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Obstacles in the way at a constitutional settlement remain huge. The compromise: they will demand make it impossible to predict with any certainty the course of timetable which negotiations will follow. But on the basis at the approach to date by the two main parties to the talks - the ANC and the government - It is now possible to construct a possible scenario for progress to the long-awaited liberation of South Africa.

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CONSTITUTION

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ISCOPA CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

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p

10 March 1993

Counting down

to democracy

Multilateral

'Multi-party Negotiations Planning Conference' at which a multi-

party conference is organised on the lines of the abortive

Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

March - April 1993

Multi-party conference. or 'Codesa 3'. to Point: of conflict

try to decide process leading to non-racial Inkatha insists this should not be general elections and adoption at final 'Codesa 3' but a new forum. and that

constitution. agreements reached at the Codesa

talks are re-negotiable The ANC insists

that they will be binding.

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1994-1999 w

Rule by a coalition government, made up of parties

winning more than a minimum number of seats in

the elections. The threshold is likely to be either

ten. 10. or 15 per cent of seats.

Points of conflict

Structure and powers of this government

disputed. ANC wants an executive president

unhindered by minority vote in the multi-party

cabinet on 'specified matters. The government is

Points of conflict

The ANC demands that the TEC have

executive powers especially over security

forces and electoral matters. Government

insists powers be advisory only.

Parliament to pass legislation for creation

of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC)

plus subcommittees to ensure free and fair

elections. The multi-party TEC becomes

operational in June

Present Tricameral Non-racial elections for constituent assembly to inaugurate a 'Fonslilul iona' presidency and

Parliament to pass a work both as a 'constitution-making body and decision-making by consensus.

new non-racial parliament.

constitution to: interim

. administration Points of conflict

at the Parties differ greatly on extent to which it will be

country. providing bound by 'principles' agreed at multi-party talks

for non-racial But ANC and government are both believed to

elections and envisage a four-strong, single chamber made up

creation of a constituent at 200 members elected on regional lists and 200

assembly on a national list

x THE INDEPENDENT

AN C and Pretoria rope Inkatha into the negotiation corral DELEGATES and ' at the World Trade Centre, the split-level Johannesburg venue where multi-party talks took place over the weekend, were provided upon arrival with a document setting out the procedure should the need arise for an emergency evacuation.

Point One read: "Don't be calm. We have planned for every eventuality."

-In the event, and despite negligible security measures, the conference unfolded without incident. The delegates from the 26 parties present returned home safely on Saturday evening.

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for such an

The main objective of the two leading parties, the ANC and the African National Congress, was to ensure that crisis of any sort was averted. Political differences of substance were set aside and, as they had hoped, agreement was reached to meet again before 5 April.

When multi-party talks within the Convention for a Democratic South Africa forum broke off in May last year the tables at which the delegates sat were arranged in the shape of a horseshoe. This time, upon the advice of American experts, it was decided to arrange the tables in a circle - in the Monday 8 March 1993 manner of the United Nations General Assembly. This, the organisers were assured, would minimise confrontation. And so it turned out. With even the Inkatha Freedom Party delegation, widely identified as spoilers-in-chief before the conference, meekly underlining the prediction of their leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that this event was to be the most important in South African political history.

Inkatha bluster in the days and weeks before the conference had indicated that it would block all further progress unless the government and the ANC performed a complete about-turn and

From John Carlin

in Johannesburg

abandoned plans for an historic all-race election within the next year. Inkatha also wanted the notion of a federal state entrenched in the still-to-be-debated post-apartheid constitution.

Finessed by Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, and Q'ril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, Inkatha rolled over. A resolution was passed postponing the inevitable crisis until the next encounter. Every single potential political problem was deferred. The trick, as ANC and government negotiators privately confirmed, is to rope Inkatha, the par-

liamentary Conservative Party and others fearful of democratic change into the process. thus making it all the more difficult for them to walk out - an option considered likely when the talks began on Friday morning.

If lnkatha walks out at the next meeting. the negotiators said. then it will be that much easier for the two big parties to say "Well. we did our best to bring them into the fold. now we'll just have to proceed without them."

Not surprisingly. both Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer, the tains of the process, declared themselves to be satisfied with the outcome of the talks. In separate press conferences on Saturday afternoon they echoed each other's words. "A great success." "A great day for South Africa."

Revealingly, too, each said that they expected the nitty-gritty of negotiations to be hammered out in private bilateral meetings rather than in public multi-party meetings. Several of these private meetings, including one between the ANC and lnkatha. are expected in the coming weeks.

No one was under any illusion that any more than five or six of the 26 parties gathered at the World Trade Centre had any significance, much less support. But each one was democratically granted equal time to speak.

In the interest of order. and to avoid the customary tirades, a traffic lights system was installed next to the main microphone. Green meant the speakers could press on. Yellow meant their time was nearly up. Red meant stop talking. When the yellow light came on for Mr Ramaphosa he omitted a third of the text and raced to his conclusion. It didn't really matter. He remains in the driving seat.

THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY 7 MARCH 1993

26 parties set to take  
part in S. Africa talks  
Johannesburg

Allister Sparks

TEN MONTHS after talks  
broke down, South Africans  
main political organisations  
agreed yesterday to reconvene  
another, more inclusive constitutional convention within a month.

The new negotiating forum,  
given a deadline of 5 April for  
its first meeting, will resume  
where the Codeca talks left off,  
thrashing out the remaining  
details of how to draft a post-apartheid constitution.

This time, 26 parties will participate instead of 19. The newcomers include both the far-right Conservative Party and the black radical Pan-Africanist Congress, both of which boycotted Codesa, as well as

African traditionalist groups and a white splinter movement, the Afrikaner Volks Union, which wants a separate Afrikaaner homeland.

The only political group still refusing to join in is the Azanian People's Organisation, a remnant of the Black Consciousness movement founded by Steve Biko in the Seventies.

Delegates were optimistic yesterday at what they called the constructive mood of the conference, despite some procedural wrangling that threatened to derail it on its first day. The conference also survived a fresh outbreak of violence in Natal, where six schoolchildren were gunned down last Wednesday and 10 people killed on Friday. Dawid de Villiers, the Minister of Public Enterprises who headed the ruling National Party's delegation, described the talks as 'a remarkable achievement' that would send a good signal to South Africa that all our political leaders want to overcome the problems facing us.

There are still major hurdles: although the government and the ANC have agreed on the transitional process to follow, getting others to accept their deals will not be easy. And while widening the convention reduces the danger of revolutionary action from outsiders, the inclusion of the extremist groups will make it more difficult to get general agreement. The most difficult issue will be to reconcile the government-ANC position that the constitution should be drafted by an elected constituent assembly, with the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand - backed by some other black 'homeland' parties and the Conservative Party - that the constitution should be drafted at an all-party convention before any election is held.

On the positive side, yesterday's conference appointed a 26-member committee to prepare for the resumed talks - an ongoing negotiating forum that will seek compromise formulae on these issues.

Joe Slovo, the Communist Party chairman who is on this committee, said he was encouraged by the positive mood there. 'I think people are getting tired of running the last mile five times,' he said.

## Change in South Africa: Lessons from Namibia

Three years ago, following a year-long electoral/constitutional process under UN guidance, Pretoria yielded its rule over Namibia. This process was widely regarded as a trial run for change in South Africa when it could no longer be staved off. That time now appears to be approaching. What are some of the lessons that can be gleaned from the Namibian experience?

By the 90s. It is generally agreed that the Namibian electoral process would not have been "successful" without the presence of the UN in Namibia. Yet the UN presence was only a necessary, not a sufficient, condition.

Although South Africa illegally occupied Namibia, an international territory, it was able to dictate many of the terms of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) (which established the process for liberating Namibia) and then to hold off its implementation for a decade. Perhaps responding to this demonstration of political power, UNTAG, which was charged with overseeing the transition, came to Namibia unprepared/unable to deal with many basic threats to "free and fair" elections, e.g., widespread and continuous violence and intimidation by army and police units in the most populous part of the territory and blatant unfairness in government-controlled TV and radio. In addition, the UN Special Representative's interpretation of various clauses of res. 435 weakened its effect: He ruled UN police could not investigate complaints of intimidation and violence, but only refer Namibians to the South African police, even though they were often the alleged perpetrators. He also failed to require the dismissal of the incredibly brutal and mainly illiterate Koevoet police as unqualified for duty. If the UN was so restricted in an international territory, it is unlikely that it or any other international agency will feel able to take any "controversial" (to Pretoria) action in "sovereign" South Africa-- or that it would necessarily be to the advantage of anti-apartheid parties if it could. However, an official presence, particularly if numerous and widespread, could inhibit much government misconduct and could serve as a semi-guarantor/protector for private outside observers and press as they discover, document, and report conditions and conduct ignored or unreported by the international agency.

11mg pgggggggg. By holding up agreement on early steps set out in the schedule attached to res. 435, such as the terms of an amnesty for Namibian dissidents, South Africa forced UNTAG to agree to a series of unsatisfactory compromises relating to them: Each day spent in wrangling over these matters was a day lost to campaigning, a catastrophe for black Namibian parties whose members had never voted before. and the election had to be held on or about the dates specified in res. 635. since the rainy season would follow shortly and make balloting impossible.

This experience demonstrates the age-old truth that in

' ' ' t those who seek

he otlations tlme pressures are lzkely to pu

change at a disadvantage. Opponents of change will ueually be able to pose a dilemma for the change seekers by forcing them to tively soon

choose between small changes to be effectuated rela

and more desirable or far-reaching changes mueh later. Advocates of change, whose followers want total change lmmediately, have difficult choices to make-- and to explain and Justify.

Electori; ngg gag Qrggtiggg. UNTRG had no staff members expert

-hh"- with ractical experience in elections; and

an electoral law or 9 draft a law that

South Africa took advantage of this situation to .

followed no known model. Cumbersome and confusing. lt barred

voting by Namibians living in Halvis Bay but permitted votthg by

some 10,066 white South africahs; hampered legztimate actlvltxes

of party agents; enabled South African officials to unduly .

influence many voters; barred outside observers from the pollxng

places; and built in opportunities for fraud and flummery by

South African officials. Only last minute intervention by the UN

Secretary-Beneral's special counsel forced enough changes to

produce a tolerable result; and the delay in reaching that

agreement left the political parties less than a month to study

the law and instruct their members about its intricacies.

Namibian political parties did not have the time or expertise to

detect many of the shortcomings in the South African proposed

law. nor the political clout to get it changed adequately.

They were aided in this Instance by outside observers. who were

shocked by the law and its acceptance by UNTRG.

Qgggtigggnt agggmgly. South Africa made a final (unsuccessful)

attempt to control events by issuing an (ultimately much amended)

Constituent Assembly law. Draft provisions covered detailed

procedures for the body as whole (unduly complicated and

restrictive); selection and powers of officers; secondment of

staff by the South African Administrator-Beneral to the Assembly

(a built-in Trogah Horse); provision for payment of salaries and

expenses (potential bribery); voting procedure and adoption of

constitutional provisions; control (virtual prohibition) of

public demonstrations and petitions to the Assembly or its

members; and a right of approval of all provisions of the

constitution by South erica!

Some of these attempts to control the Assembly and its

deliberations were crude and obvious. Others, such as seachding

staff and providing financial support for the Assembly. responded

to actual or probable real needs and had therefore to be met by

specific counterproposals, such as the right of the Assembly to

coopt staff of its choice and to present a budget. which it

determined and administered. for financial support. However, as

one of the American drafters of res. 435 pointed out, in

practical fact there is no non-military restraint on a constitution-

drafting body except its own good political sense, as illustrated

by the history of our own Constitutional Convention. which was

established to amend the thicles of Confederation.

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Date: 19-02-93, 09:.8zhz

#### NBC RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Further to our adopted document "Negotiations. a Strategic Perspective" this meeting of the NEC decides as follows:

X. We reject the National Party's power sharing proposal either for a permanent or fixed period.

2. In the interest of reconstruction and peace and the need to minimise the potential threat to democratic Advance from divisive Forces in the period immediately following the adoption of the new constitution, we declare our support for an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) which would exist up to the point of the adoption of the new constitution. After the adoption of the new constitution the IGNU would continue in the same form as a Government of National Unity and Reconstruction in order to phase in structures provided for in the new constitution.

The GNUR would exist for a specified limited duration, whose term would come to an end by the first election under the new constitution, which would be held no later than five years after the elections for the EA.

3. Such a GNUR shall be governed by the overriding principle that minority parties shall not have the powers to paralyze the functioning of the executive or to block the process of restructuring, more particularly:

(a) It shall be made up of an executive in which there will be proportional representation of all the parties elected to the CA subject to a minimum threshold of 5% of the total in the Constituent Assembly.

(b) The President shall be elected by a simple majority of the Constituent Assembly

(c) Representatives of minority parties in the cabinet shall be appointed by the President in consultation with the leaders of each party in question. The President shall have the right to insist on an alternative if the person proposed by such leader is, for specified reasons, unacceptable.

(d) In general the President shall exercise his or her executive powers after consultation with the cabinet.

(9) In the case of certain specified powers the President shall exercise his or her powers in consultation with the parties represented in the cabinet. In the event of a disagreement the President's decision shall require support from 2/3 of the members of cabinet,

(f) The specified powers mentioned in (e) are still to be negotiated and before an agreement is reached in this regard a detailed mandate will have to be obtained from the  
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NRC sitting with either the chairperson or secretary of each region.

h. The meeting further reaffirms its positions concerning the Constituent Assembly that the Constituent Assembly shall be a sovereign constitution-making body which will be bound only by agreed general constitutional principles. It should be composed of representatives elected on the basis of national and regional lists. It would take decisions by a two thirds majority. Matters pertaining to the powers and functions of region: will also require an additional two thirds majority of the regional representatives sitting as a whole. The Constituent Assembly should complete its work as quickly as possible and not later than nine months after its election.

The NEC will continue to negotiate the issue of an effective deadlock breaking mechanism which would be used in case the Constituent Assembly is unable to conclude its work within the stipulated time frame.

5. The meeting of the NEC resolved that work should continue to build a national consensus on the question of future regional government. through discussions with other parties and organisations. All decisions concerning the powers, functions, boundaries and structure of regional government should be decided by the Constituent Assembly. Any Commission on Regions that may be established by a multi-party forum would, apart from delimiting electoral regions: for the Constituent Assembly elections. only make recommendations to this Assembly.

#### 6. Programme of Reconstruction and Development

In endorsing the package concerning inter alia a Government of National Unity, the NEC affirmed that such arrangements must, during the transition period itself. be reinforced by an effective programme of reconstruction and democratic transformation.

The ANC immediately needs to embark on a process to consolidate its ranks, supporters and those of the broad democratic forces around a transitional strategy to empower the oppressed majority. This will entail:

(i) identifying the key sectors: of the organs of state that require restructuring as a matter of priority.

(ii) evolving an affirmative action programme. with definite time frames, to reconstruct the organs of state in conformity with a democratic society;

(iii) a far-reaching programme of social and economic reconstruction to address the pressing needs of the majority of South Africa;

(iv) a process of consultation and mobilisation of mass democratic forces and the convening of a conference on reconstruction and broad strategy. Such a conference should be held within four months.



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Politics & Religion

MANDELA'S CHALLENGE

TO THE CHURCH

Invited by the Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa to deliver a speech at their centenary celebrations in Potchefstroom on December 14, 1992, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, spoke about the historical links between the ANC and the Ethiopian Churches. He also took the opportunity of outlining the role of the church in South Africa today as he sees it.

For the information of our readers we publish the text of his speech - slightly abbreviated.

been celebrated throughout the length and the breadth of our country because it touches all the African people irrespective of their denomination or political outlook. The Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa is one of the few surviving institutions from the previous century that is in the hands of the African people. This is a remarkable feat for which we have to give credit to the leaders of this church throughout the difficult years of the final dispossession of our people. Indeed our people were not only dispossessed of their THE centenary of the Ethiopian Church should have 20 - Cha/Ienge . Febrwg/ /?93

land and cattle but also of their pride, their dignity and their institutions. In celebrating this century you have, my brothers and sisters, disproved the lie that the African people cannot run their own institutions.

The links between the Ethiopian Church and the ANC and the struggle for national liberation in general go back to the 1870ls when the products of missionary education observed and recorded that. as they put it, colonialism is a one tented cow that only feeds the whites. On the political front various provincial African political associations and newspapers mushroomed in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. On the theological front African clergymen sought to free themselves from the fetters of white missionaries by establishing African Independent Churches. One of the most celebrated breakaways was that of Nehemiah Tile who founded the Tembu Church in the Transkei in 1884.

The fundamental tenets of the Ethiopian Movement were self-worth, self-reliance and freedom. These tenets drew the advocates of Ethiopianism, like a magnet. to the growing political movement. The political movement was toculminate in the formation of the ANC in 1912. It is in this sense that in the ANC we trace the seeds of the formation of ourorganisation to the Ethiopian Movement of the 18905.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The contribution of the Ethiopian Church and the broad Ecumenical Movement in South Africa and internationally to the struggle against the heresy of Apartheid was unparalleled. One has just to look at leaders such as Archbishop Tutu, Dr Frank Chikane, Dr Beyers Naude and many more to measure the role of the Church in the struggle against Apartheid. Some have argued that after February 2. 1990 the church took a little lonely walk in search of an identity and a role. Obviously this refers to the institutional church because individual Christians have been the backbone of the campaigns for accelerated and thoroughgoing transformation in South Africa.

We must. however. attempt to answer the question of the role of the church as an institution in the transition and beyond.

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## THE STAR

### Politics & Religion

One thing that we must say unequivocally is that the church in South Africa cannot afford a retreat to the coziness of the sanctuary tempting as it may be in these confusing and challenging times. The church in our country has no option but to join other agents of change and transformation in the difficult task of acting as a midwife to the birth of our democracy and acting as one of the institutions that will nurture and entrench it in our society. That role suggests a number of tasks for the church in South Africa today of which we need only mention the following .

#### SPECIFIC TASKS

1. The church must warn its adherents against the dangers of superficial changes that may leave power and privilege in the hands of whites and a sprinkling of affluent blacks.
2. The church must keep in public focus the legacy of Apartheid and help to design strategies for addressing it.
3. The church must act as the conscience of the present and future society. This is what is sometimes called the ministry of values.
4. The church must take an active part in the mobilisation of our society for democracy including education for democracy aimed at creating a culture of tolerance and at enhancing the moral fibre of our society. As part of this process of education the church can also gear itself towards democratic practices.  
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of the Church"
5. The church can help our people in the difficult task of national reconciliation that is underpinned by confession and restitution. The church will also help in the reconciliation process through a clear and unambiguous rejection of false reconciliation as it did throughout the years of its fight against the Apartheid heresy.
6. The church must put a lot of energy into the war on violence. It must help our society identify the root cause of the violence so that the scourge can be eradicated totally from our midst. Many of the victims of the violence look up to the church for spiritual and, sometimes, physical healing.
7. The church must take an active part in the building of a new nation in South Africa. National social reconstruction is a massive and difficult process that will among many other things, entail the reconstruction of the family and the community, the thorough democratisation of political institutions in practice rather than merely in the constitution. and the democratisation of the economy.
8. It is clear that the solution of the education crisis that Apartheid has created cannot be left to the state alone. The church will have to take some of the burden of educating our children for the challenges of the 21st century.

#### CHURCH A MAJOR FACTOR

I have put these challenges in front of the church in South Africa today not in a prescriptive spirit but in

great humility. I am convinced that, unless we as a society make full use of the potential our churches have. the democratisation of our society is going to be slow and distorted in some instances. I would not, however, support a situation in which the church is subordinated, in any way, to the government of the day or any other societal institution. In the ANC we guarantee both the freedom of religion and the independence of the church.

Mr President, Officials of the Free Ethiopian church of Southern Africa and all adherents, I have put to you what I believe to be the issues that challenge the church in the period of the transition to democracy and beyond fully confident that the Free Ethiopian church is still going to be a major factor in our society as it enters its second century.

. As I conclude brothers and sisters, I pray that God may give you strength and vision not only to survive another hundred years but to become a beacon of hope that all South Africans can look up to whenever difficulties arrive. D

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FROM: SOUTHERN AFRICR CHURCH NEUS

February 26. 1993

DUTCH REFORMED UNIT! STUNBLES OUER RELICS OF QPARTHEID

By John a Euenson

An attempt at unity between the racially separated Dutch Reformed churches in South Africa came to naught during a stormy. closed meeting in Bloemfontein. Orange Free State. February 18.

The concern for unity is important. not least because the white Dutch Reformed Church (BBC) will not be accepted back into the Uorl'd alliance of Reformed Churches until it has convinced that body that it has turned its back on apartheid.

The disruption of merger talks came as the "Coloured" Dutch Reformed Mission Church (DRC-H) and the "Black" Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRC-A) decided that the DRC's proposals for unity were little more than a continuation of apartheid. this time expressed in terms of the preservation of "cultural and ethnic groups."

To atone for the past. the two churches called upon their Dutch Reformed "mother" church to openly declare apartheid a heresy. affirm this as a confession of faith. and. in a demonstration of this confession, break its ties with the secret Afrikaner society known as the Broederbond.

These calls disturbed Dr Peter Potgeiter, Hoderator of the Dutch Reformed Church. "I thought that was something of the past." he said. "because we have very clearly distanced ourselves from apartheid and everything that goes with it."

On the last call alone. Professor Potgeiter seemed to be an insecure ground. He and many other prominent leaders in the DRC are known to be members of the Broederbond, the clandestine protector of afrikaner cultural. economic and political power since its founding in 1918. The Broederbond has been the elite think-tank of apartheid. orchestrating nfrikaner domination of the nation through members well-placed in church. government and commerce. Host of the cabinet. including President de Klerk, are Breedere. as are key leaders in South Africa's military. security police and civil service. Recent newspaper reports indicate the Broederbond's current strategy is to ensure "Afrikaner survival" by expanding membership from the ranks of educators. clergy and government officials.

"Ue are dismayed that the white church can be understood to be in the grips of the secret Broederbond," said Rev Zak Hokgoeba of DRC-nfrica. "Uhen you talk to then. you find that their allegiance is to the racist afrikaner ideology...not to the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

DRC leaders. among them Breeder members Potgeiter and Professor Johan Heyns. defend the Brotherhood. Potgeiter says that his church has twice investigated the Broederbond and found "nothing that indicated that membership would detrimentally effect the work of a minister in the church." Prof Heyns protested questions in the meeting about his membership. saying if his "integrity as a human beidg was being questioned. we cannot talk any further."

But Rev Russel Botnan. Uice-noderator of the DRC Hission church. said it is Heyns' integrity as a Christian brother that is at stake. Batman told Heyns, "If you are a brother of those in the racist Broederbond. then you cannot be

our brother."

The white church's model for unity also dismayed the DRC Mission and BBC africa churches. The fact that the BBC has declared its congregations are now open to all races has not, in the eyes of Black church leaders, been more than a gesture. according to Rev Batman, the DRC'S proposal for unity still presumes separation to be the norm. It would set up a new "bonding synod" over the existing racially divided structures. 911 groups would meet in this synod for prayers and limited decision making, but policy for each of the old churches, now to be divided according to culture, would be determined by their own separate local and national deliberative bodies. Instead of one integrated church, it would be "like a four-ehanbered parliament," said Reu Batman. "with Uhite, Coloured, Indian and Black interest groups, defined now in terms of culture instead of race, each with their own synod."

The demands that the DRC must clearly declare apartheid a heresy and the condemnation of apartheid a "status confessionis", a confessional matter, are also stumbling blocks to the merger.

Until now, the DRC has refused to go beyond calling racism a "grievous sin" and apartheid a "serious deviation." The Afrikaner church is reluctant to condemn as heretics its former members, now dead, who, according to its Church and Society statement of 1998, supported apartheid with "honest and noble intentions...concerned to achieve the optimal development of all population groups within the framework of their own cultural traditions."

For the 852 of South Africa's people who suffered under apartheid, the white church's past blessing of the system of enforced racial discrimination is not as easily forgotten. Members of the Coloured and Black churches remember the pass laws: the forced removals from their houses and lands: the brutal police and security force activities against those who called for justice and human rights: the people killed in prison, in political assassinations or from disease in the poverty stricken homelands and townships. They are dismayed that white Christians believe they can erase the years of brutality by saying, "we made a mistake, apartheid was sinful," and then continue with policies, now less overtly oppressive, preserving white Rfrikaner economic, political, cultural and religious power. But white church officials seem to expect the black churches to be grateful for the DRC's admission that apartheid was sinful. They now adopt the role of victim, saying, in effect, "how can you not forgive us and accept our model for church unity?"

The meeting had one unifying result. The DRC-Hission and DRC-nfrica church representatives had not been of one mind regarding their own unity plans. Set to merge themselves a number of times in the past, they stepped back because certain influential leaders thought it would be better to Join all four Dutch Reformed churches together at one time.

Now, with a combined membership larger than the BBC, the Mission church and DRC-Rfrica plan to combine in a "Uniting Dutch Reformed Church" in april 1994. They have invited the BBC and the tiny Indian Reformed Church to join them in this fully integrated church, with people from all races united at every levels of worship and decision making.

according to Dr San Buti, Hoderator of the DRC-Africa, the door for the BBC to join the Black churches is still open. "We are already one body in Christ, and we must work out that one practical unity in the structure of one body." Rev Botnan also urges the BBC to accept the invitation to "unite with the Black churches on the basis of a non-raoial unity, with no protection for any group or racial cultures." "If they do," he says, "we will accept that as living proof that they have broken away from apartheid and have accepted the confessional stance of the Black churches."

Reu Botnan is also adamant on the problem of the Broederbond: "He cannot have a church controlled by a faceless, anonymous power body. It is unacceptable. They must resign their membership in the Broederbond."

"Ue want deeds now," said Batman. "it is too late for words." (SRCN)'

Johannesburg: February 15. 1993

01TH GIJRCH HELP. uosm. RESIDDITS ARE UORKING 1'0 STOP ULOLDiCE

by Josephine Carleeon. Southern Africa Church News

"This is wy father". said Hr Hasanzine Dlooo. a Zulu living at Jeppe hostel in Johannesburg as he enbrawd a m-year-old Xhosa nan.

"He is the father of the whole eonunity at Jepye and we will protect and honour hie." Hr Dlowo told representatives fron- nore than twenty Johannesburg hostels who had cone together on February 6 for a peace service.

After years of fighting that has been described as tribally or politically based (Zulu-Xhosa or lnkatha-MC). residents in the large. single-eex hostels in black townships in and around Johannesburg have finally begun to wake peace.

In Deoenber last year. the first peace service was held at Jeppe with 189 wen attending. eoning from only two hostels. 'l'his tine at Selby. also in central Johannesburg, the service attracted alnost a thousand from post of the hostels in the area: wen that Just a few months ago would only visit each other's hostels on killing raids.

"I know that cone of you were even scared to cone here today." Rev Huune Dandala. a Hethodist ninister told the neeting. In Nouewber he had been asked by the residents of Jeppe and Selby hostels to chair their peace emittee.

"Let us not fight with weapons. but with our minds." Rev Dandala said.

"Let us identify what is really oppressing us and let us fight to repair that and invite God to be with us."

"Xhosas and Zulus are brothers." Hr Dlono iron Jeppe hostel told the crowd. Hr Dlono had been elected by his hostel to lake contact with nen living at Selby hostel. regarded as a Xhosa and MC stronghold. He recounted how a few (lays after heavy fighting between the two hostels last august 25. he had gone to Selby and asked the leaders: "Until when will we kill one another? l haven't cone to you with an apology. but whatever happened yesterday. I have cone to you to ask: 'ls there no other way we can liue'?" He was. ouch to his own surprise. well received by the Selby hostel residents. They in turn elected five hen, led by Hr German Hlatsheni, to continue the peace discussions.

at the February 6 peace service Hr Hlatsheni acted as host. weloolling reysentatiues from other hostels who had cone to pray and wake a solemn pledge to keep the peace. as a symbol of this promise. a candle of "hope and pain" was lit - the candle. like the Selby hostel itself. surrounded by a barbed wire fence. after the eeruiee. all the wen shared a festive weal.

"The most interesting thing is that the whole initiative is tron the hostel residents themselves. with a real sense of seriousness and Domitnent on their part." Rev Dandala said after the meeting. "I have found wyself that there are very wise pople who are living in these hostels." Dandala cautions that it would be a disaster for any outside group to think that it could know what is right for hostel residents without an adequate process "to determine what the people who are living in those hostels feel."

Rev Dandala sees the role of the church in this process as affining and restoring the people's dignity and connon Mrican culture. "I think people are looking for sonebody that can wediate with integrity" he said. "There is recognition that the church has a critical role to play because the killing of people is quite a serious thing."

"On the other hand the fact that the church is still trying to stand for truth night antagonise people now and again. But l think the essence of the discussions we have had so far has been in saying that there is nothing wrong in differing in views."

There are still threats to this peace process tron those who light want to incite violence. In South Mrica's tense transitional period sane political leaders say not approve of the peace. since a destabilised situation can further enhance their own goals of staying in power. Rnd sone of the hostels in the Johannesburg area have not yet adopted the peace pledge.

Still. Rev Dandala says: "I an extrenely hopeful about the future beause when people start and connit themselves to talking. if they allow social events to happen between then and start to know each other again on a personal level. that in itself reduces the potential of violence."

at the Selby peace acting. well attended by national church leaders. the hostel residents' initiative sot strong support. Rev Peter Storey. the vice chairman of a Regional Dispute Resolution Connittee set up under the National Peace accord. said he had learned from the residents how peace could be achieved "in action" and not just discussed on an abstract level.

Rev Frank Chikane. General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches. said "there are heroes of peace here and we should recognise the great work they have done. The wessage is that the people have nade peace."

Chihane warned the hostel residents to be "careful not to be led into violence."

"I believe there will be no more violence among us. if it comes it will come from somewhere else." (SRCN)

RlvATli security companies are becoming embroiled in Natalis war zones. where the line between political and eriminal violence is increasingly blurred. At least two companies and scores of individual security guards have been implicated in the political conflict between the African National Congress and the lnkatha Freedom Party. lixae-erbating the situation is a lack ofadequate eonv trols and the liaet that the companies are often stalled by former security force members and rightwingers.

Security companies and guards operating in kwaZulu are not subject to the restrictions imposed by the Security Officers Board. which stipulates that all companies and their employees be registered and that all employees have clean records. In effect, a convicted mass murderer may work as a security guard in kwaZulu.

Employees of Reaction Against Theft (Rat) have allegedly participated in attacks in Umlazi township. According to Umlazi residents. the Rat guards were approached by lnkatha-aligned councillors to help in an attack on ANC supporters last year. They said the Rat guards Wore brown camouflage unifomis and that white men in identical garb were spotted at the scene of the oontlict.

Shane Lockston, who heads Rat. allegedly sells rounds of ammunition to IFP supporters. He denied this, saying: "I can't afford to sell ammunition to lnkatha. I Would lose my licence for weapons and have to close down."

lnekston also denied that his guards had participated in any violence, though he added that he had heard rumours to this effect. le not at the site, I donW know what the guys are doing in the day. You don't know who youire employing these days. I employ 90 percent whites, and half of them are Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members. The AWB is lnkatthirientated."

A source in the industry said many security company bosses had joined the "P, which gives them easy access to gun licences in kwaZulu. Last year kwalulu leader Mangosuthu Butheleli issued a statement saying gun licences must be given on demand to He? members, to protet't their communities.

(iavin Ainsworth, a manager at Springbok Patrols, denied that he is an lliP member, though he was photographed as a delegate at the llilys annual conference last year. wearing llill garb. According to security guards. their bosses prefer to recruit lli'P members. TWO employees Security industry

booms in N atal

Privillese't'uri ' rrms are having a livid (Igy in, IotyrZu/u, iijiere they ur\_e\_ unnylluletl and the lilre between JmIiliguI and criminal i'r'uleitcc i.s'\_\_ and SARA BLECHER

from CRG in Empangcni said they had been told they would be tired it they refused to become llinformers" for their boss. Their company refused to employ ANC supporters, they said. The industry source said: "Because of the good relations between lnkatha and the AWB. we employ mostly lnkatha members: When a person applies. he is asked about his political



affiliation. But there's no trust of Inkatha people either. So those who do the dirty work are mostly whites.

Most of the white members in the security companies are AWB members or sympathisers.

Most companies take former army or South African Police guys because it's cheaper. They don't have to be trained."

The source described security companies as the best front you can use. You can work in the townships and no one's going to ask you what's going on.

"People in companies do get up to things that are not necessarily company policy. There is no control over them. like in the police force. They work as individuals. The owner isn't in the field, he sits in his office. 'The guys in the field can do what they like."

Matty guards. he added, move from one company to another to avoid detection. A guy will kill, then he'll move on to the next company yet.

Security officers Hoard registrar Frans Lubbe confirmed that some companies were moving their offices to KwaZulu, where they do not talk to F. .... -

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Gavin Alnsworth, a manager at Springbok Patrols. photographed at the IFP's annual conference last year, making IFP garb under the ambit of the Security Officers Act.

"They are not compelled to register there,"

Lubbe said. But that's KwaZulu's problem.

They should say they would like to have them registered in terms of our Act. They don't fall under our control. but there's nothing we can do about it."

Even if a company is registered in South Africa. it may use unregistered guards in KwaZulu. Many Natal townships, like Umlazi and Kwa-Mashu, which are a mere stones throw from Durban. also fall under KwaZulu's jurisdictions. Since the board was established in September 1990, it has registered many security personnel, who are subjected to extensive screening. According to Lubbe, the terrible situation has been weeded out in the screening process. Some of the potential security officers have been eliminated are habitual criminals," he said.

The board has lodged all application in the Durban Supreme Court to shut down the business of controversial Combat Force director Norman Reeves. In the murder trial last October of a Combat Force employee, it emerged that Reeves had issued "shoot to kill" instructions to his guards and offered R 1 (1) "bonuses" for every black head

During the trial, Mr Justice P Meskin referred to Combat Force as "nothing less than an unlawful private army". The trial led to an investigation of Reeves and his company by Natal attorney general Karl Koenig, which is still under way.

Reeves employs ex-32 Battalion and Selous Scouts members, and also uses kits, weapons and police ammunition for his security operations. He was fined last year for possessing a number of unlicensed firearms, some belonging to the SAP. ,

Last week, the controversial director and his

guards were at the centre of conflict between taxi drivers and a kwaZulu-owned bus company, Eagle Liner Intercity Coach Services. in Durban. Employed by the bus company to protect passengers and the driver, Reeves and his armed guards provoked angry responses from a crowd after arresting a man.

In Port Shepstone on New Year's Eve, in white . security guard shot several people, injuring four, at a taxi rank. The incident occurred during a skirmish between residents and off-duty police, who arrived at the rank in a bakkie with covered number plates. A security guard from Balarm Security also arrived and opened fire. Witnesses said the guard had arrived together with the off-duty police, but the police denied this. Peace monitors now fear that the carefully negotiated peace pact in the area is in jeopardy.

Evidence of the involvement of private security companies in political violence is not restricted to Natal.

In the Ciskei, Peaceforce, which aims to hire 2 000 people \_ the size of the Ciskei Defence Force was involved in an incident in November during which schoolchildren were shot. The Goldstone Commission is also investigating an incident where guards from Springbok Patrols were allegedly involved in an attack on train commuters in Soweto in November last year.

Lubbe said he had never received any information implicating security companies in violence: "Maybe there are certain security officers with political preferences. but they have specific duties prescribed by their employers."

No employers, Lubbe added, would admit to having political agendas.

\_ 1 6 Theguardian Tuesday February 23 1993

How dead men tell  
tales on SA police

magistrates agree on the cause  
of death without a formal hear-  
ing and often without the  
knowledge of the family of the  
deceased. "I would judge that  
the majority of such cases are  
dealt with by this informal in-  
quest system."

Another alarming aspect of  
In his first exclusive interview,  
pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman  
tells David Beresford of his plans  
to lift the lid on murders in custody  
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HE career of the eelee

brated South African

pathologist, Dr Jona-

than Gluckman. is set

to culminate in a confrontation

with the authorities over what

is likely to be remembered as

, his life's work - the exposure

of police murders of prisoners

in custody.

Civil rights lawyers are Join-

ing forces with Dr Gluckman to

launch an independent investigation into deaths in detention. which seems likely to uncover a scandal even more serious than previously appreciated. The inquiry. headed by the Johannesburg silk, George Bizos SC. is expected to show routine collusion by doctors and magistrates in covering up police killings. The decision to launch an independent inquiry by the civil rights group. the Legal Resources Centre. follows a recent row between Dr Gluckman and South Africa's minister of law and order. Hemus Kriel. over deaths in police custody. Mr Kriel produced a lengthy report on the subject - based on a police analysis of Dr Gluckman's medical records - and claimed the pathologist had slandered the force.

Dr Gluckman has responded. i in his first interview since the controversy broke out. by challenging the minister to sue him. "There is nothing i would like better than to stand in a court and be prosecuted for libel and slander of the South African police." he told the Guardian. "It Would be the ultimate accolade of my career." The 76-year-old Barts graduate. who won an international reputation as a result of his evidence in the Steve Biko inquest. has been in the news again over the last week as an expert witness in yet another case in which police are accused of murdering a prisoner.

The victim, a Soweto youth, Bethuel Maphumulo, surrendered himself to police after hearing he was wanted in connection with an armed robbery. - Police claim he subsequently drowned in a swimming pool while trying to escape. A bizarre account has been given by police of how Maphumulo, wearing handcuffs. engaged in a life and death struggle with an omcer nearly twice his size which culminated in the two men tumbling into the pool.

Dr Gluckman's postmortem examination showed Maphumulo had suffered eight fractured ribs. among other injuries. Most significantly. he was found to have suffered a fracture to the hyoid bone in the neck which. Dr Gluckman has testified, almost always results from manual strangulation. The dead youth's mother. Margaret, claims she was also

beaten and given electric shocks by police after bringing charges against them over her son's death.

Dr Gluckman's office, in downtown Johannesburg, is decorated with photographs of the pathologist in the company of some of South Africa's leading lawyers during famous inquests of the past. Like that of Ahmed Timol, the anti-apartheid activist who in 1972 was enjoying a cup of tea with his interrogators (at least by their account) when he decided to escape by leaping out of a 10th floor window at security branch headquarters in Johannesburg. And the earlier Lenkoe case, over a detainee who was said to have hanged himself in his cell.

"That's when I started setting in conflicts with the police; when I realised they were a lot of liars," Dr Gluckman recalls. "Ernie Wentzei (a leading barrister who had had experience of security branch interrogation himself) told me where to look for signs of electric torture. I went and I looked and I found it - I would never have found it myself. It was a tiny little mark . . . between his toes. Since then I always look between the toes."

The outcome in the Lenkoe case, as with 'Imoi, as with Biko, was "nobody is to blame", a phrase which has become an epitaph for so many deaths in South African police custody. Paradoxically, Dr Gluckman has not appeared as a witness at many inquests. The reason, the pathologist explains, is that most cases are disposed of by what are known as "informal inquests" in which police and deaths in detention is the frequency with which post-mortems are seemingly fabricated by state pathologists or district surgeons. A striking example is the case of Simon Mthimkulu, aged 19, whose death precipitated last year's public blow-up between Dr Gluckman and the minister of law and order. Curiously, Mthimkulu's death did not feature in the "Kriel Report" with which the minister attempted to defend the police force against Dr Gluckman's allegations. The teenager's body was found in the veld near Sebokeng township last July. Two friends who had been with him described

how they had been picked up by a police armoured personnel carrier when they were seen near an abandoned stolen car. The boys were taken to the local police station and, according to Mthimkuiu's friends, badly beaten. His friends were released, but without Simon. Police subsequently told the Mthimkulu family that the boy had been "spanked" and also sent home.

The family went to the Legal Resources Centre which called in Dr Gluckman. The pathologist not only found a horrifying display of injuries all over the boy's body, but discovered evidence that the district surgeon had faked a post-mortem. The body had the conventional post-mortem incision, but when Dr Gluckman opened it he found the internal organs were undisturbed; the district surgeon had seemingly just made a cut and sewn it up again.

The pathologist is planning to retire this year. "I have my house, there on the wall," he says, gesturing to an idyllic photograph from the south of France. But he is determined to cap his career by nailing the South African police on deaths in custody.

Quoting the minister of law and order as having said that "the only reason he was not prosecuting me was that I was shortly going to retire," Dr Gluckman said fiercely: "There is nothing I would like better than to be prosecuted. In which case all of this can come out in open court, in front of a judge."

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THE GUARDIAN

Wednesday March 3 1993

US recognition of the  
Angolan government

I: Imperative to halt

Unita's holocaust

Victoria Brittain

RESIDENT Clinton's

humanitarian air drops in

Bosnia are In important

symbolic gesture which recog-  
nises that the United Nations is  
failing and the US wants to  
redeem that failure. in Angola,  
where the UN's failure is far  
clearer, he should make In  
even more important symbolic  
gesture by announcing the im-  
mediate diplomatic recognition  
of the elected government in  
Luanda.

On Monday morning. the 1at-  
ut UN deadline for Unita to  
present itself for peace talks in  
Addis Ababa expired. Over the '  
weekend a UN 1ppeai for a:  
truce and an offer of UN hei- ;  
icopters and a plane to my Units I  
representatives out of Angola 3  
to Addis Ababa was refused by g  
the rebels - not surprisingly as ;  
the delegation had never 1ctu- '  
1iiy left the Zairean capital of  
Kinshasa to go into Angola. :  
These rebuffs to the intema-  
tionai community toiiow t'ivei  
months of a Unita offensive  
Iner the refusal of their leader  
Jonas Savimbi to 1ccept the  
results of September's multi-  
party elections. . 4

This offensive has shattered  
the country beyond anything  
even 16 years of the US and  
South Atrican-backed war we  
Eared people for - three mil-  
'on uprooted people are threat.  
ened with starvation, 1ocording  
to the UN.

In Huambo - the Central  
Highlands city which has be-  
come the symbol of resistance  
during its six weeks' siege by  
Unita -- 10,000 people 1re esti-  
mated to have died. thousands  
1re wounded. tens of thousands -  
have tied into the bush. There  
is no water, electricity or com-  
munications. no doctors;  
patients have been murdered in  
their hospital beds; abandoned  
children wander the streets. I  
Dozens of other towns the  
similarly been reduced to rub-  
bie. or have become ghost  
towns 1i'ter being taken over by  
Unita. in the paediatric hospital  
in Luanda. I child dies every  
two hours because of the lack of

medicines.

West must act or

the losers take all

This hoiocmst can be

stopped by the internItionai

community. Diplomatic recog-

nition of the muiti-party gov-

ernment tn Luanda by Wash-

ington would be I first step.

Second, Iii governments. per.

haps led for once by the British.

should close Unita offices in

their countries Ind urge the

representatives to go back to

Luanda where the 10 Unita dep

uties in the National Assembly

is reassurance enough that

they can still participate in op

ition polities. A mIndatory

N Security Council Resolution

Iizould enforce the compiiInoe

of South Africa, Zaire. ivory

Coast. Ind Morocco, countries

which are still aiding Unite.

Finally. the er crimes trib

unal being set it for Bosnia

Ihould be exten ed to cover

Savimbi Ind other Unite lead-

ers. These people have partici.

pated in the decision. publicly

Innounced. to reduce the

country to the level of Somalia.

taken part in the current house

tohouse killings. the assassin-

ations late last year in Huambo

of symbolically important

MPLA whites like the Marce-

lino family and Dr David Ber.

nadino. They Iiso ordered Ind

carried out the burning Ilive of

dozens of women in Unita's

JImba stronghold. Ind the kill-

ings of UnitI leaders such Is

General Tito ChinginJi. once

the movement's foreign minis-

ter, who posed I threat to Jonas

iSivimbi's totalitarian

leadership.

There has been no ublic dis-

Ipprovel of my of ese well-

known crimes by either the UN,

or the three-party observer mis-

sion of the US. Russia and For.

tugai. Nor did any of these pow-

erfui players on the Angolan

scene ever criticise Savimbi or

his organisation in the 16

months leading up to the elec-

tions when they prepared their

military offensive under the

, nose of the UN. They refused to

;return huge areas of the

country to government control.

?turn in their heavy weapons.

' bring their lighters in to the as-

sembly points or commit them-

lseives to work in the unified

' new national army.

Verbal condemnation of Un-

lita has finally surfaced in

. recent weeks from the US State



, Department on January 23.  
when they feared the American  
oil installations It CIBinda  
were under threat. Ind on I  
recent visit to Luanda by Brit-  
'ain's Issistant under-secretary  
of state. Anthony Goodenough.  
when his open criticism of Un-  
ita's military actions did much  
to reverse Britain's reputation  
in Luanda as a Unita supporter.  
Eighteen years ago. the CIAis  
assessment of the 4,000 men in  
Unita was scathing. but went  
on to say that "we can prop up  
the FNLA and Unita so they go  
into independence on an equal  
footing . . . negotiated  
settlement."

N THE last 18 months. aim-  
ing still to force that negot-  
iated settlement, South Af-  
rica Ind Zaire have launched a  
campaign of economic destabili-  
sation by means of I flood of  
' banknotes printed in Zaire. sab-  
otage of electricity and water.  
suicide commando squads  
. trained by the israeliis Ind  
' hardened by use in lnkatha op-  
erations against ANC support-  
ers. marine commandos. con-  
stant supply nights into Unita-  
controilled Ireas, supply  
convoys of trucks through the  
Caprivi Strip. and a 50.000man  
army with heavy Irtiliery,  
tInks and helicopters.

US satelllites yesterday  
located nine of the crates of  
emergency lid dropped into  
Bosnia before their intended  
recipients had found them. it is  
inconceivable that this technol-  
ogy would not have picked up  
the C1305 Ind other smaller  
planes which entered Angolan  
Iirspace illegally tor the Unita  
resuppiy from South Africa and  
Zaire. But the US chose to keep  
quiet about this Ittempt to  
overthrow I newly elected  
multiparty government.

The lessons for Africa are  
that the West has a very selec-  
tive interest in the democracy it  
preaches. Ind that the UN lacks  
the courage to confront its most  
powerful members with the  
consequences of their partisan  
choices. For I minority of those  
in Mozambique Ind South AI-  
yrica now Iiso preparing for a  
ypost-apartheid transition, the  
lesson of the West's Ienience  
towards Savimbi will be that  
goience can keepmhange at

Y.  
Mr Clinton's gesture towards  
the Angolan people cannot  
wait.

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A founder member of Unita has been named new Angolan ambassador to London, Victoria Brmm'n writes. Former general Tony da Costa Femandes detected from the movement last t year.

Angolan Television in the capital city of Luanda said in late February that UNITA' s information/secretary, Jorge Valentim, had been arrested by Savhnbi's security men as he tried to flee into Namibia.

The report quotes Valentim as declaring he had had enough of the war which he described as unjust. Other UNITA officers were said to have been detained and yet another executed. A number of defections from UNITA occurred throughout last year. On 7 March the Angolan government said it had withdrawn its troops for the long-contested city of Huambo. 10,000 at least are said to have been killed in the country's second city of over 500,000.