

AP1992-9-6-12

Deadly minefields delay Angola's peace process

By Helen Grange

LUANDA — Hundreds of thousands of land mines in Angola, which continue to kill and maim civilians, are threatening to delay the country's peace process.

Angola's MPLA government, in a joint venture with former enemy Unita and the SA Defence Force, is fighting the clock to lift the mines before the country's general election in September.

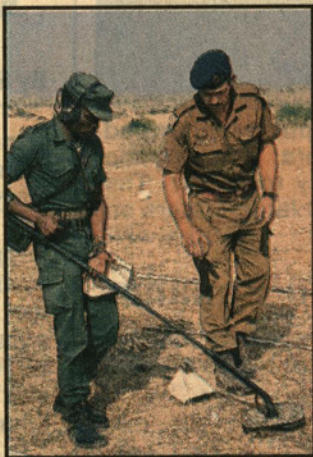
Some 50 000 anti-personnel and anti-tank mines have already been lifted at great risk by a group of soldiers under the technical guidance of an SADF engineering unit since the beginning of the peace talks.

Minefields extending over distances of as much as 50 km, containing mines laid over a 20-year period, have still to be lifted.

Eight soldiers have been killed and 25 have been injured in the mine lifting operations.

Scores of civilians, accidentally walking in minefields, are killed or maimed.

Angola has the highest per capita number of amputees in the world as a result of the prolonged bush war be-



Slowly . . . Angolan and SA soldiers use a mine detector together.

tween the SA-supported Unita rebel movement and the MPLA government's military wing Fapla.

Now, in an ironic twist, all three former enemies are co-operating in attempts to detect and defuse the numerous minefields they themselves laid.

Mines were also laid over the years by the ANC near the eastern borders of Angola and the Cuban soldiers supporting the MPLA gov-

ernment before their peacetime withdrawal from Angola from 1989.

In a visit to Angola's poverty-stricken capital Luanda yesterday, hosted by the SADF, the media was shown how a group of engineering students drawn from both Unita and MPLA prodded the ground with sticks for anti-personnel mines in a dense minefield.

Electronic detectors are used to locate anti-tank mines, which contain 7 kg of explosives.

SADF spokesmen said that while the SADF had kept maps of their minefields in Angola, there were no records kept of many of the other minefields laid.

Most of the mines were in the Cuito-Cuanavale area, the scene of a major battle between Fapla and the SADF in 1987.

Angolan Inspector-General of Engineering Major-General Helder Cruz said there was no guarantee that all the mines would be found in time for the election.

There were hundreds of thousands more of them to be found and detonated under controlled conditions, he said.

THE STAR

JUNE 12, 1992

12/6/92

Mandela not able to make up mind

I WOULD love to know what overseas politicians perceive in Mr Mandela's fulminations against the government and the security forces.

The man does not seem to be able to make up his mind on a course of action to stop township violence.

On overseas visits, he rants and raves about genocide and states that by use of the security forces, township violence could be stopped in a twinkling of an eye.

Immediately security forces are utilised in hot spots such as Phokeng Park

and Alexandra, he does a complete somersault and reacts about suppression of legitimate grievances.

It's perfectly obvious that Mandela's perception of control means the suppression of anyone not agreeing with ANC policy, while permitting ANC supporters to murder and intimidate without let or hindrance.

Mayhap Mandela is an avid Lewis Carol reader because his brand of political acumen can only lead to an Alice in Wonderland South Africa.

There is no prize for

guessing who would be the Mad Hatter in the new South Africa, while we all know who the Queen of Hearts is.

CYRIL F OGLE

Bryanston

Three 'Forces'

OF course there is a Third Force contributing to the violence in the townships.

First Force: The government.

Second Force: Inkatha.

Third Force: The ANC.

H COHEN

Johannesburg

The Citizen 12/6/92

Buthelezi cancels visit to Miami

MIAMI — KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has cancelled a visit to Miami, saying his presence is needed in KwaZulu to counter rival political factions.

In a short letter to the Miami Herald, he said a "mass mobilisation" planned by the ANC for Tuesday had forced his immediate return to South Africa.

Soweto Day is observed each year on June 16 by thousands of Black South Africans to commemorate the 1976 Soweto schools rebellion.

But the event was "nothing new" and would not be marked by any unusual "mass mobilisation", said Mr Mike Fleshman, of The Africa Fund in New York.

Chief Buthelezi's Miami visit was to have been part of a national fund-raising tour to benefit South African education. — Sapa

Min shocked at 'AWB' attack on teachers

Citizen Reporter

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The group had returned from a study tour

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A yellow Ford Cordina with an AWB flag draped around the bonnet, drove past and around the block, and stopped in front of them.

Four young men, dressed in Khaki uniforms with AWB insignia and armed with batons and shotguns, got out the car and surrounded the group of teachers.

The driver of the car, described as a man in his fifties, spoke to them and asked if they could speak Afrikaans.

Expecting trouble, the teachers started running away, followed by the

four men who got out of the car.

When one of the teachers, Mrs Poppy Makhuri, jumped into a taxi which was parked on the corner of Ameshoff and Simmonds streets, one of the attackers smashed the vehicle's side window with a baton.

Mrs Makhuri sustained eye injuries when she was hit in the face by fragments of glass. She was admitted to the Lady Dudley Nursing Home in Hillbrow.

The attackers fled after the incident, and no other injuries were reported.

Police have opened dockets for malicious damage to property, assault and crimen injuria.

No arrests have yet been made.

In a statement issued in Cape Town yesterday, Mr De Beer said it was a "despicable deed" that came at a time when people had a desire to promote better human relations.

"I despise any form of violence, but cowardly attacks on defenceless women is utterly contemptible, and I have requested the Minister of Law and Order to do everything in his power to ensure that the offenders are brought to book," Mr De Beer said.

He expressed regret and sympathy with all those who were involved in the attack.

The Citizen 12/6/92

Friday 12 June 1992

'PAC won't join ANC's mass action'

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will not join the ANC's planned mass action campaign set to begin on June 16.

"The PAC will not be party to mass action to breathe life into the discredited Codesa," the PAC's National Working Committee said in a statement at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The PAC said Codesa was undemocratic and "nothing more than a mechanism to build a Berlin Wall around the White privilege and the erection of barbed wire around the aspirations of the oppressed".

The ANC threatened to go ahead with plans for mass action from Tuesday if there is no progress on breaking the deadlock at Codesa.

"We are not going to get involved in the ANC's mass action programme," PAC national

executive committee member Mr Carter Seleka said.

As far as the PAC was concerned, the ANC's mass action plans would only weaken South Africa's "liberation forces".

PAC secretary for political affairs and NEC member Mr Jaki Seroke added: "What we are saying to the ANC is get out of Codesa and we will support you in mass action."

The PAC had its own programme of "principled" mass action and the ANC was welcome to join it.

"The representatives of the oppressed must not collaborate in their own oppression and all now desist from further participation in Codesa," the PAC urged.

Codesa was largely made up of participant organisations which were tribal, ethnic and racist in orientation.

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"The De Klerk regime wields absolute authority and it seeks to conduct itself in conflict resolution with impunity, without a neutral chairperson at a neutral venue."

"It deliberately renders the power of an elected constituent assembly...useless. It cannot deliver liberation to the oppressed African majority."

The PAC charged that the government had a "deadly" double agenda.

"To talk to the leaders by day and kill the African people by night, is to set up a vicious circle of violence to serve as a wedge to divide and rule the oppressed, and it has exploited its reformist image to reverse all forms of international isolation." — Sipa.

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ANC Youth plans June 16 action

THE ANC Youth League yesterday outlined an "unprecedented" campaign of mass action to be launched on June 16 to break the logjam at Codesa, saying a people's referendum would be held on that day.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said more than 70 rallies — expected to involve a million people — would be held on June 16, which was described as a "launching pad for a further programme of action".

On June 16, the "will of

our people will be tested in a people's referendum in all the mass gatherings".

The question posed would be: "Do you agree that a democratically elected Constitution Making Body should be undermined by:

- An undemocratically constituted Senate of losers;
- Predetermined regional powers, functions and borders, which are designed to perpetuate White privilege, racism and tribalism;
- A 75 percent majority which will give the minority veto powers.

"We expect to see a resounding rejection of De Klerk's proposals, not only by those who will be participating in the people's referendum, but by millions who shall honour the day by staying at home and not go to work," he said.

Mr Mokaba said the league, as part of the campaign of the tripartite ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, would begin to mo-

bilise submissions on skeletal legislation, known as the "Transition to Democracy Act".

The Act would replace the notion of an interim constitution, which the government wanted to impose on the country as a permanent constitution, he said.

ANC National Executive Committee member Marion Sparg said the organisation's constitutional committee was busy drafting such an act as a campaigning document in its programme of action.

It will be submitted to Codesa, the international community and the SA population for approval.

Asked what would be required to stop the mass action, Ms Sparg said a serious commitment by the government to abandon the deadlock at Codesa was the way forward.

Ms Sparg added that the ANC did not believe the protests would endanger negotiations at Codesa. — Sapa

The Citizen 12/6/92

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The arrests were made during ongoing crime-prevention actions in the townships, which have been plagued by violence for months.

An AK-47, two 7.65 mm pistols, a 9 mm pistol and a .32 pistol were confiscated.

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Capt Opperman said police suspected other firearms and ammunition might be buried in the vicinity and searches would continue.

He dismissed claims by residents that police had "wilfully and maliciously" broken down squatter shacks in Phola Park.

Referring to yesterday morning's find, Capt Opperman said it was normal procedure to thoroughly search the area of the find, as well as the shacks immediately adjacent to where the arms had been found.

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found hidden behind, or between, the panels of outer walls of shacks. It is therefore sometimes necessary to remove these panels in order to facilitate a thorough search.

"To say that policemen are demolishing shacks at random in order to harass residents is wrong and must be dismissed as propaganda aimed at discrediting the police."

No arrests have been made in connection with yesterday's find.

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The body, which had no visible injuries, was discovered by members of the SADF's 32 Battalion at about 10.30 am.

It is suspected that Mr Mphase was a passenger on a train and was attacked and thrown off as it passed Angus Station.

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Branding it as "totally authoritarian", the ANC said the Bill grossly violated fundamental civil rights and had to be rejected outright.

"At this time of rampant corruption and a total disregard for ministerial accountability, a Bill such as this can only serve to deepen the mistrust and crisis of confidence in an already totally discredited security force," the ANC said.

"This proposed law is once again unilaterally presented, disregarding the very negotiations at Codesa, the government and NP claims to be committed to.

"It seeks to place on the statute books the type of legislation the ANC has fought so hard to have removed.

"Once more the government is player and referee. A member of the NIS persuades an attorney-general that it is necessary to tap ANC phones because a protest meeting might lead to violence."

The Human Rights Commission said the Bill ran totally counter-current to any Bill of Rights, which would be acceptable within the democratic international community.

It would not be acceptable in terms of the Bill of Rights proposed for a new South Africa and as such, was an exercise in futility.

The Star 11/6/92

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Business Day Reporter

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PAC, Azapo reject ANC mass action

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC's mass action campaign kicks off on June 16 without the support of the PAC or Azapo.

The PAC, which joined the ANC in a patriotic front last year and decided on joint mass action to secure a constituent assembly, said yesterday it would not take part in campaigns promoting Codesa.

Sapa reports that Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said his organisation would not take part in actions designed to put Codesa negotiations back on track.

"We are always committed to any type of constructive mass action which is geared to bringing the regime to its knees. We will not participate in mass action designed simply to present protests and appeals," Moodley said.

In Johannesburg the PAC's national working committee also said it would not be party to the actions.

The ANC Youth League yesterday announced June 16 as the start of a mass action campaign aimed at getting government to agree to an interim government and a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

ANCYL president Peter Mokaba said more than 70 rallies would be held around the country. A "people's referendum" would be held to test the scale of rejection of government's proposal of a senate and a 75% majority in a constitution-making

□ To Page 2

Mass action

body with regard to regionalism.

PAC information director Waters Toboff said the PAC would leave the choice of whether to take part in mass action to individuals.

"People will take their own decisions. We have never campaigned against the programmes of other people," he said. He warned the ANC not to interfere with the right of PAC supporters to take their own

decisions on mass action.

Toboff said the PAC would be launching its own programme and would continue with the armed struggle until government had handed over political power.

PAC sources admitted that the split on mass action would weaken the patriotic front which has been in tatters since the PAC decided not to take part in Codesa.

□ From Page 1

Risks of mass action

THE DAILY NEWS 12-06-92

DR DENIS WORRALL, MP for Berea and former head of the Democratic Party, addresses a high-powered business banquet in London.

SOUTH AFRICA is a fast-changing situation, and perceptions of its stability and economic prospects will vary from time to time. And right now, whatever the longer term view may be (and I am positive) the short-term view is a sombre one.

The ANC's decision 10 days ago at its national policy conference to engage in a campaign of mass action, must, as the leadership of that organisation knows, postpone the implementation of interim government and not hasten it. The campaign also has little to do with constitutional negotiations and everything to do with grassroots attitudes.

The ANC is responding to a restiveness within the ANC membership around the following issues:

Unhappiness

- Unhappiness with general socio-economic circumstances (joblessness, cost of living, homelessness, etc) and the fading prospect of rapid improvement.

- Political violence and its impact on the lives of ordinary people in the townships, and, more specifically, the Government's perceived inability to deal with the issue.

- Widespread anger at the NP

Government. Aside from the fact that this is a minority Government which is viewed as having no moral right to rule, it is increasingly being perceived as incompetent and corrupt. The widespread view is that it is also clinging to power for dear life.

- General unhappiness at what many ANC supporters see as a lack of progress towards an interim government and the new constitution at Codesa. This applies especially within the trade union movement, which is not involved in Codesa.

With the fact of this mood, the ANC got cold feet about some of the positions its delegation had committed the movement to at Codesa. For example, its compromise agreement to a 70 percent majority for the approval of constitutional proposals, as opposed to the two-thirds majority which it had insisted on; and its acceptance of the principle that regions will have effective powers which are enshrined in the constitution — in other words federalism — runs counter to the ANC's official position that regional powers should be devolved from the centre — in other words, a unitary state.

The consequences of a cam-

paign of mass action on the lines envisaged by the ANC and its allies, aside from slowing down the constitutional negotiation process, are obviously likely to increase the possibility of violence and bloodshed. This is likely in Natal and on the Witwatersrand, where the Inkatha Freedom Party is bound to tell its supporters to ignore calls for mass action.

The campaign is also likely to contribute to the political polarisation of South Africa. With this campaign, the ANC risks forfeiting what little white support it has, and it is likely also to cost it support within the coloured and Indian communities. From a political point of view, therefore, the campaign is likely to benefit the National Party.

Slowing down

Aside from slowing down the constitutional negotiation process, the envisaged campaign of mass action is bound to make the resolution of outstanding issues much more difficult. The ANC's turnabout on the powers and functions of the regions, will confirm deeply held suspicions within Inkatha. The IFP therefore will be even less trusting of the ANC in the

future, and will press for even larger majorities than were agreed to in Codesa's Working Group 2.

Regarding the timetable and the installation of interim government prior to Codesa II an informed view was that the interim government would be in place by late September/October. That's not going to happen — unless something quite unforeseen occurs.

Somebody has written that the South African conflict will lend itself to bargaining and compromise when both sides are approximately equal in power, and the cost of maintaining minority rule exceeds the benefits. On this view, real negotiation will only take place when there is a sense on both sides of a stalemate. That is where when the campaign of mass action has run its course, the ANC is going to find itself. In the final analysis, it has to deal with the National Party and, increasingly, with a strong regionally-based IFP.

Looking now at the longer view, any serious business evaluation must look beyond what is presently happening to what is substantial and enduring.

Looked at this way, South Africa as a business proposition

must be unique due to a combination of four circumstances, namely wealth, infrastructure, underdevelopment and geographic location. Firstly, South Africa is an inherently wealthy country — especially from the industrialised nations point of view — due to its enormous natural resources. Secondly, the country has a commercial infrastructure of telecommunications, transport, of financial services and managerial skills which is comparable to Western Europe.

Most important

But thirdly, and probably most important from a business perspective, South Africa is largely underdeveloped in many business sectors due to having been shut off, as it were, from the world business community for so long. There is consequently a need for foreign expertise, know-how and skills.

Finally, South Africa is the gateway to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, and has a GDP three times greater than Nigeria (its nearest rival) and 22 times that of Zimbabwe.

Granting all this, the responses may be: What about future Government policy? — especially the policy of an ANC

influenced government?

The internal dynamic of economic practise, policy and debate is toward a mixed economy of the social market kind, in which middle-class values are recognised and in which the racial imbalances of the past are corrected through growth and fiscal processes, rather than nationalisation.

This is evident in the ANC's statement of economic policy adoption by a national policy conference 10 days ago. As *Business Day* ("ANC realism": June 2) editorially observed: "It is difficult to take serious exception to the economic policies proposed at the weekend and that in itself is a measure of how far the ANC's leadership has shifted from its earlier unflinching support for socialism."

In any event, if Mr Derek Keys is correct, future governments are not really going to be able to deviate greatly from certain inherent economic fundamentals — or imperatives as he calls them:

- The imperative of economic growth;
- The imperative of job creation;
- The imperative of stimulating exports; and
- The imperative of regional economic blocs — or "the benign consequences of the Republic's position in the region."

Mass action test

SOWETAN 12-06-92

More reports
on pages
2 and 6

ANC-organised June 16 rallies would be used to gauge support for the organisation's programme of mass action, ANC Youth league president Mr Peter Mokaba said in Johannesburg yesterday.

People would be asked: "Do you agree that democratically elected constituent Assembly should be undermined by: democratically elected senate of

ined regional powers, func-

tions and borders which are designed to perpetuate white privilege, racism and tribalism; ● A 75 percent majority which will give the minority veto powers".

But, PAC and Azapo yesterday rejected mass action on Codesa at two Press conferences. PAC national executive member Mr Carter Seleka said: "We are not prepared to breathe life into a discredited Codesa".

Azapo general secretary Mr Don Nkadimeng said his organisation supported mass action, but would not support the ANC's mass action as it was aimed at reviving Codesa.

"Azapo's stance on Codesa is known," he said.

THE STAR 12-06-92

Nuts and bolts in place, now let's make peace

IF ATHEISTS can't find original sin in the Bible, they'll find it in the National Peace Accord. The nature of it is the lack of sufficient political will among the parties from the time they signed it in September.

It is this, more than anything else, which explains a frustration one senses behind the diplomatic phrases of Antonie Gildenhuys when he talks about the accord.

If the will were found, he says, there would then be a real chance of the two big breakthroughs the accord needs: police-community relations, and ending physical strongholds for political organisations.

In the meantime, says Dr Gildenhuys, the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, the accord is going "functionally well", which means the nuts and bolts are being fitted, committees are being put together and they are working, some better than others.

The job of the secretariat begins with these committees, called regional dispute resolution committees (RDRCs) and local dispute resolution committees (LDRCs).

To confuse you further, Dr Gildenhuys says these are misnomers — they should have been called "peace promotion committees". It is better to stick with DRCs until you hear more on this from him.

Reviewing the accord's progress, he says there were some difficulties getting the necessary infrastructure in the beginning, but the secretariat managed to get Government approval, and simple needs such as fax machines and telephones are now being provided by the Department of Justice.

Read between the lines and you will find the bureaucrats were dragging their feet.

The first, urgent, necessity of the secretariat is to get peace-makers into flashpoints, he says. People with sufficient time to give, and mediation expertise, are vital, which is why the secretariat uses half a dozen professional mediators in the Wits-Vaal area alone. Some are hired, some seconded.

The secretariat has no budget, but Dr Gildenhuys explains that the Government plans to make it a statutory body and it will then have a budget, and will work according to civil-service regulations.

One can easily imagine a mediator being carpeted for rushing out to a trouble-spot without first filling in three copies of form TS67859447, but the regulations are probably the only way to go.

It is when Dr Gildenhuys talks about the success of the accord that his frustration eases, for these are real and tangible.

Violence from mass action, protest marches, rallies and so on has almost been eliminated. One suspects this is because the occasions are high-profile, with plenty of media cameras around, and it would be difficult to launch an attack unseen.

But is still a success, and the secretariat can claim it, because it is central to the planning and monitoring of such events.

The RDRCs have been patiently trying to establish a culture of tolerance and co-operation, and it is a bit like marriage counselling for devout Catholics — divorce is out of the question.

Some of this has filtered down to the local structures, some have done it on their own. In Alexandra, where an LDRC has not even been established yet, the ceaseless work of Liz Carmichael's Interim Crisis Committee (under the secretariat) has produced a reasonably good relationship with the security forces, and it monitors crime-sweeps.

Equally important, it is accepted by the ANC and Inkatha in Alex.

The secretariat provides mediator training down to grassroots level, which is a large part of the work of the DRCs, and that is going well.

Police are now taking part in the secretariat's mediation training, which delights Dr Gildenhuys, and the SAP leadership agrees with his premise that "onbekend is onbeminde", which translates as "you can't get close to the community if you don't get to know it".

Damage-and-needs assessments for communities, and socio-economic reconstruction, are areas where the accord has not succeeded, and although Dr Gildenhuys did not say it, he seems to feel that big business has plainly not done enough.

"In areas where all municipal authority has broken down, we need a return of basic services, an interim authority, and money," he says starkly.

Dr Gildenhuys ended full-circle, pointing out it will take time to establish the voluntary political will to end violence.

In the meantime this sophisticated upmarket lawyer will continue to get his hands dirty in an earthy quest for peace. It's a tall order ... but then he's well over six feet tall. □

THE STAR 22-00-02



Militant message . . angry youths wave an anti-Government placard during Nelson Mandela's address at Evaton, near Vanderbijlpark, yesterday.

Picture: George Mashini

MK cadre 'too valuable to jail'

A JUDGE has postponed passing sentence on an Umkhonto we Sizwe member convicted of possessing an arms cache because jailing him would "remove from society a valuable member of the community".

David Dlali (32) a Food and Allied Workers' Union employee and part-time law student at the University of the Western Cape, pleaded guilty to illegally possessing a Beretta pistol, a Makarov pistol, an AK-47 machine rifle, four handgrenades, two limpet mines, 30 AK-47 bullets,

27 9mm bullets and two 0.22 bullets.

Mr Justice Foxcroft said he accepted Dlali's explanation that in 1989 he had instructions from Umkhonto we Sizwe to keep the weapons in a safe place.

In April this year he was informed negotiations between the Government and the ANC on MK and arms had reached an advanced stage. MK cadres had to prepare to hand over the arms to the joint command of the Government and the ANC, the judge said.

Dlali's evidence was corroborated by the testimony of the chief legal ad-



DAVID DLALI

viser of the ANC, Mr Penuell Maduna.

But for the breakdown of talks at Codesa the matter would have been resolved, Mr Justice Foxcroft said.

Dlali kept the weapons to prevent them from fall-

ing into the wrong hands.

The courts had often stressed the seriousness of illegally possessing firearms but Dlali had been convicted of a political offence. By having the arms, he was carrying out MK orders.

Dlali was a first offender, a good student and had done good work in the legal division of the Food and Allied Workers' Union, the judge said.

"To imprison such a man would remove from the society a valuable member of the community."

He postponed sentence unconditionally for one year.

THE DAILY NEWS 12/06-92

Food scandal confirmed

AMID the shock of learning that while thousands of South Africans are starving in perhaps the worst drought in memory, millions of litres of milk are being daily thrown away, the Government's own advisers have now confirmed the public's worst fears about the food board system.

In a nutshell, the preliminary report of a Board of Tariffs and Trade investigation has found that the boards add significantly to the costs of food and it has recommended that they be scrapped. Since that is precisely what this newspaper, along with most consumer bodies and farmers' organisations, has long been recommending, we can only urge the Government to waste no time.

It makes absolute sense that consumers be permitted to buy from whomsoever they please, save only that such an open market situation should understandably be accompanied by heightened activity by State and municipal health inspectors.

It would be a mistake, however, for the authorities to overlook the fact that some of the boards are in fact highly esteemed by both farmers and consumers; that some are doing valuable work both in marketing foods and in promoting the improvement of food quality. Food producers and consumers should thus be the people to decide whether individual boards should survive.

The way to let them do this is to give both producers and consumers the freedom of choice; the right to deal with whoever offers the best deal, the best service and the best price. The result of such an approach should be leaner and more efficient boards that own no ivory towers and carry no bureaucratic passengers. The test of success, moreover, will be a healthy reduction in food prices and a reduction of the scandal of public malnutrition within a country that constantly produces food surpluses.

THE DAILY NEWS

Letters 12/06/92

ANC's philosophy will ensure continuing bitterness, chaos

SIR — My recent letter to The Daily News expressed trepidation about ANC-style democracy in the event of their coming to power.

This trepidation stems from factual and historical performances by independent black African countries to our north ... countries which were once financially self-sufficient and where there were considerably more jobs for the masses than there are now.

Now I'm attacked by "Sincere" of Umlazi (The Daily News, June 4) who not only questions my Christian status but suggests I read the ANC's Freedom Charter: after seeing how Mugabe reneged on the Lancaster House Agreement once he was in power, the

ANC's Freedom Charter is meaningless to me.

"Sincere's" diatribe, which is totally irrelevant to my letter, threatens mass action, which is the mentality of the bully-boy that the ANC is: mass actions damage the economy which I do not believe the ANC is capable of repairing — as is evidenced elsewhere in Africa.

Per "Sincere's" suggestion: I would love to walk together, side-by-side, but that will be impossible without a shared government.

The ANC's winner-take-all philosophy will ensure ongoing bitterness and chaos in our wonderful country.

LES VINCENT
Berea

Local councils must be dissolved before a 'Mini-Codesa' can work

SIR — You published an article on Pietermaritzburg's initiative for a "Mini-Codesa" for the local non-racial government. There is nothing in the scheme to crow about.

The starting point towards democracy in local government is to marry the existing structures, City Council and the LACs, and rapidly take in the black representatives.

If the "Mini-Codesa" is to succeed then all stakeholders must negotiate on an equal basis. Here the starting point — should be dissolution of the City Council of Pietermaritzburg. The ex-councillors then would meet the representatives of broader areas and hammer out a solution.

If the city council is dissolved, the city would be run by the Administra-

tor. The dissolution will ensure equality, and will lead to a speedy resolution for reform.

The same course should be applied to Durban.

Kimberley and some towns in Northern Natal have shown the way. Maybe there are no "liberals" in those places.

J.V. DESAI
Durban

Readers are invited to write to: The Editor, The Daily News, Box 47549, Greyville, 4023. Preference is given to letters bearing authors' names but noms de plume will be accepted if full names and residential addresses are provided. Please try to make your point as concisely as possible.

The Star

FRIDAY JUNE 12 1992



Joining forces . . . Major-General Helder Cruz, Angolan Inspector-General of Engineering, shakes hands with Commandant Zaayman of the SADF before the start of the mine-lifting operation. Pictures: Joao Silva

Prof speaks of future and waning of violence

PROFESSOR WISEMAN NKUHLU of the Independent Development Trust speaks at the congress of the SA Sugar Technologists' Association.

BANKERS and international investors look at South Africa with several kinds of concerns.

These include questions about the form of future government; some interventionist economic thinking among liberation movements; the challenges posed by the battle against inflation; increasing the productivity of labour; addressing inequality and high expectations for its alleviation; and violence, both from the left and the right. All these concerns are valid.

Many of us are convinced, however, that a persuasive case exists for optimism in looking at South Africa in the medium-term to longer-term future. Indeed, even short-term trends are likely to start painting a more favourable picture. Allow me to indicate what many experienced, well-informed observers are concluding regarding some of these concerns.

THE QUESTIONS:

The first question is — will South Africa's transition to inclusive rule culminate in a change of government accompanied by a period of discontinuity in administration, great uncertainty and a variety of contradictory policy signals?

I believe this to be unlikely. The period before any change of government will probably see various transitional arrangements. The civil service and parastatal agencies are already beginning to adapt to the implications of the future.

Most importantly, however, there are increasing indications that South Africa's first post-negotiation government will be some form of coalition, including at least some degree of partnership between a range of participants — including both present and future leadership.

There are good grounds to believe that, despite present tensions, most parties have a commitment to a government of national unity during the transitional phase. Certainly both the

Government and the ANC seem to favour such an arrangement. All concerned South Africans sincerely hope that the present impasse will be resolved with all deliberate speed so that the negotiation process can continue apace.

Secondly, there is understandable concern aroused by some of the statements on economic policy made by the leadership of liberation movements. Some of these statements have raised fears of nationalisation of industries; a rise in government interference in the processes of production; rising tax rates and a higher level of state intervention in the economy with associated dangers of inflation.

Those who are closer to the debates and political processes in South Africa, are, however, encouraged by the following trends:

■ There is an active debate between members of South Africa's business community and political leaders and opinion formers, which has already resulted in a softening of many of these policy positions.

■ The extra-parliamentary groupings are extensively exposed to international thinking and, indeed, are substantially dependent on foreign funds for support of their organisations. The shift among virtually all the relevant governments and international agencies towards a greater respect for less, rather than more, central planning, fiscal and monetary discipline and open, indeed free economies, puts these movements under very persuasive pressure to modify their policy thinking.

■ The political movements in question do not have uniform economic views and there is vigorous debate about major aspects of economic policy. In the interests of preserving unity, extreme policy options are likely to be avoided.

■ At present there is a rapid upward movement of black South Africans into positions that expose them to economic realities. These leaders are likely to be increasingly significant in influencing policy thinking.

I have no doubt that by the time a "new" government is in a position to implement its policies, radical economic posturing would have been supplemented by realism engendered by the Eastern European experience and the interim pressures. This is one advantage of the fairly long drawn-out transition we are likely to have. It reduces the likelihood of the revolutionary instability and discontinuities which have occurred in so many African states.

Thirdly, there is a fear that the kind of violence, intimidation, crime and mass action which has been occurring in South Africa will escalate and erode the effective functioning of administrative and social institutions. We are all deeply concerned by the tragic loss of life we have been experiencing. Here again, however, those of us who are close to the circumstances that underpin the violence believe that the social conflict will fail to disrupt key aspects of the social and economic system. I say this on the following grounds:

■ At least some of the violence is a form of political position play designed to weaken opponents at the negotiation table. It is not fundamentally directed at producing chaos. Indeed it may well taper off as our negotiation process gains momentum. By the first and second quarters of next year there will be much less incentive for violence because negotiating partners will have to answer for it at the negotiating forum.

■ There is a very sophisticated "peace process" or set of agreements which are likely to be sufficiently binding on all parties to constrain any informal agendas involving violence. This peace process has involved most major parties and has been facilitated by the churches and prominent business executives.

■ Some of the violence is a response to our current recession. Indeed, analyses indicate a clear coincidence of recessions and unrest in our society.

Students bust cop seminar

DELEGATES to a police-sponsored peace seminar were forced to adjourn and shift the meeting to another venue when angry students disrupted proceedings at Vista University in Soweto yesterday.

Declaring the meeting "illegitimate", 13 members of the university's student representative council barged into the seminar and "ordered" the SAP to shift the meeting to other premises.

The seminar, whose theme was "Violence and possible solutions for peace in Soweto," was attended by several police officers, academics including Mr Justice RJ Goldstone and

By Venilla
Yoganathan

others.

SRC cultural secretary and law student Mr Thabang Serero said the seminar was not "properly constituted" as students had not been informed about it.

"The university management agreed to consult with students and staff before giving the go-ahead for any activity on campus," he said.

According to Serero, several students had complained to the SRC about the "strong police presence" on the campus yesterday morning.

"Students, unaware that a police seminar was being held on the campus, became alarmed and tense at the large number of police officers," he said.

He added that the seminar was "contrary to the spirit of peace" as several signatories to the Peace Accord were not present.

One of the delegates, Father Emmanuel Lafont, said the organisers had assumed that students were consulted about the seminar.

The seminar was adjourned to police headquarters in Soweto when more students joined the protesters and refused to negotiate their demands.

Cache found in Phola Park

POLICE yesterday uncovered a cache of arms at Phola Park squatter camp near Tokoza.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said during a search of the camp they found a rifle with one magazine, eight empty AK-47 magazines, one AK-47 magazine filled with bullets, one packet containing a number of 9mm rounds, 244 live rounds for a R1-rifle and one pistol grip for an AK-47 rifle were found during a routine search of the squatter camp.

He dismissed claims that policemen were "wilfully and maliciously" breaking down squatter shacks in Phola Park. - Sapa.

SOWETAN 12/06/92

Govt to blame for stalemate

I WISH to add my comment to the inconclusive outcome of Codesa 2, particularly the failure of Working Group 2 to reach agreement.

The main point at issue was the percentage vote required to approve a new constitution and bill of rights. The reason for the lack of agreement is of course the Government's insistence on the new constitution being approved by an extraordinarily large percentage of 75 percent of the National Assembly, whereas the ANC and other groups proposed a two-thirds majority.

The Government's intransigence on this point was clearly displayed and it

must bear the entire blame for the stalemate.

Let us briefly examine the "democratic" record of the National Party. The Nats, have been in power for the past 44 years.

It is a party that has always represented less than 10 percent of the potential electorate (number of whites who support the Nats, expressed as a percentage of the total population of voting age in SA).

It:

* Perpetuated one of the world's most evil and abhorrent forms of repression. This inhuman policy was enforced by violent means on a majority of the population.

* Has wasted billions of

rand on maintaining the unworkable apartheid ideology. Billions of rand have been lost through sheer incompetence, fraud and theft, on a scale that is difficult to imagine.

* Forcibly removed millions of disenfranchised people from areas where many were living all their lives, and shunted them far away under the obnoxious Group Areas Act and other offensive legislation.

* Released thousands of highly dangerous common criminals early.

* Has funded political parties for the sole purpose of undermining the ANC and other democratic forces in SA.

* Does not even under-

stand the meaning of accountability. It is unheard of to see ministers of departments involved in gross abuse of public funds, and other corrupt practices, resigning.

* Has allowed the terrible violence to continue.

I contend that the National Party is, and always has been, inherently anti-democratic.

We have been misruled for far too long by this minority, non-representative and what I consider illegitimate Government. The time has arrived for them to make way for real democracy to be practised.

LOGAN NAIDU
Durban



MAKWETHU



KHOZA



NEFOLOVHODWE



MANDELA

June 16 venues announced

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will lead one of the marches to end at the unveiling of the memorial stone for June 16 martyrs.

Other ANC activities start at 10am are:

Marches: Ikhwezi, Diepkloof and Ipelegeng.

Rallies: Orlando Stadium, Soweto, Super Stadium, Atteridgeville, and Lenasia.

Eastern Transvaal: Rallies: Witbank, Ackerville Stadium, Embalenhle Stadium, Secunda Thandukukhanya hall, Piet Retief Community Hall, Amersfoort Leslie Stadium, Leandra, Fernie Playgrounds, Dondonald Sitfokotile Schoolgrounds, Matsulu, Mhwayi

ALL major political organisations - ANC, Azapo, PAC and Inkatha Freedom Party - will hold June 16 commemoration services starting from this weekend.

Schoolgrounds, Clau - Clau Community Hall, Middleburg.

Western Transvaal: Rallies: Ikageng Stadium, Potchefstroom Thabazimbi Stadium, Thabazimbi, Wolmaransstad Stadium, Wolmaransstad.

Rallies: Dan Qeqe Stadium, Port Elizabeth, Cradock Lingelihle Stadium, Grahamstown, Somerset East Community Hall, Cookhouse Community, Patterson, Alicedale, Riebeeck East. Commu-

nity Hall, Steynsburg, KwaNzame Stadium, Middelburg Community Hall, Jansenville Community hall, Patensie Community Hall, Humansdorp, Jabavu Stadium, Uitenhage Community Hall, Bedford Community Stadium, Port Alfred Community hall, Colesberg.

Northern Cape Rallies: Jurgens Stadium, Upington Dichoko Stadium, Postmasburg Open Arena, Kimberley Seeding Playgrounds, Kuruman.

Natal Midlands Rallies:

Qokololo Hlope Stadium, Maritzburg, Osizweni Stadium, Newcastle.

Rallies: Zwelitsha Stadium, King Williams town, Gwalana Playgrounds, Peddie Aliwal North, Msobomvu Village Community Hall, Alice Community Hall, Lady Frere, Fort Beaufort, Middelburg begins with march to Middelburg Central Prison. Community Hall, Cathcart, Queenstown, Burgersdorp, begins with march to local prison. Community Hall, Lady Frere.

Southern Natal Rally: Curries Fountain.

Southern OFS Rally: Thaba Nchu.

Transkei Rallies: Independence Stadium, Umtata, Town Hall,



JUNE 16 ... the day Hector Peterson died.

Qumbu Msobomvu Community Hall, Butterworth Town Hall, Lusikisiki Town Hall, Tsomo Town Hall, Mount Ayliff.

Northern Transvaal Rallies: Kwaggafontein Stadium, Univen Stadium, Thohoyandou, Modimola Stadium, Nylstroom Rebene Stadium, Rebene, Steilooop. Ramoba High School, Thlabina, Makhutswelepelle Stadium, Makhutswelepelle and Giyani College of Education.

AZAPO

President of Azapo Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe will address the organisation's main rally at Regina Mundi Church on Tuesday,

while deputy president Dr Nchauphe Mokoape is due to speak at the Motlodi Stadium in Maokeng, Kroonstad, on the same day.

Azapo general secretary Mr Don Nkademeng will speak in Durban, and publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley will address a rally in Gugulethu, Cape Town.

Azapo's vice president, political affairs, Mr Molahlegi Thale, is billed to address a rally in Grahamstown, while Mr Zingisa Thwala will talk in Danielskuil, former president Mr Nkosi Molala will give an address in QwaQwa.

The head of the educa-

tion secretariat Dr Gomolemo Mokae will address a rally in Rustenburg.

National Projects Coordinator, Mr Lybon Mabaso, will speak at Mahwelereng stadium where the rally is scheduled to start at 9am.

Other Azapo rallies will be in Dennilton Stadium and Mohlakeng in Randfontein.

PAC

The PAC will hold rallies throughout the country, with the president of the organisation, Mr Clarence Makwetu, addressing the rally in Jabulani Amphitheatre at 11am on Tuesday.

Vice president Mr Dikgang Moseneke will be the main speaker at Kwa-Nobuhle Hall, Uitenhage, on the same day.

General secretary of the organisation Mr Benny Alexandra will be the main speaker at Bizana Playgrounds, Transkei.

Mr Mark Shinnars and Mr Mogale Mphahlele will be guest speakers at GaMasemola in Pietersburg. The rally is scheduled for 10am.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemaadzhivanani is billed to address a rally in Gugulethu Civic Hall, while Mr Molefe Litheko is due to speak at Clau Clau Hall in the Lowveld Region.

Mr Jaki Seroke and Kwedi Mkhalihi will address audiences at the University of Durban-Westville at 11am.

IFP

Inkatha youth leader Mr Themba Khoza said his organisation would hold their main June 16 rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre at 9am on Sunday.

Khoza said the rally will be addressed by the IFP national youth leader Mr Musa Zondi. IFP will hold rallies in Tokoza and Soweto's Mzimhlophe Hall. Both rallies will be held on Tuesday at 10am.

Page II

SADF units on standby

Saturday News
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: South African Defence Force units have been put on standby as the country braces itself for a return to the confrontational politics of the past when mass action "on an unprecedented scale" hits the streets next week.

The ANC claims "Super Tuesday" will serve as the launch pad for the biggest protest campaign ever mounted in South Africa.

The South African Defence Force has confirmed Citizen Force and Commando Force members have been placed on standby for the African National Congress's mass action plans.

Citizen Force and Commando elements were being called up, or were being placed on standby in certain areas, SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said.

In another development, the South African Police will tomorrow launch a countrywide publicity campaign urging participants in the mass action protests not to resort to violence.

About 100 people died in last year's "non-violent" general strike against VAT.

The police publicity campaign is just a part of a comprehensive contingency plan which the SAP has drawn up to deal with mass action. President F.W. de Klerk referred to this contingency plan — details of which the SAP refused to divulge — during his recent tour of Russia, Japan and Singapore.

The SAP's plan is believed to entail the deployment and reinforcement of police forces at expected trouble spots.

The SAP's newly-formed 7 500-man Internal Stability Unit, especially established to counter political unrest and violence, is expected to be the core of the SAP's standby force to deal with anything that goes wrong during the mass action.

Advertisements will appear in black newspapers tomorrow and thousands of pamphlets will be distributed in townships over the next few days.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman, Major-General Leon Mellet, yesterday said the message was non-political. The SAP, he said, was not opposed to peaceful protest but felt it had a duty to try to ensure that if it happened it remained peaceful.

"If not, it is the police who have to step in to try to restore peace."

The police asked that all attempts at intimidations be reported to them.

Millions will take to the streets: Mandela

VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU Political Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela, the president of the African National Congress, has warned that the ANC plans to take millions of people out onto the streets to force an end to the deadlock in negotiations.

Mr Mandela was speaking on the ANC plans for mass action at Newspaper House, the home of The Saturday News, on the first day of his weekend visit to the Southern Natal region.

He said the ANC was determined to call out even more than the three million people who observed the ANC call for the VAT stayaway last November.

At a luncheon meeting with staff and management at Natal Newspapers, he said the Government "had the key" to move towards national democracy and that "if it fails to unlock that door, we will teach it how to use that key".

He said while the ANC would have preferred to negotiate South Africa's future, negotiations had reached a dead end

and mass action was the only option left to it.

He said the ANC was aware mass action would hurt the economy but "that is a price we are prepared to pay for the movement to democracy".

Responding to questions about a possible meeting between him and Inkatha president, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said the violence was not simply a clash between the ANC and the IFP.

He said several commissions, including Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and the Goldstone Commission had focussed attention on the role of the South African security forces in the violence.

Mr Mandela said the total onslaught strategy, in terms of which the ANC was considered by the securocrats to be public enemy number one, had not been abandoned.

Earlier at a press conference at a Durban hotel, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said about 70 services would be held throughout the country on Tuesday to commemorate June 16 and this would be the launching pad of the ANC/Cosatu/South African Communist Party mass action programme.

He travels to Umbumbulu, Port Shepstone and Phoenix tomorrow.



MR NELSON MANDELA leaving the West Street mosque yesterday.

Union softens line on action

NATAL'S biggest municipal trade union, the Democratic Integrated Municipal Employees Society, yesterday softened its previous hardline approach to threatened mass action and gave the assurance that disruption to municipal services next Tuesday — Soweto Day — would be kept to a minimum.

The union voted last weekend to support the African National Congress's call for a nationwide campaign of mass action, and major disruption to services was feared, leading Durban City Council to criticise the decision.

After talks between union and

council representatives late this week, a compromise appears to have been hammered out.

The union has undertaken to soften the impact of Tuesday's — and subsequent — mass action while the council has agreed not to deduct leave or pay from employees who stay away from work on June 16.

In a joint statement today, the council's Management Committee and Dimes said the decision had been taken because of the significance of Soweto Day.

The council had decided to suspend its policy of "no work, no pay, no discipline". —Municipal Reporter

'People will die' warns Buthelezi

JOHANNESBURG: Inkatha Freedom Party president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi condemned the planned mass action by the African National Congress and warned the campaign would cause "people to lose their lives".

Addressing a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States, Dr Buthelezi said the mass action would be accompanied by intimidation and was an irresponsible and ill-timed move.

He said he had cut short his American trip because of the "mass mobilisation" planned by the ANC. He added that President F.W. de Klerk was to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on Tuesday.

Dr Buthelezi said he was very disturbed by the ANC's planned mass action and believed the organisation's demands should be negotiated.

"I foresee our members clashing with those who are organising the mass action," he said.

"People will lose their lives, they will be threatened and lose their homes."

Dr Buthelezi said the portrayal of the ANC as a "saintly knight in shining armour was a farcical abuse of what was going on". He was apparently referring to Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists reports which blamed the police, and to some extent the IFP, for the violence.

Dr Buthelezi warned that no free democratic elections could take place in South Africa until the violence in black townships was defused.

He said the IFP central committee would meet tomorrow to decide on strategy in the wake of the mass action decision.

Dr Buthelezi visited five states in America and held talks with black leaders there on the South Africa Education Fund. —Sapa

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FW back to face the mass action music

THE DAILY NEWS 12-06-92

IT did not take President de Klerk long to get back to the realities of local politics after his return from his visit to Russia, Japan and Singapore.

The issue of mass action which the ANC has threatened following the Codesa impasse is clearly a vexing one to him.

It was raised during his overseas trip and, while in high spirits about the success of his trip and the reception he had it was the one thing that soon turned him sombre on his return.

He maintained that the ANC's decision to initiate strikes, parades and marches militated against its commitment to negotiations. It raised questions about the ANC's integrity to commit itself to negotiations.

He also spoke of irritation among those who received him overseas about what he described as the ANC's failure to live up to expectations and to become a more concrete part of a solution.

While the Government recognises peaceful protest, its concern is that mass action as a means to attain political ends could delay negotiations, would frighten investments and had the potential for violence and conflict.

Mr de Klerk again stressed that he accepted mass action as a legitimate democratic method but he felt that it was counter-productive during this period of intense negotiations.

It was Mr de Klerk who allowed public demonstrations after they had been suppressed for so long under the P.W. Botha regime. These demonstrations have largely lost their impact or curiosity value

and have in fact become somewhat "old hat" and the ANC will have to consider carefully what success they would have at this stage.

An "out" for the ANC at some stage could be if some progress is made in resolving the impasse on constitution-making mechanisms which arose at Codesa 2.

Government and ANC negotiations have met three times since Codesa 2 and its management committee is again meeting on Monday. One gets the impression that, despite the fierce public rhetoric, the two sides are keen to avert mass action efforts. This could be done if some agreement on the way to an interim government could be reached.

Results from Mr de Klerk's latest overseas trip appear to be more long-term than short-term.

It was in fact Mr de Klerk who made one of the few concrete moves to stimulate South Africa's export trade when he announced a R100-million revolving credit deal with Russia.

As the President put it, the main aim of his trip was not so much to ask for investment but to create the climate for foreign investment.

Part of his argument was to point out that South Africa could play a vital role in development in Southern Africa. He painted an image of South Africa as the gateway to Africa, as a land with under-used resources and an established infrastructure.

South Africa wanted to share its resources and expertise to ensure a stable and prosperous region. Through constructive involvement

TOS WENTZEL in Cape Town

in the economic development of South Africa the international community would therefore not only be helping South Africa but would be making a contribution to the region as a whole.

His message was also that South Africa needed loans and investment, not on the basis of hand-outs, but on the basis of the country being a sound economic and financial proposition.

Mr de Klerk said he had no doubt that investments would follow his visit. While he was in Japan he announced that a Japanese electronics firm had told him that it intended to set up an assembly plant here.

Direct air links are being considered between South Africa and Japan and this would boost tourism. While regular air links may only start in 1994 the two countries have in the meantime agreed to allow charter flights.

Mr de Klerk acknowledges that there are still major hurdles to be overcome. The violence creates the impression of instability which scares off potential investors; there is uncertainty about the economic system that will be followed in the new South Africa and some countries want at least an interim government arrangement in place before investment will be seriously considered.

In Tokyo, the message was that South Africa had to have a new system in place, preferably with a free-market economy, before vitally-needed Japanese investments would flow in.

What the Japanese were saying

was that "you have started well on the road to democracy but there is work to be done before we rush in".

Mr de Klerk tried to allay the apprehensions on the future stability, viability and maintenance of the political and economic orientation of South Africa. He said he and his government would not settle for anything less than a constitution which would guarantee stability and the maintenance of the political and economic standards which have proved themselves in the rest of the democratic world.

As on other trips in the past it was once again Mr de Klerk's personality which made a good impression on this one.

There was a remarkably good assessment of Mr de Klerk by a Japanese Foreign Affairs official who said that the Japanewse found him "not self-important" and "ready to even ridicule himself and to accept this from others".

Mr de Klerk was clearly very pleased with the visit by Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi this week.

Mr Moi was the first African head of state to come here in more than 20 years but Mr de Klerk predicted that there would be more.

With apartheid gone the political gates have opened to the rest of Africa. At a dinner at Westbrooke (his official residence) Mr de Klerk said that he looked forward to the day when South Africa could become a member of the Organisation of African Unity.

Only some two years ago this statement would have been as unthinkable as a visit to Russia by a South African head of state.

THE STAR 12/06/92

Patrick Laurence analyses three major reports on the ongoing township wars

A one-eyed look at violence

SOUTH Africans can be forgiven for blinking their eyes and shaking their heads at different interpretations of the township violence flash kaleidoscopically before their eyes, accompanied by a cacophonous commentary.

In rapid succession three investigations have presented different perspectives on the violence to the chorused approval or denunciation of politicians, depending on their convictions and prejudices.

The findings of the latest investigation, by Amnesty International, are contained in a 100-page report entitled "South Africa: State of Fear".

They virtually exonerate the African National Congress from blame for the bloodletting and, instead, identify the main culprits as the security forces, their "surrogates" in the semi-autonomous black territory of KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Amnesty's report details scores of attacks around the country on ANC members or sympathisers, pinning responsibility on either IFP or the security forces.

Not a line, however, is given to

the more than 200 IFP office-holders who have been murdered in the bloody war for political hegemony between the ANC and the IFP since the conflict started in the mid-1980s. The murdered IFP leaders include members of its central committee.

Similarly, the killing of ordinary IFP members — more than 360 have been shot, hacked or burnt to death since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14 last year — is ignored.

Nor does the Amnesty report mention the more than 60 policemen of all races who have been killed during attempts to contain the violence since the beginning of this year.

Little attention is devoted to the ANC's contribution to the violence or, according to police records, the "necklacing" of more than 110 people in the five months ending on May 31.

Amnesty infers that the ANC is primarily a victim rather than a perpetrator of violence. While recognising that the more than 7 000 victims who have died in the fighting since the start of the year are drawn from the entire political

spectrum, it says that the "overwhelming majority" have been ANC members and actual or perceived sympathisers.

ANC-initiated violence is presented as a response to the spiralling conflict and the failure of the security forces to protect citizens.

The report does, however, convincingly substantiate its conclusion that policing has been far from impartial, and that the police have been slow and loath to investigate "compelling prima facie evidence" of the collusion by security force members in violence against ANC or ANC-aligned organisations.

Amnesty's report concludes that President de Klerk has so far failed to fulfil his declared objective of removing the police from the political arena and of re-shaping them into a impartial and professional crime combating force.

Its conclusion would have been more compelling if the report itself was less partisan and less vulnerable to police counter-attack for being "one dimensional".

Its deficiencies have given Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, an opening for a devastating riposte: "The IFP

views and answers to the allegations were not sought and are not reflected."

The Amnesty report comes on the heels of a shorter appraisal of the violence and its causes by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ).

The ICJ report also points an accusing finger at the De Klerk administration, charging that it failed to take effective action to curb the violence. To that extent, its views reinforce Amnesty's.

The ICJ apportions a large share of the blame on the IFP leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, accusing him of not wheeling in his "warlords". It may be noted in passing that the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression has found that Chief Buthelezi's exhortations to his "warlords" in control of hostels on the Reef to halt the violence are ignored.

The ICJ is more critical of the ANC than Amnesty. In its account of ANC actions in the battle for supremacy in and around the Natal town of Richmond, the ICJ states that ANC comrades went on a "killing spree" after they gained the upper hand.

It quotes Harry Gwala, the tough-minded ANC regional chairman for Natal Midlands, as saying that the ANC is involved in a "war" against the IFP and that neither side is composed of angels.

An interim report and a press statement by Mr Justice Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence, offer another perspective.

In his interim report, the judge refers to ANC allegations that the violence is being orchestrated by a sinister "third force" with links to anonymous security officers. He says that the commission has unearthed no evidence of a "third force" so far.

In his press statement, Judge Goldstone identifies political rivalry between the ANC and the IFP as the "primary cause" of the violence in six major black townships, three on the Reef and three in Natal.

His report and statement initially caused jubilation in the De Klerk camp and consternation in the ANC circles, but since then the judge has issued a second clarifying statement.

OP/MSM

A one-eyed look at violence

Patrick Lawrence

From 1. X

P. 2

In it, he accuses the Government of withholding his interim report and using it "unfairly and selectively". He then stresses that neither the report nor the first statement exonerates the security forces from "contributing to the violence" or the Government from failure to take "sufficiently firm steps" to prevent criminal conduct by the security forces.

Mr Justice Goldstone ends, however, by reaffirming his view that the primary cause of violence in six core areas is political rivalry between the ANC and the IFP, and that his commission has found no evidence to date to support theories about a third force.

He repeats a point made in the interim report: the causes of violence are manifold and complex.

It is a point which bears constant re-emphasis. By the same token, the comments of politicians should be treated with scepticism as attempts — in the words of sociologists Mike Morris and Doug Hindson — to "stigmatise all organisations or institutions but their own". (The quote is from their analysis of the violence in South African Review, "Red Friday to Codesa", Ravan Press.) □

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The Star Friday June 12 1992

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Scandalous profligacy

AS THE spectre of hunger haunts the nation, thousands of litres of "surplus milk" are poured down the drain every day. It is a terrible indictment of a society which prides itself on having an efficient market economy and whose leaders are scornful of the inadequacies of Third World and ex-communist countries.

The situation is compounded by two factors: rising food prices and the inability of government bureaucrats to purposefully spend all the money allocated to help feed the poor. One reason advanced for destroying milk is to sustain market prices. "It makes no economic sense to undermine our own markets by giving it away," an executive of National Milk Distributors declares. At the same time, however, more than R500 million allocated for food aid last year has not been spent.

The poor have every right to demand that the market system prove its superiority by ensuring that at least some "surplus money" is spent to buy and distribute the "surplus milk".

The role of the Dairy Board, like its terrible sisters in most sectors of the food sector, is understandably under attack. It has been blamed for the scandal because of its refusal to help finance the distribution of surplus milk. The criticism is made more pertinent by a Supreme Court judgment that the board has been unlawfully imposing prohibitive levies on distributors.

Another anomaly adds to the mounting anger. Despite a big surplus of red meat — caused by the slaughter of animals to prevent them from dying in the drought — the Department of Agriculture has issued a permit for the importation of 5 000 tons of red meat from Zimbabwe. According to the law of supply and demand, that should lead to a lowering of meat prices.

It will not, of course. The Meat Board and its invisible cohorts will see to that.

June 16 'referendum on Codesa'

A PEOPLE'S referendum will be held on June 16 beginning an "unprecedented" mass action campaign to break the logjam at Codesa, said the ANC Youth League.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said more than 70 rallies - expected to involve a million people - would be held on

June 16, which was described as a "launching pad for a further programme of action".

On June 16, the "will of our people will be tested in a people's referendum in all the mass gatherings".

The question posed would be: "Do you agree that a democratically elected Constitution Making Body should be undermined by:

●An undemocratically

constituted Senate of losers;

●Predetermined regional powers, functions and borders, which are designed to perpetuate white privilege, racism and tribalism; and

●A 75 percent majority which will give the minority veto powers.

"We expect to see a resounding rejection of (President) De Klerks' proposals," Mokaba said.



President FW de Klerk

PAC 'no' to mass action Azapo's stance

THE PAN Africanist Congress will not join the ANC's planned mass action campaign next month, it was announced yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, the organisation said it will not be party to mass action to "breathe

life into the discredited Codesa".

The PAC said Codesa was undemocratic and "nothing more than a mechanism to build a Berlin Wall around white privilege and the erection of barbed wire around the aspirations of the oppressed".

The African National Congress has threatened to go ahead with plans for "unprecedented" mass action in July if there is no progress on breaking the deadlock at Codesa.

As far as the PAC was concerned, the ANC's mass action plans would only weaken South Africa's liberation forces.

NEC member Mr Jackie Seroke added: "What we are saying to the ANC is, get out of Codesa and we will support you in mass action."

The PAC had its own programme of mass action and the ANC was welcome to join it.

The PAC also reiterated its commitment to strive for a reconstituted Patriotic Front. - Sapa

THE Azanian People's Organisation was committed to mass action which was geared towards overthrowing the Government and, therefore, would not participate in protests designed to present appeals, the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference in Durban, Moodley said Azapo would not participate in mass action which called for negotiations to be put back on track.

He was responding to a question on whether Azapo would join the ANC's mass action campaign.

"We're always committed to any type of constructive mass action which is geared to bringing the regime to its knees. We will not participate in mass action simply designed to present protests and appeals," he said.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadameng expressly stated that the proposed mass action by the ANC would not be supported by his organisation if it was aimed at reviving Codesa.

"Participation in such a mass action would be useless as Azapo stance on negotiations, particularly through Codesa, is well known. Codesa will not deliver the goods and has collapsed and to try to revive it would be a futile exercise," Nkadameng said.

He said more details of Azapo's position would be released at the June 16 services countrywide.

Nuts and bolts

THE DAILY NEWS 12-06-92

in place, now let's make peace

IF ATHEISTS can't find original sin in the Bible, they'll find it in the National Peace Accord. The nature of it is the lack of sufficient political will among the parties from the time they signed it in September.

It is this, more than anything else, which explains a frustration one senses behind the diplomatic phrases of Antonie Gildenhuys when he talks about the accord.

If the will were found, he says, there would then be a real chance of the two big breakthroughs the accord needs: police-community relations, and ending physical strongholds for political organisations.

In the meantime, says Dr Gildenhuys, the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, the accord is going "functionally well", which means the nuts and bolts are being fitted, committees are being put together and they are working, some better than others.

The job of the secretariat begins with these committees, called regional dispute resolution committees (RDRCs) and local dispute resolution committees (LDRCs).

To confuse you further, Dr Gildenhuys says these are misnomers — they should have been called "peace promotion committees". It is better to

We all know of the National Peace Accord, but what is it really all about? PETER WELLMAN tries to bring it down to earth.



Grassroots plea . . . the National Peace Secretariat is distributing posters in the townships, with a simplified version of the National Peace Accord in several languages.

stick with DRCs until you hear more on this from him.

Reviewing the accord's progress, he says there were some difficulties getting the necessary infrastructure in the beginning, but the secretariat managed to get Government approval, and simple needs such as fax machines and telephones are now being provided by the Department of Justice.

Read between the lines and you will find the bureaucrats were dragging their feet.

The first, urgent, necessity of the secretariat is to get peacemakers into flashpoints, he says. People with sufficient time to give, and mediation expertise, are vital, which is why the secretariat uses half a dozen professional mediators in the Wits-Vaal area alone. Some are hired, some seconded.

The secretariat has no budget, but Dr Gildenhuys explains that the Government plans to make it a statutory body and it will then have a budget, and will work according to civil-service regulations.

One can easily imagine a mediator being carpeted for rushing out to a trouble-spot without first filling in three copies of form TS67859447, but the regulations are probably the only way to go.

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It is when Dr Gildenhuys talks about the success of the accord that his frustration eases, for these are real and tangible.

Violence from mass action, protest marches, rallies and so on has almost been eliminated. One suspects this is because the occasions are high-profile, with plenty of media cameras around, and it would be difficult to launch an attack unseen.

But is still a success, and the secretariat can claim it, because it is central to the planning and monitoring of such events.

The RDRCs have been patiently trying to establish a culture of tolerance and co-operation, and it is a bit like marriage counselling for devout Catholics — divorce is out of the question.

Some of this has filtered down to the local structures, some have done it on their own. In Alexandra, where an LDRC has not even been established yet, the ceaseless work of Liz Carmichael's Interim Crisis Committee (under the secretariat) has produced a reasonably good relationship with the security forces, and it monitors crime-sweeps.

Equally important, it is ac-

cepted by the ANC and Inkatha in Alex.

The secretariat provides mediator training down to grassroots level, which is a large part of the work of the DRCs, and that is going well.

Police are now taking part in the secretariat's mediation training, which delights Dr Gildenhuys, and the SAP leadership agrees with his premise that "onbekend is onbemind", which translates as "you can't get close to the community if you don't get to know it".

Damage-and-needs assessments for communities, and socio-economic reconstruction, are areas where the accord has not succeeded, and although Dr Gildenhuys did not say it, he seems to feel that big business has plainly not done enough.

"In areas where all municipal authority has broken down, we need a return of basic services, an interim authority, and money," he says starkly.

Dr Gildenhuys ended full-circle, pointing out it will take time to establish the voluntary political will to end violence.

In the meantime this sophisticated upmarket lawyer will continue to get his hands dirty in an earthy quest for peace. It's a tall order ... but then he's well over six feet tall. □

COMMENT

Telephone (011) 474-0128

The Government must simply be stopped from going ahead with a law that will allow state functionaries to listen in to our private conversations, intercept and read our personal mail.

This draft law is a blank cheque for Government to make unimaginable intrusions into our privacy.

It is all very well to speak of maintaining security or combating crime. Had these excuses come from somewhere else, they may have been worth listening to. But they come from a Government which has used innocuous legislation or innocent language to perpetrate excesses and to degrade human dignity.

In the '70s, the forced removal of people was called "voluntary relocation". That the army or police had to be used, including the spraying of teargas to help these people "move" was described as the "provision of safety".

A day before Codesa 2, when the ANC and Government were at each other's throats, the ANC's telephones were bugged. An employee of the post office, a department controlled by the Government, was involved.

We cannot trust the Government with this type of legislation, particularly now that we are talking of a new order where individual rights will be enshrined. Prying into people's personal lives is an abuse of personal rights.

Lastly, the new Bill will give the Government carte blanche to eavesdrop and pry into the activities of its political rivals as it has always done.

Is it not doing so already? Why must we now endorse these nefarious activities?

Predictably, white South Africa is distressed about the ANC's plans for mass action.

What this community ignores is that mass action reflects:

- Deep-seated grievances in the black community;
- It is an indictment on the progress made at Codesa; and
- An expression of anger at indifference to legitimate complaints.

For instance, major strikes involving black hospitals, black town councils and the SABC are being treated as non-events.

To put it more bluntly, because the sufferers at the end of the line are not white, the authorities are simply holding out for as long as they can and are not interested in settling the strikes.

These are only three examples of a general mood or pattern in white South Africa.

Why must we then have surprise and general moans when blacks use the only weapon they have, mass action?

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SOWETO 12/06/92

Awetha is charged with ANC killing

THE mayor and the deputy mayor of Imbali, arrested in connection with the killing of a prominent African National Congress official in February, were each granted R2 000 bail on Wednesday.

They are mayor Mr Phikelele Ndlovu (55) and deputy mayor Mr Abdul Awetha (56). A youth who appeared with them was also granted bail of R2 000 by a Maritzburg magistrate.

Ndlovu and Awetha - both Inkatha Freedom Party leaders - and the youth were arrested in connection with the gunning down of Mr S'Khumbuzo Ngwenya, an ANC activist and worker for the Maritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness.

Ngwenya was shot as he left the Windsor Hotel after dining with American academics and Mr Peter Kerchoff, organiser of Macsa.

Magistrate Mr PJ Fourie ruled that Ndlovu and Awetha may not leave the Maritzburg district and should surrender their passports and report to the Imbali police station on Mondays and Thursdays.

While giving evidence, Awetha agreed with his counsel, Mr Sandy Sarantos, that if they were in custody for a long time violence would grow in Imbali and the people would be without their traditional leaders.