadily, white

candidates for elected office, especially in the South, came to grips with the realities of blacks using their political rights.

Blacks stood as candidates for elected office and if they didn't win, they could decide who would.

But 25 years after the Voting Rights Act became law, many blacks still think it has not taken them far enough.

Historians and political scientists say blacks do not feel totally at home in the established Republican or Democratic parties, preferring in many cases to place their faith in black politicians.

Mary Frances Berry, a member of the US Commission on Civil Rights, says this attitude could be

25 years voters,

naive. She believes black politicians must consider not just the black vote, but the interests of all their constituents.

Forcing change

"Many blacks thought the problems of race, economics and social conditions would be solved with the vote," said Ms Berry. "But when the kingdom was still closed after people got the key, they said: 'Doesn't that mean we shouldn't vote?'"

Ms Berry said more effort might be focused on peaceful protests to force change, repeating successful demonstrations like those that forced several US companies to divest their industrial and commercial holdings in South Africa.

Politicians say there are signs that the process begun 25 years ago will continue to gather strength.

President Bush has taken note of black sensitivity on the question of South Africa and his Republican Party is campaigning to win the support of more African-Americans.

"We are united in our opposition to apartheid," Mr Bush told the Magazine Publishers of America recently.

"And we have an African-American population here that feels fervently (about that)." — Reuter.

Political deaths are double those in 1989

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

More people died in political violence in the country in the first half of 1990 than in the whole of last year, according to figures released by the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg yesterday.

The institute said a total of 1591 people died in political violence between January and June this year, as opposed to 1403 fatalities during the whole of 1989. Three quarters of the deaths occurred in Natal.

However, the institute said the levels of violence had been reduced in April, May and June when there were a third fewer politically-related deaths than in the first three months of the year.

In Natal alone the number of fatalities had dropped by 26 percent in the second quarter of the year compared with the first one.

The institute said fatalities in Natal had peaked at 291 in March, thereafter dropping steadily to 118 in June.

Outside Natal, politically related deaths peaked at 167 in March and later dropped to 31 in June.

However, a month later the figure had almost tripled to 92.

While the causes of the deaths were often difficult to determine, "a substantial number of deaths" had occurred as a result of police action in the first three months of the year.

Deaths involving police "had more than halved" in the second quarter of the year. "There has, however, been a very large increase in the number of security forces killed, most such fatalities being municipal policemen."

The total number of fatalities in political violence between September 1984 and June 1990, according to the institute, was 7 130.

The number of "necklace" murders over the same period totalled 454.

Most of these murders had taken place in the Eastern Cape (one third), followed by the far Northern Transvaal and Natal. In the first half of this year 48 people, most of them in Natal, had been "necklaced" to death.

Star
Govt must tame
police - ANC

Political Staff

At the news conference President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela clashed over alleged police violence.

"Until the Government has tamed the police, we will continue to be dissatisfied," Mr Mandela said.

Mr de Klerk responded that the Government and ANC had had long discussions on the police.

He said the Government's view was that police should act even-handedly. The Government would take firm steps, as it had in the past, against transgressors of this policy if evidence or proof was submitted.

"We are not satisfied with the reply just given by the State President," Mr Mandela retorted.

"Actions of the police indicate to us that the Government has not succeeded in restraining police activity. The Government has either lost control of the police, or the police are doing what the Government wants."

COMMENT

The hills await

FOR the past six months, many South Africans used only to fatalistic pessimism have lived in a more optimistic mood than they had thought possible. That optimism continued during yesterday's talks between government and the ANC in Pretoria, but sooner or later we may all have to face a less rosy reality.

We had no details, at the time of going to press, on whether the degree of agreement matched the advance billing. If it did, that is a source for joy and, inevitably, for further optimism. It would be as well to remember that the Pretoria meeting, like the one in Cape Town in May, was designed to remove obstacles to the real negotiations which lie ahead. It is there that the crunch may come.

The obstacles — the definition and release of political prisoners, the repeal of security laws, the return of exiles, the ANC's commitment to armed struggle, the continuing emergency in Natal and the level of violence there and elsewhere — will be removed, however many meetings it takes. They must be, or there will be no negotiations, and both sides have their sights firmly set on getting to the negotiating table. Hence the determination to succeed and the commendable readiness for compromise shown by government and the ANC.

Those qualities, and far-sighted political leadership, will be needed more than ever once the present obstacles have been overcome, for the road to negotiations will not have been cleared of all obstruc-

tions. When the talk is about negotiations, rather than what is preventing them, decisions will have to be taken on who else is to be invited, whether under their own banner or that of the two main protagonists. The shape of the table — two-sided as the ANC wants, with all newcomers ranged behind government or the ANC, or round, with each party representing a separate viewpoint — is not a minor issue. It will have a crucial effect on the outcome of what is discussed.

Even then, the decks will not be cleared. Are the key elements of a new constitution, including government's hope for a minority role for itself and minority protection for those it represents, to be negotiated around that table or decided by a constituent assembly elected by universal franchise? This will determine when the NP hands over power, as it has promised to do, and its own role in the future South Africa it has pledged to bring into being.

These, too, are not minor issues. Removing obstacles only brings closer the tough bargaining, the battle of nerve and wit backed by threats, grand-standing and prophecies of doom, and the compromises essential for ultimate agreement. So far, bar a bump or two, it's all been downhill. The uphill part is when the nation and its leaders will truly be tested.

The main reason for optimism then is that those leaders have so far shown that they mean to reach agreement. That, in the end, may prove decisive.

Tough task

PRIVATISATION is likely to stay on the back-burner while the "new South Africa" and its economic policies evolve, but one of its benefits (from the private enterprise point of view) is shown in the latest public sector employment figures produced by the Central Statistical Service. Though Iscor employees may not have been public servants in the true sense, privatisation of the steel corporation has taken 37 000 jobs firmly into the private sector, reducing the overall employment figures of public corporations by more than 21%.

While government, despite its decision to rationalise, still battles to contain the growth of the central bureaucracy, the streamlining of SA Transport Services into Transnet and its other "nets" as part of its

conversion into a commercial organisation has also brought a substantial reduction in the number of public sector jobs. Post and Telecommunications is showing the same trend.

The argument that this is a good thing because more efficient use is being made of the country's human resources will carry little weight with people who perhaps don't even have jobs, and look for manna from political change. The huge task of free market protagonists is to show that the experience in other countries can be repeated here, and that privatisation is the best way to produce the economic growth that will not only expand the job market but provide better social services for the disadvantaged.

By Ormande Pollok Political Correspondent

PRETORIA—The ANC's 30-year armed struggle was formally suspended last night paving the way for peace in South Africa.

The good news came in an announcement by President de Klerk and the ANC's Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, some 15 hours after the peace talks started at the Presidency in Pretoria yesterday.

Their joint statement — the Pretoria Minute — also disclosed that the two parties had reached agreement on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, two of the major problems confronting real negotiations.

But, the most dramatic part of the statement came on the second page in dealing with the end of the armed struggle and a commitment by both parties to work towards ending the violence in Natal.

Working group

In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect, said the statement.

As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by September 15.

Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible.

From the statement it would appear that Operation Vula, the alleged plot to overthrow the Government if the negotiation process failed, has now been ditched.

The statement could place tremendous pressures on the ANC and there was immediate speculation that it could lead to strong divisions between the hawks and doves within the organisation.

Both delegations also expressed concern about the general level of violence, intimidation and unrest in the country, particularly in Natal and it appears that Mr Mandela will now become personally involved in trying to end the conflict.

Both parties committed themselves to undertake steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of the situation in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved, said the statement.

The Government in return has undertaken to consider lifting the State of Emergency in Natal as early as possible in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord.

Questioned at the Press conference about what was the attitude of members of the SACP to the agreement to end the armed struggle, Mr Mandela told a Press conference that members of the SACP who were members of the ANC were bound by the organisation's decisions.

Mr de Klerk said the police had been ordered to deal with problems in an even manner and added that any transgressors would be punished.

Mr Mandela said he was not satisfied with the President's reply on this issue.

Actions of the police indicate that the Government had not succeeded in restraining the police.

The Government

F
A N C
(Cuttings)

10 FOREIGN NEWS ***

SA agreement sets scene for talks on new constitution

WHEN Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk met yesterday they were tying their futures inextricably to the demise of white rule in South Africa. The latest round of talks between the ANC and the government went on late into the evening, until the two sides hammered out terms for the release of political prisoners, the dismantling of certain security laws and, finally, a suspension of the ANC armed struggle with immediate effect.

Mr Mandela had said earlier that he expected to be able to put the military side of the anti-apartheid campaign on hold, without formally abandoning it, if agreement on his stated "obstacles" to full negotiations were reached. While the broad outline of the agreement was set out by a joint working group, the two sides still had to settle on issues such as the definition of political prisoners. The government was also demanding that the ANC should speak out publicly against strikes and boycotts by blacks, which are seen as a symbolic substitute for violence.

The meeting marked a breakthrough in removing the obstacles Mr Mandela identified to talks on a future constitution, and reinforced the growing trust with Mr de Klerk. The ANC has said the lifting of the armed struggle is tied to the irreversibility of the trek away from white rule. The abandonment of the military option demonstrates the confidence of Mr Mandela, if not all of his colleagues, that the process of change is set. But the coming battles may prove tougher than what has gone before.

Full talks on a new constitution are tentatively set for next year, after the ANC holds a congress in December to decide finally the system it favours and the nature of any interim administration. Along the way, sanctions may start to dissolve, especially if key apartheid legislation, such as the Group Areas Act and, crucially, the Population Registration Act, which classifies the races, is abolished.

Mr Mandela has repeatedly

From Chris McGreal
in Johannesburg



Mandela: confident of change

spoken out in favour of a constituent assembly, a position it will be hard to back away from if strongly endorsed by the ANC congress. Direct election of the architects of a new constitution would probably mean a constituent assembly dominated by the ANC, with white representation in a minority unless a form of electoral pact were worked out with the ruling National Party.

The government backs direct negotiations between the various parties, with at least the black and white races given equal representation. The resulting constitution would then be put to a national referendum.

At least nine people were killed in clashes between traditionalist Zulus and residents of Kagiso township yesterday, while Mr Mandela and President de Klerk talked peace, *Reuter* reports.

Police said that nine people had been killed in the township clashes, but a spokesman for the United Democratic Front, allied to the African National Congress, said the death toll was at least 12.

Residents said workers loyal to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement spilt out of factory hostels wielding sticks and hatchets, looking for ANC sympathisers. Reporters said police were patrolling in force.

The
Independent
7/8/90
London

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20

ANC says armed struggle suspended

From RAY KENNEDY
IN JOHANNESBURG

IN A landmark decision reached after 15 hours of talks, the African National Congress announced late last night that it was suspending immediately its 29-year armed struggle against South Africa's minority white government.

A joint statement from the ANC and the government said: "In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreement reached the ANC announced that it was suspending all armed actions with immediate effect.

"As a result of this no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) will take place."

The statement appeared to clear the way for formal negotiations on ending apartheid and granting full political rights to the voteless black majority.

The nine-point agreement was hammered out by five-member delegations led by Nelson Mandela, the ANC deputy leader, and President de Klerk at talks at a government mansion in the capital, Pretoria.

The two sides adopted a programme for the phased release of political prisoners according to an agreed definition of political offences. "The further release of prisoners which can be dealt with administratively will start on September 1, 1990," the statement said.

It said all releases of political prisoners would be carried out by April 30, 1991. In a matching concession the government pledged to review the state of emergency in Natal province as early as possible and to consider repealing parts of the Internal Security Act, which restricts the political freedom of government opponents.

The crucial talks, which were broadly expected to lead to a breakthrough for meaningful negotiations, had begun under a cloud of almost obsessive security in Pretoria.

Mr Mandela rolled up at the presidency in his fire-engine red Mercedes Benz which was presented to him two weeks ago. Behind was Joe Slovo, secretary general of the South African Communist Party whose inclusion in the ANC's negotiating team had almost derailed the talks.

Government sources yesterday were more reserved about the outcome of the talks than optimistic weekend reports had indicated. A senior government figure said: "Once this phase is negotiated discussions can start with those parties who are ready to negotiate. The next obvious phase is on securing the negotiations.

"We are ready to proceed with the next round and we are in agreement that time is of the essence - but it is important that we proceed on a step-by-step basis," he added.

The

Times

7/8/90

London

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Inkatha, Government are blamed for unrest

THE Government and Inkatha have come under strong criticism from the ANC for the unrest in Natal and the organisation says both groups share the blame for the violence in the province.

The attack is contained in a statement issued by the ANC, which together with Cosatu, the South African Communist Party, UDF and other extra-parliamentary organisations took part in a peace conference in

SOWETAN Correspondent

Durban at the weekend. More than 370 delegates reportedly gathered at the University of Durban-Westville for the consultative conference, opened by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's regional interim leadership core member, Mr Harry Gwala, stressed the root cause of the violence was the Government's attempt to "balkanise" the coun-

authorities.

He alleged the continuing abuse of traditional Zulu values and culture by Inkatha in pursuance of its political agenda was a contributory factor.

The meeting declared unanimously the deployment of the 32 Battalion from Namibia had contributed to the worsening of the violence.

However, the delegates acknowledged mounting poverty and unemployment affecting the African population in Natal were also contributing to the tensions in the region.

The conference advocated a comprehensive programme to reconstruct the shattered communities with the co-operation of the Government, the church,

business and mass democratic formations.

Earlier, Mandela briefed the meeting on yesterday's talks between the ANC and the Government and attempts by what he called "various warlords" to extend the violence outside Natal.

A key issue was the call for a meeting on Natal with State President Mr FW de Klerk. - Sapa.

Time to face reality

Sir - It is high time that each and every one of us becomes bold and faces reality.

It is very painful and traumatic when it comes to the loss of lives of human beings.

What if I suggest that we select a team, which will be the most powerful and well disciplined one, that would tackle the relevant political issues for the benefit of the oppressed and exploited people of this country?

Black people in particular are dying in great numbers and still some people claim to be in the forefront of bringing peace and stability in our country, while teaming up with the forces of repression.

One cannot deny that but looking into it thoroughly with another political telescope, you will find that the so-called leaders have opened the doors to let in the monster to destroy and assassinate members of the oppressed and exploited community.

On the other hand, some politically bankrupt and out of order groups within the black community have vowed to continue harassing their own black brothers and sisters and even going to the extent of killing if they deem it necessary.

These are the very people who claim to be striving tirelessly towards achieving fundamental and scientific goals for us blacks.

On the part of discipline, I think some people lack political consciousness while men at the top continue to brag about massive numbers of followers.

Black Consciousness is gradually being shadowed and not by the powers that be alone.

I foresee a situation whereby a black man will pay the highest price

through his own life and there is little that he will achieve.

I for one sees BC as the only philosophy that has the interest of the oppressed and exploited at heart and whereby the life of a black man is sure to be secured.

Our leaders are dying mysteriously daily and yet there are still people who are by virtue of hatred towards others go as far as harassing the bereaved families.

Mbulelo Bonono
Eastern Cape

Slogan is seen in bad light

Sir - I have been a reader of Sowetan for more than six months.

I am now convinced that the slogan, "one settler, one bullet," is nonsensical for a "revolutionary movement" to use in its pamphlets and on its T-shirts.

I am saying this because it has failed in practice.

This failure is evident from the fact that rightwingers have acted

violently against our people, and got no bullets.

I now realise that all these bullets reserved for every settler have missed the target (rightwingers).

The slogan provides no political or tactical approach.

PAC's Barney Desai once attacked it in a weekly newspaper and said, "This slogan has no place in our organisation

NN Mgobo
Uitenhage

Star Govt must tame police - ANC

Political Staff

At the news conference President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela clashed over alleged police violence.

"Until the Government has tamed the police, we will continue to be dissatisfied," Mr Mandela said.

Mr de Klerk responded that the Government and ANC had had long discussions on the police.

He said the Government's view was that police should act even-handedly. The Government would take firm steps, as it had in the past, against transgressors of this policy if evidence or proof was submitted.

"We are not satisfied with the reply just given by the State President," Mr Mandela retorted.

"Actions of the police indicate to us that the Government has not succeeded in restraining police activity. The Government has either lost control of the police, or the police are doing what the Government wants."

25 Years Voters,
naive. She believes black politicians must consider not just the black vote, but the interests of all their constituents.

Forcing change

"Many blacks thought the problems of race, economics and social conditions would be solved with the vote," said Ms Berry. "But when the kingdom was still closed after people got the key, they said: 'Doesn't that mean we shouldn't vote?'"

Ms Berry said more effort might be focused on peaceful protests to force change, repeating successful demonstrations like those that forced several US companies to divest their industrial and commercial holdings in South Africa.

Politicians say there are signs that the process begun 25 years ago will continue to gather strength.

President Bush has taken note of black sensitivity on the question of South Africa and his Republican Party is campaigning to win the support of more African-Americans.

"We are united in our opposition to apartheid," Mr Bush told the Magazine Publishers of America recently.

"And we have an African-American population here that feels fervently (about that)." — Reuter.

Political deaths are STAR 7 Ave. 17th 19 double those in 1989

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

More people died in political violence in the country in the first half of 1990 than in the whole of last year, according to figures released by the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg yesterday.

The institute said a total of 1 591 people died in political violence between January and June this year, as opposed to 1 403 fatalities during the whole of 1989. Three quarters of the deaths occurred in Natal.

However, the institute said the levels of violence had been reduced in April, May and June when there were a third fewer politically-related deaths than in the first three months of the year.

In Natal alone the number of fatalities had dropped by 26 percent in the second quarter of the year compared with the first one.

The institute said fatalities in Natal had peaked at 291 in March, thereafter dropping steadily to 118 in June.

Outside Natal, politically related deaths peaked at 167 in March and later dropped to 31 in June.

However, a month later the figure had almost tripled to 92.

While the causes of the deaths were often difficult to determine, "a substantial number of deaths" had occurred as a result of police action in the first three months of the year.

Deaths involving police "had more than halved" in the second quarter of the year. "There has, however, been a very large increase in the number of security forces killed, most such fatalities being municipal policemen."

The total number of fatalities in political violence between September 1984 and June 1990, according to the institute, was 7 130.

The number of "necklace" murders over the same period totalled 454.

Most of these murders had taken place in the Eastern Cape (one third), followed by the far Northern Transvaal and Natal. In the first half of this year 48 people, most of them in Natal, had been "necklaced" to death.

will be granted as from 1 October 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990.

● In all cases where the body or bodies to be constituted according to paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will have to consider cases on an individual basis, the process will be expedited as much as possible.

It is hoped that this process will be completed within six months, but the latest date envi-

saged for the completion of the total task in terms of the Report of the Working Group is not later than 30 April 1991.

This programme will be implemented on the basis of the Report of the Working Group.

3. In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement, and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions

with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by September 15 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a

peaceful solution as quickly as possible.

4. Both delegations expressed serious concern about the general level of violence, intimidation and unrest in the country, especially in Natal.

They agreed that in the context of the common search for peace and stability, it was vital that understanding should grow among all sections of the South African population that problems can and should be solved

through negotiations.

Both parties committed themselves to undertake steps and measures to promote and expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of the situation in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved.

5. With due cognizance of the interest, role and involvement of other parties, the delegations consider it necessary that whatever additional mechanisms of

communication are needed should be developed at local, regional and national levels. This should enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time, avoiding conflict.

6. The Government has undertaken to consider the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal as early as possible in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord.

7. In view of the new circumstances now emerging, there will be an ongoing review of security legislation.

The Government will give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that (a) refer to communism or the furthering thereof; (b) provide for a consolidated list; (c) provide for a prohibition on the publication of statements or writings of cer-

tain persons; (d) provide for an amount to be deposited before a newspaper may be registered.

Convinced

The Government will continue reviewing security legislation and its application in order to ensure free political activity and with the view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament. The Minister of Justice will issue a statement in this regard, inter alia, calling for comments and proposals.

8. We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country.

In this we do not pretend to be the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new South Africa. We know there are other parties committed to peaceful progress.

All of us henceforth walk that road in consultation and co-operation with each other. We call upon all those who have not yet committed themselves to peaceful negotiations to do so now.

9. Against this background, the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting which will be held soon.

7/8/90

The Pretoria
Minute!

The text of the Pretoria Minute is as follows:

Pretoria Minute

The Government and the ANC have held discussions at the Presidency, Pretoria, today August 6 1990.

1. The Government and the ANC have again committed themselves to the Groote Schuur Minute.

2. The final report of the Working Group on political offences dated 21 May 1990, as amended, was accepted by both parties. The guidelines to be formulated in terms of the Report will be applied in a phased manner.

The Report makes provision for formulation of guidelines which will be applied in dealing with members of all organisations, groupings or institutions, governmental or otherwise, who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed.

Dates agreed

The meeting has instructed the Working Group to draw up a plan for the release of ANC-related prisoners and the granting of indemnity to people in a phased manner and to report before the end of August. The following target dates have in the meantime been agreed upon:

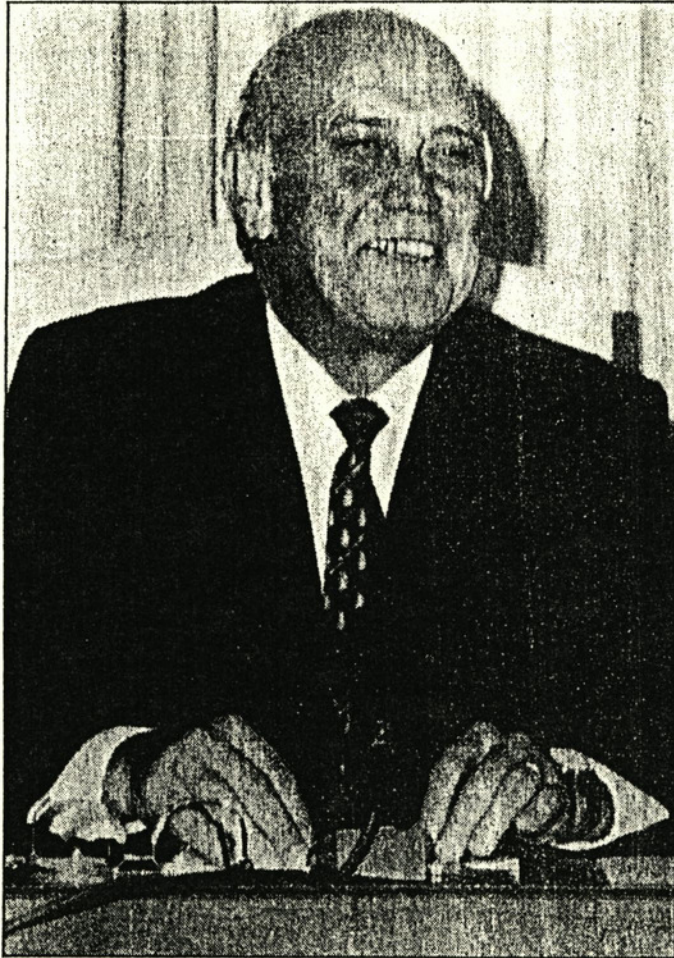
- The body or bodies referred to in paragraph 8.2 of the Report of the Working Group will be constituted by 31 August 1990.

- The further release of prisoners which can be dealt with administratively will start on 1 September 1990.

- Indemnity which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis

The Pretoria Minute: text of the agreement

Stein 7 Aug. 1990



F W de Klerk ... the Government's view was that police should act even-handedly.



Nelson Mandela ... no mechanisms for black people to address their grievances.

Minute is rejected, welcomed

Star Aug. 1990

By Kaizer Nyatumba,
Political Staff

A mixed welcome has greeted the midnight ceasefire.

While many organisations have congratulated the Government and the ANC, the Conservative Party (CP), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have criticised the agreement.

CP chief secretary AS Beyers said it was quite clear that the Government had betrayed the South African Police, and this constituted a victory for the ANC.

PAC spokesman Mark Shinnars said the PAC was not bound by the historic agreement and would continue with its armed struggle.

Democratic Party (DP) co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the Pretoria Minute was "a very welcome development" which would bring real constitutional negotiations even closer.

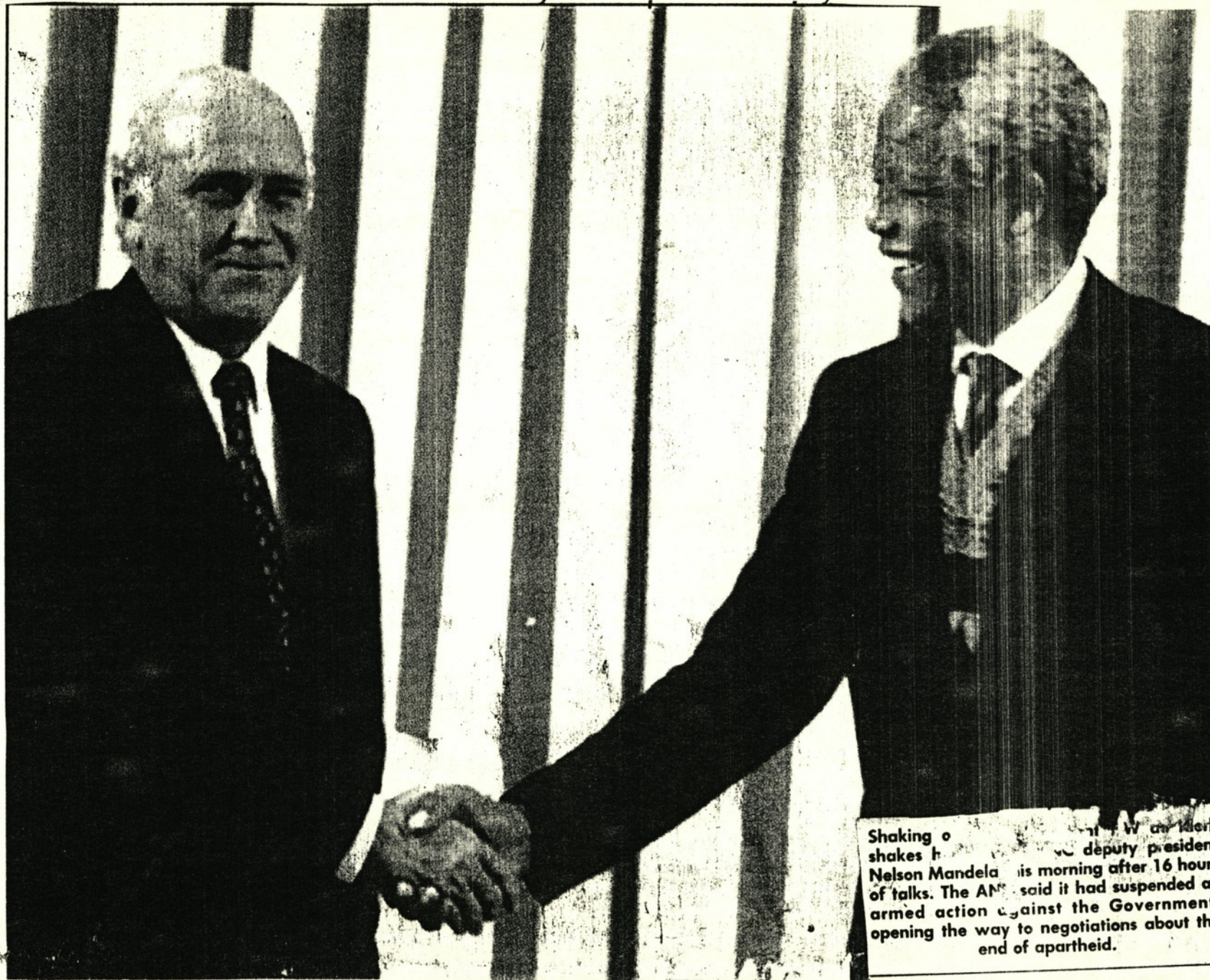
The Johannesburg-based Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) also hailed the Minute, saying it was made possible by concessions on both sides.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr JN Reddy, described the accord as a very significant step towards peace and stability.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu commended the ANC "very warmly" and warned the Government "very sharply" that if it did not control the police, the prospects for a negotiated settlement would be wrecked.

Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) vice-president Ntsie Mohloai said it was not affected by the agreement.

ANC agrees to lay down arms



Shaking hands, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela this morning after 16 hours of talks. The ANC said it had suspended all armed action against the Government, opening the way to negotiations about the end of apartheid.

● Pretoria accord 'is a milestone'

● Constitutional talks

ANC agrees to lay down ^{start soon} arms

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The ANC is "suspending all armed actions with immediate effect", thus accelerating the pace of negotiations by several months.

The dramatic decision was announced early today in a joint statement by the Government and the ANC after marathon 15-hour talks in Pretoria.

"No further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place", the statement said.

They two parties also announced that ANC political prisoners would be released and exiles granted indemnity from arrest in a phased process beginning from September 1.

The agreement is to be known as the Pretoria Minute.

The ANC and the Government said that, as a result of the agreement, "the way is now open to proceed to negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard will be held before the next meeting, which will be soon.

"We are convinced that what we have agreed on today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

The meeting accepted the final report of a working group dealing with political prisoners and exiles "who

committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed".

The working group is to draw up a plan for the release of ANC prisoners and the granting of indemnity to ANC exiles and will report before the end of August.

Security

On security legislation seen by the ANC as an obstacle to negotiations, the Government announced it would give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that:

- Referred to communism or the furthering of communism.
- Provided for a consolidated list.
- Provided for a prohibition on the publication of statements or writings of certain persons.
- Provided for a deposit before a newspaper may be registered.

The Government also promised to continue reviewing security legislation to ensure free political activity with a view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament, and undertook to consider the lifting of the state of emergency in Natal in the light of positive consequences from this accord.

On suspending the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said the ANC had made a "very significant concession".

Dealing with the release of prisoners and return of exiles, the meeting agreed on certain target dates, most of which should have been achieved

by the end of this year.

Where cases had to be dealt with on an individual basis, the process would, it was hoped, be completed within six months but not later than April 30 1991.

● Pretoria Minute text — Page 2.

ANC gives more than Govt

Political Correspondent

The African National Congress seems to have made more concessions than the Government at yesterday's talks in Pretoria.

The main prize for the Government was the ANC's announcement of an immediate ceasefire.

For the ANC, the main achievement was the Government's decision to begin releasing its political prisoners and detainees and indemnifying its exiles and others against arrest for political offences.

These two related issues formed the core of the agreement.

But this position represented a "significant concession" by the ANC in the words of of deputy president Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC delegation.

He said the ANC's official position had been that it would not announce a ceasefire until the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations which it had identified.

"But we came to the meeting having already decided we would declare a ceasefire. This is a very

significant concession."

Apart from the question of prisoners and exiles, the two main obstacles to negotiation as perceived by the ANC were the continuing state of emergency in Natal and what it called "repressive" security legislation.

The Government did not lift the Natal emergency or give any firm undertaking to do so.

It stated its familiar position that it would do so as early as possible "in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord".

Nor did the Government agree to a general moratorium on security legislation as Mr Mandela had said he would urge.

It did agree to give immediate consideration to repealing certain anomalous or rather minor aspects of the Internal Security Act.

It gave no firm undertaking on more contentious aspects such as detention without trial, but promised to continue reviewing security legislation to give more free-

dom to political activity.

Amending legislation would be introduced at the next session of Parliament.

Political observers noted that the ANC's position before yesterday had been that any ceasefire should be mutual.

But the Pretoria Minute makes clear that the ceasefire was agreed by the ANC unilaterally.

All in all, the Pretoria Minute seems rather one-sided. But it might not seem so on closer scrutiny of the ANC's ceasefire.

It is by no means clear what this allows or does not allow.

Police sources expressed concern last night that the ANC's ceasefire in the Pretoria Minute might not have included the formation of underground cells.

Another Government hope that was dashed was that the ANC would provide a firm commitment to suspending its campaign of mass mobilisation, which the Government considers disguised violence.

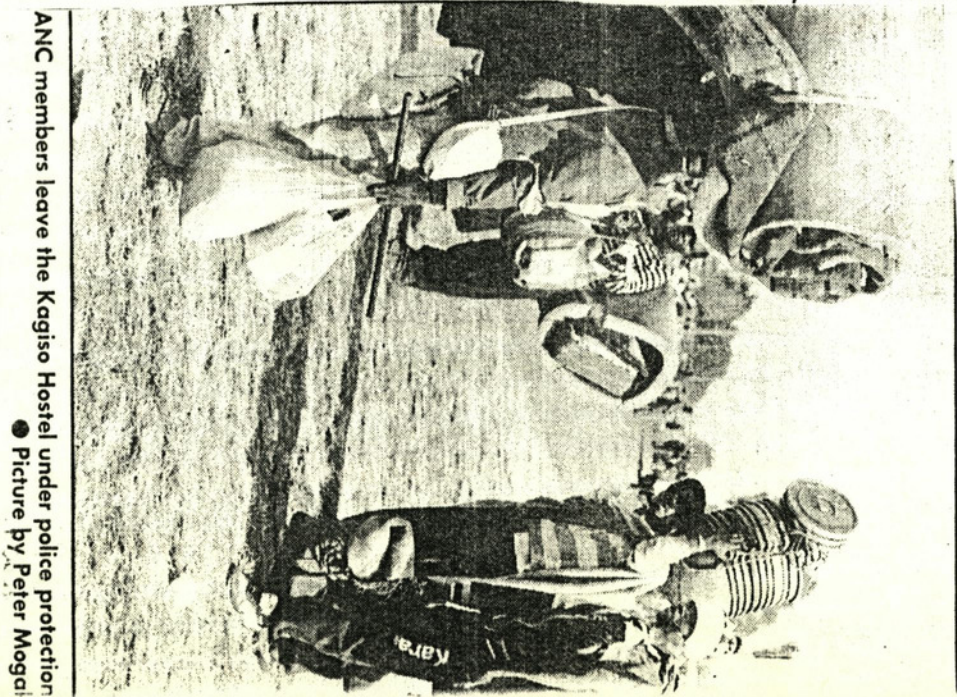
Death toll rising in war-torn Kagiso



Heavily armed Inkatha members perch on the roof of the Kagiso Hostel and watch ANC members being escorted away by police. Each side blames the other for the latest fighting, which started on Sunday night.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

7/8/90



ANC members leave the Kagiso Hostel under police protection

● Picture by Peter Mogai

Death toll rising in war-torn Kagiso

By Stan Hlophe and
Craig Kotze

At least 12 people have been killed, 16 injured and 57 arrested in Inkatha/ANC clashes which threaten to engulf the West Rand township of Kagiso in a bloody Natal-style conflict.

Informal sources put the death toll in the fighting as high as 30, although police could not confirm this.

The official death toll in the violence rose to 12 today after police announced another body had been found. The man had been shot.

Late yesterday the situation was still very tense, with heavily armed police separating the two feuding factions.

This morning, police reported widespread intimidation in the township, with one group preventing others from boarding taxis to go to work.

"It's still very tense and we are patrolling intensively," a spokesman said.

Police said a man was shot dead and one wounded in Kagiso when a mob with pangas and knobkerries attacked a police vehicle at 4.45 am yesterday.

Tear gas and rubber bullets failed to disperse the mob and shotgun fire was used. Fifty-

seven men were arrested when police reinforcements arrived.

Sporadic outbreaks of stone-throwing and illegal gatherings were reported.

At 8.50 am, police came across the bodies of four men shot and hacked to death. At 12.30 pm, the body of a man stabbed to death was found.

A police spokesman said 15 men with stab wounds and one with panga wounds had been admitted to hospital.

Both sides in the war-torn township have now adopted seemingly uncompromising attitudes.

Both sides blame each other for the latest fighting, which started on Sunday night and continued until yesterday morning. Both sides have refused to disarm and have declared war on each other.

There are fears the violence will spill over into other areas in the Reef, the Vaal Triangle and Pretoria.

A temporary truce was signed yesterday after intervention by the leaders of the two warring factions. This led to ANC supporters reluctantly agreeing to move out of their hostel under police escort.

The Kagiso clash is the latest

round in an escalating Inkatha/ANC war in the Transvaal. Last month 22 people died in clashes between the two in Sebokeng near Vereeniging.

The Star spoke to both heavily armed sides in the conflict.

ANC supporters say:

"We were attacked by a group of Zulus, who are all Inkatha members, for no apparent reason.

"They have told us in no uncertain terms that we are Xhosas and they will not be ruled by the Xhosas. We were told by the Zulus as early as last week that we are going to die.

"On our arrival at the hostel on Sunday night we were met with a strong impi and a war cry of 'Usuthu! Usuthu!' and they were all over us.

"We ran helter skelter to the nearest bushes for safety. There we spent the night. Now we have been forced out of the hostel by Inkatha members, but we shall return."

Inkatha supporters say:

"We have done nothing wrong. ANC supporters have been arming themselves and told us we must join the ANC. They said our chief (Mangosuthu Buthelezi) and king (Goodwill Zwelith-

ini) are puppets.

"They bluntly told us to go back to Natal. We were told we would be forced to leave the township like our colleagues from Sebokeng.

"The ANC says there is only one king and that is Mandela. They said Inkatha had no right to exist."

The Inkatha West Rand Regional secretary says:

"This is a propaganda war by the ANC who are attempting to isolate Inkatha and its people.

"Inkatha is a peaceful organisation and is on record as having called for peaceful negotiations. The ANC is telling the whole world that it is a democratic nonracial organisation while it is practising the opposite."

Issac Genu, convener of the ANC West Rand Region, says:

"We are a disciplined organisation prepared to negotiate for peace, but Inkatha is gearing itself for war.

"Its members would not agree to be disarmed and so we will not allow our people to be disarmed.

"The police have failed to maintain law and order. Both police and Inkatha should leave the area and leave us in peace."

The Star

How apartheid has tainted the law

NELSON MANDELA speaks with some justified feeling about a South African judiciary drawn from "the ranks of the white minority" sitting in judgment over the victims of apartheid. For 27 years he felt the lash of that system himself: he made that very point about being "a black man in a white court", subject to laws made by a white parliament, at one of his pre-Rivonia trials in 1962.

It is sobering to remind oneself that nothing much has changed since then. The judiciary is still all-white; the laws emanate from a white-dominated parliament. Much is about to change, but Mr Mandela's central point about the judicial system remains valid. Even the "new South Africa" will have to live with the legacy of a largely white judiciary until the educational and legal systems have caught up with generations of inequality.

Blacks remembering the past record will find it difficult to trust white judges and magistrates even after the social and political systems have become nonracial.

Mr Mandela cast severe strictures on the judiciary for

its role during the Government's "reign of terror". With rare exceptions, he said, the courts had enforced arbitrary detentions and suppressed liberties even where there was scope to act otherwise.

Again one must agree, although Mr Mandela might have acknowledged that judges do not make laws but apply them. He might also have given credit to the growing number of liberal, pro-active judges who have been exploring new ground in challenging oppressive laws. And it is true to say that before the Government changed course, it tended to close up legal loopholes almost as fast as they were discovered.

On one further point Mr Mandela spoke with unchallengeable personal knowledge. What happens before a trial, he said, often has an important bearing on its outcome. He cited the powers that rest in the hands of the police, not only through detention laws, and pleaded for a more humanised prison system. Improvements in these areas don't need to await the advent of the new South Africa.