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Monday 6 July 1992

THE CITIZEN

Criticism at Mugabe's new Cabinet

HARARE. — Critics of the Zimbabwean Government said President Robert Mugabe's new 26-member Cabinet was still too big and was dominated by political associates accused of mismanagement.

Mr Mugabe trimmed his Cabinet by five posts on Friday in a long-awaited reshuffle aimed at cutting government costs but he retained most of the Ministers with him since he assumed power 12 years ago.

"What Mr Mugabe has done is to give the country what looks like a smaller Cabinet at first glance, but is staffed by many of the people who have made a dog's breakfast of the economy since 1980," the independent Sunday Times commented.

"His reshuffle turns out to be a damp squib," it added. "Workers, employers, economists and industrialists had looked forward to a thoroughgoing change in the line-up".

Only two new faces

joined the Cabinet.

Zimbabwe's largely fragmented and ineffective opposition said the mini-shuffle showed Mr Mugabe was out of touch with public opinion.

"It demonstrated that the Mugabe leadership is weak," said Mr Emmanuel Magoche, leader of the Democratic Party.

Mr Mugabe has been under severe domestic and international pressure to cut the Cabinet by more than half and help slash government spending which currently swallows up more than 50 per cent of gross domestic product.

Domestic critics and Western aid donors say the government is devouring most of the money needed to support Zimbabwe's World Bank-backed economic reform programme.

Political observers say Mr Mugabe, whose popularity has sunk to its lowest level ever amid charges of political and economic mismanagement, resisted ditching his colleagues fearing they would join the opposition.

"He has decided he must sink or swim with them," one Western diplomat said.

Mr Mugabe's Zanu-PF party has held power with minimum opposition since winning Black majority rule in 1980, but public discontent has grown over the years over the running of the economy.

The government stands accused of running down the economy under a half-hearted attempt at building a socialist state in the first 10 years of independence, and of suffocating the current economic reform programme by excessive bureaucracy.

But the semi-official Herald Daily said the president had retained a large government team to maintain a political, economic, social and ethnic balance.

"Small mistakes disturb the equilibrium and the consequences can be devastating," the paper said in an editorial.

"These are truths that few, particularly those heckling from the safety of the sidelines, would care to admit". — Sapa-Reuters.

SA is making its presence felt in African shops

KIGALI. — For 30 years state radio in Rwanda referred to South Africa at every mention as Gashakabuhake, "the land of feudalism" in the Kinyarwanda tongue.

Its leaders, from J M Vorster to F W De Klerk, had the prefix Gashakabuhake — feudal lords — tacked to their names at every scathing reference to apartheid and its perpetrators.

No longer. One day in 1990, the year that Nelson Mandela was freed from detention, a radio announcer referred to De Klerk, the reformist president, by his name alone.

It was history by radio and no-one in Rwanda failed to notice. In Rwanda, and elsewhere in a

hitherto implacably hostile Africa, it marked the sound of South African shoes being brushed clean on the threshold of respectability.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Senegal on Wednesday backed Mr Mandela and blasted the White-led government,

accusing it of fuelling township violence which has killed thousands.

Mr Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) frowns upon trade ties now quickly being forged between South Africa and its erstwhile foes, fearing they support White interests.

But in Rwanda, and in many far-flung parts of the African continent, the unthinkable has happened. South Africa, the target of 30 years of hostile OAU resolutions, is making its presence felt along the bottom line of economics.

This week South African white wine is on sale in this tiny hillside capital. Cable television beams in South African programmes for the privileged and the army fires South African bullets.

Other countries are following suit as a continent dependent upon expensive trade with distant former colonial masters looks to see what their cousins in South Africa have to offer.

Adrien Sibomana, Prime Minister of Burundi, told Reuters last month that buying from the former pariah South Africa could knock \$40 million (about R112 million) off the annual \$120 million (about R386 million) import bill because of cheaper goods and much cheaper transport costs.

"The South Africans are here, they've arrived in Africa and they're not going to go away, whatever Mandela says," said one Western envoy in Nairobi this week.

— Sapa-Reuter.

THE CITIZEN 06-03-92

Nigerian Socialists take lead in polls

LAGOS. — Nigeria's social democrats moved ahead yesterday in the race for control of a new civilian legislature with early election returns showing voting patterns largely along entrenched ethnic lines.

Millions of Nigerian's voted on Saturday for a 589-member house of

representatives and 91-seat senate under a tightly-controlled programme to restore full civilian rule in Africa's most populous country on January 2.

With about half the ballot counted for the house of representatives, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) had won 171 seats and led in the senate, according to state media reports.

The conservative National Republican Convention (NRC) had 137 seats in the house. It was expected to pick up many seats as more results from the mainly Muslim north were announced.

In the senate, the welfare-orientated SDP had 19 seats to 16 for the NRC.

The SDP took an early lead with strong showings in its mainly Christian and Yoruba-dominated south-western power bases such as Lagos, Nigeria's biggest city.

Results indicated many people voted along en-

trenched tribal lines, with the NRC ahead in the Ibo-dominated south-east and in the mainly Muslim north, traditional home of the Hausa.

They also tended to mirror results of last December's governorship elections in all 30 state of the federation, won narrowly by the NRC against a then factionalised SDP.

Firm evidence of ethnic-line voting will disappoint military President Ibrahim Babangida's government, which has sought to rid Nigeria of ethnic tensions that have hampered development.

Multi-ethnic Nigeria, a major oil exporter, has been beset by religious and tribal rivalries since independence from Britain in 1960.

Both previous civilian administrations in 1960-66 and 1979-83 were toppled by Nigeria's politicised military amid charges of rampant corruption and mismanagement. — Sapa-Reuter.

De Klerk reneged on ★ hostels: Mandela

STATE President De Klerk has reneged on a definite agreement to phase out single-quarter hostels in townships, according to African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

Presenting the keynote address at the launch of the SA Health and Social Service Organisation

(SAHSSO) in Johannesburg yesterday. Mr Mandela said Mr De Klerk had also agreed to turn the hostels into family units and to fence them in.

Mr De Klerk had changed as he (Mr Mandela) was convinced after his release from prison that the State President was committed to democracy. He (Mr Mandela)

had conveyed this to all people inside and outside South Africa.

"Mr De Klerk didn't have to do public relations work — I've done it for him," Mr Mandela said.

The State President was making a mistake by fearing democracy and majority rule.

On the hospital strikes, which he described as a

national disaster, Mr Mandela said the government did not appreciate

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Mandela slams FW

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the seriousness of what was going on.

He said the independent mediator which the strikers were demanding to settle the disputes was an acceptable method in a democracy, and added that the disparity in wages between the doctors and workers was too great. Peace would never come until all workers were satisfied.

Mr Mandela also criticised the wage increases voted by Parliament for Parliamentarians, saying

they should cut their salaries in the light of the recession.

He welcomed the launch of SAHSSO, saying it was the first time all health workers — from doctors to workers — had come under one organisation. It would set an example to other professional services in the country.

The united organisation would be in a better position to tackle socioeconomic problems ranging from education to malnutrition and Aids, Mr Mandela said.

THE CITIZEN 06-07-92

6 die in Natal

DURBAN. — At least six people were killed in renewed political fighting outside Port Shepstone on Natal's lower South Coast at the weekend, police reported yesterday.

Durban SA Police spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi said four people were shot dead when a taxi was attacked in Bhomela, Murchison,

on Saturday afternoon.

Police returned to the scene yesterday morning after bad light had hindered their investigations on Saturday and discovered two more bodies in the same area, he said.

One of the dead, a woman, had been shot and burned, said Capt Ngidi. All the victims had been shot at close range.

— Sapa.

THE STAR 06-07-92

Zach in plea for unity

The Government and the ANC were polarising society, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

At a DP youth congress at Roodeplaat near Pretoria, he sharply criticised the policies of both, saying the NP and ANC saw politics as a duel, and that "everyone must choose one side or the other".

One side concerned itself with dubious entities called "minorities" and the other with an amorphous entity called "the people", but "these two adversaries are set to tear the nation apart".

Dr de Beer urged South Africans to substitute the politics of unity for the politics of division; the politics of individual liberty for those of group domination; and the economics of the social market for those of the dominant State.

Businessmen to meet Mandela

Business representatives will meet ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow to discuss how the business community can help end the present political crisis and speed up the resumption of negotiations.

The meeting with the SA Chamber of Business, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation follows a similar meeting last week with President F W de Klerk and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. — Sapa.

Eglin urges ANC to resume talks

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has urged the ANC to accept the Government's invitation to "eyeball to eyeball" talks to get negotiations restarted.

DP national chairman Colin Eglin, one of his party's chief negotiators at Codesa, issued the call after studying the Government's latest memorandum to the ANC.

Mr Eglin said that on balance the Government's new proposals for a transitional constitution were no better than the ones which the ANC rejected at Codesa 2.

They probably did not provide enough for the ANC to immediately resume Codesa-type negotiations.

But if the new Government proposals were a starting position — as they seemed to be — and not a bottom line, then the ANC should accept the invitation to bilateral talks.

Mr Eglin said he feared the ANC alliance's campaign of mass action was ceasing to be a device to bolster the ANC's negotiating position and was running out of control.

"In view of the fact that mass action is in danger of leading to escalating violence and jeopardising negotiations, the sooner

bilateral talks begin, the better," he said.

He said the Government's new proposals for the transition showed significant changes from its Codesa 2 position.

The Government had dropped the requirement of a 75 percent majority in a constitution-making body on matters affecting regional government powers.

However, the Government had reintroduced the idea of a transitional senate of regional representatives which would have to approve legislation.

But — and this was an important improvement — the senate now provided for proportional representation of parties — and no longer equal representation for all parties with more than a certain minimum of support.

Unrepresentative

Mr Eglin expressed concern, though, about new proposals giving strong veto powers to regional authorities.

Each of these would effectively have the power to veto constitutional clauses affecting its status and powers.

This could give strong veto powers to present homeland governments, some of which were unrepresentative.

This was because the Government was proposing that present homeland regimes would continue into the transitional

constitution if no agreement could be reached beforehand on new regional boundaries.

He described the provisions for a homeland veto as "the Buthelezi clause", because the Inkatha Freedom Party leader had proposed such a veto in a recent document.

"The new proposals for regional vetoes give greater powers to the status quo — to the existing authorities — than before."

Mr Eglin also asked questions about the Government proposal that if the constitution-making body could not agree on a new constitution within a three-year period, general elections would be held under the transitional constitution.

He said this clause was clearly intended to counter ANC accusations that the Government intended to make the transitional constitution permanent.

But it was not clear how the new proposal would overcome that concern if general elections were held under the same transitional constitution.

● Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer confirmed in weekend reports that both the senate and the exact percentage majorities needed to approve the final constitution were negotiable — as long as the ANC accepted that regional authorities should play a role in deciding the constitution.

The Star 6/7/92

Sparring on brink of the abyss

AT THE heart of the crisis facing South Africa is a deep lack of trust between the two main adversaries, the National Party and the ANC.

The suspicion with which these two premier political forces and their allies view one another is manifest in the exchange of memoranda between their leaders, F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, after the Botopong massacre of June 17.

President de Klerk accuses the ANC of eschewing power-sharing and of wanting to plunge into "simple majoritarianism", a system which the ANC believes — and the NP fears — will concentrate power in its hands.

Mr Mandela denounces the De Klerk administration for thwarting the "process of truly democratising South Africa" and feigning commitment to democracy to disguise its determination to cling to power.

The suspicion extends to the violence which has claimed

more than 7 000 lives since President de Klerk initiated his drive for a negotiated and peaceful settlement shortly after his accession to power in September 1989.

Mr de Klerk charges that the ANC, under the influence of a communist cabal within its ranks, has plunged recklessly into mass action to impose its will on South Africa, even at the cost of unleashing forces which it will not be able to control.

Mr Mandela counters by charging the De Klerk administration of talking peace while covertly deploying its "security forces and sergates" to incite violence in the black community and destabilise the ANC and its allies.

Their recriminations are punctuated by declarations reaffirming their commitment to a negotiated settlement while questioning the sincerity of their opponents.

Mr de Klerk, noting that the ANC regards negotiations as a "terrain of the struggle", con-

Nelson Mandela has rejected President de Klerk's call for urgent talks to resolve their differences, thereby underlining the crisis confronting the nation. PATRICK LAURENCE interprets the situation.

cludes that the ANC's approach means that there is "no room for compromise, much less for mutually acceptable agreement".

Mr Mandela, observing that the "De Klerk regime" equates majority rule with black domination, calls on Mr de Klerk to demonstrate that he is prepared "to make negotiations a bona fide exercise to charting the way to a democratic SA".

To vary a metaphor used by political analyst and facilitator Dr Van Zyl Slabbert: the NP and the ANC resemble two pugilists trading punches on the edge of a cliff.

The fight has gone on for so long that both men are too exhausted to land a knock-out blow. From time to time they stumble forward and lean on one another for support.

But every time they lurch towards one another — often after one of the weary men has taken a mighty swipe — there is a real risk that one will tumble into the abyss and drag his opponent with him.

The perils of the situation are neatly, if unintentionally, summed up by Jay Naidoo, general-secretary of the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Trade Unions. Mr Naidoo, accusing the De Klerk administration of meeting the "demands of the people" with a go-to-hell attitude, warns: "We will take you to hell with us."

Read with its annexures, Mr de Klerk's memorandum, released on July 2 in reply to an earlier one from Mr Mandela, justifies cautious optimism. It shows that the gap between the two sides has narrowed since

they deadlocked at Codesa 2.

In retrospect, three cardinal points of difference at Codesa can be identified: dispute over the powers of regional government under a new democratic constitution, disagreement on the composition and power of the upper House, and discord over the duration of the transitional government that would wield power until a final constitution was drafted.

The Government, which favours strongly entrenched powers for regional governments, wanted clauses relating to regionalism to be passed by a 75 percent majority in the constituent assembly. The ANC, which fears that strong regional governments would be used to thwart the central government, would not budge above 70 percent at Codesa.

Now, after much bloodshed and angst, the 5 percent difference has been whittled away. The Government has agreed to a 70 percent threshold for all but one category of clauses. The exception relates to the bill of rights: it wants a 75 percent majority, a requirement the ANC assents to.

At Codesa the NP pressed for a regionally based senate, in which representation is weighted in favour of smaller bodies.

Its original draft plan, released in September, proposes that all regions should be allocated an equal number of seats and that in each region all parties which receive more than a certain quota of the vote — a 10 percent quota has been cited — would qualify for an equal share of the seats for that re-

gion.

The ANC, sensing constitutional chicanery to boost unrepresentative parties as a bulwark against majority rule, opposed the idea at Codesa in May, dubbing it a loser-takes-all arrangement.

Now, however, the De Klerk administration has again retracted: it agrees that the parties in each region should receive seats in proportion to the number of votes they win.

At Codesa the ANC feared the NP would use the high threshold required for acceptance of the final constitution to prolong the life of the first transitional government indefinitely: now the De Klerk administration has proposed a three-year limit on the life of the first transitional government.

The narrowing of differences does not guarantee that constitutional talks will even resume, as Mr Mandela's weekend rebuff of President de Klerk's call for urgent talks shows. It does, however, create an opportunity

for the parties to move back from the abyss towards the negotiating table.

If they do, a major difference still remains to be resolved, according to Joe Slovo, chairman of the SA Communist Party and a pivotal figure in the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

As Mr Slovo sees it, the De Klerk administration wants all the main features of the final constitution to be drawn up by Codesa rather than by a popularly elected constituent assembly or constituent-making body.

As many of the 19 parties at Codesa are drawn from the discredited "bantustan system" and the rejected tricameral Parliament, it is a thoroughly unrepresentative body and therefore unqualified for the task of drafting a new constitution, Mr Slovo reckons.

Thus, even if the two main protagonists step back from the brink, a long road still lies ahead to the new South Africa. D

The Star 6/7/92

Overseas investors all backing off, warns De Villiers

'National tragedy' looms

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

ANC leader Nelson Mandela's blunt dismissal of President de Klerk's invitation to resume talks could lead to "bloody confrontation", the Government warned last night.

The National Party's chief Codesa negotiator, Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, expressed hope that the ANC's national working committee (NWC) would this week give a more considered response to the Government's overture.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said that although the NWC would give a more detailed response, probably on Wednesday, it was unlikely to change Mr Mandela's decision not to enter into talks with the Government.

Mr Mandela told a press conference at the weekend that the ANC would not resume talks with the Government or at Codesa until the National Party had agreed to majority rule. If this did not happen, it would continue with its plans for a general strike next month.

"The first remarks of Mr Mandela are not very encouraging," Dr de Villiers said. "They must be taken as indicative of the mood in the ANC. The picture is not very rosy at the moment. But one must wait for the official response. Perhaps there will be room for manoeuvre. But if this is their final position, it will be a tragedy."

Mr Niehaus said Mr Mandela's dismissal of the Government's invitation to resume talks was unlikely to be overturned as it had been taken in consultation with NWC members.

Dr de Villiers said the Government considered its latest proposals to be in line with internationally acceptable definitions of democra-

cy and were a "fair basis for discussion".

He made it clear that the Government would not bow to mass action and disruption. South Africa was not Eastern Europe and the loyalty of the security forces would ensure that the Government did not succumb to mass pressure.

The ANC's tactics seemed to be to lure the Government into declaring a state of emergency so that it could brand it a police state.

Dr de Villiers said the Government would not be drawn into this trap. But if the ANC alliance sought massive confrontation with the security forces, there was danger the confrontation would turn "bloody".

Dr de Villiers expressed concern about an alleged insurrectionist plot by the ANC alliance — disclosed in *The Weekly Mail* — to cause major disruption to government services, transport and communications.

'Jericho'

"The approach seems to be that if you march around the walls of Jericho often enough they will collapse. This is not the position."

Despite his concerns, Dr de Villiers said he did not believe that in the end there would be a major violent conflict between the security forces and the ANC alliance.

But the tragedy was that the crisis was causing severe damage to the economy, while growth was needed to take the country through the transition.

"I have just returned from abroad and I can tell you that potential investors have withdrawn into their shells. No one is going to invest. We were looking to two or 3 per cent growth this year. Now we will be lucky to get half a percent."

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The Citizen 6/7/92

4 die in ambush

FOUR Black men were killed in what apparently was an ambush in Kagiso township, near Krugersdorp, at 7.45 last night, police spokesman for the West Rand, Captain Henriette Bester, said.

The men had driven out of the Kagiso hostel in a white Toyota Corolla when they were fired

upon by an unknown number of people. All four men were shot in the head and died instantly.

Police identified three of the dead as Mr Sipho Majola, Mr William Majola and Mr M M Mka-tho. Captain Bester said it was not known if the two Majolas were related.

The identity of fourth man had not been established.

The Citizen 6/7/92

Monday 6 July 1992

ANC may push SA to brink of war: Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — The ANC would have to return to the negotiating table, because if it did not and persisted in attempting to "grab" power, it would thrust South Africa into a civil war situation, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned this weekend.

Addressing an IFP rally in Mahlabathini, he accused the ANC of breaking off Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) talks because, he said, it was democratically defeated at Codesa II, which led to its call for mass action.

"The ANC will have to return to the negotiating table and if it does not, return to the negotiating table, and persists in attempting to grab power for itself, it will thrust South Africa into a civil war situation."

He said the ANC was not interested in power sharing, but wanted to seize power for only it-

self.

With its mass action, the ANC was engaged in "a rampant take-over bid, hoping to seize power before the end of the year".

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), by calling for a general strike in August, and the SA Communist Party (SACP) — the ANC's alliance partners — were trying to build up as much anger as they could among Black workers in their bid to grab power.

He added that no strike or stay-away action could be successful without intimidation and violence.

"Workers will be expected not to go to work and to lose their jobs, and to have their children starve, all because the ANC wants power. They use them for their political objectives."

Turning to the violence, Chief Buthelezi said people had to choose between a future with peace — which led

to foreign investment, jobs and security — or violence without jobs.

He said he had been told in his meeting with the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) and the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) earlier this week that neither local nor foreign investment was taking place right now due to the uncertainty created by the down-swing in the economy and Black-on-Black violence.

He called for those in favour of peace to work "together in harmony".

"It is now time for the powerful who are in favour of peace to come together and I have called on the State President to act in harmony and in consultation with every political party and organisation in Codesa which opposed the ANC, and I have called on the ANC to return to Codesa and to work in harmony with the rest of us." — Sapa.

The Citizen 6/7/92

Great disappointment for govt, says Meyer

MINISTER of Constitutional Development and of Communication, Roelf Meyer, said the government had learned with "great disappointment" that ANC president Nelson Mandela had rejected President De Klerk's call for an urgent meeting to address the country's political crisis.

"It would seem to bear out our concern that the ANC and its allies have decided to abandon the path of negotiations for the path of confrontation and conflict," Mr Meyer said in a statement to Sapa.

"It would also seem to indicate that the SA Communist Party/Cosatu factions have gained the upper hand in the alliance," Mr Meyer added.

"The government has learned with great disappointment of Mr Mandela's initial response to its memorandum of July 2."

Mr Mandela, at an international news conference in Johannesburg on Saturday afternoon, rejected Mr De Klerk's call for a meeting and said the government had showed no sign of readiness to relinquish power.

He said Mr De Klerk's response on Thursday to the African National Congress' 14 conditions for talks to restart were full of distortions, inaccuracies and propaganda.

"By responding in the

manner he has done, Mr De Klerk has chosen to drive South Africa onto a collision course," Mr Mandela said.

"I accordingly see no reason to mislead the public and the international community on the gravity of the crisis facing our country."

"No good purpose will be served in my meeting him (Mr De Klerk) at this stage," Mr Mandela said.

Referring to the ANC leader's accusation that the government was not prepared to move to true democracy in South Africa, Mr Meyer said: "This is not true. He would have noted from the State President's letter and its annexures that the government's proposals are completely in accordance with accepted democratic norms."

"It would appear on the face of it as if a proper study of the government's reply has not yet been made."

At the root of the negotiations deadlock was the refusal of the National Party to accept a process of truly democratising the country, Mr Mandela charged.

"The ANC cannot accept an undemocratic constitution aimed at addressing the fears of a minority party about its own future at the cost of democracy."

He urged the government to abandon its position directed at subverting the sovereignty of the constituent assembly by subjecting it to the veto by a second house and ensuring that a minority shall be able to frustrate the majority.

Mandela forsakes talks for violence

— Treurnicht

By Chris Steyn and Sapa

CONSERVATIVE
Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday that ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, had apparently now embarked on a course of violence and mass action to cripple the country.

"If he can't reach his aim through negotiation, he will do so with violence. And we are now in an advanced state of revolution," he said.

He was commenting on Mr Mandela's refusal to meet State President De Klerk to resume negotiations.

Dr Treurnicht said the government was in a "very difficult" position because it wanted to negotiate, but not hand over power to terrorists.

"The government is in a hurry to create a new dispensation, but it is not in a hurry to really accede to the ANC's conditions.

"The government actually does not have a leg to stand on any more."

It was therefore dependent on continued negotiation to reach a settlement.

However, if the ANC continued with its threats and the government did not accede to the organi-

sation's demands, it would have to use its security forces to maintain law and order and protect people's lives.

"Furthermore, if the ANC continues with its threats, any free election in the future would be made impossible," he said.

Dr Treurnicht said the government's option was to create a forum of anti-Communist leaders who could have very fruitful negotiations without having to sit around the table with terrorists. The CP would support, and participate in, such a forum.

Democratic Party spokesman, Mr Peter Soai, said Mr Mandela's decision had "very serious" implications for negotiations, the economy and the general social fabric of society.

"In the current mood, Mr Mandela's move was predictable, but very unfortunate.

"The ANC obviously has its own agenda in coming weeks. And President De Klerk can stand on his head, but Mandela won't meet him," Mr Soai said.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer, criticised the gov-

ernment and the ANC for "polarising" South African society.

Addressing a DP Youth Congress near Pretoria yesterday, he said: "These two adversaries are set to tear the nation apart.

"They say that in the end our politics are a duel and everyone must choose one side or the other."

Dr De Beer said there were two sides only, one was rich and the other poor, one White and the other was Black.

One concerned itself with rather dubious entities called minorities and the other with an amorphous entity called "the people", he said.

"These two adversaries are set to tear the nation apart."

He urged South Africans to substitute:

- The politics of unity for the politics of division;
- The politics of individual liberty for those of group domination; and
- The economics of the social market for those of the dominant state.

"We must have a strong, democratic force in the centre of the politi-

cal spectrum bridging the gap between the two poles and making national unity possible."

The DP, he added, was different from all the others (groupings) because it never sought to represent any particular group of people.

He urged the congress to work towards building the economy.

"I want to ask you to focus your minds on the economy which more than any factor has forced change upon us, and which ironically now threatens the success of the very reforms it demanded."

Economic decline would bring sinking quality of life resulting in anger, frustration and desperation in the townships and informal settlements where the majority of people live.

When there was political conflict between the ruling White government and recognised Black leadership, the danger of an uncontrollable political response from the townships was real, he said.

"And when a horrible, ghastly event like Borja-tong takes place, the response is an almost blind rage which directs itself at almost any object which becomes available."

DP youth chairman Colin Douglas, criticised the policies of government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"Those three organisations believe that the end result in life justifies the means to attain it . . . they do not believe in your rights as an individual, unique member of the South African family, but rather in group rights."

The Citizen 6/7/92

ANC seeks recruits in Jo'burg's N suburbs

THE African National Congress (ANC), has begun a recruitment drive in the White heartland of northern Johannesburg.

ANC Sandton branch chairman, Mr Alex Anderson, enthused at the potential.

He has already got an allocation from ANC headquarters to open an office, and the shopping centre recruitment campaign he began on Saturday will turn into a twice-monthly affair to supplement the house meetings held every two weeks.

Saturday's drive, with a crew of Black and White helpers, was in a modest string of shops catering for food and other basics.

It had netted some 40 recruits by lunchtime, most of them Black, and each paying a R12 annual subscription fee.

A White businessman (58), and his wife were among the recruits, unwilling to give their names but adamant that their yellow, black and green membership cards were tokens of allegiance and not just fashion statements.

"I sympathise with their aims," he said, "and thought it would be a gesture of support to join them. I would vote for them in an election."

He said he used to vote for the Democratic Party, and although there was

nothing wrong with them, the country needed a change of government, which the DP, could not hope to provide.

Sandton's most prominent ANC member is its Member of Parliament, Mr Dave Dalling, who was among five parliamentarians to defect from the DP in April. They now sit as independents in the Whites-only House of Assembly.

They said at the time: "Now is the time for working to implement real liberty, justice and equality, and that cannot be done from the sidelines in the comfort of minority opposition politics for the sake of it."

The Citizen 6/7/92

Five die in mysterious shooting

By Chris Steyn

FOUR young men and a woman were found dead in mysterious circumstances in a Vosloorus street early yesterday.

Vosloorus residents said the men were not from the township, but it is understood that a letter written in Portuguese was found on one of the men. The Defence Force's Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion is still deployed in neighbouring Tokoza.

There were also reports that two of the dead men were Mozambicans.

All five victims were shot in the head, but police — who discovered the bodies at

7.10 am — found no cartridges at the scene.

The bodies were found near number 1411 Mokgara Street. One man lay in the middle of the street, and two others were found together about 10 m from him. The woman's body was directly across the road and the fourth man was discovered 20 m from her.

Police found no identifying documents on any of the bodies. How-

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5 shot dead

FROM PAGE 1

ever, a Mokgara Street resident told The Citizen that the dead woman was Miss Anna Phora of Mohlala Street.

The woman's identity was passed on to police, who said they had received similar information and would confirm today whether the 33-year-old woman was the victim.

A police spokesman would not comment on whether police efforts to identify the four men had included a visit to 32 Battalion.

"I'm just letting them get on with their investigating now," said the spokesman.

The controversial 32 Battalion is still deployed in the East Rand townships of Tokoza and Tembisa, and Phola Park squatter camp.

The Vosloorus resident told The Citizen that she heard gun shots at about 2 am yesterday morning, but did not get up to investigate as she was ill.

"Perhaps other people peeped through their windows, but

people are too scared to get involved."

Residents had no idea what the motive for the killings was.

The police spokesman said detectives did house-to-house inquiries in the area shortly after the find, but residents were unable to shed light on the incident.

At this stage the deaths were being treated as violent crimes rather than unrest-related incidents.

However, all possibilities would be investigated.

People who have information that can assist police with the inquiry, are asked to call Warrant-Officer Lourens Teurney at 991712/3.

Prospects for talks remain bleak

ANC plans response to FW's memo

B/day

6/7/92

ANC leaders will meet this week to formulate a detailed response to the constitutional proposals contained in President F W de Klerk's memorandum, amid indications that they may not be rejected out of hand.

However, prospects for an early resumption of negotiations remain bleak following ANC president Nelson Mandela's rejection on Saturday of De Klerk's response to the ANC's demands on violence.

An ANC national executive committee source said De Klerk's suggestions presented "areas for discussion". ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the NEC would definitely respond in detail this week.

Delivering his first comments on government's proposals, Mandela said: "By responding in the manner he has done, De Klerk has chosen to drive SA into a collision course. I accordingly see no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the gravity of the crisis facing our country. No good purpose will be served in my meeting him at this stage."

Mandela reacted only in passing to De Klerk's constitutional proposals and concentrated on government's response to the violence-related demands as the basis for turning down a meeting with him.

Last week De Klerk shifted from previous government positions by suggesting a minimum three-year period of interim government (as opposed to the five or 10 years the NP had earlier suggested), a 70% majority to change the interim constitution (as opposed to government's insistence on 75% at Codesa II) and a democratically elected Senate.

PATRICK BULGER

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said government was awaiting the NEC's "detailed reply" and that government's proposals were "completely in accordance with democratic norms".

"It would appear on the face of it as if a proper study of the government's reply has not yet been made," Meyer said.

Mandela said government had chosen to ignore the gravity of the ANC's demands which De Klerk "seeks to channel into endless negotiations and discussion".

ANC sources said discussions with government had already been held on most of the issues raised in the ANC's demands, and that there was frustration with talks that failed to deliver concrete results.

For this reason, ANC sources said, the ANC and its allies were examining a more "results-driven" style of negotiations. They said Cosatu's proposals for a negotiations forum which conducted its work in the open and which limited itself to the issues of an interim government and constitutional principles was gaining wider acceptance within the ANC alliance.

Mandela said the ANC would return to Codesa in its present form should its demands be met. He said the ANC wanted a "simple sign" from De Klerk that he accepted majority rule.

Meyer said that "the ANC has shown that it prefers confrontation and conflict to peace and negotiation".

"Mandela accuses the President of favouring 'endless negotiations and discus-

□ To Page 2

ANC

sions'. We would prefer negotiations to reach a satisfactory conclusion as soon as possible, but yes, we prefer negotiations and discussions to endless conflict and violence."

He repeated government's allegation that the SA Communist Party and Cosatu had gained the upper hand in the alliance.

Former Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said that while De Klerk's constitutional proposals suggested "good progress", De Klerk remained biased about violence.

"We are witnessing part of a lead-up to another cycle of negotiations. Each exchange will bring a new dynamic, and week by week we will see how it develops. This is an important and constructive phase that removes the tendency to play around with generalities," Gordhan said.

But, he added, it was "indicative of the level of tension and distrust and the refusal to take bland assurances of what is to come."

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that Mandela said yesterday he was "greatly disappointed" in De Klerk, whom he used

to believe was an honest man.

Speaking at Wits University at the launch of a new umbrella body for health organisations, Mandela said he believed something had "happened to De Klerk" since the referendum, and added that the president had mistaken the yes vote as an authority to go back to "P W Botha days".

"On platforms around the world, I used to tell people that we were dealing with a man of honesty. De Klerk did not need a public relations man, I was doing it," said Mandela.

"His greatest mistake is that he fears democracy and he fears majority rule," said Mandela.

He said De Klerk had reneged on his undertaking to quell the violence by agreeing to transform hostels, which were the centres of violence, into family units.

He said that since the Boipatong massacre he had been met with a common refrain at rallies. "People are saying I am behaving like a lamb while the government kills our people." He assured people he had taken note of their message.

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B/Day 6/7/92

NEWS**Time running
out for SA,
warns Anyaoku**

SA WAS in a serious political crisis and its leaders would have to move fast as time was not on their side, Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku warned yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport after a four-day visit, Anyaoku said the Commonwealth was prepared to help get constitutional talks back on track.

Anyaoku would not commit himself on whether the Commonwealth would supply personnel for a violence monitoring and peacekeeping force, as proposed by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

B/Day 6/7/92

Former Phola Park leaders set to attempt a comeback

WILSON ZWANE

A POWER struggle has developed in the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp in the wake of continued police action.

Moves were afoot among Phola Park residents to reinstate a group that were the self-appointed leaders of the camp until ousted by a militant faction earlier this year, sources said at the weekend.

The sources said the new leaders had plunged the camp into chaos by taking over its defence units and using them for attacks on security forces and private vehicles travelling in the vicinity.

Some members of the self-proclaimed Interim Residents' Committee claimed to be members of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). They appointed themselves in March this year after ousting at gunpoint the original Phola Park Residents' Committee, headed by Prince Mhlambi, the sources said.

"The people of Phola Park, who are now being harassed by the police, are calling for the dissolution of the interim committee, whose members stand accused of misusing the people's money."

The sources alleged the committee members had not bought ammunition, as promised, with money they collected from the community. "The people want their money back... they also want the reinstatement of Mhlambi and his committee."

It is understood Mhlambi has pledged to normalise relations with the police if he is returned to power. The police have said they will remain active in the area until peace and normality have been restored.

Three weeks ago police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said MK renegades and former Renamo instructors had hijacked the squatter camp's defence units.

Opperman said the MK rebels had used firearms to murder people and to rob financial institutions and people in and around Phola Park — "even as far afield as Soweto and Bethlehem".

Zingisile Mathiso, a Phola Park resident, claimed recently that the 60-member Residents' Committee headed by Mhlambi was ousted after allegations that it had embezzled community funds and taken part in the local dispute resolution committee without the community's permission.

Sources said at the weekend unruly elements bent on perpetrating atrocities in the camp had spread the rumour Mhlambi and his committee were "corrupt".

They added: "The participation of Mhlambi and his committee in the dispute resolution committee had the full support of the community, which wanted to restore peace in the area."

B/Dag 6/7/92

Civic members begin training

WILSON ZWANE

THE Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) is preparing its members for a new constitutional dispensation by having them trained in local government.

ACO official Mzwanele Mayekiso is leaving for the US within weeks for study at the New York Pratt Institute.

He said at the weekend it was imperative civic leaders knew how local government worked.

During his stay in the US Mayekiso would talk to educational institutions about establishing a "coherent local government training programme" for ACO members. Foreign governments would be approached for funds.

He said that in spite of its members having received training in local government, the organisation would not contest future local government elections. But individual members would be free to stand in elections under party political banners.

"Even in the new SA there will be a need for a strong, independent civic movement to ensure that councillors deliver the goods to their constituencies."

B/Dag 6/7/92

ANC 'taking steps to protect journalists'

THE ANC — under criticism for its supporters having harassed and assaulted journalists at the Boipatong funeral — is taking urgent steps to ensure the safety of media representatives at ANC gatherings.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, in an address to the Nieman Foundation African-American Institute conference on Friday, said the organisation's president Nelson Mandela had told ANC structures to prevent attacks on journalists. At least six journalists were injured in separate incidents at the funeral.

PATRICK BULGER

Ramaphosa said an ANC government would seek to uphold the independence of the media but would take steps towards decentralising ownership in the industry. He also called for an independent broadcasting authority to run 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 nonpartisan."

"The ANC believes that a public broadcaster should be used to promote and strengthen democracy. In the future an ANC government would maintain a public broadcasting service to serve society as a whole and give a voice to all sectors of the population," Ramaphosa said.

He said much of the confusion created by the ANC's suspension of negotiations could have been avoided if the public had had direct access to Codesa.

"The ANC and its allies have nothing to hide from the SA public."

FW accused of breaking his word over hostels

THE STAR 06-07-92

Mandela renews attack

Staff Reporter and Sapa

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday kept up his offensive against the State President, accusing FW de Klerk of reneging on an agreement to phase out single-sex hostels.

He also condemned the Government for refusing to use an arbitrator in the national health workers' strike.

His new attacks came as Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, warned South Africa's leaders that they must move quickly to end the political crisis.

Delivering the keynote address at the launch of the SA Health and Social Service Organisation (Sahsso) at Wits University, Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk had agreed in May last year to turn hostels into family units and have them fenced in and guarded.

More reports — Pages 3, 8 and 9

However, he had "forgotten" the agreement and recently said the conversion of the hostels should be discussed by hostel dwellers, civic organisations and the community.

Mr Mandela said the Government was not interested in curbing the violence or resolving the political crisis, but only in securing National Party minority rule.

Of Mr de Klerk, he said: "When I deal with him I am most disappointed and concerned. After meeting him when I was in prison, I wrote a letter to my colleagues in Lusaka saying Mr de Klerk was a man of honesty and integrity. After my release I acknowledged this in public too. He did not have to do any public relations; I did it all for him."

Mr Mandela said the Government was relying on "authority and not discussions with the workers" to deal with the hospital strikes, which he described as "a national disaster". Pledging the ANC's support, he said the independent arbitrator the strikers had demanded was acceptable.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after a four-day consultative visit to South Africa, Chief Anyaoku said the Commonwealth was prepared to help get constitutional talks back on track.

"The Commonwealth is concerned and prepared to assist in any way possible to address the violence which has emerged as a major stumbling block to negotiations," he said.

During his visit, Chief Anyaoku held discussions with Mr de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke. Chief Anyaoku would not commit himself on whether the Commonwealth would supply personnel for the violence-monitoring and peace-keeping force proposed by Mr Mandela and Mr Moseneke.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Bleak

ANC president Nelson Mandela calls it a collision course — and blames the government. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer calls it the path of confrontation and conflict — and blames the ANC and its allies. Whichever view a person accepts, what is certain is that the country is in a crisis which worsens by the day.

In essence, the ANC is in a bolshie mood, no pun intended.

It does not want to resume the negotiations.

It intends to go on with its mass action campaign, including a general strike on August 3, to topple the government.

And it seeks at the same time to internationalise the crisis by getting the Security Council involved, with pressure for a UN peacekeeping force to be sent to South Africa.

State President De Klerk suggests that a cabal in the SA Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions is redirecting the ANC from negotiations to the politics of demands and confrontations which are inherent to mass action.

No doubt he is right.

Weekend reports suggest there was, in fact, a division within the ANC and Patriotic Front over pulling out of Codesa and that the militant view prevailed.

However, Mr Mandela's performance on his return from the Organisation of African Unity meeting in Dakar does not suggest he is averse to a confrontation.

Quite the opposite.

Mr Mandela said: "I see no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the gravity of the crisis facing our country. No good purpose will be served in my meeting him (De Klerk) at this stage".

For the government, Mr Meyer expressed great disappointment that Mr Mandela had rejected Mr De Klerk's call for an urgent meeting to address the political crisis.

"It would seem to bear out our concern that the ANC and its allies have decided to abandon the path of negotiations for the path of confrontation and conflict."

We have said several times that the ANC is not interested in negotiations except if it can get its way.

We have also said that mass action will continue even if, in the very unlikely event, negotiations are resumed.

For the truth of the matter is that the ANC believes that one giant push, by way of mass action — and especially a general strike — will collapse the government. It won't.

Relations meanwhile have deteriorated to the point where anger has replaced trust, and calumny by the ANC has destroyed the personal relations between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk.

06-07-92

As we head for a bitter showdown between the ANC and the government, Mr Mandela will be heading the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's attempt to force the government out of office.

Those who had hoped Mr Mandela would be a man of moderation, a statesman and a force for peace will have to revise their ideas.

Indeed, the foreign governments — the United States, Britain, Germany and the others — who want negotiations to be resumed had better understand that Mr Mandela and the ANC will not play ball while the mass action campaign is on the go and they believe they can oust the government by this method.

What with violence continuing — the discovery of five bodies in Vosloorus yesterday in mysterious circumstances is but the latest example of the terrible killings that have become endemic in this country — the parties at loggerheads, negotiations at a standstill and the ANC taking an intransigent line, the immediate future is bleak.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned at the weekend that if the ANC persisted in trying to grab power, it would thrust South Africa into a civil war situation.

Heaven forbid that this happens, since we would have the most ghastly civil war imaginable.

And it will not solve anything, since in the end there will have to be a negotiated settlement.

Why not have it now?

Only positive steps by F W

From the time of his election, F W de Klerk has done nothing but take positive steps towards a new South Africa. He has achieved so much in such a short space of time.

But the ANC, which is supposed to represent the "majority", continually blames De Klerk and his government for everything that happens.

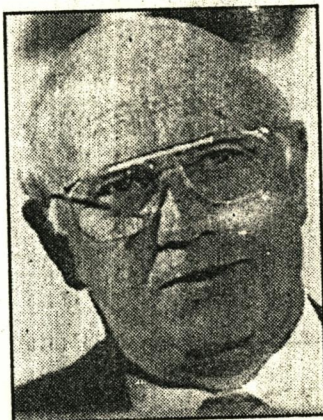
Why would he have set the wheels of reform in motion if he did not intend to let them turn full circle? Surely the ANC does not believe that the Government plans to revert to apartheid? Transition to democracy takes time and patience. The attempt by the ANC to jeopardise negotiations will, in the long run, be to the detriment of all.

I do not believe that the ANC has the interests of the "people" as its main concern. Encouraging mass action and appealing to the international community to isolate SA once again is a step backwards, only serving to incite further violence and conflicts.

The international community is willing to support SA through her process of transition. It seems, however, that the ANC will accept this support only if they are the dominating force in the country.

It is distressing too that the ANC could use a sad event such as the funeral for the Boipatong victims to arouse feelings of hatred and anger. What will this achieve?

Surely Boipatong showed us



De Klerk ... achieved much in a short time.

that, if anything, a climate of co-operation and tolerance is needed in this country? Apartheid is clearly a thing of the past. De Klerk has proven that his NP is different.

Instead of letting old wounds fester, the ANC should act responsibly, and allow the healing process started by F W de Klerk to continue.

T Cohen

Senderwood

□ □ □

In the flurry of allegations and media hype over Boipatong, we are forgetting that history has proved Marxists to be the most ruthless and amoral group of people the 20th Century has ever experienced. They are also masters at propaganda and making the media work in their favour.



Tutu ... used by ANC, says a reader.

The ANC has been proved to be masquerading in police and defence force uniforms, and while so dressed have perpetrated awful deeds.

In April, at Crossroads, an attack on Inkatha members left 30 dead with the toll still rising, yet we did not experience the same level of media sensation or international condemnation and there was no threat to Codesa.

In the past, the ANC has been renowned for perpetrating an outrage in order to focus negative attention, to give its allies like Archbishop Tutu (who was remarkably mute over the Inkatha massacre) a public platform, and to advance its position in its peculiar Orwellian style of "negotiation" which consists of endless demands and an un-

compromising stance.

Given that the ANC has been losing ground internationally, and that their Mafia negotiating tactics are not working so well, what they needed was an outrage. Boipatong served their purpose.

Lolly Mackenzie

Umhlali

□ □ □

Mike Siluma (Opinion, June 30) comments on our State President going to bed without fear of being butchered. The wildly inaccurate, politically expedient and histrionic threats levelled against him at the Boipatong funeral would not, however, be conducive to a peaceful night.

It is the ordinary people in the townships, squatter settlements and hostels who live in terror, not the State President and his Ministers, nor those in the upper hierarchy of the ANC and Communist Party who live in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

Rachel Reed

Parkmore,
Sandton

□ □ □

Boipatong shocked a nation. Just as shocking, however, were the killings of 34 black people the Monday and Tuesday prior to that black Thursday.

And no one shed a tear about them!

I de Villiers

Sinoville

Mother identifies mutilated toddler

The mother of the two-year-old child found on Thursday — and rescued after his penis, testicles and thumbs had been cut off — identified her baby at Johannesburg's Baragwanath Hospital yesterday.

The unnamed mother, who was upset and sedated, would not give much information to hospital authorities, but did identify the child as hers, Baragwanath public relations officer Annette Clear said.

A decision would be taken this week on whether to perform a sex-change operation, Mrs Clear said, adding this was one option being considered.

The child was left for dead in bush near Mofolo Park, Soweto, after attackers cut off his thumbs, penis and testicles and tried to gouge out his eyes. Surgeons battled for three hours on Thursday night to save him.

The mother and grandmother were at the baby's bedside, Mrs Clear said, adding that more information would be released once the mother was "not so distressed".

Paediatricians at Baragwanath described the injuries as bizarre and cruel.

If the sex-change operation went ahead, it would be a world first.

The gender change would involve modelling what remained of the child's pelvic area into a rudimentary vagina and giving him female hormone injections.

Doctors hope the child would ultimately develop breasts and outwardly resemble a female.

— Sapa.

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Somali bloodbath test case for OAU

By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

DAKAR (Senegal) — The Organisation of African Unity summit has asked its secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim to negotiate a settlement in the civil war in Somalia where thousands have already died and millions are facing starvation.

Somalia will be a proving ground for the OAU's new-found enthusiasm to solve disputes on the continent. It is even talking about a pan-African peace-keeping force that will swiftly extinguish conflict.

But the OAU's mediating role in Somalia has got off to a slippery start. Somalia has been without a government since dictator Siad Barre was driven out more than two years ago by forces of the United Somali Congress (USC).

The USC split in two immediately after driving out Mr

Barre, and the two factions turned their guns on each other.

Mogadishu, the capital, had been razed and not a single building had been left standing.

One faction of the USC, aided by senior civil servants, controls a small section of what is left of the city, and its leader Ali Mahdi declared himself president.

But the greater part of the city is controlled by his arch-rival, General Mohamed Farrar Aidid.

The entire northern part of the country is in the hands of the Somali National Movement (SNM). The SNM has seceded and declared northern Somalia the independent Republic of Somaliland. But no country has so far recognised it. The rest of the country is contested by up to 10 different factions.

The OAU decided to give the Somali seat at the summit to Mr Mahdi's group, much to the fury of the other factions, who were in Dakar to argue their case.

Dr Salim said that giving the seat to Mr Mahdi did not mean recognition by the OAU, but was simply a procedural matter. But even Mr Mahdi's supporters concede he only controls part of Mogadishu.

"We had hoped the OAU would play a constructive role in the peace process in Somalia," said Mohamed Awale, a spokesman for General Aidid. However, its decision to "to sit the Ali Mahdi gang at the summit has seriously compromised its influence".

● It is estimated that between 10 000 and 12 000 people have died in the civil war. Many Somalis are in refugee camps in Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan.

More than 4 million face starvation because the war has prevented aid supplies from coming into the country.

A boat carrying Somali refugees was finally allowed to anchor in Yemen last week after floating around for days. When it anchored, 150 children were found to have died from starvation.

Pundits forward sinister reasons for Codesa's collapse, writes Hugh Robertson

ANC's mixed messages

LIKE aficionados of the daily crossword puzzle, Africanists in Washington's thinktanks, private foundations and multinational companies sit down each day and try to make sense of the maddeningly elusive clues from the ANC that may, or may not, point to its current thinking.

The right answers, or what seem like the right answers, are energetically pursued and there are frequent exchanges of information, views and gossip. But rarely, if ever, does the private sector come up with a completed puzzle and it is widely believed the same frustration afflicts those in the corridors of power.

Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that the ANC is run by a committee, with sometimes disparate forces seeking to shape its policies. Or it may be that the organisation's doings and sayings are analysed to the point of absurdity.

Either way, the ANC remains an enigma in the United States. While Americans readily accept its accusations of complicity by present or past members of the security forces in the Boipatong atrocity, they are stumped by the ANC's subsequent actions. But stumped though they may be, they have pencilled in some answers on the crossword grid — and some of them are answers that, one hopes, the ANC will be quick to deny.

The State Department, for instance, implicitly interpreted the ANC's withdrawal from talks with the Government, and from Codesa, as a victory for those murky forces in South Africa that are determined to wreck the negotiating process.

It is argued that there can be no mystery about the objective of those who oppose Codesa. Such groups have said time and again they will resist moves towards full democracy with all the force they can muster. Thus, the reasoning goes on, irrespective of whether or not past or present security force members were involved in Boipatong, the intention of the massacre probably was to wreck

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the negotiating process.

This reasoning is given momentum by the timing of the Boipatong killings — at the critical point where the ANC was already threatening to change from negotiations to mass action because of its deadlock with the Government on the issue of minority protection in a new constitution. The massacre, thus, was seen as a deliberate outrage aimed at pushing the ANC over the brink.

But to accept this rationale, some cognoscenti point out, one must first conclude that the ANC is astonishingly naive and easily manipulated. Why else would they allow themselves to be induced to do precisely what the opponents of Codesa and of a new South Africa would want them to?

It is at this point that some thinktank analysts differ from the conclusion that the ANC merely did what the powers of evil manipulated them into doing. They begin, instead, with the assumption that the ANC is not easily pushed around and that its history has shown it to have as much

capacity for ruthlessness as any other political organisation.

Armed with the knowledge that the ANC decided well before Boipatong to play its only trump card — its ability to mount mass action — a different and more sinister scenario is advanced.

It starts with the widely held belief in the US that mass action probably would be doomed to fail after an initial, short burst of enthusiasm. Having failed to achieve its objective — changing the Government's mind on minority protection — the ANC would be humiliated and discredited and its most powerful weapon would be shown up as a paper tiger.

Furthermore, as some Washington analysts have argued, it would be difficult to defend mass action merely as a device with which to influence an opponent in negotiations. That smacks more than faintly of mob rule, of a willingness to sacrifice talks for a more muscular and bullying approach to the problems of the country.

So, the argument proceeds, the decision to seize upon Boipatong

as the reason for breaking off negotiations with the Government, rather than the deadlock over minority protection, was an astute decision aimed at sanctifying mass action on the one hand, and utilising the emotional build-up of the moment to give it momentum.

Was the ANC that cynical? And is there not a perfectly reasonable explanation for its Codesa decision — that it has in its ranks impatient young people, many badly educated and with an incomplete grasp of the complexities of negotiations, who can see no further than the horror and bloodshed of the moment? Or, perhaps, that there was indeed reason for anger at President de Klerk's inept handling of the security situation?

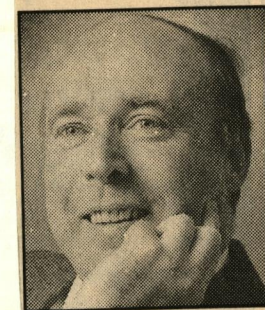
Americans have no illusions about the malevolent forces at work in South Africa, and they are more than amenable to the ANC's allegations of a conspiracy. Like many South Africans, they are appalled by the inability of the police to end the violence.

But if the ANC sends out mixed signals — that it wants mass ac

tion and an end to talks because of the deadlock in Codesa but then, instead, because of Boipatong, that it wants to end negotiations but remains committed to the negotiating process, that it can exchange letters and insults with the Government but needs the United Nations to get negotiations back on track — it cannot blame Americans for being confused.

And its current rhetoric is not enough to refute the theorists who suggest that what is happening might all be part of a political exercise aimed not at expressing outrage so much as weakening Mr de Klerk's position in Codesa and eroding Government insistence on minority protection.

If the police themselves bring the perpetrators of Boipatong to justice and Mr de Klerk accepts the presence of foreign fact-finders and observers, the ANC would be hard-pressed to convince Americans that there is good reason for not negotiating. As it is, there is little sympathy here for mass action when reasonable alternatives are on hand. □



SOUTH AFRICA

The massacre of blacks by blacks with the suspected backing of white police has led to a breakdown of talks between the government and the African National Congress. After all the hope, South Africans must look anew at the bitter fruits of their separate worlds.

DAYS OF DEATH AND DEADLOCK

By SCOTT MACLEOD JOHANNESBURG

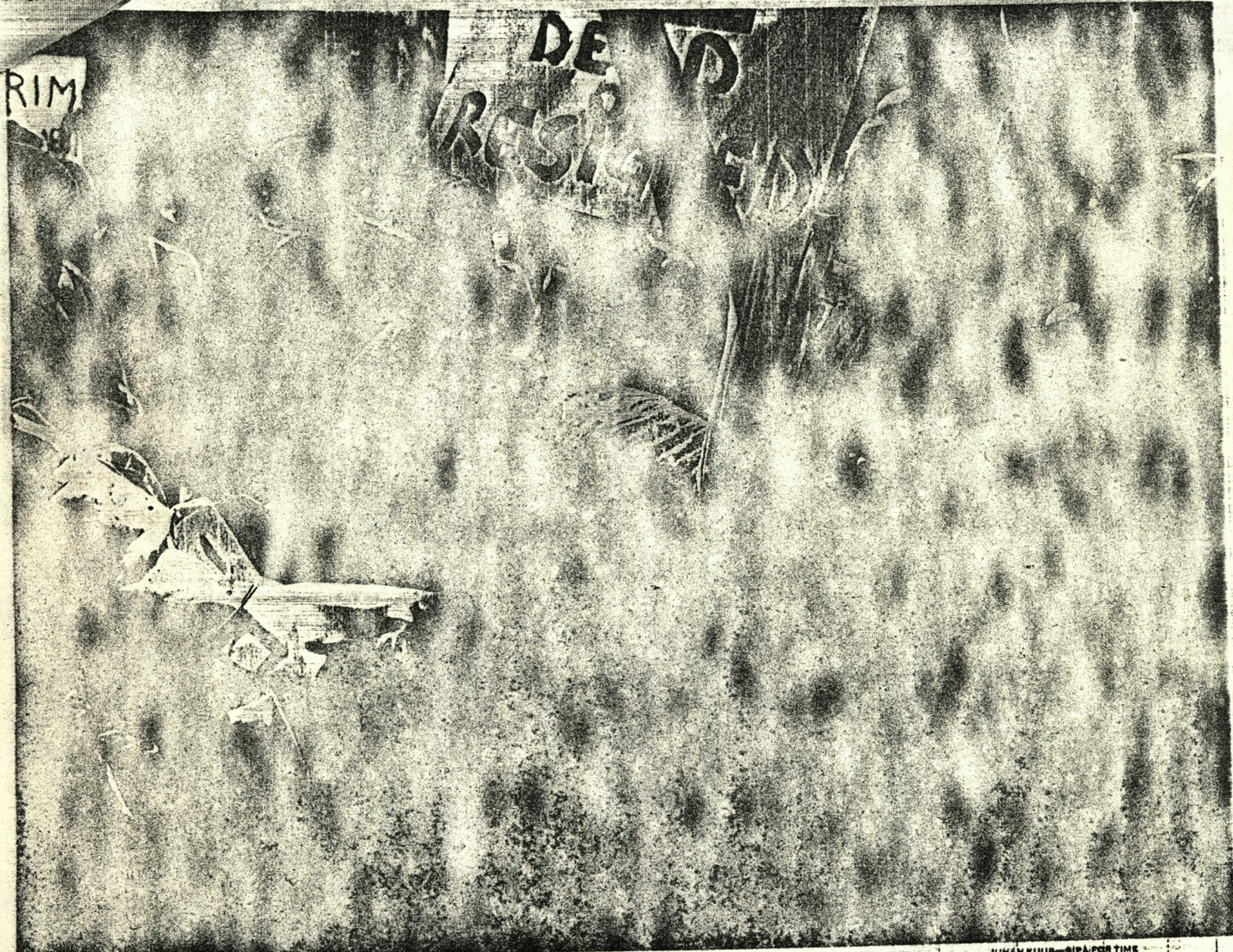
SOMETHING OMINOUS WAS FORGOTTEN over the past two years as President F.W. de Klerk went about burying apartheid and accepting praise from grateful citizens and foreign statesmen: even more than in the past, South Africa's 5 million whites and 28.5 million blacks were living in separate worlds. Whites, of course, continued to enjoy the comfort and security of leafy suburbs. At least two-thirds of them were prepared to share governance with blacks—but not to surrender all their power or any of their wealth. Life in the matchbox townships, meanwhile, became a daily nightmare unimagined by whites. Not only were jobs a rarity because of the recession, but blacks were dying in a spasm of political violence that was deadlier—at least 8,000 killed since 1989—than any before De Klerk took office. Shut out of

Zulus perform a war dance in Bolpatong, where the attack occurred



LOUISE GURB—J. R. PICTURES FOR TIME





the country's good life, black South Africans are all the more impatient to acquire the power whites exercised to their own advantage for so long.

When negotiations between De Klerk's government and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress collapsed last week, it was attributable as much to a collision between these disparate worlds as it was to the failure of the negotiators or the latest massacre of blacks. That is one reason the breakdown has caused so much anguish among people of all races. After more than two years of progress, they were suddenly asking themselves whether their remarkable attempt at reconciliation might actually fail, and with disastrous consequences.

The immediate cause of the breakdown was the A.N.C.'s indignation over the particularly pitiless slaughter of 42 people in Boipatong, near Johannesburg. Discontent has grown intense in A.N.C. ranks over the ceaseless violence. When Mandela visited Boipatong last week, he and his entourage were taunted by a song that included

the lyrics, "While they kill our people, you behave like lambs."

But there are more fundamental reasons for the decision to withdraw from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, or CODESA. The A.N.C. is deeply frustrated by both the one-sided power De Klerk has wielded in the negotiations and their failure to yield tangible change.

To the A.N.C., the two problems go hand in hand. Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa blamed De Klerk for the massacre, accusing the government of pursuing a strategy that "embraces negotiations together with systematic covert actions, including murder." Survivors of the atrocity accused Zulu migrant workers staying at a local hostel and loyal to the Inkatha Freedom Party of carrying out the killings—but the survivors claim government security forces also took part in the attack.

Privately, A.N.C. leaders say they do not believe De Klerk is orchestrating a Machiavellian plot. They understand that part of the problem is a culture of intolerance and factional hostility from which their own

Students show support for the A.N.C. and decision to call off negotiations

members are hardly immune. They do angrily blame the President, however, for cynically doing little to stop the bloodshed in the hope that it will exacerbate divisions in the massive black electorate and hinder the A.N.C.'s ability to build a strong political organization in the townships.

The suspicions are not altogether far-fetched. De Klerk has been criticized repeatedly by human-rights groups for not reining in his security forces. Despite previous success in crushing illegal A.N.C. military activities, the government has notably failed to punish the perpetrators of township massacres. Says Helen Suzman, a white liberal and former Member of Parliament: "They have got to get cracking on the security forces and weed out those elements known to be against reform."

De Klerk, moreover, has expressed ambivalence when Zulu war parties known as impis have paraded provocatively through township streets carrying

spears and other so-called cultural weapons. Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town believes the government is guilty of "gross negligence" for having all but ignored repeated recommendations that could have prevented the Boipatong massacre, such as maintaining police surveillance of migrant-worker hostels.

While it has made similar threats before, the A.N.C. decided to break off negotiations this time because the Boipatong massacre came amid indications that De Klerk was beginning to drag his feet on ceding full-fledged democracy. He started to take a harder line following the March referendum in which white voters overwhelmingly endorsed his reform program. In May, Round Two of CODESA ended in failure largely because De Klerk's negotiators insisted on powerful checks and balances amounting to an effective white veto in a future political system.

ALL MAY NOT BE LOST, HOWEVER. At a meeting last week of the A.N.C.'s executive committee, officials recommitted the organization to negotiations provided that De Klerk takes several practical steps to curb the violence: terminating covert operations, closing hostels, banning the carrying of cultural weapons. The committee also proposed that Mandela quickly meet with De Klerk to discuss the crisis, which suggests the A.N.C. is prepared to bargain.

The Boipatong furor seems to have shaken De Klerk. His security forces moved with uncharacteristic speed in tracking down the suspected killers. Police Commissioner Johannes van der Merwe said the police investigation showed that "certain residents" of a Zulu migrant-workers' hostel were involved, but denied that government forces participated. De Klerk also agreed to allow international jurists to join a continuing independent inquiry into the violence. Yet the A.N.C. will expect a more permanent change of attitude on the part of the government if reform is to have any hope.

Many South Africans soothed their fears by repeating the comforting aphorism that "there is no alternative to negotiations." The talks will probably resume once the tensions caused by Boipatong cool. But a successful conclusion to the talks may depend as much on whether blacks and whites can break out of their separate worlds. In a sermon after the massacre, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, said, "I hope somewhere, somehow, it will sink into the consciousness of most of our white fellow South Africans that we are human beings who cry when our children die." As long as blacks are allowed, even encouraged, to keep killing each other, neither world in South Africa has a bright future. ■



BUTHELEZI: "I have never orchestrated violence"

Q. Is South Africa descending into chaos?

A. The African National Congress has repeatedly said they were committed to negotiations. If they allow chaos, then many of us will doubt that they were. They had already decided [to quit talks with the government] before the Boipatong massacre because they could not have their own way.

Q. How would you describe your relations with the leaders of the A.N.C.?

A. Very torturous. I am very fond of Mandela, even now. I have always loved him. But there is a section within the A.N.C. that does not want their leader to have anything to do with me.

Q. Although Inkatha attends the talks, you personally boycott them. Why?

A. My party is represented. But the Zulu people have been excluded. We have already told President de Klerk that if certain decisions are reached without the Zulu people, then morally we are not obliged to comply with those things.

Q. The A.N.C. and survivors in Boipatong say the killings were carried out by Zulus who support Inkatha.

A. How do they know? Is every Zulu in that hostel a member of Inkatha? Your question makes me despair. We are interested that the people who were responsible be punished. I have never orchestrated violence, or taken one decision for anyone to be killed even on one occasion. The fact that members of Inkatha have been sucked into the violence is something that I regret.

Q. Why has the violence escalated?

A. We, as black people, have not developed a culture of tolerance and democracy. Secondly, there was already an ongoing people's war. The A.N.C. urged young people to kill all those they considered traitors.

Q. Are Inkatha members inciting violence outside your control?

A. There is counterviolence, there is revenge violence, there is feud violence. They even commit pre-emptive violence. When you get violence at the levels at which it is now, you cannot blame the leaders. It is a civil war.

Q. Are you optimistic?

A. All along I have believed that the people of South Africa will sit down and work out their destiny jointly. I believe that now. I am still optimistic.

—By Scott MacLeod/Ulundi

Boy could be given sex change after organs were cut off in ritual

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Doctors are contemplating a sex-change operation for a 2-year-old boy whose sexual organs were severed in an apparent witchcraft ritual.

"It's one of the possibilities," said Annette Clear, spokeswoman for a Soweto hospital. "But no decision has been made."

The child was found Thursday suffering from severe blood loss. His thumbs were cut off and there had been an attempt to gouge out his eyes, in addition to the damage to his sexual organs.

"It was shocking, the worst case of cruelty I have ever seen," Dr. Muhammed Rasheed said. He said the boy would have a better life if he received a sex-change operation and began taking female hormones.

Some South African witch doctors believe body parts of children are necessary for potions designed to ward off evil spirits.

*This was indeed a
terrible thing, it does
not reflect well on
the society -*