

# 'Glimmer of hope' for S A says Buthelezi

*2 Natal Mercury 17 Dec. 1990*

## Mercury Reporter

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday hailed the European Economic Community decision to lift its investment ban on South Africa, saying there was now a 'glimmer of hope' for the creation of new jobs in the country.

In a statement he appealed to Western governments to take his requests for a 'Marshall Aid-type' economic plan for South Africa seriously.

'We will not be able to create the multi-party democracy South Africans want unless many millions, the poorest of the poor, can be helped very quickly,' he warned.

Poverty would be the greatest enemy of democracy in South Africa, he said.

## Despair

He said 'the ripple effects' of the suffering caused by sanctions were 'spilling over into white communities'.

'The upsurge of violence, the robberies, the battering to death of old men and women is happening because there is unemployment, hunger and despair,' he said.

Meanwhile Democratic Party co-leader, Dr Denis Worrall, has also welcomed the lifting of the ban on new investments in South Africa.

He said it was a reflection of global trends, indicating the attitudes of the business and political communities of the United States, Britain and Europe.

'With President de Klerk's promised repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Act early next parliamentary session, the EC will be given the justification for the further formal relaxation of other sanctions,' he said.

Dr Worrall appealed to the ANC to take the initiative by co-ordinating business organisations such as Nafcoc, Sacob, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the trade union movement, to 'make the strongest possible case for investment'.

The ANC should 'cut its losses on the sanctions issue' and use its 'considerable international influence' to ensure economic investment took place, he added.

MERCURY, MONDAY, DECEMBER 17 1990

## THE FORUM Letters to the Editor

### Some questions about church conference

SIR — The recent National Conference of Churches raises a number of questions about the integrity of many religious leaders.

Firstly, the conference was not as representative as it claimed. The NCC's incredible claim that it represented 95% of South African Christians melts away when one notes that 50% of the denominations listed in the S A Christian Handbook 1990 were not represented at the Rustenberg gathering.

And although 25% of South African church members are Zionists, no representative from the Zionists was present. In fact the vast majority of missions and evangelistic agencies were also unrepresented at the NCC.

Secondly, the (unelected) steering committee and keynote speakers were heavily dominated by liberation theologians and the SACC.

Thirdly, the conference refused recommendations from the floor to condemn the abuse of children for political purposes. It also refused to condemn murder and terrorism as political tools.

## Satanism

Even more incredible, it refused to condemn satanism, child abuse and witchcraft. It even refused to include a clause on the right to life of the unborn!

Fourthly, the Conference Declaration, which ignored the pro-life, moral and family concerns, was obsessed with promoting the outdated, discredited and unworkable socialist programme of redistribution of land and wealth, and state intervention in every area of life (the similarities of the Rustenberg Declaration to the ANC's Luanda Declaration and the OAU's Harare Declarations are remarkable).

Fifthly the declaration was never voted on! So how can the humanist Rustenberg Declaration be palmed off as the voice of all South African Christians?

More to the point, how can it be reconciled to the will of God when it clearly is in violation of the word of God by refusing to uphold the preciousness of the life of the unborn victims of abortion, the young victims of child abuse and the innocent victims of terrorism?

Newlands

PETER HAMMOND



## Media Watch

By James McClurg

# 'African time' is no longer a joke

NATAL MERCURY 17 Dec. 1990

**P**RESS comments on unpunctuality and disorganisation in the ANC and PAC have hitherto tended to be subdued.

Now Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of Indicator, has lowered the boom.

Writing in Weekly Mail, he said: 'African time' — to use Archbishop Desmond Tutu's phrase — 'makes one suspect increasingly that hopelessness springs eternal in Africa.'

Quoting numerous examples of gross unpunctuality and failure to keep appointments or return telephone calls, Mr Akhalwaya said the excuses — or lack of them — were wearing thin.

'Since their unbanning, especially the ANC's, this behaviour is no longer a joke. It has become an item of national and international ridicule.'

What would happen, he asked, if these people tomorrow occupied the seats of government?

'Are they going to excuse their sloppiness and contempt for those they rule by throwing "African time" at them?'

## Vaderland

While the NP-supporting newspapers continue to ridicule the notion of an Afrikaner homeland within South Africa, the small band who are aiming in that direction appear undeterred.

Die Volksblad reports that 92 families have already established themselves in the Northern Cape, where they hope to found a 'new, white Afrikaner fatherland'.

This will be called Orandeë and will encompass such existing settlements as Upington, Prieska, Kathu, Kuruman and Olifantshoek.

The Orandeë Development Corporation hopes 250 000 Afrikaners will join the 60 000 whites already living in the area.

Afrikaners will then be in the majority and Orandeë will be in a position to apply to the SA Government — with luck before the end of 1991 — for self-government.

## Sayings of the week

□ In many respects, psychologists say, South Africa is a society in mourning. — *Piet Muller in Rapport.*

□ One of the many fascinating aspects of F W de Klerk's last year has been the way he has combined his above-it-all presidential moral leadership with more down to earth political objectives. — *British political commentator R W Johnson in Die Suid-Afrikaan.*

□ A serious love affair arose between Brigadier M J Deyssel and the Jalc company, and it looks as though he almost entirely forgot he was still married to the SA Defence Force. — *Mr Justice Louis Harms, as quoted in Beeld.*

A draft constitution will be submitted to a congress in Upington next March.

Spokesmen stress that there is no question of anyone, of whatever race, being expelled from the area.

## Gender

While some sectors of society might be prepared to accept a black government, they would rather not be ruled by women, said the alternative newspaper South in its 'Comment' column.

'While the ANC is the first political movement to seriously address the gender issue in a coherent and systematic way, it has yet to implement its lofty ideals.'

There had been progress in the ANC's shift towards 'non-sexism' in the past few years, but the organisation's Bill of Rights had failed in some respects to lay equal stress on racism and sexism.

The ANC's constitutional committee, South noted, consisted of 19 men and one woman.

## Inexplicable

Beeld reacted sharply to what it called the 'inexplicable' decision of the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape not to prosecute the South Africans in Jalc who, according to the Harms Commission, enriched themselves by means of fraud and bribery.

In particular, Beeld queried the Attorney-General's reference to the 'justified personal considerations' that had led to his decision and his statement that the actions of the persons concerned did not appear to have harmed the state.

'What are the "justified personal considerations" and would the ordinary citizen be able to lay claim to them?'

Is conduct actionable only when the state is harmed, and does this mean then that one is at liberty to defraud other people and organisations right and left?'

## Challenge

Ekstra-Rapport, which circulates among the coloured community of the Cape, has long been perceived as supporting the Labour Party.

However, its position has gradually become more independent and the Labour Party does not always fare well in its columns.

The newspaper's political correspondent, Colin Cruywagen, has pointed out that the Rev Allan Hendrickse's position as leader of the party will be on the line, for the first time in 12 years, at the impending party congress.

A member of the House of Representatives, whose name has not been revealed, intends challenging him for the leadership.

Opinion in the party appears to be that Mr Hendrickse, no amateur in the art of political survival, is unlikely to be unseated but that if he fares badly in the voting, he will come under pressure to resign.

□ This column will be resumed on January 14.



17/12/90

THE NATAL MERCURY, MONDAY,

# Hardliners told not to be unreasonable

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday stamped his authority on the ANC as never before by lashing out at ANC members whose actions threatened the unity and democratic base of the organisation.

However, the ANC deputy president frankly acknowledged that the three-day consultative conference had brought to light even 'very serious' weaknesses and mistakes on the part of the organisation's leadership.

He said the often 'hard-hitting and brutal' self-criticism which marked the conference would produce 'radical adjustments and even changes' to the ANC's stance on a number of issues.

But while allowing that the ANC leadership was prepared to respond to criticism honestly and objectively, he rejected some of the multiple criticisms directed at the ANC's executive during the conference as 'misguided' and 'totally unreasonable'.

Mr Mandela pledged that the ANC leadership was prepared to consult with rank-and-file supporters but made it clear that the task of leaders was to lead.

## Incapable

During his remarkably frank and hard-hitting closing address to the conference he lashed out at ANC members who operated as part of 'factions and cliques', played up to galleries in an unprincipled manner and had 'no idea whatsoever of working in a mass movement'.

He also took to task those ANC members whom he said were 'totally incapable of putting forward constructive views and quick to pull down what others have built'.

Mr Mandela said that one of the most disappointing features of the congress was that during the three days of discussion among the 1600 delegates there had been 'hardly a word of praise' for the hard work of the ANC's national executive.

But he nevertheless commended delegates for the 'fearless' fashion in which they freely expressed their criticisms of a wide variety of issues affecting the ANC and its leadership and

made 'vital' suggestions for improvement.

Mr Mandela said delegates had expressed 'serious reservations' about the way in which the leadership had handled issues like negotiations, the suspension of armed action, the violence in which thousands of people had been slaughtered and the 'neglect' of ANC soldiers 'in whom the future of the country depends'.

## Mistakes

The ANC's willingness to deal with homeland leaders and the apparent lack of accountability of certain leaders to their supporters had also come under fire.

Mr Mandela said to applause that the ANC leadership would do 'everything in our power to correct these mistakes'.

However, he added that there was also 'a variety of weaknesses and mistakes' on the part of certain ANC members as well.

'I would like to stress that some of the arguments which have been advanced we totally reject.'

For example, the overwhelming majority of ANC members and delegates to the conference supported negotiations between the ANC and the Government.

Confidential — as opposed to secret — discussions would continue between the Government and the ANC but negotiations proper

would not start until exiles had returned, political prisoners had been released and repressive legislation had been repealed.

## Death Row

Those ANC members who wished all talks with the Government to cease were being 'totally unreasonable', he said.

Mr Mandela also dismissed claims made at the conference that the ANC leadership was neglecting ANC members on Death Row.

He also criticised those who had complained about his comments that President de Klerk was a man of integrity.

He said to applause that as a result of the frank criticism directed at the ANC by delegates 'we are leaving this hall closer to one another than before the conference's commencement'.



## Tambo tells

N. Mercury  
whites to

17/12/90  
join hands

with ANC

JOHANNESBURG—It was time to make a clean break with the past and for whites to join hands with their ANC compatriots in the struggle against apartheid, the movement's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

He addressed a crowd of 50 000 that had gathered for a special welcome-back rally at the First National Bank stadium near Soweto.

Mr Tambo was loudly cheered and applauded when he called on 'our white compatriots to join hands with us'.

'Fellow South Africans, we have it within our power to translate this land into a country of plenty for all where apartheid will be a bad memory of the past.'

### Blood

He called 'in the names of millions of struggling South Africans' on those causing the violence to 'stop this mayhem forthwith'.

'Whoever and wherever you are, you must realise that by spilling the blood of kith and kin you are cutting your own throat.'

This was the last chance to avert a disaster which may visit generations to come.

Mr Tambo thanked the many countries and nations which had assisted the ANC in its three decades of exiled struggle and said the international community had a duty not to relax pressures on Pretoria until the apartheid crime against humanity had been removed.

### Courage

'For as long as apartheid exists all South Africans have an obligation to wage a relentless struggle against the regime.'

'It must be a struggle on all fronts in which none of us should spare limb or courage in advancing this noble cause.'

He said the ANC was willing to ensure that transition to a democratic society was smooth and painless.

'It is up to others to play their role constructively,' Mr Tambo said.

Referring to the consultative conference just completed, he said this was another landmark on the path to freedom.  
— (Sapa)



Private armies 'could lead to civil war'

# SAP in scathing

Natal Mercury 17/12/90

# attack on ANC

## Mercury Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG**—The police have warned that the ANC's intention to set up self-defence units in the strife-torn townships could lead to civil war.

They also say the ANC's plans for mass action campaigns next year are completely unacceptable and they dismiss the organisation's renewed accusations of State involvement in the township carnage as 'arrant nonsense'.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Capt Craig Kotze, yesterday launched a scathing attack on hardline resolutions dealing with the security forces, which were adopted at the ANC's consultative conference near Johannesburg at the weekend.

Vehemently denying police partiality in the violence, he said only a 'dramatic change in attitude' from the feuding parties would address the root causes of the violence.

The Government yesterday remained quiet on the ANC's ultimatum that it would consider pulling out of talks if certain conditions were not met by April 30.

## Compromise

Senior Government members were locked in a State Security Council meeting in Pretoria, at which the ANC's newly adopted measures were discussed.

They would, however, not comment. Observers believed the hardline policies adopted at the weekend were unlikely to endanger the peace process.

They said the April 30 deadline was 'fair', could speed up negotiations and was a compromise between the moderates and militants in the movement.

In a long statement, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC's warning that it might consider breaking off talks and resuming the armed struggle.

'I think it is rather sad that the ANC is talking the way it is about the possibility of resuming an armed struggle.'

'Such talk is war talk,' he said.

'The escalation of black-on-black violence presents probably the gravest threat to peaceful negotiations taking place that exists.'

Capt Kotze said the SAP strongly disapproved of the formation of private political armies.

'These can only heighten the conflict in our communities and will inevitably lead to further confrontation and even civil war.'

'These private political armies are completely unnecessary as it is the task of the SAP to protect everyone, including ANC members.'

The SAP would not allow anyone to take over or subvert its law-and-order functions.

Mass actions exceeded the bounds of legitimate democratic protest and were therefore unacceptable.

## Violence

Mass action contained immense conflict potential, which had already erupted into violence in townships.

Responding to a hard-hitting ANC resolution on alleged police involvement in the violence, he said: 'Wild allegations of this nature must be backed up with evidence.'

'The SAP categorically denies it is involved in the violence or that it takes sides.'

'The fact that accusations of partiality are levelled at the force from both the ANC and Inkatha makes a mockery of these claims. Merely repeating hackneyed allegations ad nauseum does not constitute evidence.'

● See also Pages 2, 15 and Editorial Opinion





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THE NATAL

**MERCURY****ANC'S CRY WOLF**

THE ANC'S weekend re-dedication to mass action, combined with its decision to set up 'tight and disciplined' defence committees to counter 'multi-faceted violence orchestrated through various government agencies', suggests that the organisation will now do all in its power to convince whoever will listen that it is the Government that is responsible for the ongoing carnage and that it has little part in initiating it.

The belief in many quarters here and abroad that a good deal of the bloodshed is the product of black political rivalry was dismissed at the conference with the claim that 'security forces, black councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads, askaris and certain bantustan and white Right-wing elements' are all part of a counter-revolutionary strategy to maintain white rule in new forms — the latter unspecified.

Now we've no doubt that there is more than a grain of truth in the accusation that elements in the police force and others have participated in killings — there have been court cases to prove it, just as members of the ANC have been on trial too.

Indeed, the SAP is so concerned about the image it has developed over recent years that it has launched a major campaign to try to remedy it and senior officers have appealed repeatedly — frequently in vain — for its accusers to produce the evidence.

The ANC should beware, however, of crying wolf too often, for evidence is accumulating that it plays no small part in provoking violence.

Most recent is the report of the South African Institute of Race Relations, which finds that much of the violence of the past six years has been sparked by campaigns to achieve the dismantling of black local authorities, which it has been decided will be a continuing aspect of 'mass mobilisation'.

And with sanctions having fallen to reason, who's to say the international community will not also become disillusioned with the ANC's persistent cries of 'foul', when independent observers attest to its own significant involvement in the bloodshed.

Violence from any quarter is unacceptable — that of 'liberators' as much as 'oppressors'.



# Kaunda paves the way for free elections

*Natal Mercury*  
17/12/90

The amendments needed Dr Kaunda's signature to become law.

'I compel myself to believe that after 26 years we consider ourselves mature enough to shoulder the responsibility of running a multi-party democracy,' Dr Kaunda said yesterday.

## Pressure

Dr Kaunda led the former British colony of Northern Rhodesia to independence as Zambia in 1964.

He has been under mounting pressure in recent months from pro-democracy activists demanding wide-ranging political reforms.

Zambia is one of Africa's poorest nations. — (Sapa-AP)

**LUSAKA**—Seventeen years of one-party rule ended in Zambia yesterday as President Kenneth Kaunda approved new laws legalising opposition political parties.

Immediately afterwards, leading opponents of the Government said they would soon announce the formation of a political organisation to contest Western-style elections scheduled for next year.

Dr Kaunda signed amendments to the constitution at a brief ceremony in Lusaka.

## Happy

'I'm doing this very happily indeed, because I believe it is the wish of the people to go multi-party again,' he told officials and reporters gathered on the lawn at his official residence.

He said multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections would be held before September 1991.

Since Dr Kaunda declared a one-party state in 1973, his United National Independence Party has been the only legal one.

## Riots

In a separate statement in Lusaka, a spokesman for the Movement for Multi-party Democracy said the group would register as a political party after a meeting of its officials today.

The MMD was founded in July, shortly after 27 people died in police and army gunfire during riots touched off by increases in food prices.

Constitutional amendments allowing for a return to multi-party democracy were unanimously approved by the 125-seat Parliament on November 30.



# Human rights: wider debate plea

**Martin Challenor**

Political Correspondent

ORDINARY people should get involved in the debate about human rights and a new constitution, not just lawyers and leaders, African National Congress member Professor Kader Asmal has said.

He serves on the most senior of the ANC's committees, the constitutional committee. In the past three months it has produced two documents on human rights and the concept of a constitution to help people and organisations work out what they want in a new constitution.

The ANC's Bill of Rights tried to build on internationally accepted rights and adapt them to South African conditions, said Professor Asmal.

"If you recognise the human rights of people, you are able to bring them together on the basis of equality."

The protection of human rights was central to the ANC's constitutional proposals as people could not be brought together if they felt threatened. No law or practice in the new South Africa must make people feel threatened.

The ANC wanted to develop a rights-based society, entitling people to their various freedoms and thereby empowering them. As such, the documents should be discussed by all people, not just lawyers and elites.

The constitutional committee was set up by party leader Mr Oliver Tambo five years ago. Two years ago it produced constitutional guidelines built on the Freedom Charter. The committee, consisting of 20 lawyers from inside South Africa and in exile, including two advocates from Durban, sat in

South Africa for the first time in June.

Professor Asmal was born in Stanger. He studied at the Springfield Teachers' Training College and through the University of South Africa and taught in Natal for four years. At the age of 24, he left Natal for the first time when he went to study law at the London School of Economics. Later, he also studied at Dublin University.

He has worked for the ANC since 1963.

A legal academic and barrister, he is a senior lecturer at the Law School, Trinity College, Dublin, specialising in international, labour and human rights laws.

Professor Asmal will bring his family to South Africa next year when he takes up a position as visiting professor of law at the University of the Western Cape.

He returned to South Africa on June 12 simply "because it was my home" and to share in the work of building a new non-racial South Africa.

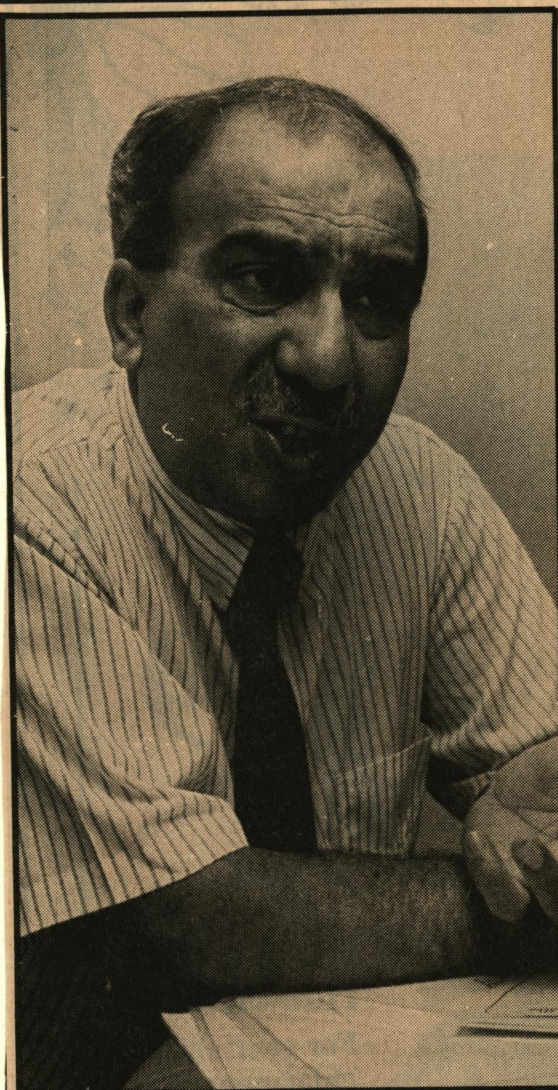
Since returning, he has been overwhelmed by people's desire for peace, freedom and change.

He has come to realise the richness of the cultural and social diversity in South Africa.

Professor Asmal has written three books, contributed chapters to nine other books and has penned many articles and conference papers.

He was a founder member of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and was vice-president of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which helped the families of political prisoners.

## NEWS



PROFESSOR Kader Asmal, a member of the ANC's constitutional committee.



# COMMENT

Telephone (011) 474-0128

**T**HE ANC's consultative conference at the weekend brought out the anger and impatience that is festering within the black community.

There is a suspicion that State President FW de Klerk has his own agenda, "that of retaining white domination in a new form".

There is a feeling that the Government "has failed and/or neglected to create a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations".

This was translated into impatience with the negotiation process and a resolution to reconsider its suspension if the Government has not removed all obstacles by April 30 next year.

It was angry language that was softened by the decision to continue talks about talks.

It was almost a repeat of the PAC conference the week before.

The language too was similar - "there have been no fundamental changes in the political situation which require a departure from our strategy", for instance.

Where the PAC had said it is not prepared to talk to De Klerk unless it is to discuss the creation of a constituent assembly, the ANC wants to remain engaged.

The Government needs to take note of this anger and impatience from below. It will take more than handshakes between ANC deputy president Mr Mandela and De Klerk and statements of mutual respect to solve the problems of this country.

The ordinary man will have to be convinced that De Klerk is committed to turning this country into a genuine democracy.

There is a possibility, of course, that the angry language is used only to push the Government to act fast, but the rank and file members will be taking these demands literally.

The ANC, like the PAC, is demanding that a constituent assembly and an interim government be created and will mobilise the people around these objectives.

The decision on "the convening of a patriotic conference on Sharpeville Day, March 21, to mobilise anti-apartheid forces against this regime" clearly makes a united front a strong possibility in the new year.

All this indicates that the country is headed for a bumpy new year.



# Owe-ANC ofunwa ngabomvu uthi akathi nyaka lapha eSA

Shanga 17/12/90

ETHEKWINI. - Oyilungu lesigungu sikazwelonke ku-African National Congress (ANC) futhi ofunwa ngabomvu ngamaphoyisa, nochazwa njengomuntu ohlome noyingozi, uMnuz Ronnie Kasrils, utshele elinye lamaphephandaba

esiLungu eGoli ukuthi akazimisele ukubaleka kulelizwe futhi akasoze azinikele emaphoyiseni.

Embikweni okhishwe yileliphephandaba nobulandela ingxoxo elibenayo ngocingo noMnuz Kasrils, kubikwe ukuthi ugxeke kakhulu amaphoyisa akulelizwe ngokufihla udaba lokunyamalala

kwalabo abathintekile ohlelweni olwaziwa ngokuthi yi-Operation Vula okuthiwa kwakuhloswe ngalo ukuqumba phansi umbuso wezwe.

Kubikwe ukuthi uMnuz Kasrils uthe kuyinhllekisa nje ukuthi phezu kwezinguqoko ezenzekile ngalonyaka kulelizwe uzithola engumuntu okufanele ahlale ecashile. Nokho wathi akaphathe-

kile kabi ngalesisimo akuso.

Uthe kuyamthokozisa ukuba abuyele eSouth Africa futhi akasoze azinikele emaphoyiseni kephuma uma emfuna kufanele afike kuyena. Wathi nanxa kulula ukuba alishiye lelizwe, kuze kufike isikhathi lapho kuyokweziwa khona isivumelwano phakathi kukaHulumeni ne-ANC mayelana nokuba angaboshwa uma etholakala, kodwa akazimisele ukukwenza lokhu.

Leliphephandaba libuye labika ukuthi uMnuz Kasrils uthe khona ukuxhumana phakathi kwabo nabantu abahambisana nabo. Wathi futhi likhulu iqhaza abalibambile kulokho okwenzekayo kulelizwe okuyinto abayenza kangcono bekuleli kunokuba bayenze besemazweni angaphandle njengaseLondon kumbe eLusaka.

Kubikwe ukuthi uMnuz Kasrils uthe uyovela kuphela uma enikezwa isiqiniseko esihambisanayo nalokho okwawunyelwana ngakho phakathi kukaHulumeni ne-ANC eGroote Schuur

nasePitoli okuwukuthi yena kanye nalabo abafunwa ngamaphoyisa ngeke bazithole sebebo-shwa ngaphansi komthetho wokuphepha kwezwe, i-Internal Security Act. Wathi akawathambi amaphoyisa ezokuphepha futhi yena nacashe nabo ababoni luguquko ezenzweni zawo.

UMnuz Kasrils kubikwe ukuthi uthe ukholelwa ngukuthi uMnuz Charles Ndaba ongomunye owayefunwa ngaloludaba wanyamalala esezandleni zawo amaphoyisa. Wathi uMnuz Ndaba ungowokuqala ukuboshwa kulabo ababethintene ne-Operation Vula kanti wanyamalala ngoJuly 6 KwaMashu. Kanti omunye adalule ukuthi unyamalele futhi ongathintekayo ozungwini lwe-Operation Vula nguMbuso Shabalala obenguthisha kwesinye sezikole eNingizimu yeNatal. Wathi abomndeni kaShabalala sebezame kangingi ukuthola emaphoyiseni ukuthi ngabe ukuphi uMnuz Shabalala, kodwa batshelwa ngasosonke isikhathi ukuthi akamazi nawo lapho ekhona. Uthe uyasola ukuthi waboshwa uMnuz Shabalala kulandela ukuboshwa kukaMnuz Ndaba. Wathi imibuzo ebuza ngamaphoyisa kulabo abathintekayo ozungwini i-Operation Vula ikubeka ngokusobala ukuthi uMnuz Ndaba kanye noMnuz Shabalala sebake baphenywa ngaloludaba.

16/1/11



ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo addressed 1 600 delegates attending the organisation's consultative congress in Johannesburg at the weekend. In his speech he said apartheid still remained intact but ...

# Freedom looms on horizon - Tambo

Sowetan 17/12/90

'I salute you all in the name of all patriotic South Africans, especially those whose sterling contributions have made this day a reality.

Many of these have laid down their lives, and still countless others were maimed for life whilst on active duty in the service of their people and country.

It is thanks to these, to whom we shall forever be indebted, that today we are witnessing an epoch-making event.

It is thanks to these heroes and heroines of our struggle that we are able to attend the first legal ANC consultative conference inside South Africa after an underground existence spanning over three decades.

## History

We are making history reshaping the destiny of our country, because many who are not able to be here have given their lives for this day to dawn. They perished so that the nation could live; they did not perish because they loved life any less.

It is thanks to you that today the dignity of a black person is being restored and, together with it, the dignity of our beloved country.

It is thanks to you that, at last, freedom looms large on the horizon. We, too, are finally seeing the light at the end of a long and dark tunnel.

Twenty nine years ago, on December 16, the ANC and its allies announced the formation of our army Umkhonto we Sizwe. Seen against a history of peaceful forms of struggle which congress had espoused and practiced since

## FOCUS

its formation in 1912, the move to armed struggle was a radical departure which marked the opening of a new page in the history of our struggle.

This decision was taken only after the government had closed all doors to peaceful opposition by banning the ANC and other political organisations in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre.

## Offensive

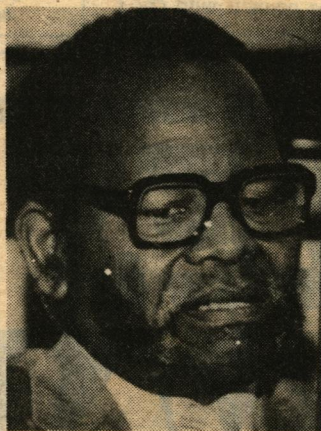
Having decided to fight, we managed too launch and sustain an all-round offensive which has finally brought the apartheid system to the brink of defeat.

At no time have a people heading warring camps in this country come together to find a common way out. This is happening for the first time in 70 years. Naturally, our hopes regarding the future of our country have been raised.

We, however, should remain vigilant and ready to confront new challenges with the same tenacity as before. The massacres in the townships and elsewhere are a painful reminder that apartheid is still firmly in place.

Accordingly, the struggle against apartheid should be intensified at all fronts. In this regard, our strategy and tactics should be informed by the objective situation internally and internationally.

Whatever form of struggle we have employed in the past, and may still have to employ in the fu-



OLIVER TAMBO

ture, the golden link is always, or absolute determination to regain our freedom.

On this we should never be found wanting. At no stage should anyone be left in doubt regarding our will and readiness to free ourselves.

On the international front we are at a point where political military and cultural and economic sanctions have been imposed. It is true that several Western countries have tried to undermine the sanctions movement. Nevertheless, the imposition of sanctions in the face of outright hostility from some countries is a victory of no small measure, given the crucial role of the international factor in our struggle.

We take this opportunity to thank the international community for standing solidly behind us. In particular we thank the anti-apartheid movement, individuals and governments, who supported us all these years.

Once again Pretoria's traditional allies are counselling that De Klerk should be rewarded for responding positively to our peace initiative.

In this regard, the Harare Declaration, which has since been

adopted by the United Nations, albeit with some modifications, should not be undermined. However in defending this document, it is no longer enough for us to repeat the tried slogans. We should therefore carefully re-evaluate the advisability of insisting on the retention of sanctions, given the new developments in the country and abroad.

No struggle has been won on the strength of wishes. Any contest for political power is serious business. It may be that in the months and years ahead, we could find ourselves relying more on mass action as the predominant form of the struggle.

## Confidence

To this end we must build the ANC and other democratic formations as never before. No single town, village, street, or indeed house should be left unorganised.

The election of a constituent assembly would assist in restoring people's confidence in democratic processes. The new democratic constitution thus not only become workable, but would also enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of the majority of the people.

Apartheid has denied and continues to deny our people opportunities to learn and acquire skills and know-how. Because of the twisted logic of racism, our rulers would sooner import skilled white labour rather than educate blacks in the country.

The education crises is a national calamity that should be tackled as such by all of us. The resolution of this crisis, especially black education, is a task that both black and white South Africans must undertake for their own sake.

\* This speech has been shortened.



# Mandela gets tough on internal strife

## e within the ANC

STAR 17/12/90

**N**ELSON Mandela yesterday grasped the nettle of the ANC leadership, firmly telling restive delegates at the organisation's historic homecoming conference that they must trust the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) and should not expect to be consulted on all initiatives involving the Government.

At the same time the ANC, by allowing delegates to sharply criticise their leadership and by not attempting to cover-up their criticisms, demonstrated its commitment to democracy within its own ranks.

In a masterly and authoritative speech at the end of the ANC's three day Consultative Conference, Mr Mandela showed that he had rolled up his sleeves and made the transition from being a revered symbol of resistance to assuming the

practical day-to-day leadership of a huge and still relatively unorganised political party.

To Mr Mandela fell the task of summing up and pronouncing on the key proceedings, which have set down markers for ANC activity between now and June next year when a full congress is scheduled.

His remarks left no doubt about the vigour — and heatedness — of the lengthy debates. The ANC leader implicitly but unmistakably rebuked those delegates who might have

"tried to prove how revolutionary they were" by adopting intractable attitudes, saying they did not understand the nature of the process under way in South Africa.

Specifically, he rejected a call for the termination of confidential meetings between himself — or the ANC's nego-

tiating team — and President F W de Klerk and his aides.

"This statement could only be made by those who do not understand the nature of negotiations," he said, adding that had such meetings not taken place, there would be no negotiation process at all. Moreover, he reminded the conference, "the overwhelming majority (of delegates) support the negotiations between the ANC and the Government".

But he stressed that "no discussions on a new constitution will take place until all the obstacles (identified by the ANC) have been removed".

Confidential meetings were an essential element if further progress was to be made, Mr Mandela said, and would continue despite the objections of certain delegates. He distinguished between "confidential"

Nelson Mandela yesterday made the transition from being a symbol of resistance to assuming the practical day-to-day leadership of the ANC.  
SHAUN JOHNSON and PATRICK LAURENCE report.

and "secret" meetings.

The ANC deputy president gave several examples of occasions on which he had initiated contact with Government figures in response to immediate developments. One was his intervention in violence at Tokoza; another was his initiative in securing the release of 18 ANC exiles — and delegates to the conference — who had been detained at Jan Smuts Airport.

He gently mocked those who sought to circumscribe this right of leadership: if their view had prevailed he would have been paralysed. "Before I took

any of those steps, I should have called a Consultative Conference... and consulted 1 600 people," he said.

Mr Mandela addressed in some detail the question of consultation, saying he and his colleagues in the National Executive Committee were firmly behind the principle of maximum consultation, but that practical limitations should be recognised if the leadership was to be able to act creatively and in the best interests of the ANC.

It was "one of the most disappointing features of the discussions that there has been hardly

a word of praise for our comrades in the NEC," he said.

He rejected criticism of the leadership's handling of the questions of President De Klerk's integrity, contact with homeland leaders, and treatment of political prisoners on Death Row.

He stood by his frequent affirmations of his belief in the integrity of the state president, he said, but these were being considered "out of context" by critical delegates. The sincerity — or lack of it — of individuals within the Government was irrelevant as far as the ANC's principal aims were concerned.

The movement's strategies were determined by the objective situation; the ANC's goal of a transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy was immutable.

Contact with homeland lead-

ers should also be viewed in its proper strategic perspective, Mr Mandela said. One of the objectives of the ANC was to pry loose the Government's erstwhile allies, and hence homeland leaders had been invited to "join the liberation movement".

The condition attached to the invitation was that they make peace with their own people, he said, and the ANC would not provide "an umbrella" to protect discredited leaders who failed to mend their ways.

Mr Mandela angrily dismissed claims that the NEC had failed to show sufficient interest in the fate of political prisoners on Death Row. He had personally visited Pretoria Central prison and spoken to the prisoners, he said, and NEC members had done the same.

Mr Mandela's unequivocal stance clearly carried the majority of delegates, and there

was frequent clapping from the floor. The proceedings indicated a major success for the ANC, in that it was able to deal frankly with a fractious membership and sensitive questions.

The ANC's commitment to internal democracy and unrestricted self-criticism, brought its own reward. Mr Mandela expressed the point eloquently.

"As a result of the frank criticism (we have heard here), and the very positive response of the chairpersons to it... we are leaving this hall closer to one another.... We have emerged from the conference stronger than we were before."

At a press conference after his speech, Mr Mandela rejected a suggestion that the differences which had emerged indicated that the ANC leadership was "out of touch" with the rank-and-file.

16/1/11



# Zimbabwe farmers still wary of amendment Bill

*Daily News 17/12/90*

## Africa Service

HARARE: "We are survivors. We have a history of surviving. Let's wait and see".

This reaction from a leading white farmer to the dramatic events in the Zimbabwe Parliament last week was not atypical of many of that hardy breed.

That is not to say the farmers are shrugging off the threat posed to them by the speedy passage through parliament of the Constitution Amendment Bill which clears the way for new legislation aimed at reducing by more than half the land currently owned by 4 400 commercial farmers in Zimbabwe to make way for 100 000 peasant families.

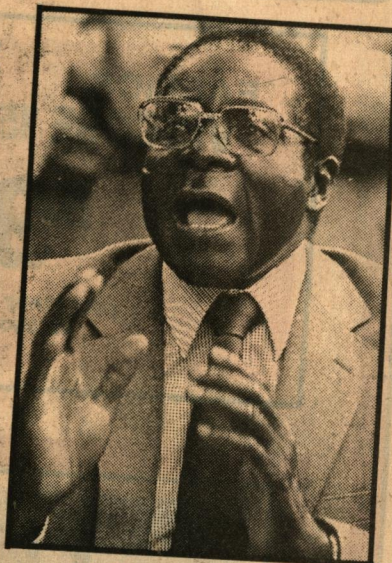
They are worried and they are confused. They are incensed at the refusal of the legislature to heed the warnings about the damage to confidence through the provision which debars the courts from inquiring into compensation. The Commercial Farmers' Union, by its silence, and its decision to call an unprecedented open meeting of all farmers next month, does not seem to know what to do.

The CFU lobbied strenuously and hoped to see at least a tribunal to rule on compensation. But the Government did not budge an inch.

Demands for the white farmers to give up some of their land have been frequently made over the past two years. Eighteen months ago President Mugabe said: "We have to do justice to the people's demand for land and that land must come from the commercial farming sector."

## Assurances

But the farmers have also repeatedly been given assurances from people at the highest level of Government, including Vice President Joshua Nkomo that there will be no land-grabbing.



Mr Robert Mugabe

As recently as last August, the agriculture minister, Mr Witness Mangwende, told farmers: "Take heart and get on with the business of farming. There is no intention whatsoever to grab anybody's land. We know the hectareage we are talking about is going to be achieved without the necessity of removing one farmer from his farm."

It was a different story in Parliament this week when Minister Mnangagwa railed against rich landowners who, he said, would have to make sacrifices and accept that the Government could not afford to pay them the market price for their land and properties.

The Commercial Farmers' Union still hopes that before the amended land acquisition measure comes before Parliament, some safeguard to ensure reasonable compensation will be agreed on.

"There is a chance that we can come out of it with some protection for landowners," said one lead-

ing figure in the farming world.

There is a view that the change in the constitution itself does not change anything, but enables the Government to bring in legislation which could be damaging to landowners' interests.

It is this attitude which is thought to have led to a vote for the Constitution Amendment Bill from a former leader of the farmers and now Transport Minister, Mr Denis Norman.

## Delicacy

No comment was available from Mr Norman himself on this issue because of the delicacy of the situation.

As one observer put it: "The weapon has been loaded but will the trigger be pulled?"

White farmers have contributed substantially to Zimbabwe's economy with the value of production totalling more than R2 000 million this year, four times as much as it was at independence.

The value of exports from commercial farming properties has grown sixfold. They feel betrayed because they were repeatedly told that the value to the country of the productive sector was fully appreciated.

But under the amendment to the constitution, even land which is being utilised may be taken by the Government in return for "fair compensation" to be paid in a "reasonable period". The counter-argument is that it is morally wrong for only 4 400 farmers to hold 11 million ha when there is great pressure on land in peasant farming areas.

The Government, too, can argue that since independence, peasant farmers have scored notable successes thanks to loans and technical advice, so much so that they today produce 60 percent of marketed maize and half the cotton crop.



Restive delegates told that the executive committee is in charge

# Mandela lays his future policy firmly on the line

*Daily News 17/12/90*

**N**ELSON MANDELA yesterday grasped the nettle of the ANC leadership, firmly telling restive delegates at the organisation's historic homecoming conference that they must trust the ANC national executive committee and should not expect to be consulted on all initiatives involving the Government.

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To Mr Mandela fell the task of summing up and pronouncing on the key proceedings, which have set down markers for ANC activity between now and June next year when a full congress is scheduled.

His remarks left no doubt about the vigour — and heatedness — of the lengthy debates. The ANC leader implicitly but unmistakably rebuked those delegates who might have "tried to prove how revolutionary they were" by adopting intractable attitudes, saying they did not understand the nature of

The ANC held its first congress in South Africa in 31 years at the weekend.

the process under way in South Africa.

Specifically, he rejected a call for the termination of confidential meetings between himself — or the ANC's negotiating team — and President F.W. de Klerk and his aides.

"This statement could only be made by those who do not understand the nature of negotiations," he said, adding that had such meetings not taken place, there would be no negotiations process at all. Moreover, he reminded the conference, "the overwhelming majority (of delegates) support the negotiations between the ANC and the Government".

But he stressed that "no discussions on a new constitution will take place until all the obstacles (identified by the ANC) have been removed."

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**SHAUN JOHNSON and PATRICK LAWRENCE** report.

Airport.

He gently mocked those who sought to circumscribe this right of leadership: if their view had prevailed he would have been paralysed. "Before I took any of those steps, I should have called a consultative conference and consulted 1 600 people."

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It was "one of the most disappointing features of the discussions that there has been hardly a word of praise for our comrades in the NEC".

He rejected criticism of the leadership's handling of the questions of President de Klerk's integrity, contact with homeland leaders, and treatment of political prisoners on death row.

He stood by his frequent affirmations of his belief in the integrity of the State President, he said, but these were being considered out of context by critical delegates. The sincerity — or lack of it — of individuals within the Government was irrelevant as far as the ANC's principal aims were concerned, he said. It made no difference to the movement whether their adversaries were sincere or not.

Its strategies were determined by the objective situation; the ANC's goal of a transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy was immutable.

Contact with homeland leaders should also be viewed in its proper strategic perspective, Mr Mandela said. One of the objectives of the ANC was to pry loose the Government's erstwhile allies, and hence homeland leaders had been invited to "join the liberation movement".

The condition attached to the invitation was that they make peace with their own people, he said, and the ANC would not provide an umbrella to protect discredited leaders who failed to mend their ways.

Mr Mandela angrily dismissed claims that the NEC had failed to show sufficient interest in the fate of political prisoners on death row. He had personally visited Pretoria Central prison and spoken to the prisoners, he said, and NEC members had done the same on separate occasions. He had given his personal assurance to the prisoners that the ANC would do everything in its power to ensure that they received indemnity.

Mr Mandela's unequivocal stance clearly carried the majority of delegates, and there was frequent clapping from the floor. The proceedings indicated a major success for the ANC, in that it was able to deal frankly and openly with a fractious membership.

The ANC's commitment to internal democracy and unrestricted self-criticism, brought its own reward.



# Tambo calls for pressure to be kept up

17/12/90  
Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: ANC president Oliver Tambo yesterday called on the international community not to relax pressure on South Africa until apartheid was scrapped.

In his first public speech in the country in 30 years since his return from exile last Thursday, Mr Tambo told about 50 000 ANC supporters at a rally at the First National Bank Stadium outside Johannesburg that all South Africans had "an obligation to wage a relentless struggle against apartheid".

The rally was also the first to be held in the country in three decades.

Mr Tambo (73) received a hero's welcome at this "welcome home" rally at the stadium. It was also the first rally

to be addressed by the ANC president in person.

Mr Tambo, who spoke slowly as a result of a stroke he suffered last year, also made a strong appeal for an end to violence in the country's townships.

"Whoever you are, wherever you are, we implore you to realise that the violence is wrong and must end. It is up to us and others, especially the Government, to play our part in stopping the violence," he said.

Mr Tambo, who was driven to the stadium in a convertible Mercedes Benz with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, thanked the people for the warm welcome he had received from the moment he arrived at Jan

Smuts Airport last week.

He also thanked all those countries which had stood by the ANC over the years, saying it was their efforts and the struggles of the people inside the country that had forced President F.W. de Klerk's government to move away from apartheid.

The ANC president, who as honorary member of the ANC Youth League was presented with the ANCYL membership card, called on white compatriots to join hands with them, saying it was time to salvage the country from sinking further into a bottomless pit.

The weekend's consultative conference, Mr Tambo said, was a vindication of the ANC's long-held belief that it had the capacity and the political will to win the people over to itself.

The organisation was now ready to meet the challenges of the day boldly, intelligently and efficiently.

ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu introduced Mr Tambo as "one of the greatest sons of Africa".





REMEMBERING Blood River: Joan van der Merwe in traditional trekker dress lays a wreath at the site of the battle which took place 152 years ago.

## Some fear end to Day of the Vow celebration

STEVEN VEGH, Daily News Reporter

WEENEN: The holy vow their ancestors made 152 years ago brought hundreds of Afrikaners back to Blood River yesterday for a re-affirmation that some said might be the last if Government-African National Congress talks lead to majority rule.

Overt political leanings were completely lacking on the Day of the Vow this year at Blood River, where 460 Boers vanquished 12 000 Zulu attackers in 1838 in a victory for which Afrikaners credit God.

Instead, the atmosphere was more of a reunion of a family linked by a deep religious heri-

tage — albeit with a dozen South African police officers present at one point.

"It's as though I made the promise to God. Out of those people, I am here. It was a great day in the Lord's eyes and those people's eyes," said a young woman from Pretoria who requested anonymity.

"I'm not here for the tradition. I want to serve God on the day he helped the Boers. I like to be here. I love it," said Mr Jan Maritz of Vereeniging.

But both said they were convinced that 1990

would be the last year that the Day of the Vow and Voortrekker monuments throughout South Africa would be honoured.

"History is happening again and we soon will have to fight again just like that small number of Boers did then," said the Pretoria woman.

Just as Dingane, the Zulu chief, killed Boer leader Piet Retief after signing an accord giving the Afrikaners land, so would today's black leaders strike after agreements with the Government were signed, she predicted.

Attendance was slim on Saturday, when roughly 100 people joined in games, a braai, tableaux of Afrikaner history and songs, their friendly warmth like that of a small church congregation on a weekend retreat.

Sunday saw the crowd both bigger — about 400 — and slightly more serious, with many dressed in their Sunday best for a church service and re-affirmation of the Vow on the epic battle site.

Unlike several years ago, no prominent Government officials were at Blood River to mark the national holiday. Their absence, particularly

that of State President Mr F.W. de Klerk, was noticed by some Vow observers.

"He's a liar, a traitor. Where is he now? He's not here, though our greatfathers made the promise and his were among them too," said a young Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member who would not give his name for "security" reasons.

The Technikon Pretoria student also called Mr de Klerk a "khaki-Boer" and a "joiner" — labels for Afrikaners who backed the British in the Anglo-Boer War. He said the same terms were appropriate for Mr de Klerk's supporters.

But Mr and Mrs H.J. Groenewald of Dundee both said Mr de Klerk's reforms were necessary to improve communication between blacks and whites and to improve blacks' social welfare in areas such as education.

## Terre'Blanche threatens 'to get' NG church minister

PRETORIA: AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche was in a political belligerent mood yesterday when he recalled how Afrikaner historian Professor Floors van Jaarsveld was tarred and feathered and went on to warn he would "get to" the "coloured" NG church minister, Reverend Russel Bothman, for suggesting the Day of the Vow be removed from the calendar.

Mr Terre'Blanche made the threat during a Blood River memorial service at Belfast, near Middelburg in the Transvaal.

He referred to an incident on March 29, 1979, when a group of AWB members had tarred and feathered Professor van Jaarsveld for questioning the religious nature of the Day of the Vow. —Sapa



# BLACK PRESS

Garry Brennan



## Township violence: dismay and desperation

*Daily News*  
17/12/90

**D**ISMAY and desperation are growing apace in news and comment on the Rand township violence.

In one edition only pictures in the Sowetan showed a dozen bodies, a stream of refugees, bereaved families and bewildered children.

Reports reflected confusion. Residents claimed that police were with hostel dwellers in a raid. The hostel dwellers claimed, however, that police had attacked them. Police issued a denial and called for proof to back allegations.

The newspaper urged the Government and all political organisations to "address a sickness that will most likely strike in other parts of the country where there are shacks, hostels and such abject deprivation."

It said the violence was "politically suicidal. It is perhaps damaging to whatever process the Government has committed itself.



Rolling out the red carpet: in a time of otherwise grim news, the SOWETAN cartoonist managed to produce some cause for celebration.

"To make matters worse the police have become implicated and the Government will stand blamed for the alleged acts of elements in the forces who might be responsible for the continuation of the unrest.

"The Government must take decisive action to stop the violence. It is their job. They are paid to do it. There can be no more excuses."

"AFRICAN time" irritated Post Natal columnist Ameen Akhalwaya, who noted that over the past two decades, "not a single extra-parliamentary meeting I've attended started within 30 minutes of the advertised time".

In the past it could have been argued that guest speakers and other luminaries had problems with transport, phone, pass and police. Those excuses seldom applied today.

Media people knew that messages to activists went unanswered, appointments were broken. Overseas representatives of liberation movements were notorious for this uncertainty.

"The 'African time' excuse reflects badly on the ability and efficiency of extra-parliamentary organisations to govern.

"Can one imagine what would happen in an

emergency when a decision has to be taken urgently, but is made only after the event because of African time?

"Time and tide wait for no man, but we are expected to believe African time, will wait indefinitely for our tide of history to turn.

"What would happen if tomorrow these people were suddenly to occupy the seats of government? Are they going to excuse their sloppiness and contempt for those they rule by throwing African time at them?

"If that is the case, won't those clock-watching white-classified people, who use the external problems in the rest of Africa as an excuse, be justified in defending the preservation of out-dated white 'European time'?"

He concluded: "It is time — universal time — that these few activists who have become a timeless enigma be disciplined, in line with calls by their leaders to black people generally.

"If they are not, the hopes of the majority will founder on the sands of time — African time."

□ The day after his article was published the South African Communist Party called a Press conference in Durban. Reporters arrived at the appointed time and place. The SACP did not pitch.



European Community lifts ban on new investment in South Africa

# Sanctions decision greeted with relief

*X Daily News 17/12/90*

## Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Business and political commentators — locally and abroad — have greeted the European Community's easing of sanctions with relief and gratitude.

However, some reservations have been expressed over whether investment will flow in under the current economic circumstances.

The ban on new investment in South Africa has been lifted since the weekend, when EC leaders held a two-day summit in Rome.

In addition, the EC declared it was ready to revoke all punitive measures if State President F.W. de Klerk repeals the Group Areas and Land Acts. The remaining sanctions now include the ban on the importation of iron, steel and Kruger rands.

EC member-countries also prohibit the exportation of crude oil and the provision of computers to the South African Defence Force and Police.

Ireland and Denmark have severed direct air links with South Africa.

The United States Ambassador to South Africa, William Swing, said yesterday that even with the ending of sanctions, investment would still not return to South Africa in significant amounts unless a culture of dialogue and understanding is developed and the violence ended.

He said at a function in honour of a group of black South African businessmen, who have just returned from a visit to the US, that he was pleased all groups were now making an effort to talk to each other as this was important in terms of the investment climate.

Mr Swing said the American Embassy was developing a post-sanctions investment, trade and aid policy so that it would be able to assist the sagging South African economy.

Black economic development was critical to the peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy in the country, he said.

The president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi, praised the EC for its decision and slated the United Nations for not following suit.

"I am overjoyed that there is a glimmer of hope that new jobs can now be created; that the flagging South African economy is being given a boost it so desperately needs," he said.

Ron Haywood, deputy director general of the SA Chamber of Business, said the leaders of the EC "are to be complimented" on having recognised the need to promote economic growth in South Africa, and their

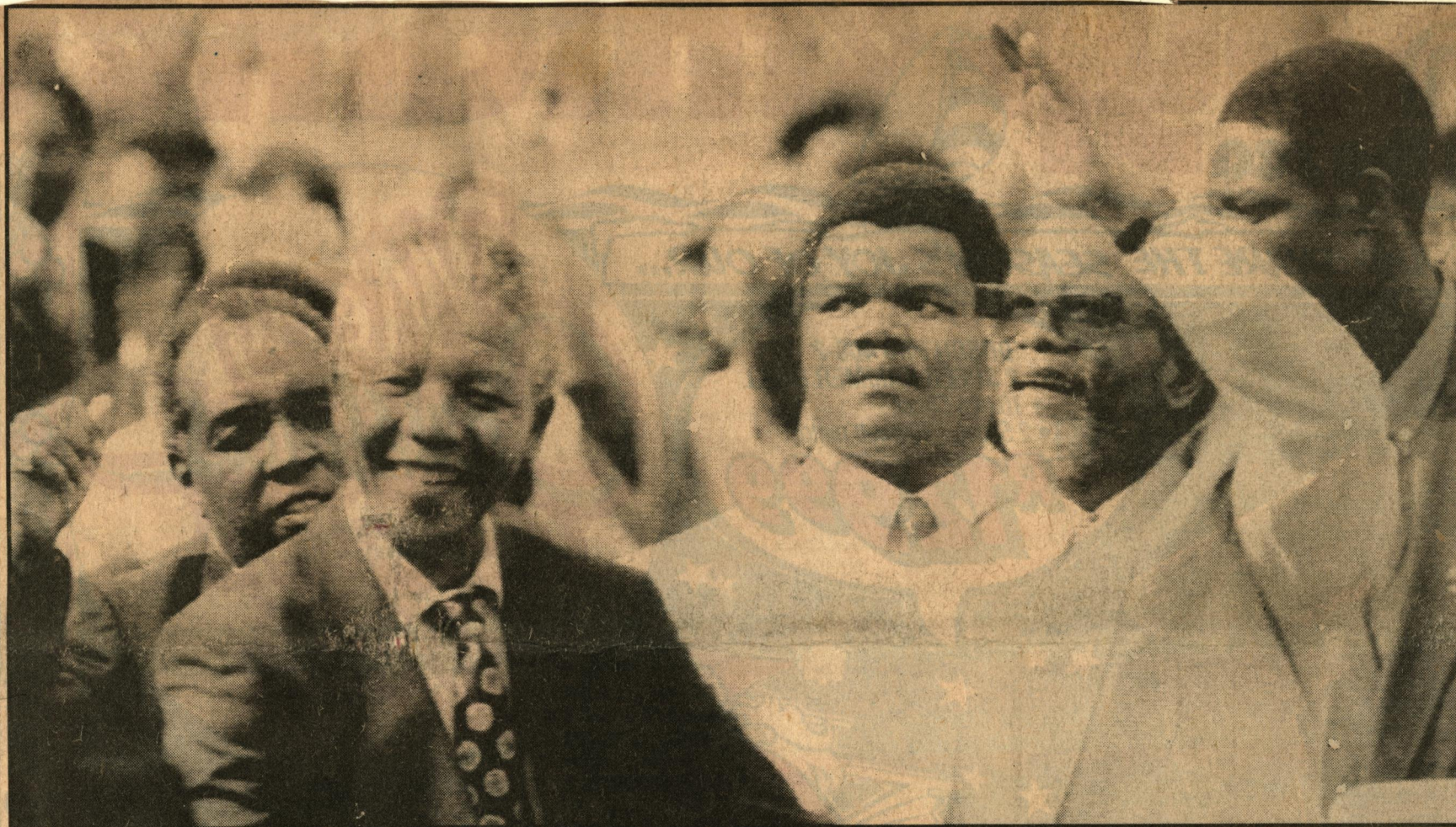
pragmatic boldness in placing economic realism ahead of political ideology.

However, the relaxation of investment sanctions was only one of the positive announcements made.

"The fact that the EC have committed themselves to the relaxation of further sanctions which will take place as the reform process proceeds is perhaps even more positive and significant," he said.

Warren Clewlow, managing director of Barlow Rand Corporation, described the EC's decision as "very good news indeed".





ANC president Oliver Tambo (right) and his deputy, Nelson Mandela, acknowledge a 50 000-strong crowd that gathered in Soweto yesterday to welcome Mr Tambo home from a 30-year exile.

## ANC threat to break off talks

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC has warned that it might break off talks and resume the armed struggle if the Government did not stop the township violence and meet the organisation's preconditions for negotiations by April 30.

In a hard-line declaration adopted yesterday at the organisation's consultative conference, the

ANC said: "Our patience with this regime is running out."

The ANC's first national conference in South Africa in three decades was marked by a militant mood and severe criticism of the organisation's leadership.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, while

rejecting some of the criticism as "totally and utterly unreasonable", promised that the leadership would make radical adjustments and even changes to its strategies.

This was immediately followed up by a bombshell announcement — made by Mr Mandela at a rally after the conference — that the ANC had suspended the joint working groups between

the Government and the ANC with immediate effect.

He told cheering supporters that the ANC would establish its own monitoring committees.

At the conference, the

ANC imposed an April 30 deadline on the Government. It said it would consider suspending negotiations with the Government unless four conditions were met:

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners, including those on death row for political convictions;
- The unconditional return of exiles;
- The repeal of all security and repressive legislation;
- The termination of all political trials.

To effect this, next year was declared "a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people".

Dealing with violence, the ANC said it wanted to "serve notice" on the Government that armed actions could be re-activated if the Government did not stop the township carnage.

It said violence was a deliberate Government strategy — carried out by various agents including the security forces, councillors, warlords, vigilantes, askaris and right-wing elements — to undermine the growth of the ANC.

The leadership was instructed to set up a national defence committee to take charge of the speedy implementation of self-defence units in the strife-torn townships.  
**See pages 3 and 10**



GENESIS 17.19/21.

And God said, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him.

And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation.

But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year.

## Britain back in the good books

ROME — European Community leaders have welcomed Britain back into the fold and granted more than \$2 billion in aid to their former arch-enemy, the Soviet Union.

At a harmonious two-day Rome summit that ended yesterday, the 12 leaders also launched the programs of economic and political union that will occupy the community for the rest of the century.

Many attributed the spirit of goodwill at the summit to the absence of Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Her successor as British Prime Minister, Mr John Major, made no secret of his aversion to handing too much power to Europe but won high marks for promising to be constructive.

"This summit marks Britain's return to a position in which it plays a positive role and no longer just seeks to create obstacles," Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis said.

But there is still a deep rift between Britain and the rest of Europe over a single European currency.

EC Commission President Jacques Delors told



● Mr Major ... received a warning.

Mr Major bluntly to close ranks with the rest of Europe or risk the results.

"If Great Britain accepts the final goal of a single currency and of a single central bank, then we can work as 12," Mr Delors said.

"(But) if we have to provoke a political crisis, then so be it."

Finance ministers formally began work yesterday on the EC treaty revisions that monetary union requires.

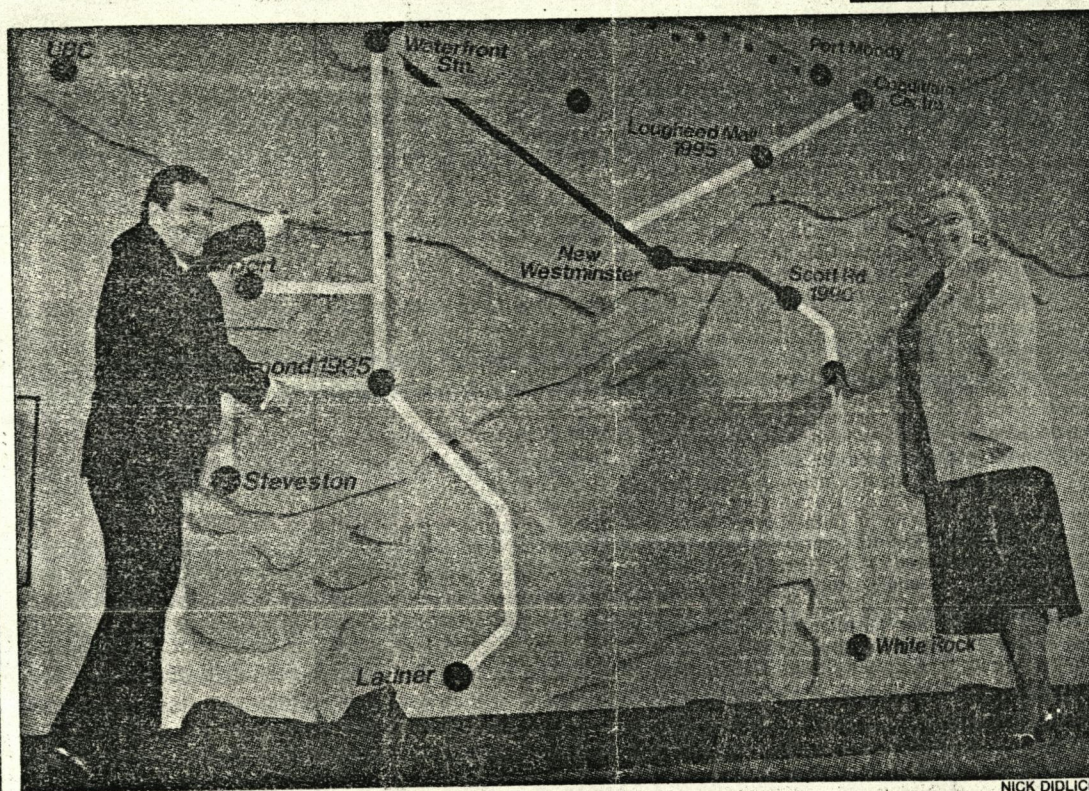
The summit agreed to send \$1.32 billion in food and medical aid to the Soviet Union and spend over \$725 million on reforming the Soviet economy.

— REUTER

McErbourke, Aust. Herald Sun Dec. 17. 1990.



## LETTERS



The Bill and Rita show: August, 1989 photo has Premier Vander Zalm and Johnston pointing to rapid transit routes

NICK DIDLICK

# Whither rapid transit?

**I**N JAMIE Lamb's Dec. 1 column, he pointed to politics as the main reason for Richmond being chosen as the destination for a proposed rapid transit route, as opposed to Coquitlam. He said Richmond was chosen

Knight Street bridges.

It is hard to swallow Campbell's argument that Richmond doesn't need rapid transit as much as other areas. Politics aside, the number of cars using the three Richmond-Vancouver routes, and the incredible growth forecasts for the munici-

the mayor of the third largest city in the country is saying? And, most important, can't she hear what the concerned citizens of Vancouver are saying?

We are not just talking about transporting commuters from one centre to another here. We are

editorial commended Rita Johnston for pushing through a rapid transit line for the Social Credit constituency of Richmond.

But Lamb points out that the Richmond line is a political decision, and that if need were the criterion, it would go to Coquitlam.

## Long-ago deal gives Buthelezi a dilemma now

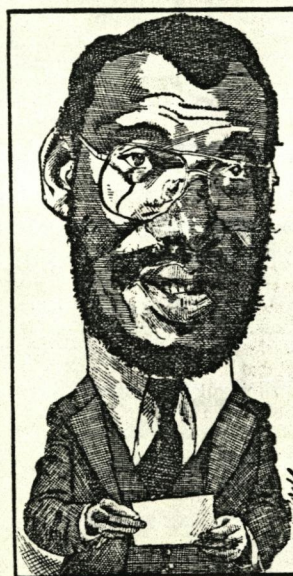
**I**N HIS Nov. 30 letter, "Buthelezi Shouldn't Bow to ANC," George Ostler was quick to accuse Rev. Thomas M. Anthony of having meddled with the problems in South Africa 20 years ago. Then he proceeded, without pause for breath, to contribute to South Africa's problems by his own meddling.

Reading Ostler's letter in isolation, a Sun reader interested in South African politics, but largely uneducated as to the facts, might be forgiven for believing he or she was hearing the voice of reason. Clichés such as "vast majority," "full democracy," "interested parties at the discussion table" and "a fair and equitable conclusion" were scattered throughout.

It is Ostler who is naive if he believes Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi rejected violence publicly for any other reason than to ingratiate himself with the settler regime in Pretoria. He made his deal with the whites nearly 20 years ago, at a time when the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress were not even dreamed of.

How can Buthelezi "bow to the ANC" when he has already done so to the Pretoria government? His dilemma today is to return to Africanism without turning his back on Pretoria and while maintaining his status with the Zulu nation.

Nelson Mandela is fully aware of



KERRY WAGHORN  
BUTHELEZI

India — there are forever uprisings because of the many tribes. They will not pull together; every tribe wants the power.

Zimbabwe and Zambia try to prevent these problems by being one-party states. Where there is one man, one vote, a vote is useless if you can only vote for one party. This would happen in South Africa



16/1/11

# ANC sets its final deadline

N/W 17-12-90

## Threat to resume armed struggle if obstacles are not removed by April 30

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY  
Political Editor

AFRICAN National Congress hardliner and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Chris Hani announced yesterday that the ANC's patience with the "regime" was running out and the armed struggle could be resumed if talks were to be suspended.

Hani was reading the declaration adopted by the ANC's consultative conference immediately prior to the closing address by Nelson Mandela yesterday afternoon.

Hani said that the ANC would give the Government until April 30 next year to remove obstacles to negotiations or face the possible suspension of talks.

Mandela and other moderates were careful to give assurances that the conference had mandated the National Executive Committee to continue talks with the Government but to consult more with membership on issues.

The declaration by the conference followed the dramatic "maintain sanctions" resolution on Saturday which attempted to forestall the European Community's lifting of its voluntary ban on investments.

In another development, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, said that the military wing of the organisation would exercise its right to self defence.

He and the ANC blamed the State and its allies for the violence at present wracking the Transvaal townships.

While evident divisions with the ANC had been papered over by the conclusion of the conference, it was seen as significant that Hani delivered the declaration to the conference while pragmatist Thabo Mbeki was allowed to wrap up proceedings at the press conference.

Observers feel that Mbeki was repudiated when it was resolved not to adopt a gradual "de-escalation" of sanctions and that the EC decision was a slap in the face for the ANC and the highest yet reward for President F.W. de Klerk.

The resolution of the conference — to appeal to the international community to maintain sanctions — was a reversal of what had been expected when both a brief-

ing document from the international affairs director Mbeki, and a statement from Tambo indicated that a major shift on sanctions was on the cards.

The decision to maintain sanctions is being interpreted as a repudiation of both Tambo and Mbeki.

While ANC officials were still adamant that Mbeki's position within the organisation was unaffected, delegates suggested that he had been dealt a blow and his influence had been weakened.

It was also considered as significant that director of publicity Pallo Jordan faced the press on Saturday with mineworker union boss Cyril Ramaphosa at his side rather than Mbeki.

Ramaphosa is known to have favoured the retention of sanctions.

Clearly hardliners on sanctions — delegates who supported the interests of the unionists, particularly NUM and Cosatu, as well as the SA Communist Party — carried the day in the commission on international isolation.

While Mbeki's fortunes suffered, the absolute accuracy of the document rejected by the delegates — that the ANC had to take charge of the de-escalation of sanctions — was palpably demonstrated by the action taken by the European Community in lifting the restrictions on voluntary investment.

Mbeki's stumble, however, holds serious implications for the peace process and negotiations for he is perceived, certainly by those outside the ANC in both the National Party and the Democratic Party, as being a moderate who is committed to a multi-party democracy.

At a rally later in the First National Bank stadium near Soweto, Tambo told an audience of 50 000 it was time to make a clean break with the past and for whites to join hands with their ANC compatriots in the struggle against apartheid.

"Fellow South Africans we have it within our power to translate this land into a country of plenty for all where apartheid will be a bad memory of the past."

This was the last chance to avert a disaster which may visit generations to come, he said.



16/1/11

## Mandela dismisses 'ignorant criticism' of ANC leadership

NW 17-12-90  
Witness Reporter

THE leadership of the African National Congress refused to accept "ignorant criticism" that it had acted without consultation with its membership on certain occasions, deputy president Nelson Mandela told consultative conference delegates yesterday.

Delivering the closing address of the historic conference Mandela said the membership had expressed serious reservations about the way in which the leadership had handled issues like negotiations, the suspension of the armed struggle and the violence in the townships.

Mandela gave the undertaking that the criticisms would be looked at honestly and objectively.

He said that there had also been mistakes on the part of the membership and some had misused the ANC platform to "prove how revolutionary they are".

There were, Mandela said, certain arguments from among the membership which were totally rejected. He said that the majority of "our people" and the majority of delegates supported negotiations.

Mandela challenged a view expressed in the conference that there should be no further confidential discussions with the Government, saying that they were made by



NELSON MANDELA

"those who do not understand the nature of negotiations".

He described criticism of his description of De Klerk as a man of integrity as based on "a lack of information".



## Don't relax - Tambo

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

STAR  
17/12/80

ANC president Oliver Tambo yesterday called on the international community not to relax pressure on South Africa until apartheid was scrapped.

In his first public speech in the country in 30 years since his return from exile last Thursday, Mr Tambo told about 50 000 ANC supporters at a rally at the First National Bank Stadium outside Johannesburg that all South Africans had "an obligation to wage a relentless struggle against apartheid".

The ANC president told cheering ANC supporters that the struggle had to be continued "on all fronts".

He said the international community should not relax pressures against Pretoria "until apartheid has been removed".

Mr Tambo also made a strong appeal for an end to violence in the country's townships.

"Whoever you are, wherever you are, we implore you to realise that the violence is wrong and must end.

"It is up to us and others, especially the Government, to play our part in stopping it," he said.

16/1/11



# Joint working group is suspended

*Natal Mercury 17 Dec. 1990*

Top brass  
arrive  
in style

JOHANNESBURG—The joint working group formed between the ANC and the Government after the Groote Schuur Minute had been suspended, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told a rally at the First National Bank stadium here yesterday.

Mr Mandela received sustained applause when he made the announcement.

He added that the ANC would form its own independent monitoring committee.

He said the ANC's consultative conference did not doubt negotiations, but warned the Government that the organisation was not negotiating 'at any price'.

Mr Mandela said the ANC and the Government were approaching negotiations with opposed agendas.

'The Government's aim is to reform apartheid out of existence while carrying over into the future accumulated privileges and advantages of white monopoly on power.

'The ANC on the other hand seeks to attain the total eradication of apartheid and overcome as quickly as possible its ravages on our people,' Mr Mandela said.

'These basic distinctions account for the differing directions in which we are pulling.'

He said mass mobilisation and action, the underground structures of the ANC and international solidarity still constituted vital elements of the organisation's strategy.

'Equal emphasis was placed on the need to maintain the liberation movement's military capacity in peak form, not only against the possibility of someday having to resume armed actions, but also to prepare for the eventual creation of a democratic South African Defence Force.'

Accusing the Government of delaying the negotiation process Mr Mandela said it was important to recognise that the Government's 'foot dragging as dan-

gerous signs of a lack of commitment to peace, which only international pressure coupled with struggles waged by the oppressed can hope to change'.

Mr Mandela thanked ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo for the dedication and wisdom with which he carried the task the organisation charged him with.

## Carnage

He said the ANC had not reached the 1 000 000 mark in its membership drive and called on members to work for the growth of the organisation.

Referring to violence, Mr Mandela said there was an organised attempt to spread mayhem and carnage to engulf the whole nation.

'The aims of those planning and directing this scourge of destruction are very clearly to destroy the prospects of peace and derail our march to freedom.'

He said the Government's reluctance to act against those responsible for the violence was because its own personnel were implicated.

'The people will have to assume responsibility for our own defence because the Government has demonstrated its incapacity all too often,' he said. — (Sapa)

# S A P campaign to improve image

CAPE TOWN—Police have begun a campaign to promote peace and reconciliation in S A and generally improve the image of the force.

The campaign took off yesterday with the first-time-ever placing of English and Afrikaans adverts, which called for peace, in two Sunday newspapers.

## Mercury Correspondent

The S A Police public relations chief, Brig Vic Haynes, said yesterday the adverts were only the start of a major campaign and more could be expected in the near future.

The adverts, placed in the Sunday Times and

Rapport, are goodwill messages from the Commissioner of Police, Gen Johan van der Merwe, who calls on South Africans to 'strive for peaceful co-existence' in the interests of the future of the country and its children.

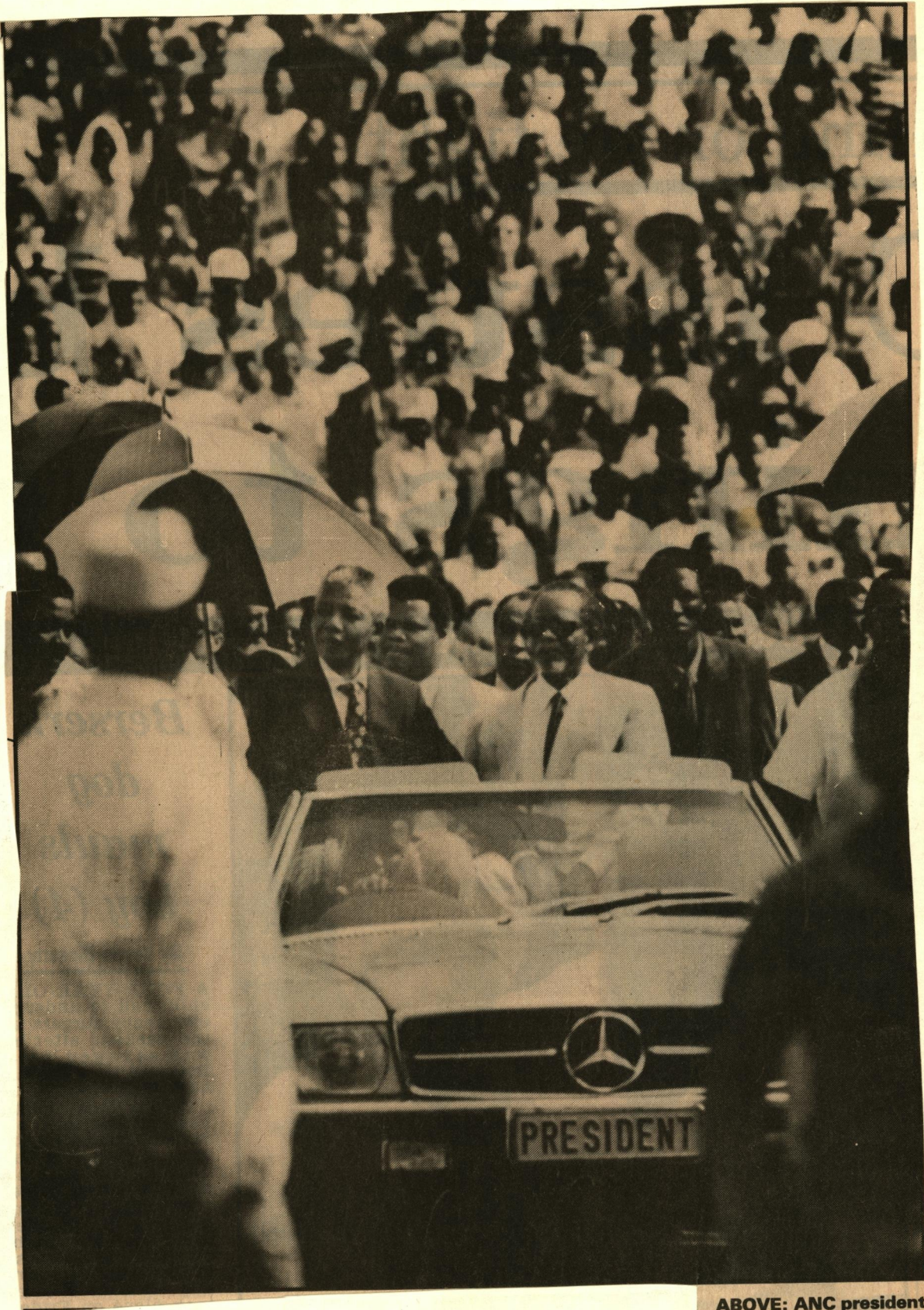
'A crime-conscious and prepared public exerts the same force as a well-equipped, trained police force in the fight against lawlessness,' Gen van der Merwe says in the advertisements.

The adverts come at a time when police morale has been low and also comes amid recent accusations from the ANC and Inkatha that police have been taking sides in the recent bloody violence in Transvaal townships.

Asked for comment on what prompted the campaign and how much it would cost and how long it would last, Brig Haynes said police would only disclose details in the new year as there was 'more to come'.

'It is not only the adverts, there is more to come. I do not want to pre-empt the campaign by commenting at this stage. We will be issuing a statement in about two to three weeks time,' Brig Haynes said.





**ABOVE:** ANC president Oliver Tambo and his deputy, Nelson Mandela, arrive in an open car for a rally at Soccer City in Soweto yesterday. Left: An ANC guard at the rally awaits Mr Tambo's arrival. — (Reuter)

17-12-90



STAR 17/12/90  
Militant conference sets four conditions

# We are running out of patience – ANC

By Esmaré  
van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

In a hardline declaration, the African National Congress warned yesterday: "Our patience with this regime is running out."

The organisation threatened to break off talks and resume the armed struggle if the Government did not stop township violence and meet the organisation's four pre-conditions for negotiations by April 30.

The declaration was adopted at the closure of a three-day consultative conference, the ANC's first national conference in South Africa in three decades.

The proceedings were marked by a militant mood and severe criticism of the organisation's leadership.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, while rejecting some of the criticism as "totally and utterly unreasonable", promised that the leadership would make radical adjustments to its strategies.

This was followed up by a bombshell announcement — made by Mr Mandela at a rally after the conference — that the organisation had

suspended the joint working groups between the Government and the ANC with immediate effect.

He told cheering supporters that the ANC would establish its own monitoring committees.

The ANC would consider suspending negotiations unless four conditions were met by April 30:

- The unconditional release of all political prisoners, including those on death row for political convictions.
- The unconditional return of exiles.
- The repeal of all security and repressive legislation.
- The termination of all political trials.

To effect this, next year was declared "a year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people".

This could bring the organisation into renewed conflict with the Government, which has repeatedly voiced its strongest disapproval of mass action.

The conference declaration said the Government had in recent months demonstrated that it was not committed to the objective of a democratic South Africa. It wanted to retain white domination in a new form, and had violated and distorted all undertakings to the ANC

in the Grooté Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

● Mass action — Page 3.

16/1/91



# Plans to step up mass action

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

The ANC has declared 1991 a year of mass action to step up pressure on the Government for the transfer of power — a decision which could lead to severe conflict in coming months.

A programme of action was adopted at the organisation's consultative conference which ended yesterday.

A campaign, to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (April 6), will be launched for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and end of political trials and detention.

A programme of mass action will be organised at the time of the opening of Parliament on February 1 to highlight the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

This will be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to back these demands.

Workshops with the ANC's allies — particularly the SACP and Cosatu — will be held to thrash out a joint programme of action against violence.

Mass campaigns will be introduced to pressure the Government into ending the carnage in the townships.

The campaigns will be waged within the context of the demand for the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations.

A "patriotic conference" will be held on Sharpeville Day (March 21) to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces.

A mass education programme will be started to mobilise support for a common education system and for adequate funds for education.

17-12-90



Natal Mercury 17/12/90

## EC sanctions drive planned

JOHANNESBURG—

The ANC will take up the European Community's decision to lift sanctions with individual European Governments to seek support for its call that sanctions be maintained, ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Participating in a Press conference after the ANC's three-day consultative conference, Mr Mbeki said: 'The struggle for the isolation of the apartheid regime continues.'

Aware of the world's changing attitude on punitive measures against South Africa, the ANC would also hold discussions with the United States Gov-

### Mercury Correspondent

ernment, the international anti-apartheid movement and the 'democratic movement' inside South Africa to push for the maintenance of sanctions.

In a resolution on international isolation, adopted at the conference, the ANC said it would urgently organise an international summit to devise and consult on new strategies on sanctions.

The ANC considered the formulation of a contingency position on sanctions as tantamount to anticipating defeat on the issue, it said.

The document, however, introduced a re-

laxed stance on trade sanctions.

It said the ANC would tie the lifting of trade restrictions to the removal of discriminatory practices in the export sector. Discussions to effect this would be held with trade unions, business organisations and the Government.

On the country's sports isolation, the ANC moved to promote the 'democratic sports organisations's' call for single sports bodies and the establishment of sports development programmes.

The ANC will also embark on a campaign against the recruitment of labour from Eastern European countries and Asia.



# Tokoza broke my heart

THIS has been the most difficult end of year piece to put together. The reason is perhaps that the trip to Tokoza last week dropped the scales of utter ignorance from my eyes.

Why, why I ask myself have I been so blind. I am so desperately unhappy, so filled with compassion for my people.

I am filled with questions, with doubts, with the almost impossible job of making sense of this wretchedness.

It was in my bewilderment, my helpless search for some meaning that I came across the following:

## Impulse

"The impulse to aggression, suppressed rage, is turned inward and comes out against itself. The impulse for revenge, the hostile surge, bypasses reason and finds its outlet in the muscles; it is irrational in this sense. It erupts against one's self if there is no-one close against whom it can erupt; the direction and the in of violence is secondary, only the eruption is important at that moment. This is the point at which suppressed tendencies for aggression are transformed into

violence. Strictly speaking, the object of the violence is irrelevant". Rollo May: *Power and Innocence; A search for the sources of violence.*

Paralysis has set in but there is hope.

I am a journalist, have been one almost all my life. I am black and have lived in the townships all my life.

I have seen apartheid and its ravages from the day I was picked up as a scholar for not having a pass book on me.

I was a young, angry boy in 1960 when people died from police bullets.

## Squatters

I have not lived in a shack, but squatters and their lives are as familiar to my immediate experience as anything.

I have spent time with hostel dwellers, with men working in the mines, in the old locations "in the sky".

In 1976 I listened to a group of children, voices raised with hope and marching towards police vehicles. I saw bloated bodies of men and women

cut down by bullets that year.

I have lived through the terror of the "necklace" and have the experience of little boys threatening me with a box of matches.

I think I know what makes hapless people to dance the toyi-toyi, to be so angry, so impotently furious at the wretchedness of it all.

I have seen youngsters in Duduza township (who ever remembers that place today?) willing in a nihilistic-fashion to self destruct.

I know all these thi-

ngs, and more. But the trip to Tokoza last week dropped the scales from my eyes, thrust me out of an Ivory Tower of intellectual consideration of peoples' problems.

## Hostels

You have to go to Phola Park, to Zonk'-ezizwe, to the damaged hostels in those areas. Otherwise you do not know what is happening in this country.

To think that the shacktowns of the East Rand, perhaps in Crossroads, etc, and their hostels are a reflection of

what is happening to over 80 percent of the inhabitants of this country, is to bring a cold sweat of despair to the brow.

I almost forgot. I know Alexandra township from the old days. I went there not too long ago. It is a disgrace. Frankly, a shame to have such terrible deprivation smack in the middle of the wealthiest suburbs in South Africa.

I watched a television programme about black violence in America. I was reminded of violence in other parts of Africa and the Third World.

A grave injustice has been done. A grave injustice to mankind. The

fact that the God I believe in stillness of His Grace still allows us to go this way is a terrible mystery, also a great frustration.

What is it, Sir, we should do? Is it perhaps true that we have a curse on us that we have become not the wretched on this earth, but an insult to humanity? I don't know. But I will keep on looking.

## Breakdown

What I know though is that while there is this complete breakdown of most things decent in our lives, we have some tremendous things, people, institutions in our midst. We have lovely

boys and girls who curiously live "normally" under the most abysmal conditions of abnormality.

It breaks my heart. Tokoza broke my heart.

I saw the deep despair, the almost hopeless dancing around for what appears to be total destitution.

I have seen the so-called Inkatha Zulu impis.

I have seen these men, angry, desperately angry at having to be the killers of their kin and kith. Make no mistake about it. All this business about Zulus, Xhosas *et al* is immaterial.

It is a rage, a rage against powerlessness in all its forms that attacks the people of Tokoza, of Crossroads, even of Louis Trichardt...



# ON THE LINE

**Aggrey Klaaste**





Flashback: Collecting corpses from the streets of Tokoza last week.



## Programme of mass action announced

# ANC warns *2 Sowetan 17 Dec. 1990* over talks

**THE ANC yesterday announced a programme of mass action and warned that unless obstacles to negotiations are removed, it will consider pulling out of the negotiation process.**

At the end of its three-day

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**

consultative conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg, the ANC declared its commitment to the transfer of power to "all South Africans".

Mass action has been called around the time Parliament opens to highlight the ANC's demand for an

interim government and a constituent assembly and to demand the abolition of the tricameral and bantustan systems.

The conference decided that unless all obstacles to negotiations are removed by April 30, the ANC will consider suspending the whole negotiation process.

In a draft programme of action,

the ANC also called on the Government to release political prisoners, allow the return of exiles, stop political trials and stop detaining its members.

The conference also proposed that the ANC's land commission be given a specific mandate "to consult widely on drawing up a programme of action to rally and mobilise our people for the return of the land to its rightful owners".

Working unity with its allies was proposed in most of the action planned "to develop a joint programmes of action against the violence in the country".

On violence it was suggested that the national executive committee also set up a national defence committee "to take charge of the speedy implementation of self-defence units" in its structures.

A united "patriotic conference" on Sharpeville Day (March 21) has been called for to mobilise against the Government.

The conference proposed that its structures actively participate in its allies' campaigns in communities and factories.

"To this effect, we propose the setting up of local alliance structures," the ANC said.

On negotiations, the ANC conference confirmed its support and endorsement of the negotiations strategy as outlined in the Harare Declaration.

To Pg 2





ANC top brass ... Natal chairman Jacob Zuma, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the FNB Stadium rally yesterday.

Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU



# Violence article: SAIRR objects

The article in The Star of December 11: 'Row over statistics on political violence' is misleading and disingenuous.

The article refers to a statement issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations on December 6. It quotes but two sentences from that statement.

Your Political Reporter then devotes most of the remainder of her article to giving a platform to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) to provide what purports to be answers.

Yet you have not done the Institute the courtesy, or your readers the service, of publishing our statement. Had you published it, your readers would have been able to see that the supposed answers to our criticisms are largely irrelevant.

We noted that in its report for July, the HRC attributed to 'vigilantes' at least three deaths where the attackers were 'unknown' or 'unidentified'. By what process of reasoning does an 'unidentified' attacker become a 'vigilante'?

We referred to another 35 deaths attributed by the HRC to vigilantes, yet the HRC report gives no information as to who caused these deaths; when our researcher telephoned the HRC to find out if it had any information about them, we were told not. The HRC's attribution of these 35 deaths to vigilantes is accordingly nothing more than supposition.

If these 35 deaths are added to the three at the hands of unknown attackers, it is clear at least a third of the 111 HRC attributions of July deaths to vigi-

lantes are without foundation in fact.

This amply justifies the Institute's statement that the HRC is exaggerating the extent of vigilante violence.

The Star is itself party to this exaggeration. Our statement referred to a graph that you published on December 4 and which purported to show the causes of such deaths from July to the end of November. But the graph listed only two causes of violent death: vigilantes and police.

Our press statement consolidated: 'The impression is thus created that in the last five months vigilantes and police were responsible for all violent deaths since the graph makes no mention of any others.'

This impression is grossly misleading. We commend you for your editorial on December 10 rectifying your news-

paper's previous failure to condemn the murders of black town councillors, to which we also drew attention last week. We look forward to your correcting the misleading impression you have helped create about the extent of vigilante violence.

J S Kane-Berman  
Executive Director  
South African Institute of  
Race Relations

Johannesburg

● Mr Kane-Berman's argument is with the HRC and The Star does not accept it is party to exaggeration. If indeed there is any in the HRC statistics — by first reporting the HRC analysts and then by recording its defence against Mr Kane-Berman's challenge of those statistics — Editor