

AP1992-11-7-9

ANC-SAP looking for ways to end unrest

The Natal Witness 9-07-92

PRETORIA — African National Congress leaders and senior police officers yesterday said that immediate steps should be taken to stem political violence.

A statement issued by the police did not say if any measures have been agreed to end violence that has killed at least 130 people country-wide in the past week.

"The meeting was unanimous in its decision that it was vitally important to seek immediate solutions to end the strife before it gets out of hand," police said.

The two sides agreed that out-

standing issues be dealt with on regional level between the ANC and the SAP as a matter of urgency.

Wednesday's urgent peace meeting in Port Shepstone appears to have made some progress towards rejuvenating the peace process there, although the IFP has still not officially returned to the local peace committee.

The meeting, facilitated by National Peace Accord officials, came after the once promising peace process in Port Shepstone's townships floundered three months ago with almost daily reports of killings in Mur-

chison and Bhoboyi.

The crisis was made even more vivid by the killing of five people in Murchison the night before the meeting. The toll there in about three weeks is around 35, according to monitors.

A statement from the Port Shepstone Peace Committee (PSPC) did not outline whether any major gains had been made during Wednesday's meeting, which was described by at least two participants as "very sensitive".

Under discussion was the IFP's non-participation in the PSPC after

its withdrawal towards the end of last year.

Sources in the committee said the IFP was close to returning to the PSPC in February this year but a submission to a Goldstone Commission investigation into violence on the lower south coast put paid to that.

Meanwhile, two bodies were found by peace monitors in Katlehong yesterday and a policeman was beaten to death. Police said one of them had been beaten to death and the other shot. — Sapa.

16/1/11

From Yard to township killing field

The Star

9/7/92

Senior Scotland Yard policeman Detective Superintendent David Don has completed his Goldstone Commission investigation into the effectiveness and adequacy of the SA Police probe into the Boipatong massacre. HELEN GRANGE interviewed him before he returned to London.

WE WERE looking for a well-built, decidedly middle-aged man in a tailored suit, conceivably sporting a handle-bar moustache. Instead, we found Detective Superintendent David Don of London's Metropolitan Police — trim, clean-shaven, casually dressed and disarmingly down-to-earth.

But Superintendent Don, who has played an important role in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre, belies his appearance.

As a senior detective in the office of the Commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police, his 25 years in the field of crime investigation earned him respect enough to be appointed as a reliable and objective judge of investigations into the Boipatong incident.

In effect, Superintendent Don's duty was to assess the adequacy and effectiveness of the SAP investigation, using as a frame of reference the standards applied in his own investigations at home.

The job is completed and Superintendent Don returned home on Tuesday, but his comments have yet to be reported to Mr Justice Goldstone.

He is coolly confident that, despite the context of current controversy concerning the effectiveness of the SAP in solv-

ing political crimes, his observations were made only on the grounds of being a policeman with considerable knowledge in crime-solving.

"I'm confident my views have been objective. The fact that I haven't been here before and might not know about the political problems of the country is a strength, I think."

Superintendent Don is quite candid about what constitutes the fundamental tools of a police investigation, whether it be a politically inspired massacre, a domestic murder, a fraud or a child abuse case.

"An investigation is an investigation. Some are big, some are small, but the same principles are applied. You need good organisation... good structure so that the detail doesn't get lost."

Another crucial aspect to an investigation is co-operation from the public, he adds.

But what if, as is the case in South Africa's townships, there is a reluctance by members of the public to assist the police?

Superintendent Don answers simply: "That's a policing problem. For the public to co-operate, the police need to reflect the demands of the public, building up mutual respect."

Throughout his many investigations, he has found — perhaps surprisingly — that the most difficult crimes to solve are not murder, corruption or fraud, but child abuse cases.

"With fraud and corruption, there is usually a trail of documentary evidence, but child abuse cases are ephemeral and the evidence is hard to find."

● Another senior British policeman appointed to the Goldstone Commission, Commander Tom Laidlaw, is currently in Cape Town completing his investigations into the handling of mass protest action before also flying back to London. □

The Star 9/7/92

Expert panel rules on protests

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — An international panel of experts has agreed that the right to demonstrate was fundamental in a democracy, but a democratic public had an equal right to insist upon demonstrations and protests being carried out peacefully and without violence.

The responsibility for that was shared by three parties: The organisers, local or state authorities and the police.

The panel, which considered lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa,

has given its findings to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation. The findings were released at a public meeting in Cape Town today.

The panel said new legislation was needed to give effect to the principles in their report, and existing legislation should be repealed.

The relevant resources in managing peaceful and effective demonstrations included first aid stations, toilets, speaker systems and platforms and assistance with traffic.

Where there were disagreements over the way in which a demonstration should be planned, the dispute should be resolved by a higher authority which, in South Africa, the panel believed, should be a judge of the Supreme Court.

Great restraint, the panel said, had to be used in applying "very vague statutes" on breach of the peace or unlawful assembly to arrest non-violent demonstrators.

Police should be formed in well-disciplined and specialised units and have a wide range of non-lethal re-

sources available to them.

They also required skills in peacefully interacting with crowds, negotiation in situations of potential conflict and human relations.

"Minimal necessary force is the widely agreed upon rule for acting against either individuals or the demonstration.

"That requires something more than disobedience by the demonstrators.

"Lethal force can only be justified when delay in its use would subject police, or others, to a severe risk of death," the panel said.

The Star 9/7/92

Failure to condemn 'necklacing' encourages intolerance, argues Dr Gomolemo Mokae

'Turn off foreign funding tap'

THERE was an air of urgency in Sipho Mangomezulu's speech, walk and eyes, as if he deemed his allotted lifespan too inadequate for his mission: the liberation of his people.

He had his fingers in many pies, and each was tied with that objective. Two sizeable ones, which ate into his life, were the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the Black Engineering and Electrical Workers' Union, which has since become part of the Metal and Electrical Workers' Union.

As fate would have it, Sipho was not to see his people's promised land, his young life being ruthlessly terminated via a "necklace" by putative fellow-travellers in "the struggle" in mid-1986.

His sin? Subscription to Black Consciousness (BC).

Alas! Sipho's death would not satiate his murderers' aversion for black blood. On the day of his funeral, they would terrorise mourners at his Soweto home, and proudly leave with the blood of yet another activist on their hands, and the satisfaction of having "necklaced" Sipho's coffin.

Their second victim, young Martin Mokohe, was not any less

passionate about "the struggle". At 15, he had been one of the youngest political prisoners on Robben Island, but this badge of honour would become an albatross around his neck, thanks to his identification with the Black Consciousness Movement.

Reminiscences we can well do without, you might argue. You might even go the whole hog, and ask what all this has to do with the violence currently bedeviling our country, particularly the Boipatong massacre.

Everything, we will retort, and here's why — the necklace.

Nowadays, of course, there is little doubt all three components of the liberation movement find the "necklace" a ghastly, barbaric method of settling differences with political opponents. But, sadly, that was not the case in the mid-80s, during the time of the so-called UDF-AZAPO feud. Had it been, perhaps Sipho and Martin might still be alive.

Then, some components found making the country "ungovernable" so important that they countenanced the "necklace". Some of its leaders even went on to publicly extol its "virtues," and the

"necklace" was used not only against perceived collaborators with the white government, but against fellow-travellers in "the struggle".

Come February 1990, and the component became lumbered with the unenviable task of de-programming so-called comrades brought up on a staple diet of political intolerance, and a preparedness to go to barbaric extents to settle political differences.

To some extent the de-programming worked, but to some it did not. Herein lies part of the root of the current violence.

Consider the following:

● Recently, an ANC activist in the Western Transvaal, George Mathusa, ran into trouble for warning at the funeral of ex-Bophuthatswana hunger striker Busby Molefe that "necklaces" would be used to make Bophuthatswana "ungovernable" as we did in South Africa in the '80s. For his "indiscretions", he was correctly admonished by his organisation. But perhaps the poor activist was not informed that times, and attitudes, had changed, and was thus still locked in an '80s time capsule.

● On May 1, a speaker from AZAPO's youth wing, George Ngwenya, was heckled off the stage by a well-orchestrated band of ANC members at a rally in Soweto for daring to speak ill of Codesa.

Like Muntu Myeza, the late former publicity secretary of AZAPO who was heckled off the stage by ANC supporters at a June 16 service at Regina Mundi, George had to come to terms with undemocratic, Stalinist practices by supposed democrats.

In both instances, there was not even a whisper of admonition from the Charterist leadership to the intolerance of its followers.

● Finally, a few weeks before the Boipatong massacre, alleged Inkatha members and alleged lovers to Inkatha members (sic) were "necklaced" by so-called comrades in Boipatong. In the light of that, people like the Reverend Paul Verryn had a premonition of the chaos that might follow when Inkatha retaliated, but the "necklacing" received minimal press coverage.

Now, one does not hold a brief for Inkatha, particularly after an Azam member in Bekkersdal,

Pogiso Mraji, was brutally slain by Inkatha imps on July 2 1992, after attending the Boipatong mass funeral. His son? Inkatha members in Bekkersdal, in their political idiocy, perceived Azapo's attending of the Boipatong funeral as "siding with the ANC".

But that must not alter one's puzzlement at the minimal press coverage accorded to the "necklacing" of alleged Inkatha members in Boipatong.

In our view, an acknowledgment, and non-equivocation, by all political organisations, and all sections of the media, that there is absolutely no glory in gory killings is the first, vital step towards peace in our land.

Therefore, any "necklacing" should receive maximum, adverse publicity.

In the mid-80s, as explained earlier, sections of the liberation movement accorded to the "necklace" some revolutionary, liberatory qualities. The press, too, by omission — as when, for instance, it often turned a blind eye to the excesses of UDF activists — contributed to this ghastly development.

De-programming of so-called

comrades who still believe in the "necklace" can only be helped by such an expression of utter revulsion at this barbarism of the Middle Ages.

At its national council meeting in Laudium, Pretoria recently, AZAPO pointed out the second step towards peace. Noting the Goldstone Commission's report that the ANC and Inkatha were almost always the other parties in violence, AZAPO asked for cessation of foreign funding of these two organisations until they have undertaken decisive steps to educate their followers on political tolerance.

Of course, foreign funders of these organisations are not renowned for having an ear for Azapo. It is unlikely they will heed Azapo's call.

This leads to our concluding question: if both the ANC and Inkatha were primarily representatives of whites and were, as they are now, almost always "the other parties" in acts of violence, would their massive bank-rolling by foreign governments and so-called solidarity groupings continue?

Dr Gomolemo Mokae is head of Azapo's Education Secretariat.

The Star

9/7/92

Defy call-up, ANC urges whites

Political Reporter

cratic army

The ANC yesterday called on all whites conscripted to the SA Defence Force to defy call-ups, saying it was concerned about the continuation of whites-only military conscription during the transition period.

In a statement, the ANC said South Africa needed all military forces in the country to be brought under a single command structure. It was essential to create a professional, demo-

Meanwhile, the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) said lawyers had advised it that in light of the repeal of the Population Registration Act last year, "the entire call-up system is legally invalid".

The ECC said it expected the Supreme Court to give judgment on the legal validity of conscription in about September.

The Star 9/7/92

Two Vaal policemen injured

Two Sharpeville policemen were injured yesterday — one of them set alight — in continuing violence in Vaal Triangle townships. Both are in satisfactory condition in hospital.

The Star 9/7/92

Bulldozer damages house

East Rand Bureau

A Vosloorus councillor's house was extensively damaged when someone in a stolen bulldozer smashed into it repeatedly yesterday morning.

Police said the attack on councillor M Loela's house took place at 8.42 am.

The bulldozer was stolen from a service station in Vosloorus, according to police.

Damage to the house was estimated at about R25 000.

A bakkie belonging to another, as yet unnamed, Vosloorus councillor was found gutted in Roets Avenue, about 15 minutes after the bulldozer attack.

Police said investigations were under way.

The Star 9/7/92

Lawyers to look at 'ANC trial'

Complaints about the ANC's recent "mock trial" in Maritzburg — in which National Party and Inkatha leaders were sentenced to death — has been referred to lawyers for arbitration, the National Peace Committee (NPC) said last night.

The NPC said the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party had rejected the ANC's explanation of the event.

The decision to refer the case for arbitration was accepted by all parties.

The NPC said at the rally it was alleged that President de Klerk and IFP leaders were "dangerous criminals" and they were "sentenced to death".

A coffin, with Mr de Klerk's name on it, was paraded and set alight. — Staff Reporter.

B/Day 9/7/92

COMMENT

Business brief

HELPING to draw South Africa back from the brink of its present crisis will call for more from business than high profile public meetings with the ANC or government, where the parties do little more than state positions and issue appeals. Constructive moves are being devised in the background — primarily, it seems, between Cosatu and Saccola. But their success will not be facilitated by repeats of the obvious warnings about the state of the economy which business spokesmen believe will divert the ANC and Cosatu from confrontation.

By now Cosatu knows that the threat of a general strike will not help make friends and influence people in the business sector. And it is clear that some civic organisations realise that bond and rent boycotts could destroy many of the advances made by the majority of South Africans.

That does not mean leaders of Cosatu can easily reverse their present directions — pressures from frustrated supporters are too great. Nor will any change of direction be made easier by dark warnings that business has had enough, that disciplinary action will be taken against strikers, that bankruptcies and factory closures loom, and so on.

By the same token, businessmen are unlikely to be influenced by threats of strikes or boycotts to swing their support behind the ANC/Cosatu alliance. If business is to help persuade government to become more flexible and concilia-

tory, it will need support, not pressure, from Cosatu.

Business's immediate concern is to devise practical initiatives to resolve the short-term crisis. Longer-term initiatives are irrelevant unless the short-term can be successfully negotiated. Access to the leaderships of the ANC and Cosatu should be comparatively easy. Both organisations have consistently professed they want business support in the present conflict.

Business cannot afford to be partisan; its image was badly damaged in the eyes of many Cosatu and ANC supporters by overt support of government during the apartheid years. But neither should business now side with the alliance because of feelings of guilt. If business is to help facilitate the resumption of negotiations between government and the ANC, it needs to make clear that it is doing so because its own interests demand the increased stability this would bring.

Heading off a damaging general strike would be the initial objective. That could involve business suggesting and facilitating alternative means of protest, accompanied by greater business involvement in structures established to end the violence.

Organised business can play a critical part in salvaging the situation. But it will require sensitivity and determination. It will also require a preparedness on the part of the ANC/Cosatu alliance to deliver a quid pro quo.

B/Day 9/7/92

Churches' role

STRANGE as it may seem, the police and the SA Council of Churches (SACC) have something in common — an image problem. And in both cases it stems from public perceptions of what they stand for, even though these perceptions may not always be accurate. Both have also been subjected by their opponents to propaganda calculated to damage them in the eyes of the public.

It is a welcome development that the SACC, at its conference in Durban this week, faced up to the fact that many people regarded it as "the ANC at prayer". This harks back to the days when the World Council of Churches and the SACC were among the most vociferous opponents of apartheid and therefore of the South African govern-

ment. They supported the liberation movements to the point that even violence seemed to be condoned in some circumstances. This perception, particularly among whites, cost affiliated churches the support of many good but confused people.

SACC president Khoza Mogojo points with justification to the part the SACC played in establishing the peace accord last year, and he is right to stress the churches' role in the search for peace and reconciliation. Indeed, religion and particularly Christianity should be a unifying force in this overwhelmingly Christian country. If the SACC is able to change perceptions about itself, through a consistently moral stand on the issues of the day, some of the country's divisions could melt away.

B/Day 9/7/92

'Commitment' from employers wanted

DIRK HARTFORD

THE biggest obstacle to peace and prosperity in SA was the minority government and Cosatu would do all it could to persuade the majority, including employers, to take action against government intransigence, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

He confirmed that Cosatu and Saccola had held "constructive talks" yesterday on the current situation, but said Cosatu was still looking for an active commitment from employers.

In talks earlier this week, business leaders warned that workers who participated in strikes would face disciplinary action, reports Sapa.

They said mass action would result in further business closures and retrenchments and a "downward spiral" in the economy from which it would be extremely difficult to restore growth.

There would also be a negative impact on local and overseas business confidence, and an increased potential for violence.

Naidoo would not elaborate on the contents of yesterday's talks, but said Cosatu was "more hopeful" that employers might act in support of democracy.

The joint meeting of Saccola, Cosatu and the TPA to try and facilitate a solution to the hospital strike demonstrated this.

He challenged employers to come up with practical solutions to the issues Cosatu was campaigning against, instead of wasting their energies on opposing its mass action campaign.

Cosatu would never forfeit its democratic right to mass action, especially when employers were unable to deliver a viable alternative, Naidoo said.

Mandela, Pik to address council

Govt backs UN mission to revive talks

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT yesterday agreed that a UN-sponsored mission could visit SA to help get stalled constitutional negotiations back on track.

The visit is one aspect of an attempt at international mediation in the SA conflict. The attempt will get under way in earnest next week when the UN Security Council meets in New York to hear views on the violence and the breakdown in talks.

The session — the result of weeks of diplomatic activity initiated by the ANC, the PAC and the OAU — will likely be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and PAC president Clarence Makwetu, among others. The Security Council also traditionally affords an opportunity for behind-doors discussion among protagonists.

It will hear views on violence, the negotiations breakdown and suggested forms of a UN presence which range from government's support for UN observers to the PAC's call for a UN peace-keeping force.

The security council debate was initially opposed by the SA government, which favoured a UN mission and even UN involvement in violence monitoring activities, a diplomatic source said.

Botha informed UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday of government's decision to accept a UN good-

will mission headed by former US secretary of state Cyrus Vance. Botha said the visit had been proposed by Boutros-Ghali, and urged that it take place before the Security Council convenes on Wednesday.

"I assume the mission will consult all relevant parties, organisations and experts during its visit. It was my understanding from our telephone conversation that this was also your view," Botha told Boutros-Ghali in a letter released last night.

Botha said government "considers it of the utmost importance that the negotiations should be resumed urgently and that the leaders of the major parties should jointly accept responsibility for further steps to curb violence".

President F W de Klerk opened the way for international involvement in reviving talks when he said in reply to the ANC's breakoff of talks that government was prepared to allow an international presence on a joint violence monitoring mission.

Government's view was relayed at a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria last month to Boutros-Ghali who subsequently canvassed the views of other parties, including the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha.

Diplomatic sources said SA received

□ To Page 2

UN mission

□ From Page 1

support for its opposition to a Security Council debate from at least one permanent member. The five permanent members are UK, US, Russia, France and China, any one of which may veto the passage of a binding resolution on SA.

ANC leaders were last night locked in discussion with local diplomats on what form UN intervention in SA could take.

Sapa reports Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab is one of nine African foreign ministers due to take part in the Security Council session.

The OAU had asked Algeria, Congo, Egypt, Madagascar, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda and Zimbabwe to attend.

TIM COHEN reports that Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoit said government was open to any reasonable proposal for the resumption of negotiations but accused the ANC of backing off from its Codesa commitments.

Delpoit said government was open to businessmen playing a mediatory role, to a

reconstituted Codesa and to international monitoring of the process.

However, he accused the ANC of wanting a simple majority to have the full and final say over a new constitution. Government believed it was imperative that substantial minorities should have guaranteed participation so that they cannot be ignored. To describe this as a "minority veto" was a gross simplification.

RAY HARTLEY reports that ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday the ANC was "very keen" to restart negotiations once the government had taken steps to curb violence.

It would be "the simplest of things" for the government to end the violence he told the AGM of the International Executive Service Corps in Johannesburg.

Mbeki hinted talks would resume if government fenced off hostels and guarded their entrances; prosecuted those involved in killings; and removed special forces like Koevoet from unrest duty.

Blinday

9/7/92

B/Day 9/7/92

Scepticism over bond boycott

THE call for a bond repayment boycott has gained little immediate support from political and community organisations.

Considerable scepticism existed over the SA National Civic Organisation's (Sanco's) stance among potential allies, sources said yesterday. Many felt such a move would be inappropriate.

Civic Associations of Johannesburg general secretary Cas Coovadia said the call for a bond boycott would create confusion and have "negative spinoffs".

"It is a very serious call to make and needs an in-depth look at in current conditions," he said.

Coovadia suggested there had been insufficient consultation with organisations over the boycott.

He would continue to pay his bond until the position had been clarified.

Sanco general secretary Dan Sandi said the implementation of the boycott would only begin once consensus had been reached with potential allies. These includ-

ADRIAN HADLAND

ed the regional structures of Sanco, the labour movement, the ANC, Azapo and other political and community organisations.

Sandi put down a deposit on a house in Grahamstown in 1989 but has not paid any bond instalments since.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley, who does not have a bond, said the question of bond boycotts needed to be considered carefully before Azapo's support could be given. Moodley said Azapo had not been approached by Sanco.

Cosatu campaigns organiser Lisa Seftel said Cosatu was planning to meet Sanco to discuss the boycott issue.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma indicated boycott action would have to be passed by its campaigns committee before it could be adopted by the ANC. The committee was due to meet this week and would consider the bond question.

B/day 9/7/92

ANC behaving more like NP every day

Dear Sir,
FREUDIANS call it "incorporation of the enemy" when an individual or organisation adopts the mannerisms, technique and mindset of their adversaries. The ANC, with its arrogance, intolerance, power-grasping and even rumoured corruption of certain members, is behaving more and more like the NP it is trying to overthrow.

Boipatong was a terrible national tragedy: but no more of a tragedy than mass killings of Inkatha members by the ANC. In the hands of the ANC propaganda machine, however, it is being elevated to the level of the Jewish holocaust. They are using it, raving about it, in the same way that the Nationalists for decades raved about the Boer War.

Nelson Mandela has accused President F W de Klerk of being "another Hitler" and so on. Yet it is he who, like Hitler, is trying to twist SA's participation in the Olympic Games (and other sporting events) into an ANC propaganda event, echo-

ing the Fulmer's pre-war exercise. Mandela and his clique's forcing sportsmen to wear armbands is as cynical and disrespectful for the civil rights of the individual thus coerced, as was Vorster's conduct regarding Basi d' Oliveira.

In the "New SA" it is the whites, especially the rich whites, whose liberty and wealth could be under threat, as in Nazi Germany. The ANC, with its close ties to "civil rights" professors like Kadar Asmal and Albie Sachs, is trying to create an impression that it is the custodian of civil rights in SA. By its deeds, however, it is showing that it is not.

I am a liberal of the Mill rather than the Marx-ANC variety, and am keen to form an organisation modelled on the American Civil Liberties Union which would do its best to protect all South Africans from the conduct and propaganda of the ANC.

PO Box 1138
b'burg 2000
Fax: (011) 836-0805

I am pro-euthanasia, abortion, pornography, marijuana, gay rights, women's rights, free speech, gambling and so on. But these issues could be thrashed out in the democratic way.

We would raise funds to fight cases for the rich whites — Master-bond victims — and poor blacks. We would support the ANC or its individual members if their true liberties were at stake. We would fight corruption, arrogance and power abuse.

Existing organisations like the Black Sash and the Civil Rights League, while doing commendable work, are not up to or specifically concerned with the challenges that

lie ahead. They also lack the necessary financial backing.

We already have an embryonic organisation. Like-minded people can contact me at (021) 61-8928 or write.

ROBIN EDWARDS
3 Salisbury Avenue
Bishops Cleeve
7700

□□□□

Dear Sir,
WHY DID the Rev Frank Chikane, Archbishops Desmond Tutu and Trevor Huddleston attend the funerals of those who were massacred at Boipatong and not those at Crossroads in early April? Through their Christian eyes were these lives not as important?

We did not hear a murmur of protest or a threat to call off tours from Tutu after the Crossroads killings. Will any of these gentlemen attend

the funeral of the person necklaced during the Boipatong funeral?

It should be obvious to the world by now that these so-called Christian leaders are making political capital from the misfortunes of those who lost their lives at Boipatong.

ANTHONY WARRIOR
Sherwood

09 197 12:11 1992 JPP 444 5:30

B/Day 9/7/92

Whites warned of danger in Sebokeng

LAWLESSNESS and anti-white sentiment had reached unprecedented levels in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng, police said this week.

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday law and order in Sebokeng had deteriorated to such an extent that only "intensified" policing could restore normality. Crime and violence in the township surpassed that in other Reef townships, and Opperman warned whites against venturing into it.

There have been numerous incidents of white people being attacked and harassed in the area and scores of vehicles have been ambushed and set alight while travelling along the Golden Highway which borders Sebokeng.

At the weekend a human rights lawyer, in the township to defend an ANC member at a court hearing, was stoned and forced to flee from a mob.

Opperman said that until recently the township had been as bad as the East Rand's Phola Park squatter camp and Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg. Now Sebokeng was the worst, he said.

He said the intensification of police anti-crime operations in Phola Park and Alexandra early last month had resulted in fewer unrest incidents in those areas.

Police were convinced that political

WILSON ZWANE

leaders in the Vaal Triangle were unable to stop their supporters committing acts of lawlessness, such as the searching of motorists at makeshift roadblocks.

"And to make law and order prevail in the township, police need the co-operation of the people — which is not forthcoming because the people who give information to the police are assaulted," he said.

Recently, Business Day journalists travelling in the township were stopped by comrades at a roadblock. The car was searched for firearms.

One of the "comrades" told the journalists whites were not welcome in Sebokeng and would be targets for necklacing.

RAY HARTLEY reports that four people, including a police constable, died in unrest-related incidents yesterday.

The constable was killed instantly and his colleague seriously wounded in an AK-47 attack in Katlehong, Opperman said.

The bodies of a man and a woman who had been burnt after a bus was set alight by thugs were found at Vosloorus.

In another incident, a man was shot dead in Alexandra by unknown attackers. Spent AK-47 and .22 cartridges were found there.

Police have appealed to the public to assist in locating the weapons used in the Katlehong attack.

B/Dag 9/7/92

Mock trial dispute may be arbitrated

THE national peace committee has asked lawyers to arbitrate in a dispute between government and Inkatha, and the ANC.

The dispute was declared by Inkatha and government yesterday at a meeting of the executive of the national peace committee.

The dispute arose from a mock trial held by an ANC official in Maitland on June 26.

President F W de Klerk, his government and 10 Inkatha leaders were allegedly sentenced to death at

WILSON ZWANE

that trial.

Yesterday's meeting of the executive of the national peace committee executive had been convened to — among other matters — discuss the ANC's response to the trial. The ANC gave its response last Friday.

Sources at the meeting said the committee failed to resolve the matter, which they described as a serious infringement of the national peace accord, and

referred it to arbitration.

The sources said Inkatha and government declared a dispute after rejecting the ANC's explanation that the purpose of the mock trial was to symbolise the demise of apartheid, not to offend De Klerk, government or Inkatha leaders.

A team of lawyers from the Transvaal Law Society, whom the national peace committee had recently enlisted to investigate infringements of the accord, had been asked to arbitrate "as a matter of urgency".

The Citizen 9/7/92

Cosatu to organise 'solidarity actions'

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions is to organise "solidarity actions" in support of the National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union, the Health Workers' Union and the Media Workers' Union in their respective actions against the SABC, Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Commission for Administration.

Actions will include marches to all hospitals and the SABC tomorrow,

and the issue of pamphlets, Cosatu said yesterday.

The decision to support the three unions follows a meeting of public sector unions and organisations at Cosatu head office in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

The meeting decided Nehawu's programme would include mobilising community support for the strike and exerting pressure on the TPA to reinstate dismissed workers.

Cosatu also announced its intention to march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Monday to demand a living wage for workers.

The general secretary of the federation's northern Transvaal region, Mr Joe Selau, said the march would also focus on the government and constituent assembly demands as outlined by the Cosatu Living Wage Conference and Alliance Campaigns Forum" held in Johannesburg last week. — Sapa.

9/7/92

Naidoo hits back at business chiefs

COSATU hit back at business leaders yesterday and said it would not be bullied or intimidated on the issue of mass action.

Business leaders this week formally opposed the "rolling" mass action campaign of the African National Congress and its allies, the SA Communist Party (SACP) and Cosatu.

They warned that workers who participated

in strikes would face disciplinary action.

"Instead of making threats against workers, big business should take a stand against the disastrous collision course that the present government has taken our country on by its insistence on White minority rule," Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo said in a statement yesterday.

Cosatu has called a general strike — expected to last about a week —

from August 3 as part of the alliance campaign.

A business delegation, representing the SA Chamber of Commerce (Sacob), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) and the Steel and Engineering Industry Federation (Seifsa), held top-level talks with the ANC, SACP and Cosatu in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

They said mass action would result in further business closures and retrenchments, a "down-

ward spiral" in the economy from which it would be extremely difficult to restore growth, a negative impact on local and overseas business confidence, and an increased potential for violence.

"Cosatu is not going to be bullied or intimidated by those who want to suppress our right to fight for our freedom, peace and democracy," Mr Naidoo said.

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Naidoo hits back

FROM PAGE 1

Cosatu was committed to a negotiated solution in the country, "but the government's intransigence in the negotiation process is making a mockery of any negotiations".

"Mass action is a strategy to unlock the political and economic logjam caused by the government's intransigence."

The economy was being destroyed by the unilateral and arbitrary decisions of the government, Mr Naidoo said.

He called on business leaders to instead pursue a programme of putting pressure on the government, whose proposals at the negotiating table, he said, were the "main obstacles to peace and democracy".

"A democratic solution would be the government's unambiguous agreement on majority rule."

Mr Naidoo said business leaders had in effect to decide whether they supported State President De Klerk or "genuine democracy". — Sapa.

• Citizen interview with Mr Naidoo — Page Four.

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Arrogance is cardinal sin of ANC: Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday described the African National Congress as "a strange mixture of the utterly cynical and the stupidly naive".

Addressing a police passing-out parade at Ulundi, he said that when the ANC destroyed parts of the economy to exert political pressure, it proved to be "monstrously cynical", and when it believed the SA Government would simply surrender to shows of force, then it was "childishly naive".

"But the cardinal sin of

the ANC is its arrogance and its pretence that it represents the nation," he said.

"Various political parties fight for the rights of elements of the nation. No one party represents all the nation, and not even all the parties represent all the nation."

"The Chinese community in South Africa has not a single political representative anywhere. If the whole nation is not represented even by all the parties combined, then by what right does one party — the ANC — presume to represent the national interest?" he asked.

"When it (the ANC)

leaves Codesa, it says it does so in the public interest. That is a lie. The public interest is served by negotiation and a commitment to compromise from all sides.

"It is not the interests of the nation which are served when negotiations are aborted and civil war is threatened, but the interests of the ANC military wing."

"Boipatong was a tragedy in more ways than we know. It is a tragedy in that it gave the (ANC) military wing the chance it had prayed for to stop Codesa and to stop the political progress of the ANC's negotiators," he said. — Sapa.

The Citizen

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ANC 'looking to body with unlimited power'

Citizen Reporter

THE Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Tertius Delpont, yesterday said the ANC was clearly aiming for a national assembly with unlimited power to write a constitution with an ordinary majority.

Speaking at a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Dr Delpont said the ANC wanted, in effect, to transfer state power to a body which was not subject to a constitution and with unlimited power. This the government would not accept.

The government also rejected the idea that a simple majority should ever be placed in a position to decide finally on the contents of a new constitution.

In fact, its view is that the majority must be compelled to take notice of the views of any minority.

Dr Delpont said al-

though it was not clear exactly what pressure was being put on the ANC by the other members of its alliance, the reluctance to negotiate was found very strange.

He said he hoped the reluctance was based on the emotionally charged atmosphere prevailing in South Africa and that reason would return.

When the final deadlock came in Working Group two of Codesa, all the details of a transitional constitution had been agreed upon and only the matter of a final constitution still had to be agreed upon.

The agreement included the fact that Codesa would draw up the interim constitution.

In this the ANC took the stand that only a national assembly and a two-thirds majority should be able to replace the transitional constitution.

Other parties which included the government,

wanted a senate to play a role and that a majority of 75 percent should be required for a final constitution.

In the last hour before the delayed start of Codesa II, the ANC eventually came up with a proposal that a constitution should receive a 70 percent majority in the national assembly, a majority of 75 percent should be needed for a Bill of Fundamental Rights and that should these majorities not be achieved within six months, a 50 percent majority would be enough.

"The six months' proposal was clearly aimed at giving a national assembly unlimited power to write a constitution with an ordinary majority.

"The truth of the matter is that it would have been simple for a simple majority to block the acceptance of a constitution for six months whereupon it would have had a free hand to write its own constitution.

"If it were accepted, the ANC would have achieved its objective, if it were rejected, it gave them the opportunity to withdraw from an unacceptable compromise," he said.

Dr Delpont said in spite of efforts by the government to continue the discussion, the ANC rejected this.

"If anyone was stalling, it was the ANC. In fact it is clear that they are running away from the draft," he said.

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Panel on mass demos to report back today

CAPE TOWN. — A multi-national panel of experts appointed by the Goldstone Commission to study mass demonstrations will report back on its findings today, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in a statement yesterday.

The report-back session, which is open to the public and the media, will be held at the University of Cape Town's Breakwater Campus on the Waterfront.

Following the report-back, interested parties will be able to debate aspects of the panel's findings in order to obtain a broad consensus.

The commission will thereafter make recommendations to the State

President about legislation regarding demonstrations.

The nine member panel is chaired by Prof Philip Heymann, director of the Harvard Law School Centre for Criminal Justice. The other members are Prof O Fajana (University of Rotterdam and Leuven), Prof Clifford Shearing (University of Toronto and Western Cape), Dr Peter Waddington (University of London and Reading), Dr Johan Olivier (HSRC), Prof T Goldenhuys (Unisa), Prof Don Foster (UCT), Mr Charles Louw (Cape Town advocate) and Mr CJ van der Merwe (president of the Natal Municipal Association). — Sapa.

ANC unpopular in Russia — academic

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress was unpopular in Russia and was viewed as a terrorist organisation, a Russian academic yesterday said here.

The perception in Russia was that because the now unpopular former Communist government had enjoyed good relations with the ANC, "the ANC must also be bad", Professor Irina Filatova told a meeting of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

Prof Filatova is head of the Institute of African and Asian Studies at Moscow State University.

She said there had been considerable public pressure on the Russian Foreign Ministry to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa.

This pressure had pushed South Africa to the forefront of Russian priorities.

"It was a case of goodies and baddies. The old Russian Government had said South Africa was bad, so people believe it is in fact, an Eldorado."

Prof Filatova said there was a "mass enchantment with South Africa and a belief that the country's White people have it easy and are wise and brilliant".

She said a body called the Good Help Society had been formed to make Russians better acquainted with South Africa.

Now that relations between the two countries had opened up, it would be easier to form business relations between them.

She said Russia's doctors, lawyers and engineers were just about the lowest paid occupations in the country.

"Many intellectuals in the sciences would like to go somewhere else."

The Institute awarded its annual Bradlow Fellowship to Prof Filatova. — Sapa.

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Alleged ANC 'mock trials' incident goes to arbitration

THE National Peace Committee has referred to arbitration the "mock trials" incident held by the African National Congress in Pietermaritzburg, during which National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders were sentenced to death.

A team of attorneys from the Transvaal Law

Society has been appointed as arbitrators — they are M P R Woods, P M Lebuso, J B Gresse, and C S Stockenström.

The alleged contravention of the National Peace Accord took place in Pietermaritzburg recent-

ly, where State President De Klerk and leaders of the IFP were publicly presented. "convicted and sentenced to death" as dangerous criminals.

A coffin bearing the name of Mr De Klerk was paraded through the streets and set alight in a

public place, according to the NPC.

An NPC media liaison officer said the incidents contravened paragraph 2.3 and 2.4 of the Peace Accord.

"2.3 states: No political party or organisation or any official or representative of any such party shall intimidate any person in connection with that person's political beliefs, words, writing or actions."

"2.4 states: All political parties and organisations shall respect and give effect to the obligation to refrain from incitement to violence or hatred. In pursuit hereof no language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, including that directed against any political party or personality, nor any wilfully false allegation, shall be used at any political meeting, nor shall pamphlets or posters or other written material containing such language be prepared or circulated, either in the name of any political party or anonymously" — Sapa.

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②

UN mission welcomed

FROM PAGE 1

as possible so his findings might contribute to a better informed discussion in the council.

"In my opinion the council will not be in a position to conduct a balanced debate on the situation in South Africa unless it has all the facts and points of view before it," Mr Botha said.

If the visit was not feasible before the council session, Mr Botha said his government would support a council meeting to authorise the mission as soon as possible.

Mr Botha also said that all parties participating in Codesa should be able to present their views if the Security Council was to be fully informed.

He reiterated that his government "considers it of utmost importance that the negotiations should be resumed urgently and that the leaders of the ma-

for parties should jointly accept responsibility for further steps to curb violence".

The African National Congress withdrew from the talks after a massacre on June 17 in Boipatong in which more than 40 Blacks were killed.

The OAU Council of Ministers requested the Security Council "to examine the issue of violence in South Africa and to take all appropriate action to put an end to it as well as to create conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition towards a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa".

In Windhoek it was disclosed that Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab is one of the nine African foreign ministers due to take part in the special Security Council session on South Africa.

The other foreign ministers are from Algeria, Congo, Egypt, Madagascar, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

The special session will be preceded by consultations between the current chairman and secretary-general of the OAU, the participating African states, and the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress, represented by their presidents.

"It is also expected that

the South African Government and some homeland leaders will be attending the session," the statement said.

The OAU summit had also decided to send an OAU monitoring team to South Africa for three weeks. The timing and composition of the delegation would be released as soon as the information became available. — Sapa-AP.

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**Cyrus
Vance
coming**

SA WELCOMES UN MISSION

UNITED NATIONS

— UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has proposed to send special envoy Cyrus Vance to South Africa to discuss ending violence and restarting peace talks. The South African Government says it welcomes the proposal.

Mr Vance was US Secretary of State during the Carter administration.

The Security Council has scheduled an emergency session for next Wednesday to discuss a possible UN role in South Africa. The Organisation of African Unity, which requested the meeting, was expected to send a

delegation of nine Foreign Ministers.

UN officials, requesting anonymity, said an envoy, possibly Mr Vance, might depart after the Security Council session.

Mr Vance was instrumental in negotiating with Serbs and Croats to send UN peacekeepers to Croatia earlier this year.

South African officials at the United Nations said

Mr Boutros-Ghali had telephoned Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Tuesday evening and proposed sending Mr Vance. They said Mr Botha welcomed the secretary-general's proposal.

Mr Botha, in a letter to the secretary-general, said Mr Vance should visit South Africa as soon

TO PAGE 2

Naidoo admits that mass action will hurt economy

The Citizen

9/7/92

By Carol Hills

MASS action would hurt the economy, but was fundamental to moving the government from its present position, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) secretary-general, Mr Jay Naidoo, said in an interview with The Citizen yesterday.

And it was because mass action would impact on certain "vested interests" in the country that those "vested interests," such as business, would want to, and actively try to, find a solution to the current negotiations impasse.

"We want them to do that," he said.

Cosatu believed economic decline and rationalisation were behind the economic crisis facing the country and not mass action.

The solution was a negotiation process which allowed the reconstruction of an economic growth programme.

This would lead to the creation of jobs and concrete discussions on public works programmes and other economic interventions which the major players had to negotiate to stimulate economic growth.

Initiatives

"We can only do that if we have a government that supports those processes of negotiation."

"The major obstacle now is that the government paralyses those initiatives," said Mr Naidoo.

Mass action essential to get a movement of the government from its present position and the installation of an interim or permanent legitimate governing authority "so that we get on with the job of rebuilding South Africa".

"We are not prepared to be bystanders in the unfolding process that affects all our lives," Mr Naidoo said.

He said the current "political logjam" in the country had arisen mainly as a result of the government's "intransigence" at Codesa.

"What we are arguing is that government has to give us an unequivocal undertaking on its commitment to majority rule."

Cosatu was prepared to discuss which checks and balances needed to be exercised on any future democratic government, but would not be prepared to accept the idea of rights, built into the constitution, for "people of groups" on the basis of their vested interests.

Fair election

"We are saying that government has to agree to a general election to be held by the end of December and that what we need to enter into is negotiations around the modalities of reaching a free and fair election... to establish who the legitimate, representative authority in the country is," Mr Naidoo said.

"Then we can really get on with the business of reconstructing this country and repairing the damage that apartheid has caused," he said.

Solutions which did not have the people's support, which were not legitimate or representative, were not going to satisfy the demands of the people on the ground.

Mr Naidoo said the government had destroyed the legitimacy of negotiations by making unilateral decisions on aspects of the economy after undertaking not to do so.

"We see the government trying to manipulate the agenda, so we are insisting that the government must be replaced by an interim government of national unity."

"We must move to elections as soon as possible and we must start doing the work of rebuilding South Africa as soon as possible."

ing South Africa as soon as possible.

Tragedy

Mass action was being taken because the government failed to recognise that this was where "the majority in this country want to go."

In this context, mass action was not intended to drive the country deeper into a crisis, but rather to "basically shock" society into seeing there was a national tragedy from which the country would never recover unless everyone stood up and did something about it, Mr Naidoo said.

"Yes, we will build up the mass action to the point where we will compel government to re-enter the negotiation process on a bona fide basis."

"And if they fail to do that we will take mass action to show that they will not rule without our consent."

"The pressure is building up from below, it is not an agitated resistance."

"The issue is: Are we prepared to stand up now and collectively find a solution to the national impasse? We are saying we are as committed as anyone to a negotiated settlement of the problems, but negotiations will only succeed if they are credible, they have legitimacy and they involve the people."

Cosatu was committed to peaceful protest, would as far as possible, take all the precautions necessary to ensure peaceful protest and would condemn anyone who made the protest violent.

It would not abandon the fight to have peaceful

protest because the security forces alleged there would be violence.

Intimidated

"We are not going to be intimidated, even if they threaten our lives, or attempt to intimidate us or smear us in their propaganda, we are determined to win our freedom."

"And we want to have that freedom through a proper negotiation process, but if the government refuses to negotiate, we will show our determination to win our freedom."

"We will involve ourselves in the type of actions that will win our freedom on the streets of our country. We have no other option."

Mr Naidoo said a start had to be made at normalising the situation in the country by "acting decisively against violence from any quarter."

The only way to break the cycle of violence was to ensure police impartiality by monitoring the security forces, supervising them and bringing them under the control of independent structures.

The credibility of law enforcement agencies could only be reinstated if they were properly controlled, if they were accountable to communities and if investigations led to convictions.

"Justice must be seen to be done in this country."

"People have lost absolute faith in the ability of police forces, the government and the judicial system to give them justice, and that is why we are sitting on the brink of anarchy in this country," Mr Naidoo said.

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ANC must get arms out of Angola soon

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC has until the end of this month to remove several tons of arms and ammunition from Angola.

Sources in Lusaka yesterday said the arms, which included a large number of AK-47s, mortars, landmines, cannons and rocket launchers, have been stored since the end of the ANC's armed struggle at Grafanil, a Fapla base situated east of Luanda.

There was also a possibility that more arms could be stored at at least three other Fapla bases in the vicinity of Luanda.

The sources said the ANC chief of ordnance and acting chief representative in Luanda, Mr Lister Sokhela, had indicated that the ANC was under severe pressure from the MPLA government to remove all ANC weapons

from Angola by July 31 this year.

The ANC was facing a risk of losing all their arms kept by Fapla because of political and military developments in Angola.

The sources said they believed that possible destinations for these weapons were Libya, Namibia and Zambia.

While Libya has already agreed to take the weapons, Namibia and Zambia have indicated that they would not be eager to take the arms.

Libya does not suit the ANC, because of its distance from South Africa and Zambia has already refused to accept the arms.

Although some sources believe that Namibia might be prepared to take the arms, the country has also indicated its reluctance to do so.

At this stage, high-level negotiations were in progress between the ANC and the Namibian Government and ANC members in Luanda have started planning the tactical details of the arms shipment, should Namibia give the go-ahead.

The arms cache allegedly includes more than 3 000 assault rifles and machine-guns, anti-tank guided missiles, missile launchers, cannon, sighting equipment and a large number of ammunition, rockets, explosives, mortars, hand grenades and landmines.

It is also believed that the ANC arms cache could include a small number of light tanks and armoured troop carriers.

The ANC has already admitted the existence of such an arms cache, but no details were given on the extent of it.

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AK-47 kills Katlehong const

Citizen Reporters

A KATLEHONG police constable was gunned down with AK-47 rifle fire and his colleague seriously wounded when a group of men shot at their patrol vehicle in Zuma Street at about noon yesterday.

The wounded policeman was admitted to Natalspruit Hospital where his condition was de-

scribed as critical.

The gunmen fled on foot after the attack.

The constable, whose name cannot be released yet, was killed instantly.

This brings to 94 the number of policemen murdered on duty this year.

Murder and robbery detectives on the East Rand yesterday launched

a massive search for the killers of their colleague.

A spokesman appealed to law-abiding citizens to publicly condemn the brutal killing of policemen.

• Four passenger buses and a police vehicle were damaged in separate incidents of unrest in Vosloorus, near Boksburg, on Tuesday evening.

East Rand police liaison officers, Capt Ida van Zweel said three buses were attacked by mobs in MC Botha Drive at about 6.25 pm.

The burnt-out wreck of a fourth bus was later found in Roets Avenue.

Police were summoned to the area but found only the wrecks and no sign of the attackers.

The Citizen

9/7/92

Our warning has been vindicated — CP

THE Conservative Party yesterday said its warning, that the African National Congress would be satisfied with nothing less than a total transfer of power and the sole say on a new dispensation, had been vindicated.

The CP was reacting to Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoit's statement at a media briefing

that the ANC "would only be satisfied if the majority was given full and final say about a future constitution".

CP constitutional development spokesman, Dr Corne Mulder, said Dr Delpoit's statement was indicative of "alarming naivety" and was exactly what the CP had warned the government and other parties against on a continuous basis.

He said the government through its conduct had elevated the ANC to one of the most important role players in the constitutional process.

Now it had discovered the ANC was only interested in total power.

This made a farce of the government's referendum promises to establish a power-sharing constitution, Dr Mulder said. Sapa.

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Violence: 'Govt hasn't done simplest things'

Citizen Reporter

THE government had not done the "simplest" things, such as fencing off hostels and making sure no dangerous weapons were taken into them, the head of the ANC's international affairs desk, Mr Thabo Mbeki, told a gathering of businessmen in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Mbeki, addressing the fifth annual general meeting of the International Executive Service Corps, said: "We came to an agreement 12 months ago that the hostels would be fenced off and no dangerous weapons would be

allowed in, but the government still hasn't fulfilled its undertaking."

He said this was one of the problems contributing to the violence.

Mr Mbeki said it was important for negotiations to continue, but that the ANC and the government disagreed on certain issues, such as majority rule and a constitution-making body.

He said protracted periods of change were not healthy and, due to the absence of agreement, negotiations had to be resumed speedily, so that key issues, such as the economy, could be

discussed and problems resolved.

Security forces, such as 32 Battalion, stationed in Phola Park, had not been withdrawn.

"Forces such as these cannot be peace-keeping forces because of their training and the focus of the training. The government must play a central role in the termination of violence," said Mr Mbeki.

He added, though, that the ANC also had an obligation to ensure that its members did not take part in violence, which was "tearing our country apart."

Compliments of
Cliff Gasney

Under investigation: Zulus do a war dance at the hostel accused of the Boipatong attack

SOUTH AFRICA

ENEMIES: Black vs. Black vs. White

Negotiations should eventually resume, but De Klerk can save his reforms—and the nation—only if the bloody cycle of black violence is halted

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 the country's good life, black South Africans are all the more impatient to acquire the power whites have 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 diverging worlds as it was to the failure of the negotiators or the latest massacre of blacks. That is one reason why 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. "I can only say," wrote Allister Sparks, the South African journalist and author, "that I despaired for our country."

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 rea-

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 the matter to descend into 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 who lives in that hostel a member of Inkatha? Your question makes me despair. We are interested that the people who were responsible be tracked down and 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

sons for the decision to withdraw from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (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



Zulu chief Magosuthu Buthelezi pins killings on tribal hatred and the A.N.C.

been sucked into the violence is something that I regret.

Q. Why has the violence escalated since President de Klerk initiated reforms?

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 they do those things, they are not orchestrated by me. When you get violence at such levels, you cannot blame the leaders. It is a civil war.

Q. Isn't it provocative for Inkatha supporters to carry traditional weapons such as spears in public?

A. It is part of my culture and custom. You focus on the wrong thing. It is the violence that is wrong. You can kill people with a woman's shoe.

Q. Are you optimistic?

A. There have been wars in this country. We survived. 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

the survivors also claim that government security forces 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 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 re-



Upset: Angry residents of Boipatong township force President de Klerk to end his visit

peatedly 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 immediately following the March referendum in which white voters overwhelmingly endorsed his reform program. In May, Round 2 of CODESA ended in failure largely because De Klerk's negotiators adamantly insisted on powerful checks and balances amounting to an effective white veto in a future political system. De Klerk seemed to be turning his back on black expectations.

His remoteness was apparent when he unwisely tried to visit Boipatong, only to be forced out of the township by an enraged crowd. As he fled, policemen opened fire and killed three more local people. Rather than make plain his concern for the victims and the developing political crisis, De Klerk flew to Spain on a trade mission.

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 that 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 preliminary 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 toward halting the violence 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 one another, neither world in South Africa has a bright future.