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## Playing the game

**T**HE African National Congress is attempting to politicise the Australian Wallaby rugby union tour by demanding that the team visit the scene of last month's tragic Bopatong massacre, in which Zulus slew 41 blacks.

Instead of rejecting this blatant attempt by the ANC to capitalise on the tour for its own political ends, the Australian Rugby Union has described the request as not unreasonable. The Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, who has demonstrated his fulsome support for the congress on many occasions, said sport and politics cannot be treated as separate issues in South Africa.

Nonetheless, there will be considerable support here for the Australian Rugby Union captain, Nick Farr-Jones, who warned that the tour of South Africa should not go ahead if the team was to be used as a political pawn. He said: "I'm not going to go there and wear black armbands and make a political statement to the world about their system".

President de Klerk has accused the ANC of creating anarchy in an attempt to seize power by force. Certainly, the congress, as only one of a number of competing black groups, has a vested interest in taking the initiative in the hope of dominating the scene when majority rule comes.

Moreover, the congress has consistently refused to renounce violence as means to its ends.

For Australian sportsmen to take sides in this bloody imbroglio is folly in the extreme. They should do nothing more than play sport.

4. 7. 92

Herald Sun



July 4 to July 8 1992



YOUR VIEW



THE TIMES SATURDAY JULY 4 1992

London

# Radical blacks may reject de Klerk to test their strength

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

THE daily newspaper most read by the black communities of Johannesburg, the *Sowetan*, led its front page in bold type yesterday with the cry: "FW slams ANC."

"The scene has been set for the worst showdown between the government of F. W. de Klerk and the African National Congress since its unbanning in 1990," the paper said. This follows President de Klerk's "gloves off" response to the ANC's demands set out in a memorandum to the government following the Boipatong mass killings.

"His hard-hitting speech has dimmed the prospects of a revival of Codesa (Congress for a Democratic South Africa) or a reconciliation between the government and the ANC in the immediate future." If what the *Sowetan* said were true the country would now face a steady descent into confrontation, civil disorder, economic disaster and, possibly, civil war.

Though Mr de Klerk did warn the country that the government would not tolerate an attempt by the ANC to seize power by force, and spoke harshly about the threat of mass action, he also offered a number of compromises that may take much of the sting out of his fulminations.

But the more radical leaders of the black movements may resist the offer. The ANC and its allies appear intent on testing their power in a promised campaign of strikes and demonstrations. In an addition to Mr de Klerk's letter to Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, the government accuses the movement of falling under the influence of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Confederation of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

"It is clear that the SACP, Cosatu and individuals within the ANC still pursue outdated tactical communist doctrines and objectives," the

addition says. "The strategy and policy of various revolutionaries within the ANC alliance are increasingly in conflict with internationally accepted norms. Revolutionary ethics generally overrule all other principles and are therefore incompatible with democracy."

The firebrands of Cosatu, led by Jay Naidoo, the general secretary, have begun to chalk out their plans for the mass action campaign. They promise a general strike to begin on August 3.

They are also threatening city centre occupations, sit-

hours and airports. Road traffic would be paralysed by mobilising taxi drivers to cause traffic jams.

The newspaper says that the proposals have been canvassed at the highest levels of the ANC leadership. Cosatu says that the labour movement has taken control of the negotiating process and will make its alliance partners toe its line.

The so-called "Leipzig option" is being called into play. Leaders of the SACP and Cosatu say they will try to emulate the burghers of Leipzig who toppled the East German Communist regime by their series of mass demonstrations. Less radical reformers point out that there was virtually universal support for the protests in Leipzig, and that the best that Mr Mandela could draw was 10,000 people on Soweto day on June 16 this year. They also point out that the last time Cosatu called a general strike it was all over in two or three days.

In an editorial *The Star*, which claims to be South Africa's largest daily newspaper, points out the dangers of Cosatu's plans, especially to the already fragile economy. "If an ANC administration — or one in which the ANC is a major actor — is installed within the next few months, the ANC will have to bear the burden of Cosatu's action. So, too, will the people whose interests Cosatu purports to represent: the workers."

It says what is needed is calm discussion, and urges Mr Naidoo to "deploy his considerable talents to that end". The document concedes one of the ANC's main demands, a time frame for the completion of transitional arrangements. It also offers tripartite talks on the violence and makes concessions both on traditional weapons and on international observers. The ANC has already started to consider its response.



Sowetan: prophesying descent into disorder

ins at government buildings and a refusal to pay income tax. Other schemes promoted within the ANC are contained in a document that has fallen into the hands of *The Weekly Mail*. In addition to the strike, the document urges a "prolonged intermittent disruption of normal business".

The methods include the systematic and deliberate interruption of the telephone services of certain business and state institutions; sit-ins, stay-aways and protests at police stations, prisons and post offices; systematic interruption of the transport system, including railways, har-



San Star 4/7/92

# Hostels a shaky urban foothold for migrants

IT WAS Nancefield hostel in Soweto which gave Meshack Dladla his first foothold in urban South Africa. "When I came here from Natal I knew I had no right to my own accommodation in the township, so I went straight to the hostel," he recalls.

Dladla, like his father, found work in the steel industry but never believed he too would spend his entire adult life as a migrant worker. "My aim was to work for a short time, make the money I needed and go back. But the money has just never been enough," he says. Nineteen years after his first night in a hostel bunk, Dladla is still living that way, and wishing he didn't.

The debate around the future of South Africa's hostels has simmered since the first clashes with township residents in 1990. It flamed after the Boipatong massacre and the role in the slaughter of men from KwaMadala hostel.

The issue is complicated, not just because of conflicting political agendas, but because no matter what is decided, Dladla and countless others will still have to put together lives that have been stretched out painfully between two worlds. He has a family in KwaZulu, a piece of land and some cattle, goats and chickens, and he doesn't

**HOSTELS, at the epicentre of the violence, face an uncertain future, says Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.**

want to give that up. He also has doubts about the city ways. "It is painful to see children with no respect for older people," he says. But what troubles him most is that he sees his wife and children just twice a year. "The worst is the loneliness," he says.

To that has been added the violence of the past two years in which hostels have been at the epicentre. "Today you are okay, tomorrow there is a fight," says Dladla.

That kind of uncertain-

**“Even if there are men who want single quarters, there is no need to house them like that.”**

**— Pallo Jordan**

ty caused Morris Madziba to leave the Soweto hostel where he had lived for eight years. A shop steward in the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), Madziba says he sometimes came home late from union meetings and found himself under scrutiny from others in the hostel. "This

thing only started this year," he says. "They used to ask 'where are you coming from? Is it a union meeting?' They used to have their own meetings and we were forced to attend. If you did not attend they became suspicious."

Madziba, cruelly, ran into more suspicion when he left the hostel and moved into a backyard shack. "As a Zulu-speaker, people wanted to know why I had left the hostel," he says. "It was lucky that some union people protected me."

Madziba's story seems to reflect the views of Numsa, the ANC and others — that workers have been driven out of Reef hostels to create barracks for Inkatha fighters.

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan says there is no inherent animosity between hostel dwellers and township residents. "In most cases where there has been conflict, supporters of IFP have driven out the hostel residents first. It is a section of the hostel dwellers who support the IFP who have been used to clash with township residents."

The IFP's Themba Khoza dismisses this as "an attempt to defame Inkatha. It is made up by naive journalists," he says. He is supported by

Joseph Kubeka, chairman of the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association (THRA). Kubeka, who joined his father in Soweto's Merafe hostel in 1982, insists the THRA is non-aligned.

Every organisation is still to be found in the hostels," he says. "It is just that some are not taking care of their members. When a hostel man is attacked, they say he is IFP, but maybe they attacked someone who was going to vote for them. They don't always know what is in a man's heart."

This bitter dispute over the role of hostels in the violence has generated much of the fog currently clouding discussion about their future.

There are two key issues on which most sides seem to agree. The first is that most hostels desperately need improving. "Even if there are men who want single quarters, there is no need to house them like that," says Jordan. The second is that the hostel dwellers

**“We made the mistake of not paying enough attention to the hostels.”**

**— Unionist**

themselves need to be in on the decision.

"The people in the hostels must decide if they want them converted to family housing," says Khoza. "The Government used to say do this and that without consulting us," says Kubeka. "Now some of our black brothers are doing the same thing."

Just who speaks for the hostel dwellers is not clear. One veteran of the labour movement believes that "unions made a mistake a few years ago. In many areas our strongest membership was in the hostels. But our leadership has become more educated, skilled township people and we made the mistake of not paying enough attention to the hostels". Even so, both Dladla and Madziba and many other migrants still see unions as their voice.

In the long term, politics may count for less than purse strings. In May, the Government allocated R294,6 million for "the upgrading of hostels or their conversion into family units". That sort of money will hardly touch sides when viewed against the country's overall housing crisis. And with no guarantees that the national cake will get bigger, the size of every slice is going to be contested.



The Citizen 4/7/92

## Memo to ANC: Govt praised by HNP

Citizen Reporter

THE government was yesterday praised by the HNP over its handling of the negotiation deadlock and the memorandum written to the ANC.

The leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, said his party agreed with the government that the SACP and Cosatu were using the ANC to force confrontation.

He said the government could count on his party's support if it was acting strongly against the ANC, whose only aim

was to take power in South Africa through violence.

### War

Mr Marais said it was clear that Cosatu and the SACP never had any interest in peace and were seeing strikes and mass action as a continuation of the terrorist war.

The aim was to make the country ungovernable as first prerequisite for grabbing power.

It was not the first time that South Africa had to face such a situation and during 1985-86 and the

Sharpeville crisis, similar unrest and international pressure occurred.

Mr Marais said in the past the South African Government did not allow itself to be influenced by such factions and law and order was quickly restored.

"The current government must act strongly against the ANC/SACP challenges to bring an end to the increasing insecurity and lack of stability. Everyone has respect for a government who shows it has the will to maintain authority," he said.



The Citizen 4/7/92

## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### FW hits out

STATE President De Klerk has given the African National Congress a piece of his mind — and we don't blame him.

The ANC, he says, has chosen to sabotage negotiations, there is "every reason to believe that the ANC is breaking off the negotiations to cause a crisis", and it seems the ANC has decided to follow its own agenda towards the seizure of power.

"They want to force their views on the rest of society through confrontation and mass mobilisation.

"This will not be tolerated."

Mr De Klerk says the government will not allow the ultimate goal of the mass action campaign — to overthrow the government through coercion — to succeed.

It is a reassuring statement.

Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Jay Naidoo should understand, in any case, that a government cannot be forced out of power by strikes, stayaways, boycotts, street demonstrations and sit-ins at government buildings, or by a general strike.

What their campaign can do, however, is lead to confrontation, violence and the death of innocent people.

Unfortunately, even if the ANC agrees to meet the government to discuss their constitutional and other differences, even if the ANC (which we doubt) agrees to meet the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party to discuss the violence, the mass action of the ANC will continue.

Our reasons for saying this are obvious.

Mass action was planned before the Codesa breakdown not only as a strategy to force the government to accede to the ANC's demands by making the country ungovernable, but also to rally the Black masses to the ANC's side for any future election.

Other than getting its own way (and the government has made some concessions to it, but probably not enough, in its latest constitutional proposals), the ANC, SACP and Cosatu alliance is going to turn the country upside down in the hope of forcing the government to hand over power.

The ANC will not — and must not — succeed. Mr De Klerk has denied that he was involved in the Boipatong massacre. "This is a lie that will remain a lie, no matter how often it is repeated."

The ANC is not going to admit that he wasn't involved, for the simple reason that it has been using Boipatong to hammer Mr De Klerk here and abroad.

It has succeeded in putting new friends in the international community on the defensive about Mr De Klerk and his reforms.

It has made his former enemies overseas, who had become convinced of his reformist zeal, reconsider the lifting of sanctions.

And it has brought growing pressure for international intervention of some sort — whether by a peacekeeping force (unlikely), monitoring group or mediation.

At home it has partly destroyed Mr De Klerk's favourable image in the townships, particularly in the Vaal Triangle, Mr De Klerk being linked to the violence as a person "Wanted for murder".

One cannot see the ANC halting this campaign which, though based on false allegations, has brought it such success.

However, there is growing international pressure on Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk to resume the negotiations — President Bush is the latest leader to call for a resumption of the talks — and we don't think the ANC will be able to stand out much longer against negotiations.

But even if it does resume the talks, it will continue with its own agenda, which is to destabilise the country by mass action, and nothing will persuade it to abandon its plans, including a damaging and potentially dangerous general strike.

In this it shows no regard either for the economy, which is in the midst of the worst recession in 50 years, the workers, who may lose pay or be dismissed because of the strike, or the turmoil that may result, damaging not only the country but the ANC's own image as a genuine, responsible, possible government-in-waiting.



The Citizen 4/7/92

## ANC marshal allegedly wore an SAP uniform

Citizen Reporter

ANC woman marshal at a National Education and Hospital Worker's Union (Nehawu) meeting in Pretoria was arrested yesterday by police on charges that she was dressed in an SAP camouflage uniform.

A police spokesman said the 24-year-old woman wore the trousers and jacket, which was adorned with ANC insignia.

She is from White City, Soweto, and is employed as an assistant at the Jo-

hannesburg Hospital. She is expected to be released on a written warning to appear in court.

### Offence

The SAP spokesman pointed out that this was not the first time that members or supporters of certain organisations have been dressed in police uniforms, and that the police questioned their motives.

"We must warn the public that the unlawful wearing of SAP uniforms is a criminal offence, and the police have a duty to act against those who break the law," he said.



The Citizen 4/7/92

## Black Sash demands Kriel's resignation

THE Black Sash yesterday demanded the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, the purging of biased elements of the police and the disclosure of police irregularities.

The demands were con-

tained in a letter delivered to the John Vorster Square police headquarters after a procession through central Johannesburg to voice the organisation's "strongest disapproval" at the police's alleged role in "fanning the flames of violence".

According to the letter, the Natal Trust Feed case was an illustration of an act of commission by the police, while the Boipatong massacre — although not yet proved by a court of law — was viewed as an act of omission.

The organisation believed these were not isolated incidents.

The letter said the SAP's "gross failure" to carry out their duties adequately and their poss-

ible implication in unlawful activities, had led to the current breakdown of law and order in the country. It had also caused a breakdown in the essential relationship of trust between members of the society and the police.

In calling for Mr Kriel's resignation, the Black Sash said he should hand over the executive control to an unbiased authority, consisting of United Nations representatives, because South Africans "did not trust Mr Kriel or the government or the police".

A full disclosure of all police irregularities, past and present, was also required otherwise the employment of an outside unbiased authority would prove useless — Sapa



The Citizen 4/7/92

## Volunteer justices of the peace soon

THE national peace structures have finally gained teeth at grassroots level, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in Pretoria yesterday.

He announced at a news conference that volunteers would soon be appointed as justices of the peace to promote peace in their own communities.

Mr Coetsee said he hoped many Blacks

would apply to be appointed, in terms of the Decriminalisation Act and the Internal Peace Institutions Act.

He said the National Peace Accord's Chapter 7 provided for the appointment of justices of the peace at grassroots level, to combat violence and intimidation.

To qualify for the post, applicants should be re-

spected leaders in their communities, and help to resolve disagreement through negotiation.

They would be empowered to ban actions that would endanger peace, and have several other powers to carry out their duties.

Failure to heed a peace officer's ruling could be punishable with a fine or

12 months' jail.

The legislation providing for their appointment had the approval of the Peace Committee and its structures.

Mr Coetsee said, when asked whether the African National Congress might not see the legislation as repressive, he had heard no word of disapproval.

Training for the peace officers would start on August 1.

Asked whether the situation in many areas was not already too radicalised for peace officers to perform their duties properly, he said: "That is a very pessimistic view."

— Sapa.



*The Citizen 4/7/92*

## ANC should 'rethink economic sabotage'

THE African National Congress should reconsider its actions to sabotage the economy, and State President De Klerk should move quickly to get agreement with the organisation, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Reacting to Mr De Klerk's reply to the ANC's demands on Thursday night, Dr De Beer said the National Party and the ANC would have to make concessions if the country was to return to constructive negotiations.

Mr De Klerk had done

well to concede the principle of foreign monitoring and also seemed to have moved forward on the issue of a new constitution.

"He (Mr De Klerk) should now move fast to get agreement with the ANC, which itself must reconsider its various actions to sabotage the economy upon which we all depend.

"South Africa demands sensible conciliation from both sides."

He said the suggestion that the ANC, Inkatha and the government

might meet to discuss violence was "plainly sensible since they cause it".

The fact that Mr De Klerk had clearly not lost his nerve in spite of the government's recent blunders was good, because steady nerves were necessary.

Dr De Beer said Mr De Klerk's bluster against the ANC on Thursday night was not undeserved, but was unhelpful.

"It seems to make the State President feel better, and this is presumably why he does it." — Sapa.



The Citizen 4/7/92

Page 8

# ANC asked to help combat AK 'scourge'

By Chris Steyn

AK-47 assault rifles are now used in almost 70 percent of robberies at banks and financial institutions in Johannesburg, according to police.

And the Ministry of Law and Order has appealed to the ANC to help the police get the "AK-47 scourge" off the streets.

Lt Marius Johnstone of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad disclosed yesterday that the unit had recovered 21 AK-47's and four Pughs (the Russian version of the Usi submachine-gun) in the past two months. Three-hundred rounds of AK and 25 rounds of Pugh ammunition were also

confiscated.

An additional 89 AK's had been recovered in townships in the past year. These excluded those AK's confiscated during arrests of alleged bank robbers.

Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, said while most of these illegal machine-guns were being smuggled in from Mozambique — where an AK could be bought for a bag of mealie meal — many came from the ANC's arms caches.

"The ANC has no control over MK's (Umkhonto we Sizwe) arsenal and arms caches," he said.

If police were able to "choke off the flow" of AK-47's the crime and unrest rate would de-

crease significantly.

"Clearly the ANC must assist the police," Capt Kotze said. "Scarcely a day goes by that an AK is not used in a robbery. And we have caught many MK and ANC members in connection with armed robberies.

The AK was the common denominator in crime and unrest, a link which Capt Kotze said could be led back to the issue of the ANC's arms caches.

"They refuse to give up their AK's and they are still importing more," he said.

"The whole phenomenon of the AK is that it is a violence multiplier: In the space of 10 seconds, you can mow down 30 people with one rifle."



The Citizen 4/7/92

## Impasse: Big business talks to Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — The South African Chamber of Business and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Members of his Cabinet yesterday to discuss the impasse in South African politics.

The meeting followed an earlier meeting between President De Klerk, Sacob and the AHI in Pretoria, the two business organisations said in a joint statement.

"The present political impasse and its importance to the economy were the main items on the agenda," Sacob and the AHI said.

They conveyed to the Chief Minister their deep concern about the human and economic cost of the ongoing violence and the negative impact of the

breakdown of Codesa II on investor and business confidence.

They also indicated the necessity for negotiations to be resumed as soon as possible.

They said the future of South Africa was at stake and that without undue haste the logical process of agreeing to a new constitutional dispensation should be allowed to take its course.

In his response Mr Buthelezi reaffirmed his commitment to negotiations and the need for these negotiations to be resumed as soon as possible.

The discussions held with Mr Buthelezi were a part of a multilevel initiative by organised business to address the current political situation in

South Africa, which will be concluded by a separate meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela next week, the statement said. — Sapa.



The Citizen 4/7/92

## Policeman shot dead

A Black policeman was shot and killed yesterday afternoon by four unidentified attackers in Katlehong, near Germiston, police liaison officer Captain Henriette Bester said.

He has been identified as Detective-Sergeant Phillemon Ramakgapola (38).

The death, according to Capt Bester, brings the number of policemen murdered this year in South Africa to 97. Forty-one have been murdered on the Witwatersrand.

"These members were murdered while doing their best to serve the community in trying circumstances."

Capt Bester said the policeman was approached by four armed Black men at 2pm when he stopped at Ncala 932, Katlehong to carry out an investigation.

"He was shot in the face at point blank range and he died instantly," Capt Bester said. His ser-

vice pistol was taken from him and the suspects fled on foot.

Condemning the attack, Capt Bester said: "The police are here to serve the community and we in turn need the

wholehearted support of the community to do this effectively."

Information on the incident can be sent to the East Rand Murder and Robbery Unit at (011) 845 2820. — Sapa.



The Citizen 4/7/92

# No ANC plot to take over by force: Mandela

ABUJA. — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela yesterday denied President De Klerk's allegation that his group was plotting to forcibly seize power in South Africa.

"That is a false allegation and a diversionary. We believe democracy will be attained through fruitful dialogue," Mr Mandela told reporters in Nigeria after meeting President Ibrahim Babangida.

Mr De Klerk accused the ANC of seeking to sabotage peace negotiations and to seize power during prime-time radio

and television broadcasts on Thursday, appealing to Black and Whites to support his White-led government.

"The whole process of negotiations comes not from De Klerk but the ANC. And when De Klerk has blocked the movement towards negotiations the only other thing we could do was to use our power to mobilise the whole country around the whole principle of democracy," said Mr Mandela.

"That is the lesson of history. That is what is being done throughout the democratic world by people who enjoy the right of citizenship, that

enjoy the vote. They do use such action when discussions with authorities have become futile."

The ANC leader said the De Klerk government's optimism about renewed negotiations was baseless.

"It is not based on any sense because we are determined never to resume any discussions with the regime unless our demands have been addressed."

The ANC, enraged by the June 17 massacre of

43 people in the ANC stronghold of Boipatong, has withdrawn from democracy talks, putting the multi-party Codesa on hold and accusing the government of not doing enough to halt township violence.

Mr Mandela told reporters in Abuja that he had briefed Mr Babangida on the latest developments in South Africa and the ANC's stand on Codesa.

• Mr Mandela had two days of talks with the Nigerian president.

Mr Mandela stressed that his African National Congress was keen to solve the impasse in South Africa's democratic process and believed that multi-racial democracy could be achieved by "fruitful dialogue".

He asked for backing in the crisis from Nigeria, which handed over the presidency of the OAU to Senegal at this week's summit, the statement added.

A Nigerian Government statement quoted Mr Mandela as saying the ANC sought a UN Security Council meeting on South Africa.



The Citizen 4/7/92

Page 4 \*

THE CITIZEN

# Mandela will issue directive to protect journalists

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela had personally undertaken to issue a directive to all ANC structures to ensure township youths learnt to respect journalists who cover unrest situations, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

"The ANC's national working committee is looking at the events of the Boipatong funeral, how journalists were harassed and shot at," Mr Ramaphosa said at a Nieman Foundation conference lunch in Johannesburg.

"The ANC must take immediate steps so that this does not become a culture that starts growing in South Africa."

At least six journalists were assaulted or threatened at a funeral on Monday for 37 people killed in Boipatong.

"Nelson Mandela has personally communicated with all our structures, and we will take concrete steps to ensure that media workers are welcome and safe within our communities."

Mr Mandela's directive would be communicated

through speeches by local ANC leaders.

Turning to media independence, the most critical issue remained the SABC, Mr Ramaphosa said.

"The ANC believes the most urgent issue is to reach agreement on a completely reconstituted, impartial and non-partisan management and board of directors for the SABC.

"The extent of state manipulation, which we continue to see in the SABC, only serves to confirm how urgent and

necessary it is to ensure that a public broadcaster in this country is non-partisan."

He cited as an example Thursday night's television broadcast to the nation by State President De Klerk, the subsequent news coverage and one-to-one interview with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

"Given that the government in no way represents the disenfranchised millions, the ANC insists on equal time to put our views on both the impasse and in response to scurrilous attacks on the ANC and its integrity."

The country had no experience of democracy, good government or political tolerance.

"That is why the National Party can speak of power-sharing, but publicly declare the ANC 'Public Enemy Number One' the day after the Boipatong massacre.

"Yet at the same time it then expresses surprise when President De Klerk is chased out of the townships by angry residents."

The ANC advocated an Independent Media Commission to urgently consider the question of a reconstituted SABC Board. — Sapa.



The Citizen 4/7/92

## Codesa had exhausted its potential — Ancy!

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC Youth League (Ancy!) has called for the immediate re-examination of the continued participation by the ANC and its allies in all structures and activities of the National Peace Accord.

Reacting yesterday to State President De Klerk's response to the ANC's 7 000-word memorandum, the Youth League said it believed that Codesa had exhausted its potential.

In a statement Ancy!'s National Executive Committee also exhorted the tri-partite alliance led by the ANC to demand the setting of a date for the establishment of an interim government and democratic elections as a prerequisite for the resumption of negotiations.

The league also announced its intention to propose that a demand for the resignation of Mr De Klerk and the government be put in the coming campaign of mass action.

"A campaign which must indeed result in the removal of the National Party from power," the statement said.

"It is the view of the ANC Youth League that De Klerk has sounded the death knell against negotiations.

"It is the opinion of our organisation that the effort to resolve the conflict in the country through peaceful negotiations has been irreparably damaged by the South African Government."

The league said it stood by the demands contained in the ANC's memorandum.

"Our call to our people is that De Klerk should be isolated and everybody join the march to democracy, peace and freedom under the banner of the Pro Democracy Movement."

The government's response to the ANC's memorandum had made it very clear that it was still opposed to democratic majority rule, the league said.

"The dishonesty with which the South African Government has replied to the memorandum — in relation to violence in particular and the thinly-veiled strategy of promoting a troika between the ANC, the NP and Inkatha — is a clear demonstration of the need to wage a fiercer and more aggressive struggle for freedom."



INZ 41122 4/7/92

## 4 houses destroyed

### VANDEBBIJLPARK.

— Arsonists yesterday morning set fire to four houses in Zone 14, Seboekeng, near Vanderbijlpark, police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said.

The houses, two of which belonged to policemen, were burned to the ground.

Lt Weber said: "In spite of numerous calls to the public to normalise the situation and to assist police in bringing peace and harmony to the area, vicious and malicious attacks like these still occur.

"We once again call on the public to assist us by coming forward with information. — Sapa.



The Citizen 4/7/92

## Some weapons used at Boipatong identified

Citizen Reporter

THE police have made further progress in the investigation of the "senseless massacre" at Boipatong in spite of strong opposition from certain organisations and other bodies, head of the investigating team, Maj-Gen

Wouter Grove announced yesterday.

He said some of the weapons which were seized at the KwaMandala Hostel have been positively identified as those used at Boipatong after being subjected to forensic tests.

Lt-Gen Basie Smit, chief of Crime Combating and Investigations sent a letter to the ANC yesterday asking it to repeal its decision to advise township residents not to assist police with their probe into the massacre.

He said he was formally requesting the assistance and corporation of the ANC in bringing to justice those responsible for the attacks.

He said he had noted the ANC's condemnation of the necklacing of Mr Stanley Nagaga during the Boipatong mass funeral on Monday, and hoped the organisation's supporters would also assist police in that investigation.

The general's request followed the ANC's advice to residents earlier this week not to give statements to police.

This prompted Ministry of Law and Order spokesman, Capt Craig Kotze, to accuse the ANC of deliberately subverting attempts to bring the perpetrators to justice.

ANC PWV spokesman Wally Mbele said at the time that the organisation maintained police themselves were involved in the attacks.

He said yesterday that the ANC would study Gen Smit's request and announce its decision later.

ANC national spokesman Carl Niehaus, said yesterday that the organisation was not in principle opposed to co-operating with the police.

However, residents who did not want to give

statements to police because they feared consequent harassment, could not be forced to do so.

It was residents' fear of the police that had prompted the advice given by the local branch of the ANC following the Boipatong incident.

Meanwhile, independent investigators, including lawyers, would take statements from residents.

"And we would obviously share this information with the police", Mr Niehaus said.



The Citizen 4/7/92

# ANC warns Iscor to demolish hostel

by Sapa  
and Kevin Flynn

ISCOR has until next Friday to reply to demands that KwaMadala Hostel be demolished, after which the African National Congress will not take responsibility for the actions of residents from nearby Boipatong, the scene of the massacre of more than 40 people on June 17.

This was said yesterday by ANC Witwatersrand leader, Tokyo Sexwale, after about 4 000 residents marched out of Boipatong but stopped short of the KwaMadala Hostel at a police roadblock.

The police were supported by ten armoured vehicles and a helicopter.

While marshals linked arms across the road and police looked on, a del-

egation comprising ANC-aligned structures and the National Congress of Trade Unions handed a memorandum to representatives from Iscor, the company which owns the hostel.

The memorandum included demands for KwaMadala to be demolished immediately, for the company to provide compensation to the massacre victims and for these demands to be met by July 10.

Mr Sexwale said march organisers had had to deter those who wanted to march on the hostel, on local Iscor offices, "and on the homes of the directors of this company."

"If you don't meet their demands, we won't take responsibility," he warned.

Iscor general works manager, Mr Gerrie

Hoffman said the company had already agreed to locate the KwaMadala residents.

He assured the delegation Iscor, too, wanted to diffuse the violent situation and that the demands would be submitted to Iscor management.

The national organising secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Zwelinzima Vavi, said the residents of Boipatong were sick of violence.

"We have been warning you (Iscor) about the violence since December 1990, but you have a total disregard for the safety of our people," he said.

Earlier, violence threatened to erupt as a group in the crowd shook fists under the nose of a television cameraman, shouting "war, war,

war!"

What sounded like a gunshot rang out in another section of the crowd, but the mood settled down.

One placard held by protesters yesterday read: "Where are the police and Whites who were also implicated June 17th?"

No official permission was applied for or given for the march but SA Police Regional Internal Stability head, Brig Jaap Venter, said an agreement had been reached between the police and marchers — they would not be allowed further than the police road block.

As the residents moved away, a youth threw a stone at police. There was brief panic in the crowd but no retaliation.

• See Page Four



## NEWS ANALYSIS A political system where never again will the winner take all



Inkatha members listen intently



Chief Mangosuthu Buthe

# Federalism is the only way to go - IFP

**H**ISTORICALLY THE aborted negotiations at Codesa represent the second time that this question has been a constitutional issue.

The first time was in the negotiations between the two Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and the Cape and Natal (which incorporated Zululand) self-governing colonies in 1910.

Natal surrendered its preference for federalism because it was persuaded that separate statehood within a federal structure would make the Orange Free State the poor relation in view of its then perceived lack of resources.

The discovery of untold wealth in the gold reefs of the Free State gold field still lay nearly 40 years into the future.

Thus the Act of Union was an act of faith in the creation of a unitary South Africa bringing together the two streams of Boer and Brit.

### Fateful decisions

It was essentially government of, by and for the new white South African nation.

People of colour hardly counted in the equation and therefore like it or not, decisions vital to their future were made for them as though they were persons who were under guardianship.

Blacks today therefore, in rightly denying the legitimacy of the unitary state so created and its successor Republic and tricameral constitutions, are entitled to revisit the fateful decision which created the Union without their participation in 1910 and to reject the perpetuation of the basic unitary structure in favour of a federal structure.

Had the decision then been for a federation, it is undeniable that the history of South Africa would have been very different.

Afrikaner nationalism's drive for

## HISTORY LESSON Inkatha's

Alastair J Macauley gives pros of a federal constitution:

domination over the whole of South Africa would have found a major stumbling block in Natal's predominantly English-speaking majority.

Economic development of the various provinces would, so the argument went, not achieve a balanced growth overall within a federal structure.

Economic research by Mr Peter Christensen of the Inkatha Institute has shown that central Government failed in this regard and in fact redistributed income from the poorer regions to the better off regions.

Could the realisation of such economic objectives ever have compensated for the ideologically inspired, Afrikaner nationalist, ethnic socialism, with its philosophic roots in pre-war Germany, which took flight in 1948 and which not only reduced people of colour to non-persons in so called white South Africa, but also reduced English speakers to an impotent political minority.

### Liberation movement

Viewing this history as a liberation movement with a majority black membership, the IFP stands committed to ensure that never again will any new oppressor be able to rise up on the inheritance of a unitary state system of government bequeathed to it by successive Governments which so ruthlessly and so totally used the power of the unitary state to enshrine an evil racist philosophy.

The IFP has learnt that lesson well through its long struggle of successful resistance against apartheid within the country by peaceful means while others chose to adopt as exiles the "armed struggle".

The unitary system of government is fatally discredited in the IFP's eyes as a means of preventing "winner take all" centralised concentration and abuse of power and of preserving liberty.

### Stubborn virility

The IFP looks also at the nations of the world and in particular those which have multi-ethnic populations. It finds that many if not most of these have adopted a federal type constitution.

These include Canada, Malaysia, Nigeria and Switzerland. And the mother of federalism, the United States of America, has produced the nation which stands as the greatest power the world has known and as a moral beacon in the defence of human liberty and plural democracy everywhere.

South Africa's natural ethnic diversity, whose stubborn virility has nothing to do with apartheid, cannot be ignored in future constitutional arrangements, although in the determination of regional federal states, economic viability is also a co-determinant in the IFP's view.

The IFP thus favours a federal constitutional model which, like the United States constitution, confers on the federal regional states the residual powers, that is, all the powers which are not specifically reserved to the federal government in the Constitution.

These latter might, for instance, include Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Posts and Railways. (Alastair J Macauley is an attorney and in the IFP delegation at Codesa).



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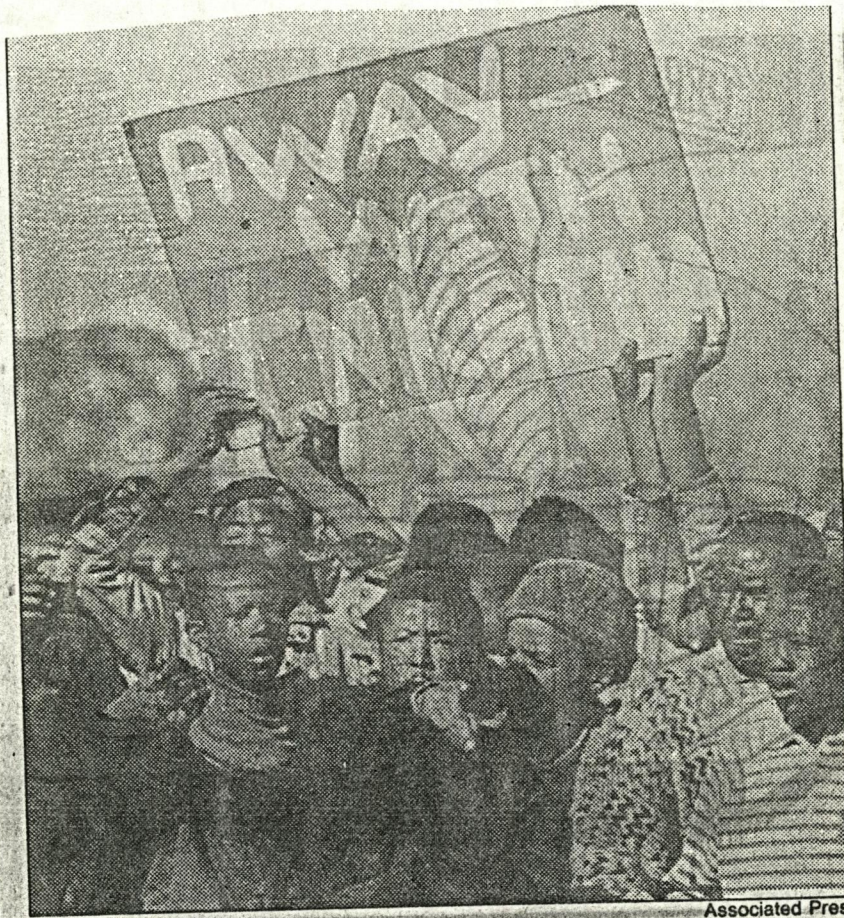
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Associated Press

**Angry protest:** Youths from the South African township of Boipatong demand Friday the demolition of a hostel that houses mostly Zulu supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. Township residents say suspects in last month's massacre live in the hostel.

## ANC rebuffs concession; efforts to revive talks go on

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — A top African National Congress official on Friday rejected President F.W. de Klerk's bid to revive stalled political talks, extending the impasse on how to end white minority rule.

Thousands of angry black people marched through Boipatong township to protest last month's massacre of at least 39 and demand action against the attackers.

Emeka Anyaoko, secretary general of the Commonwealth of former British holdings, met privately with Inkatha Freedom Party leader

Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an effort to restart the negotiations.

One sticking point in the talks is the margin of approval needed to amend the constitution. The ANC has contended that the government sought a margin that would, in effect, give the white minority veto power.

Thursday, after accusing the black movement of trying to take power by force, de Klerk agreed to lower the margin. That came close to meeting the ANC's latest negotiating position, but on Friday, ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said his group had reverted to its original quest for an even lower margin.



knowing it would be null and void."

But the accused men had good lawyers, organised by the opposition chief whip, Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj, and last year the Privy Council in London, acting as Trinidad's final court of appeal, said the pardon must be taken into consideration. It quoted Alexander Hamilton, one of the founding fathers of the United States, who wrote in *The Federalist* that "in seasons of insurrection or rebellion there are often critical moments when a well-timed offer of pardon to the insurgents or rebels may restore the tranquillity of the commonwealth." If pardons were invalid, this seemed to imply, it might be harder for governments to talk terrorists into surrender.

The Trinidad High Court now says it cannot question the acting president's motive in granting the pardon; he was not personally under duress, and had other choices—sending in the army, or waiting until the terrorists were demoralised. So the men go free. Mr Robinson, whom they shot, says he feels no bitterness. Individual policemen who were their victims may be less generous. Trinidad's present prime minister, Patrick Manning, elected last December, faces high unemployment and an uncertain economy. Now he will have the Muslimen back, celebrating their release with a day of prayer in their suburban mosque. Others too may feel they need some guidance.

## South Africa

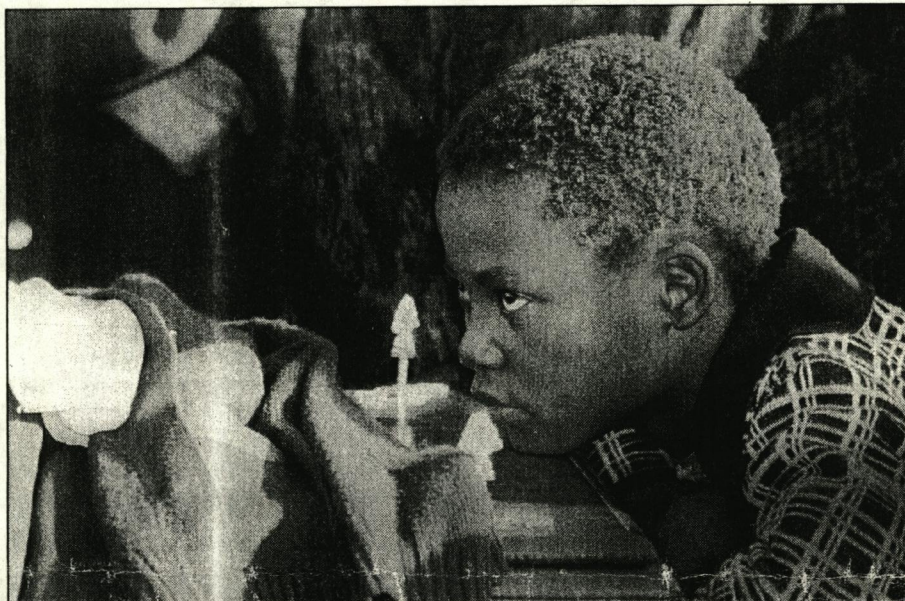
# Trahison de Klerk

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

THE verdict of a "people's assembly" inspired by the African National Congress is that President F.W. de Klerk is a "dangerous criminal". Activists in the black townships are vilifying the man who not so long ago was acclaimed there as "Comrade de Klerk". The process has intensified since the massacre at Boipatong on June 17th, and the subsequent shooting by police of unarmed demonstrators. Led by their president, Nelson Mandela, leaders of the ANC are systematically demonising the state president in words that bring them into line with the militants of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Mr Mandela, speaking after the Boipatong massacre, reiterated an accusation he first made at an Organisation of African Unity meeting in May; that Mr de Klerk and his "surrogates" in Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party kill blacks as the Nazis killed Jews in Hitler's Germany. Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary-general of the ANC, defends posters describing Mr de Klerk as wanted for murder.

Mr de Klerk and his National Party want



Hope died too, at Boipatong

to discuss such "defamatory statements", if and when they start talking to the ANC again. They especially deplore, and deny, an allegation that Mr de Klerk has privately admitted to Mr Mandela that he cannot control his police force.

Although the ANC's verbal extremism was sharpened by shock and anger at the Boipatong slaughter, it forms part of a calculated attempt to weaken Mr de Klerk. The ANC's long-planned "mass action programme" of strikes and demonstrations was intended to mobilise voters for the non-racial election hoped for by the end of this year. Mr de Klerk and the National Party enjoy solid support among white, Coloured (mixed-race) and Indian voters. They had hoped to win black votes by portraying the president as a brave reformer. This strategy is now in ruins: Boipatong has helped Mr Mandela, who once described Mr de Klerk as "a man of integrity", to turn the description upside down.

By doing so, however, Mr Mandela is running a risk. South Africa's two big political organisations are in a bind. Mr de Klerk cannot govern effectively without the consent of the ANC; the ANC cannot overthrow Mr de Klerk. Sooner or later the two will have to negotiate. Mr Ramaphosa continues to call his own organisation "the guardians of negotiations". But the ANC may find the route back to the negotiating table blocked by the young blacks it is stirring up with its polemic against Mr de Klerk. They will ask why it wants to negotiate with a government it condemns as corrupt and perfidious. If the ANC ignores the protests of the angry young, it may lose them to the wilder organisations on the left.

The ANC's vicious attacks on Mr de Klerk may also make white voters feel that a settlement is impossible. The president is

the man who offered them an alternative to an endless war of attrition that they cannot win. If they lose confidence in him, many will pack up and leave the country, with their skills and as much of their capital as they can get away with. Jay Naidoo of the Congress of South African Trade Unions has warned Mr de Klerk and his men: "We will take you to hell with us." That is exactly what whites fear.

If too many white people are scared by the ANC's rhetoric, the Nationalists might dump Mr de Klerk and replace him with a tougher Afrikaner leader (General Magnus Malan, a former defence minister now in a junior cabinet job, is spoken of) who would fight rather than surrender piecemeal. There are even hints of a rapprochement between the National Party and Andries Treurnicht's far-right Conservative Party. It may be significant that Koos van der Merwe, the leader of the New Right group which advocates such a line-up, accompanied Mr de Klerk on his disastrous visit to Boipatong on June 20th.

A final danger for the ANC is that its outright damning of Mr de Klerk will strengthen the alliance it most fears, between a reunited Afrikanerdom and Zulu traditionalists. Mr de Klerk and Mr Buthelezi of Inkatha quarrelled briefly after the Zulu leader said he suspected collusion between Mr de Klerk and the ANC, but the row between them was patched up on the day of the Boipatong massacre. Inkatha is much smaller than the ANC, but powerful both in Zulu territory in Natal and among Zulu migrant workers elsewhere. As long as he is backed by the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelethini, Mr Buthelezi remains a valuable ally for Mr de Klerk. Their alliance could break the ANC.



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# Painted into a corner

**PROPAGANDA WAR:** *For the moment, competition for international sympathy is a more pressing concern than a resumption of Codesa*

THE Government has decided — once again — that the best form of defence is attack. Political Editor **SHAUN JOHNSON** and **ESTHER WAUGH** detect the opening of two new battlefronts in President de Klerk's aggressive response to the ANC's memorandum on negotiations.

THE Government's long-awaited response to the ANC's demands for restarting negotiations was not, in the first instance, a response to the ANC at all.

There is little doubt that when the phalanx of high-ranking National Party ministers took the podium at the Old Presidency this week, they knew that what they were about to say would not cause the ANC suddenly to relent and return to the talking-table.

Rather, De Klerk's letter to Nelson Mandela, and the reams of supporting documentation, were aimed primarily at the NP's constituents — real and imagined — and the international community.

The NP, increasingly perceived as having lost control of the transition process after the ANC's Codesa walkout and the onset of mass action, wanted to take the political fight back to the ANC while quietly slipping in some constitutional compromises which might prove useful at a later stage.

This explains the imbalance between confrontation and conciliation in the Government presentation. De Klerk served notice that, for the moment, competition for international sympathy is a more pressing concern than a resumption of Codesa.

To this end, the Government opened two new major battlefronts in its propaganda war with the ANC.

The onslaughts are contained in two of the six lengthy annexures appended to De Klerk's letter. They have received little attention thus far because of the focus on the president's renewed call for face-to-face meetings with his estranged negotiating partner.

The annexures aim to convince the world (and, in the process, as much of South Africa as possible) that the ANC has been manipulated by the SA Communist Party and Cosatu into reverting to "revolutionary" aims, and has therefore become an "unreliable negotiating partner".

In his letter to Mandela, the president set out the two inter-linked allegations. His Government acknowledged the right to peaceful demonstration and protest as important civil liberties, he said, but "our information indicates that the SACP and Cosatu have played a dominant role in redirecting the ANC from negotiations to the politics of demands and confrontation which are inherent in mass mobilisation."

Insurrectionist thinking is currently flourishing within the ANC and is being propagated by a cabal with close links to the SACP and Cosatu. These elements undermine the attempts of many ANC realists to negotiate in good faith and also induce within the ANC the spirit of radicalism and militancy.

of the insurrectionist school, which was evident at the SACP's 8th congress in 1991.

"The current mobilisation action can unleash forces which the instigators will not be able to control. This will, in turn, make extended Government action unavoidable. The stated ultimate goal of the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign is the overthrow of the Government by coercion. This will not be countenanced."

These allegations are then used to underpin the conclusion that "the fundamental differ-

The Government aims to convince the world and in the process as much of South Africa as possible that the ANC has been manipulated by the SACP and Cosatu into reverting to "revolutionary" aims, and has therefore become an "unreliable negotiating partner".

ence between the approach of the ANC and that of the Government regarding the purpose of negotiations lies, on the one hand, in our commitment to constitutionality and a transitional government as soon as possible, and on the other hand, in the ANC's insistence on an unstructured and immediate transfer of power before a proper transitional constitution is negotiated."

The key impression for which the Government is trying to secure credibility is that the

SACP/ANC "tail" is wagging the ANC "dog". Interestingly enough, in making its case, the Government inadvertently reveals that its security police are still hard at work in snooping on the "old enemy", the ANC — despite the fact that it is a perfectly legal organisation, and a political rival of the National Party.

In its detailed memorandum on "the current influence of Marxism-Leninism within the ANC", the Government alleges that "the SACP lends so much support to initiatives to influ-

ence and even transform the ANC that it seems that its independent profile serves only to draw attention away from its primary revolutionary strategising role within the ANC".

The document adds: "It is clear that the SACP, Cosatu and individuals within the ANC still pursue outdated tactical communist doctrines and objectives. The question arises whether the ANC is not becoming a captive of these forces."

"The SACP still regards a socialist system as only a necessary phase towards realising an eventual communist system. It should be obvious that these objectives and the prominent position of their proponents within the ANC cast doubt on the

1 Sa Star

4/7/92



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partner. Therefore the decision of the ANC NEC on June 24 1992, in collaboration with its alliance partners, to suspend negotiations is viewed as only the most recent of a range of similar past decisions which further contributed to negative perceptions regarding the ANC's approach to negotiations per se and as a process. The perception that has been created includes that:

- The ANC is committed to negotiations only to the extent its own objectives are served.
- The ANC readily enters into agreements but is not committed to supporting the implementation of such agreements.
- The ANC is using extremely coercive negotiation tactics, including ultimatum deadlocks, threats, reneging on agreements, and projecting unrealistic time-frames, etc, almost every time it becomes apparent that genuine compromise on a give-and-take basis is in the offing."

The Government concludes with the charge that "for the period November 1991 to June 1992, the ANC was responsible for 188 recorded breaches of the National Peace Accord and the DF Malan Accord.

"The ANC, by starting planning for mass action even before it became clear that a deadlock might develop at Codesa, reneging on all working group agreements on the basis that there was no agreement if all agreements were not accepted, as well as suspending negotiations, cannot but further compound the already negative perceptions surrounding its approach to negotiations.

real character of the ANC."

Having sketched this context, the Government makes the direct claim that the ANC's Codesa pullout and current campaign of mass action have been foisted upon it.

"There can be no doubt that both the SACP and Cosatu were, in their individual and collective capacity, instrumental in a number of recent crucial ANC decisions regarding the negotiation process.

"These decisions followed intense deliberations between SACP and Cosatu members and were clearly

the result of specific guidelines drawn up by the SACP/Cosatu."

The document then reveals its central purpose: to alienate the ANC from its sympathisers in the West, and indeed the rapidly changing political orders of Eastern Europe. "As South Africa moves towards a new democratic order, the strategy and policy of various revolutionaries within the ANC alliance are increasingly in conflict with internationally accepted norms.

"For example, to regard negotiation in principle as a 'terrain of struggle' undermines the essence of the concept itself. In the final instance it gives rise to concern that the ANC allows these influences to

flourish when these forces are already committed to extra-parliamentary struggle against the new dispensation."

"This extraordinary approach underlines the fact that revolutionary ethics generally overrule all other principles, and are therefore incompatible with democracy."

A separate annexure — "the ANC as a negotiating partner" — then seeks to undermine the ANC's credibility as a reliable political interlocutor.

After recapping agreements reached at Groote Schuur and

**The Government says the ANC is using extremely coercive tactics, including ultimatum deadlocks, threats, reneging on agreements, and projecting unrealistic time-frames, etc, almost every time it becomes apparent that genuine compromise on a give-and-take basis is in the offing.**

In other high-profile bilateral meetings, the Government says: "Despite these agreements and the spirit in which they were concluded, the ANC at regular intervals started using threats and ultimatums as part of its political approach, which from the start had a detrimental and erosive effect on the mutual trust that was beginning to develop.

"The ANC do have a bad track record in maintaining agreements and can be considered an unreliable negotiating

"From these and other decisions and actions by the ANC, in conjunction with its alliance partners, it can only be deduced that the ANC is indeed negatively viewing negotiations as an 'area of struggle', and even as a battle in the 'struggle' that must be won at all costs.

"If this is indeed the case, then it is clear that in the ANC's current view of negotiations there is no room for compromise, much less for mutually acceptable agreement."

The pace of progress towards a resumption of the formal negotiations process will depend

in no small measure on the extent to which the Government succeeds or fails to make these charges stick against the ANC. The Government is attempting to add a new weapon to its armoury: it is

one which could be highly effective, but carries risks.

If De Klerk can convince a significant body of world opinion that the ANC is indeed being held hostage by proponents of a "dogmatic and discredited ideology", he will strengthen his position considerably. Should he fail, his credibility will suffer as a result of being seen to have made false accusations for narrow party-political gain. The propaganda war on the international stage is as important as ever.



## South African constitutional talks expected to resume after week of action

# ANC will claim strike forced concessions

WHEN Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, and his communist and trade union partners in the tripartite alliance sit down tomorrow to analyse the results of the past week of mass action, they will no doubt allow themselves some satisfaction.

As the March 17 referendum among the white community showed that President de Klerk had their overwhelming support, so this week has shown that Mr Mandela has the support of blacks. While it is true that the success of a general strike can be ensured by intimidation and those wanting to work can be kept at home by the absence of transport, it is more difficult to intimidate people into turning out for mass marches.

The vast numbers who poured into city centres on Wednesday were testimony to the strength of feeling, as well as to the organising ability of the ANC cadres, who transported thousands of protesters from rural and small urban districts into the big towns. Estimates varied between 200,000 and 400,000.

There were two other impressive things about the mass mobilisation. First, the crowds were well-disciplined by marshals. There were few incidents of violence, or destruction. True, in Pietermaritzburg four cars had their

Pretoria believes the ANC protest has not affected its strategy.

Michael Hamlyn writes

tyres slashed, and after the demonstrations a couple of petrol bombs were thrown unsuccessfully in Cape townships. But during the Cape Town demonstration, marshals handed over to the police a young man caught breaking shop windows. The same marshals insisted on protesters putting down sticks or anything that might be construed as a weapon.

Second, and equally impressive, was the restraint shown by the security forces. Though in many cases police and soldiers were armed with shotguns and rifles, with tear-gas pistols and batons, though they were dressed in bullet-proof vests, steel helmets and gas masks, they stood and watched and jessed the crowd just like policemen in other less socially divided countries. It was possible yesterday to attribute only one death to Wednesday's demonstrations, and that was of a man who fell from a train going home from the Cape Town events.

But having said all that, the

question might be: what difference will it make? Despite the brave words of some leaders the government was not going to fall. "If mass action was going to bring down the government it would have been used a long time ago," said Professor Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, academic and politician.

But as *Business Day* pointed out, the country has suffered, not only from the deaths caused and the hundreds of millions of rands of lost production. "The costs include all the 'might have been' investment projects, local and foreign, that will be scrapped or at best delayed until those investors can be assured that the future South Africa will not simply lurch from one crisis to the next."

The government has always said it was ready for talks. Mr de Klerk said at the moment the ANC called them off after the deaths in Boipatong. He reiterated it this week after Mr Mandela stood outside his office in Pretoria and shouted at him from the terraces below the Union buildings.

The cabinet went into rural retreat last week for a *bosberaad*, a bush council, and drew up a formula to put to the ANC when it judges the moment right.

According to yesterday's *Sowetan*, the newspaper most read by blacks, the govern-



Stop sign: a Pretoria policeman halting marchers outside government buildings

ment is prepared to abandon a key element of its negotiation package, that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) should draft an interim constitution which would act as the basis for the final one. Ismail Lagardien, the *Sowetan's* political editor, said: "It is envisaged that the present constitution could be amended to prepare the country for elections to a constituent assembly as the next stage for the country's transition." *Southern Africa Report*, a weekly newsletter, has a similar impression: "A November election for a single house

constituent assembly, where the government would have no veto powers but would demand a 70 per cent majority vote on contentious issues, is among the latest 'flexible' proposals to emerge."

If this is proposed, then the government will have gone a long way to answering the ANC's constitutional demands as well, and negotiations could begin again soon. The question to be settled then is whether the government make the concessions because it was driven by the black mass mobilisation. Or would it have made them long ago if the

Codesa process had been allowed to continue? Tomorrow's meeting of the ANC and its allies will claim the former. Government proponents will insist on the latter.

● **Appeal to UN:** Anti-apartheid leaders called for UN observers to be sent urgently to the Natal township of Esikwahini where they suspect police complicity in the shooting of 11 people. In a separate incident, two young choristers were shot dead and 12 others wounded by five gunmen in the Johannesburg township of Alexandra as they stepped out of a bus.

The Times 7/8/92 - London



10 FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 19

## Two die in S Africa funeral shooting

By Ross Dunn  
in Johannesburg

TWO GIRLS were killed and 10 young choir members were wounded when five gunmen opened fire on them in Alexandra township, Johannesburg, as they prepared for a night vigil before a funeral.

The choir members, aged between 10 and 22, were leaving their vehicle when the men fired at them, killing a girl aged 14 known only as Nhalanhala.

Another girl died later in hospital. Wounded choir members said the gunmen appeared "from nowhere and started firing".

Motlalepule Setimela, 22, said: "We started running in different directions and I felt a burning sensation in my thigh. Then I saw blood dripping and realised I was shot."

A father of one of the victims said the choir had no political affiliations. Police later arrested two men, one of whom had a pistol.

Two men, one Zulu-speaking, were shot dead in the same area of the township earlier. It is not known if the attacks were linked.

Meanwhile, South Africa's independent commission on public violence yesterday heard more evidence about the massacre of 42 blacks at Boipatong township in June.

The commission, headed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, was told two white men in camouflage uniforms and armed with "long guns" were among the attackers.

● A black man died in police custody in Bloemfontein, raising fears that the killing of suspects is continuing. The death, in a police cell, was the third since a scandal broke about deaths in police custody 10 days ago. — AFP

# Shooting in SA blights hopes for new talks

From John Carlin  
in Johannesburg

AMID growing optimism that negotiations between the South African government and the African National Congress (ANC) will resume soon, hopes for peace suffered a setback with the news yesterday that two teenage choir girls had died after an apparently random shooting in Alexandra township, near Johannesburg, on Wednesday night.

The killings raised the death toll since Sunday, the eve of the ANC's week-long "mass action" campaign, above 40. One 13-year-old girl died immediately and a second girl died in hospital yesterday. Ten other members of the Emanuel and Alexandra choirs were injured in the attack. Surviving choir members said from their hospital beds that a group of men "coming from nowhere" had fired shots from close range.

It was the second unprovoked shooting in Alexandra this week, six people having been gunned down on Tuesday. The response of Alexandra residents has been to blame the Inkatha Freedom Party members of Madala men's hostel, the source of continual violence during the past 18 months. More than 10,000 people marched on the Alexandra government offices on Tuesday to call — not for the first time — for the hostel inmates to be thrown out.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Cape Town yesterday that the number of deaths during the ANC's mass action campaign had been much lower than feared. But he said that those who had died were "not just statistics". "Even the death of one human being diminishes us all," he added.

Echoing, as he increasingly has in recent weeks, ANC positions, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner said: "We urgently need a professional police force which is apolitical and neutral and which acts as a peace-keeping force and law enforcement agency."

It is movement in this direction that the ANC is demanding from the government prior to resuming negotiations. Nelson Mandela,

the ANC leader, spelled out once again at a rally in Pretoria on Wednesday that the ANC's demands fell into three categories: measures to curb political violence, and clear moves towards an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

It appears that although the government is eager not to be seen to be bowing to ANC demands, to a significant extent it will quietly do so.

Herman Cohen, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, held talks earlier this week with both the government and the ANC. Before returning home on Tuesday night Mr Cohen said he was confident talks would resume soon. He said that he understood the government to be prepared to take clearly defined steps relating to the violence.

Senior government sources, meanwhile, have been leaking to the press suggestions that they plan to speed up the process towards an interim government. Bilateral talks with the ANC, they said, were on the cards. President FW de Klerk himself reinforced the sense that some positive movement was afoot when he told reporters on Wednesday evening that he expected a resumption of talks "soon".

Most significant of all, two Democratic Party MPs said on Tuesday after a meeting with Mr Mandela that he had told them he expected talks to resume after a "cooling-off period" of about 10 days.

The success of the ANC's mass-action campaign this week has strengthened the possibility of a return to the negotiating table. An important, if unstated, objective of the campaign was to narrow the gap that had opened up between the ANC leadership and their grassroots supporters during the six months of negotiations with the government.

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# SA Conservative Party faces split

Patrick Laurence  
in Johannesburg

**S**OUTH Africa's rightwing Conservative Party was locked in critical discussions yesterday which could lead to a significant change in direction or a major split.

The party's executive committee met in Pretoria to consider the implications of a reformist speech by Andries Beyers, whose victory over the ruling National Party in the Potchefstroom by-election in February triggered President F. W. de Klerk's decision to call the March 17 referendum.

Mr Beyers, who precipitated a new crisis at the weekend within his own party — rather than Afrikanerdom — called at a youth congress for negotiations with all political forces for the establishment of a smaller Afrikaner state as part of a confederation. This included, by implication, the African National Congress.

By doing so, he associated himself with a policy rejected at

the Conservatives' annual congress in June. Two MPs, Koos Boer and Koos van der Merwe, were expelled from the party for advocating a similar policy.

Mr Beyers, a former party general-secretary, received support from the youth wing and the backing of at least four MPs. But his stand dismayed the 'Old Guard', who are reluctant to surrender their claim to sovereignty over a much larger area of South Africa and who oppose negotiations with the ANC.

There was speculation that Mr Beyers would suffer the same fate as Mr Botha and Mr Van der Merwe when he was called before the party's executive committee. The meeting which did not issue a statement continues today.

The crisis over Mr Beyers and the question of a smaller Afrikaner state is one of several to batter the party since its by-election victory.

Apart from taking a hammering in the referendum, it has expelled two MPs — one of whom, Mr Koos "Bomber" Bo-

tha, was later charged with dynamiting a Pretoria school — and witnessed the arrest of a third MP, Fanie Van Vuuren, on a charge of murdering his wife.

Analysts predicted yesterday that Mr Beyers and his supporters would form a new non-racial party, the Afrikaner Party, to propagate the idea of a smaller Afrikaner state.

The new party could pave the way for a rapprochement between Mr De Klerk's Nationalists and its former enemies in the Conservative Party.

As conservative Afrikaners considered their options for the future, the ANC's campaign of "rolling mass action" continued in a number of towns.

In Kempton Park, east of Johannesburg, 7,000 ANC supporters marched through the city centre to hand over a memorandum to the chief magistrate. It included a demand that Mr De Klerk resign. The marchers also burnt a cardboard coffin with the South African flag and a picture of Mr De Klerk draped over it.

In Esikawini, in Natal, three senior ANC officials, Cyril Ramaphosa, Chris Hani and Jay Naidoo, called on the Goldstone Commission into political violence to investigate the killing of 11 people on Sunday.

Mr Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, produced shotgun cartridges found at the scene of the massacre, stating that the police commander, Brigadier C. Mzimela, of KwaZulu, had confirmed that they were the same as those issued to KwaZulu police. Brig Mzimela had no objection to being investigated by the commission.

In Alexandra township, near Johannesburg, the death toll in an attack on a choir rose to two with the death yesterday of a choirgirl. Gunmen attacked the choir at a night vigil on Wednesday.

● A Borakong township resident told a judicial commissioner yesterday that he saw about 15 armed attackers get out of a police vehicle on June 17, the night 42 blacks were massacred in the township.

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