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THE CITIZEN

Mamelodi clash — Call for Vlok to resign

THE Mamelodi Civic Association (MCA) yesterday demanded the resignation of Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok after hundreds of Blacks were injured when police teargassed an MCA report-back meeting in the township on Sunday.

The MCA's Mr Moss Chikane told a news conference in Mamelodi yesterday that Mamelodi residents would stay away from work today and suspend rent payments until "disciplinary action had been taken against those responsible."

The police action had been justified and police would continue to act within the ambit of the law, the head of the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria, General Herman Stadler, said yesterday. The meeting was illegal, he said.

The MCA publicity secretary, Mr N Malefa, said police had "barricaded" the Pitje stadium in the township while 16000 people were inside, and activated more than 100 teargas canisters because they had "calculated" to let people die.

The MCA showed reporters a document issued by the Mamelodi town council granting them permission to hold an "indoor" meeting at the stadium.

The medical superintendent of the Kalafong Hospital, Dr J Kunzman, confirmed that 230 people had been treated at the Mamelodi Day Hospital for injuries they sustained when they fled the scene.

The news conference was told the government had lost control of the SAP which contained AWB and CP members, and that Mr Vlok should

"resign forthwith".

Mr Kgalema Motlhanle of the ANC said the ANC was outraged by the act of "police brutality".

A spokesman for Cosas said the body would "make the country ungovernable" so the ANC could have "a seat in government".

Mr Lucky Mathebula, of the Mamelodi Teachers' Union said teachers were prepared to take up arms and to "turn classes into MK defence units".

According to the unrest report, an attempt was made to set fire to vehicles at the entrance to the stadium.

Police used rubber bullets to disperse the group, who retaliated by throwing petrol bombs at them. A truck, a bus and a minibus were gutted by fire.

Later, a group of youths attempted to set fire to the toilets but fled when the police arrived. Eight petrol bombs were seized.

Mr Chikane said the meeting was called by the Mamelodi Civic Association to report back to the community on a meeting between the MCA and the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

He said the meeting was legal, and the MCA had received permission to use the stadium from the Mamelodi Town Council.

A statement by the Pretoria Koinonia group said: while the report-back meeting was in progress, members of the SAP barricaded the gates

and shot canisters of teargas into the crowd.

"All eyewitness reports are clear that no order was given to disperse," the statement says.

"As the walls are about 2 m high and strung with barbed wire, many of the people were torn by the barbed wire or broke their legs or ankles jumping over the wall."

Gen Stadler said the crowd had been warned to disperse.

When ANC elements moved between the police and the crowd the police used tearsmoke to disperse them. Some of this smoke had drifted into the stadium.

Gen Stadler said policemen were exposed to danger when one of their Casspir vehicles became stuck and the crowd rolled burning tyres and threw petrol towards them.

Gen Stadler said the meeting had been held outdoors, without magisterial permission as required by law.

The division denied in a statement yesterday that police had sealed off the stadium, barring access to it by emergency vehicles.

In fact, the police contingent withdrew to a distance of 700m from the stadium to afford the crowd a chance to leave without fear of police action.

The division also rejected claims that police had set a Lewis furniture store delivery vehicle ali-

ght, saying police teargassed about 300 Blacks who had been standing around the burning vehicle some distance from the stadium.

The division added that, while the organisers said the meeting had been called to discuss rent issues, the minutes of the meeting, impounded by police, indicated that the meeting had been about the closure of schools.

Such a meeting had been banned in terms of a Government Gazette notice on March 30.

The police action was strongly condemned by the Consul-General of Japan yesterday.

Although the meeting was permitted by the Council of Mamelodi, and the meeting proceeded peacefully, the SA Police used "massive teargas" to disperse the crowd, which caused a "chaotic stampede and injuries to many people" the consulate said.

A member of the consulate who attended the meeting upon the invitation of the MCA was "astonished to witness police cars in the process of throwing teargas into the premises of individual houses around the area" and he was himself subjected to the effect of the teargas.

The consulate believes that these police actions were "excessive", were "not conducive to the creation of peaceful atmosphere toward negotiation" and "not in conformity" with President De Klerk's reform initiatives. — Sapa

Mandela rejects plea for S. African talks

Call for nationwide protests renewed

By BARRY RENFREW

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Nelson Mandela on Thursday rejected government pleas for talks on defusing South Africa's political crisis and vowed to go ahead with nationwide protests.

The African National Congress president said there could be no return to talks on a new constitution until the government met its demands to end violence in black townships and moderated its position on a new constitution.

"To call for face-to-face talks in such a situation is entirely unacceptable," Mandela said in a letter to President F.W. de Klerk.

The ANC was responding to de Klerk's proposals last week aimed at restarting black-white political talks that were broken off by the ANC to protest a recent massacre of blacks and the lack of progress toward ending white minority rule.

South Africa is facing its worst political crisis since de Klerk legalized the ANC in February 1990 and began negotiating an end to apartheid.

Stepping up a war of words with de Klerk that erupted after the talks collapsed, Mandela said the government was only interested in protecting the interests of the white minority.

De Klerk on Thursday urged the ANC to resume talks with the government, saying it was the only way to solve the nation's problems. He warned that confrontation would hurt everyone.

"The fight will be about the ashes, which is all that will remain," he said.

It was de Klerk's second appeal in a week to the ANC, which halted talks last month to protest the killing of at least 39 blacks in the



Associated Press

Nelson Mandela: The ANC president said the government was only interested in protecting the interests of whites.

Boipatong township south of Johannesburg.

ANC officials said they would go ahead with plans for massive strikes and protests in August to topple de Klerk's government. Government and business leaders warn that the protests will fuel political violence and further damage the ailing economy.

The political confrontation is likely to continue for some time with neither side willing to compromise. De Klerk says white interests must be protected under a new constitution; the ANC rejects special rights for any minority.

Slow progress in constitutional talks has given ANC hard-liners who oppose negotiations the chance to press for a drive to oust the government.

By JOHN KOPPISCH

JOHANNESBURG — A month ago the African National Congress was floundering. The breakdown of negotiations with the South African government in May had left it divided between moderates who wanted to keep talking and hardliners who wanted to take the battle to the streets. Polls showed that the congress could count on only 45% support in the coming election, in which all adult South Africans will have the right to vote. President F.W. de Klerk was on another overseas tour, this time winning applause for his reforms in Moscow—the A.N.C.'s old sponsor—Tokyo and Singapore.

Then came Boipatong. The first reports of the massacre late on the night of June 17 said a group of 200 to 300 mostly Zulu-speaking men had swept through the A.N.C.-supporting black township and the adjacent Slovo squatter camp (named for the chairman of the A.N.C.'s close ally, the South African Communist Party) and had killed 39 men, women and children.

It was an appalling but not unique display of brutality. In the past two years alone there have been 49 massacres of 10 people or more in the townships, and six of these had greater death tolls than Boipatong. But for a coalition as fragile as the A.N.C., Boipatong was a godsend. The movement's propaganda machine spewed out a barrage of charges — that the police had transported the attackers to the township and then supervised the slaughter, and that the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party had helped plan the attack on the mainly Xhosa township.

Around the world the unproven allegations were unquestioningly accepted. The U.S. Conference of Mayors, meeting in Houston, condemned government complicity in the murders and voted to maintain city sanctions against South Africa. Mikhail Gorbachev canceled a tour of the country. Desmond Tutu called for South Africa to be banned once again from the Olympics. The A.N.C. — now feeling confident that it could do what it had wanted to do since May — dropped out of the constitutional negotiations.

An A.N.C.-inspired general strike is now scheduled to begin in August. Yesterday, Nelson Mandela curtly dismissed a plea from Mr. De Klerk to resume talks. A.N.C. cadres talk instead of a "Leipzig Option," a series of strikes and marches leading to mass action and the collapse of the government, much like Leipzig, East Germany in 1989. Boipatong is quickly taking its place alongside the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 and the Soweto uprising of 1976.

But unlike Sharpeville and Soweto, there is still no evidence that the police were involved. In fact, the A.N.C.'s case against the police has unraveled. The eyewitnesses in the township who told reporters right after the massacre that they saw white cops assisting in the attack turn out to have heard the stories second-hand. The A.N.C. has now instructed township residents not to give statements to police investigators. And it provided no evidence of police involvement to the Goldstone Commission, an independent judicial inquiry into South Africa's endemic violence. The government did

give evidence, however, that rebutted the claims of police involvement.

The claims were ludicrous from the beginning. What would the government gain from leading indiscriminate rampages in the townships? And if cops were going to go on killing sprees, why would they wear their uniforms, speak in Afrikaans and use official police vehicles, as the A.N.C. alleges?

The police have been accused of official collusion in 19 massacres over the past two years, but the allegations always turn out to be empty. The accusations stick because of the police's "appalling track record during the apartheid years and their culture of being above the law," says John Kane-Berman, executive director of the scrupulously neutral South African Institute of Race Relations. But under Mr. De Klerk, police atrocities are no longer sanctioned.

As for Inkatha, it flatly denies any involvement in Boipatong and in fact claims that 10 of its members were victims of the attack. Suzanne Vos, an Inkatha spokeswoman, says that at least a few of the 81 suspects detained by the police are Inkatha members, but that if they were involved, they certainly acted for their own reasons. There has never been any evidence of Mangosothu Buthelezi or any other top Inkatha leader ordering or approving attacks on A.N.C. settlements, just as there never has been evidence of Mr. Mandela or other A.N.C. leaders sanctioning massacres in Inkatha areas, such as the little-reported one in April that left 23 people dead. But as a result of the A.N.C.'s long campaign to discredit Inkatha, allegations against Inkatha also stick.

Boipatong, rather than being an orchestrated battle to take control of a rival stronghold, should be understood as an example of how South Africa's never-ending violence — 14,000 people have been killed since 1984 — creates a climate in which small slights and ethnic differences can lead to a massacre. The attackers all lived in a workers' hostel owned by a steel mill. Residents of the dozens of hostels around the country are rarely integrated into their nearby townships — they're usually migrant laborers, less schooled and usually from a different ethnic group. They're most often away from their families and are there to work, so they have little interest in politics and are usually not consulted when the township's A.N.C. branch plans a stayaway or a march.

The story was the same with the Boipatong hostel, called KwaMadala. Its residents don't appreciate losing a day's pay for a cause they're not part of. And they don't like the taunts from township residents for their country ways, different language or pagan beliefs. Ostracized by their Xhosa neighbors, they say they can't send their children to the local school or get treatment at the local hospital.

But since they have jobs, they have township girlfriends and this causes more friction. In the days before the massacre, according to the Johannesburg Star, the girlfriend of one hostel resident was necklaced — an A.N.C. killing technique that involves placing a gasoline-soaked tire around the victim and then striking a match. An Inkatha supporter and another

Zulu also were killed, and there was a series of shootings, firebombings and other incidents aimed at Zulus in the area.

Then came June 16, Soweto Day, commemorating the 1976 uprising and an official A.N.C. stayaway day. The mill's union contract largely defuses this issue. But stayaways always raise the temperature in the townships and hostels because they succeed only through intimidation (the three-day stayaway last November led to about 100 deaths). On the next night the rampage through the township occurred.

The A.N.C. probably will come back to the negotiating table in the weeks ahead. But the central conflict among South Africa's contending factions — federalism versus centralized power — shows no sign of being resolved. The government, Inkatha and nine of the other 19 groups in the talks want a constitution that devolves power. But Mr. Mandela and the A.N.C. did not spend long years in the wilderness only to miss out on the unfettered power that most other African liberation leaders got. "The A.N.C. wants power and they want it all," says Wim Booysse, managing director of an African consulting firm. "They say, 'Whites had all the power for so many years, so why should we talk about less power than the whites had?'"

Mr. Koppisch writes for the Johannesburg-based Financial Mail. Maureen Sullivan, also a Financial Mail writer, contributed to this story.

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The boat, the tap and Leipzig option

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it as unrealistic at present. This strategy, he says, is "now enjoying a significant resurgence of popularity as a result of utter dissatisfaction with the preceding two strategic outlooks, particularly after the deadlock at Codesa."

The "Leipzig option" is widely identified with SACP secretary general Chris Hani, ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils and Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

In the first place, Cronin argues, the option has more in common with the "tap" strategy than insurrection. Rather than transferring power to the masses, the demonstrations in Eastern Europe "created the space for elites to bargain over transitional processes", he argues.

But he goes on to argue that an insurrectionary approach is even less realistic than it was three years ago.

Given the strength of the security forces, more consolidated since the withdrawal of troops in Angola and Namibia, and an international balance of forces even less favourable to the liberation movement, Cronin concludes:

"Our present political situation is neither on the brink of an insurrectionary moment, nor is it blocked... as it was through much of the past three decades.

"We are now living in an extremely fluid political conjuncture. In this situation there are particular dangers in propagating a strategy whose medium success is at best uncertain."



Jeremy Cronin

The Star 10/7/92

Clerics soften stand on Govt

DURBAN The national conference of the SA Council of Churches last night drew back from a moratorium on further talks with the Government.

It also softened its stand on urging church leaders to place advertisements in newspapers, calling on the Government to resign.

The debate became heated during the discussion of this resolution, which in its original form asked that unjust laws be disobeyed.

An amendment was passed unanimously which instructed the na-

tional executive committee to start a process of consultation among member churches and in society to formulate a plan of action — which might include a talks moratorium and advertisements.

Introducing the original motion, Emma Mashini said: "We want the Government gone, whatever needs to be used."

Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg Duncan Buchanan said: "I would much prefer that we talked than fought ... if we don't talk to them, who will convert them?"

— Own Correspondent.

The Star 10/7/92

Tutu, De Klerk hold talks on petition

Staff Reporter

Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday held an hour-long discussion with President de Klerk about a recent church leaders' petition to the Government to bring the perpetrators of the Boipatong massacre to justice.

The petition was handed in at Tuynhuys on June 22. It also called on political leaders to reach agreement on the international monitoring of violence and on multi-

party control of the security forces.

Archbishop Tutu's request for the meeting was a personal initiative.

John Allen, spokesman for the archbishop, said the discussions took place in a friendly and open atmosphere. The archbishop did not believe the differences were irreconcilable, and was hopeful the discussions would contribute to the resumption of negotiations.

The Star 10/7/92

Police, ANC at odds over blast death

Staff Reporters

The ANC and police have accused each other of "blatantly lying" about events leading to the death this week of Umkhonto we Sizwe commander George Mashele.

Mr Mashele died early on Tuesday when a grenade detonated inside his Vosloorus home.

Moments earlier, police had lobbed a teargas canister through a broken window to force Mr Mashele, a murder suspect, to open the door.

Mr Mashele's mother, Lillian Mogasho, was also killed in the

blast.

The ANC PWV region yesterday said the police were suggesting that Mr Mashele blew himself up with a grenade. The organisation accused the police of throwing the grenade and then shooting Mrs Mogasho.

Police have strongly denied the allegations, saying they arrived to arrest Mr Mashele, who was suspected of murdering a man and a two-year-old baby in a petrol-bomb attack.

A teargas canister was thrown in to force Mr Mashele to come out, and soon after an explosion was heard. Mr Mashele was later found dead and

his mother fatally injured among the remains of a Russian hand grenade, police said.

ANC regional spokesman Wally Mbele yesterday rejected this version and accused the police of a cover-up designed to protect Mr Mashele's known killers and the real perpetrators of violence in Vosloorus.

"How could it be possible for Mr Mashele to shoot his mother when his body was so badly mutilated in the hand grenade explosion?" Mr Mbele asked.

"Since the police were still present when the hand grenade exploded, why did they not go into the house to investigate the

blast? We demand answers."

The police have called Mr Mbele's statements "blatant untruths", saying all indications were that Mr Mashele was handling the grenade when it detonated. Police were not issued with grenades during normal duty.

In addition, a post-mortem on Mrs Mogasho's body revealed no bullet wounds.

• The Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal has called for the immediate arrest of Vosloorus town councillor Sidwell Mofokeng, whom they allege was at the blast scene.

The Star 10/7/92

Wouldn't join strike 'so we were burned'

By Brian Sokutu

There will be no celebration in the Baragwanath Hospital's surgical ward today when pensioner Anah Madikane turns 63.

Mrs Madikane, her daughter Portia Khahledi (17), seven-month-old grandchild Nomthandazo and four other family members suffered severe burns on Tuesday when unknown attackers hurled two petrol bombs into their Naledi Extension 2 home.

Mrs Madikane believes the family was attacked because her daughter-in-law, a clerk at the Johannesburg Hospital, refused to take part in the strike by members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu).

The baby was saved when her mother flung her out of the window as the petrol bombs smashed through the kitchen window at about 8.30 pm.

Four members of the Madikane family, whose condition was yesterday described as "critical", are being treated in the hospital's burns unit.

Mrs Madikane re-lived the horror: "We first heard a loud bang of a breaking kitchen window as the attackers hurled two petrol bombs inside.

"And soon we were in flames. I tried to take off my clothes which had caught fire and were clinging to my skin, while at the same time extinguishing flames on the head of my grandchild.

"Some of my children ran outside, and in a bid to extinguish flames from their bodies they rolled themselves on the ground. I could see pieces of burnt cloth falling off them."

Mrs Madikane said the tragedy has dashed hopes for her 63rd celebration party.

"How can I celebrate? I'm in great pain," she said.

● With at least six clerks at Baragwanath not having turned up for work on Wednesday evening, the latest attack could have an effect on workers, said Baragwanath Hospital spokesman Annette Clear.

"Although none of the seven victims work for Baragwanath, we're concerned by the attacks. We have called in police and members of private security companies to patrol around the hospital, but we cannot take care of them outside the hospital premises," she said.

She said that during the strike, the hospital relied on about 400 "paid volunteers".

Nehawu has distanced itself from acts of intimidation.

● Spirit behind the strike

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Expect more violence, warn police

By Carina le Grange

The escalation of violence in South Africa could be expected to increase in the next three to six months, Major-General LCA Pruis said at a media briefing in Pretoria yesterday.

General Pruis ascribed the expected increase to mass action, political intolerance and criminal elements manipulating the political instability.

Earlier, the Minister of Police General J. van der Merwe said that the 51 000 active members of the police force were dealing with ever-increasing crime and violence.

Serious crimes over the first four months this year increased by more than 6 percent to 35 158 cases — or 8 789 cases a month.

In all, the police dealt with 145 080 serious "A" crimes a month.

During April 1992 there were five more rapes a day (61) than in April 1991; armed robbery of passenger vehicles had increased by 54,44 percent and that of trucks by 30 percent; and there were 120 more murder cases a month (8,5 percent more).

The total value of cases of fraud being investigated by the Johannesburg commercial crime unit was an "astronomic" R371 billion.

During April 1992 the police solved 2,2 percent more of "selected" serious crimes than during April 1991, but the figure for solving other serious crimes increased by 10,37 percent.

The number of people arrested during the first six months of this year increased by 5,8 percent compared to last year.

General Pruis said the high mortality rate in the violence of the past few months could be related to an increase in the use of firearms. In the first six months of this year, 205 people died from back and stab wounds and 779 of gunshot wounds.

General Pruis warned that the prominence given to unrest-related deaths gave the impression that the high murder rate could be ascribed to politically related violence.

Data proved the opposite: in 1991, 2 240 people died in unrest-related violence, while 14 693 people were murdered.

During June 1992 there were 269 attacks with unknown firearms, 57 with AK-47s and 23 with hand grenades on members of the security forces on the Witwatersrand. Last year, 137 policemen were killed in political violence, while 91 members had been killed from January 1 to June 30 this year.

The general said it would be "alarmist" to use the high mortality rate to create the impression the whole country was in the grip of violence. Only two regions were mainly responsible for the high mortality rate: Natal and the PWV area.

The violence was not an exclusively ANC-Inkatha conflict — there were indications that a "variety" of groups were involved.

The Star 10/7/92

Inkatha dragged into fray X

IN AN important annexure to his letter to President de Klerk, Mr Mandela goes further than ever before in confirming the ANC's conviction that the Government and the IFP are in political cahoots.

He also launches a stinging attack on Mr de Klerk for condemning ANC involvement in violence, but maintaining silence on the IFP.

In his letter to Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela says: "The Government and the IFP have always acted together. We have yet to see a single condemnation of

When the ANC attacks the Government, it usually leaves Inkatha out of the matter. But not this time round, reports Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON.

the IFP even though there are numerous cases of the IFP planning and instigating violence."

The annexure, entitled "SA Government support for the IFP", charges Pretoria with "supplying, arming and training Inkatha in order to foment and extend violence (and), as indicated in the Trust Feed case, security forces have deliberate-

ly acted to extend Inkatha control over territory and people.

"The failure of the Government to implement agreements and recommendations regarding hostels, and their actions concerning so-called traditional weapons, serve the same purpose."

The newest element of the ANC's line of attack is that regarding Mr de Klerk's per-

ceived inconsistency in "failing to condemn IFP violence or the public display of dangerous weapons by IFP supporters".

Mr de Klerk is taken to task for never having condemned the activities of two KwaZulu members of parliament, Samuel Jamile and David Ntombela, who were charged with serious crimes of violence.

The document also asks why Mr de Klerk, who spoke in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16, "made no comment on inflammatory remarks made by the leader of the IFP". □

The Star 10/7/92

Gunmen kill off-duty policeman

Staff Reporters

Police continued to be targets of violent attacks yesterday as another policeman was shot dead in Katlehong on the East Rand, bringing to three the number of policemen killed since Wednesday.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said Matli Mohale (35), a "well-known" police reservist, was walking along a road in Ramakanopie East, when unknown attackers fired on him at about 6.30 am. His gun was taken by his attackers.

Mr Mohale was not on duty at the time of the attack. Police are investigating.

Yesterday, Constable WS Skosana died in hospital from multiple bullet wounds inflicted by gunmen with R5 and AK-47 rifles who opened fire on a marked police car in Katlehong around noon on Wednesday.

His partner, Constable M Mbatha, died instantly from a bullet wound in the head.

Two Sharpeville policemen

were injured — one of them set alight — on Wednesday. Both are in a satisfactory condition in hospital.

Police said the first attack took place when a municipal constable from Sharpeville was attacked by an unknown group of people in Boipatong. He was later doused with petrol and set alight.

That night, a warrant officer was ambushed at a road barricade in Sebokeng and several shots were fired at him.

● Police are investigating a possible link between the attacks and threats by the PAC's armed wing, Apla, to step up its attacks on policemen.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said: "If Apla is indeed responsible for the cowardly attacks on unsuspecting policemen, one would have to ask why they were continuing with the despicable attacks on the SAP when they are free to carry out their political activities without hindrance from the police."

He said according to reports APLA had declared war on the SAP and had threatened to intensify its attacks.

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The weapons are lobbyists and affluent pressure groups, reports **Hugh Robertson**

ANC-IFP clash in US too



IF SOUTH Africans were a little awed by the \$700 000 (almost R2 million) annual fee which the ANC contracted to pay its chief United States lobbyist, Walter Fauntroy, (a contract now apparently frozen after an initial payment of \$250 000 and a disappointing return on the investment), they might be thunderstruck to learn that this is but small change in a continuing and often shadowy battle for influence in the US between political rivals who confronted one another in Codesa.

Almost as the ANC was parting company with Mr Fauntroy, for instance, an American industrialist was making available a substantially larger sum to pay for repairs to the tattered image of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the US.

According to the buzz, the money was an extravagant personal gesture by the industrialist who is a personal friend of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He has asked one of the more accomplished Washington firms of

image launderers, Sawyer-Miller, to do the job.

At the same time, an affluent group of rightists who raise funds for Inkatha, the South African Educational Foundation, expanded from its California base to set up office in Washington with a permanent director and lobbyist.

Also on the side of Inkatha are a panoply of conservative groups with extensive business connections and who have been involved, at least partially, in promoting Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi in the past.

Among them are the Jefferson Educational Foundation (reputedly with more than 10 000 sponsors in big business), which among other things pays for visits to South Africa by mainly conservative Republicans, and the Cato Foundation and Heritage Foundation, both of which eagerly seek out Chief Buthelezi as a speaker.

On the ANC side there are several equally influential groups — chief among them the Africa Fund, which has some astute financial advisers and lobbyists raising money for the organisation,

and its parent body, the American Committee on Africa.

There is also the Mandela Freedom Fund and the sputtering efforts of TransAfrica which, among its projects, finances visits to South Africa by black Americans who devoutly support the ANC.

Relegated to the sidelines in the mounting battle between the ANC and Inkatha for money and influence in the US is the South African embassy which, on the initiative of ambassador Harry Schwarz, has dramatically cut back on the lobbyists who did virtually all the embassy's networking in the heyday of P.W. Botha.

Instead, the embassy has mounted its own staff public relations and lobbying drive which is the envy of just about the entire diplomatic corps. The results are impressive — Mr Schwarz gets more exposure in the US media than any other diplomat in Washington, and the embassy now has cordial contact with politicians, businessmen and bankers who would not have been seen anywhere near a South African diplo-

mat only a year ago.

But the real tussle remains that between the ANC and Inkatha — and it is turning thoroughly nasty, with many aspects seeming to impinge on their rivalry at home.

Last month, during a fundraising and image-building visit to the US, for instance, Chief Buthelezi faced — for the first time — an orchestrated campaign of obstruction at the hands of the ANC's US allies. They claimed victory when he abruptly cut short his visit and flew home, allegedly seething. But Chief Buthelezi insisted that the ANC's plans for mass action prompted his early departure.

Either way, he faced a drubbing in the US — and a promise of more of the same if he comes back. Organisers of the campaign telephoned as many of the Americans he was scheduled to visit as they could reach, and appealed to them not to see Chief Buthelezi.

According to one account in the Miami Herald, seven of the 11 appointments he had scheduled in the area were cancelled. Later, the mayors of New York, Atlanta and Miami confirmed that they

would not be seeing him.

In New York, where he addressed a luncheon sponsored by the presidents of major Jewish organisations, picketers paraded outside handing out leaflets denouncing Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi, and urging Jewish groups to challenge the decision to receive the Inkatha leader.

Some equally rough tactics come from the supporters of Inkatha. Among these are some Christian fundamentalist groups which raise money for Inkatha by portraying it as a Christian organisation standing virtually alone against a conspiracy of atheists and communists who, among other failings, have a predisposition for eating their victims after burning them alive.

Ghastly stuff it is, but it is put out in fundraising brochures which have been sent to some prominent Americans.

At this stage of the battle for influence, the ANC undeniably has the upper hand. It has the support of the major black American groups, of the congressional black caucus, and of most of the media.

Furthermore, right or wrong, Inkatha has been more starkly identified in the US than it has been in South Africa as the perpetrator of most acts of violence.

In the battle for funds, the outcome may not be so clearly defined. While the ANC has a far larger official presence here — fully staffed offices in Washington and New York to Inkatha's part-time office in Atlanta — it probably cannot match Inkatha's contacts with big business and it suffers from its legacy of socialism and strident outbursts against free enterprise by some of its officials.

But the battle line has been drawn, and many Africanists in the US are viewing it with apprehension, fearing that much of the money and influence needed to sustain the feud in South Africa is being garnered here and that against all the effort of its backers and politicians, the US may become a part of the problem rather than the source and inspiration of its solution. □

● **Hugh Robertson** is The Star's Washington correspondent.

The Star 10/7/92

Two ANC men arrested

Police on Wednesday arrested two prominent members of the ANC, who they allege were found in possession of a gun, two sets of army uniforms and three balaclavas.

The Star 10/7/92

Massacre probe like police routine

The high-powered police investigation into the Boipatong massacre contrasts with a routine probe of the slaughter of people at Crossroads. Why?

PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

THERE is a sequel to the stark contrast between the outraged cry of protest against the massacre of civilians at Boipatong and the barely audible reaction to slaughter of people at Crossroads.

Since the murder of at least 43 people at Boipatong on June 17, police have conducted an intense and high-level investigation and, according to their affidavit to the Goldstone Commission, succeeded in identifying the suspected killers.

The police investigation into massacre of squatters at Crossroads on April 3 and a similar attack on squatters at Zonkeziwe three days later — in which nearly 30 people died — has been less visible and less successful.

A bevy of high-ranking police officers, from General Hannes Gloy downwards, have visited Boipatong and the nearby Kwa-Madala Hostel — where the marauding killers allegedly came from — and launched a thorough investigation.

President de Klerk, realising that the Boipatong massacre had precipitated a national crisis, recommended that Mr Justice R.J. Goldstone appoint a person of international repute to assist him, and that he nominate people of equal stature to help the police.

Mr Justice Goldstone responded positively, appointing the former Chief Justice of India, Mr Justice Prafullachandra Bhagwati, as an assessor to his commission, and three British police experts to assist the police team.

Against that, according to the Max Mosselson, who represents

the East Rand Hostels Dwellers' Association at the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into violence at Tokoza, the investigation into the Crossroads massacre is headed by a lance-sergeant.

The difference between the two investigations is reflected in the results: apparent progress in Boipatong investigation; complete lack of progress in the Crossroads probe.

So far 81 suspects, all of them residents of the KwaMadala Hostel, have been arrested in connection with the Boipatong killings; no arrests have been made by Crossroads investigators, although the slaughter there took place more than two months earlier.

Inquiries to the police about the state of investigation into the Crossroads massacre are referred to Eugene Opperman, of the police division of public relations in Johannesburg.

The anger and anguish of the people at Boipatong has been amplified and reflected in the media, but the cries of the Crossroads survivors have gone largely unheard.

The roots of violence in South Africa are so deep and so widespread that everyone is a victim. There is no clear answer to the question: "Who threw the first stone?"

Another question is, however, worth asking: why have the police spared no effort and, according to their own statements, achieved a quick breakthrough at Boipatong?

One answer is that Boipatong has assumed the dimensions of a national disaster. Another may be that police themselves are in the dock before the bar of world opinion because of Boipatong.

As Major Christo Davidson, member of the Boipatong investigating team records, two police assistants have alleged that the attackers were transported by police armoured vehicles on the night of the attack and that white policemen took part in the massacre.

The Star 10/7/92

Govt's complicity in violence 'undeniable'

ATTACHED to the letter Nelson Mandela sent to President de Klerk yesterday are three detailed annexures dealing with the controversial claims of Government complicity in the violence; the alleged involvement of the security forces in fomenting and escalating violence; and the Government's support for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The document, titled "Government complicity in violence", argues that security force complicity in the violence is "undeniable" and accuses the Government of failing to control the situation.

It accuses the Government of not allowing proper investigations and failing to prosecute those involved in the violence.

"The acts of omission and commission by the Government in numerous cases can only be explained in terms of direct complicity in the violence in order to make party political gains at great cost in black lives and economic damage to our country," the ANC says.

The organisation says the Government's complicity was evident from its failure to:

- Reorientate and retrain security forces.
- Authorise independent investigations.
- Protect witnesses.
- Act against members of the security forces.
- Demobilise Koevoet and 32 Battalion.
- And its use of censorship to prevent publication of evidence of security force involvement in violence.

The ANC has detailed the Government's acts of omission and commission in a letter to the President, writes Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH.

No programme had been implemented to retrain the security forces after they had been trained to defend apartheid and wage war against the ANC. It was therefore "naïve" to believe Mr de Klerk's watershed speech on February 2 1990 was sufficient to reorientate the security forces.

Despite court cases where police officers had admitted they were continuing the war against the ANC, the Government continued to insist that investigations of police complicity be conducted by the police themselves.

The ANC illustrates this with the Trust Feed case where the judge suggested a judicial commission of inquiry into the police cover-up.

Although the General Bar Council called for a full public investigation chaired by a Supreme Court judge, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel appointed "Broederbond" and ex-magistrate Willem Krugel to conduct the inquiry.

The ANC notes that police officers who have been named by judges as involved in cover-ups have been put in charge of investigations.

In the Trust Feed trial, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson named Captain Andre Kritizenger of the Soweto Crime Intelligence

Service as "one of the police officers who tried to interrupt the investigations into the Trust Feed killings".

Captain Kritizenger had subsequently been appointed as the investigating officer into an alleged police conspiracy and had been appointed to investigate the assassination of lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

In its second interim report, the Goldstone Commission expressed concern for the safety of potential witnesses and requested adequate protection for them.

The ANC says the concern was illustrated by the following cases:

- Saul Tsotetsi, who had consistently drawn the SAP's attention to the fact that the Kwa-Madala hostel was the base from which attacks were launched against Boipatong, Bopelong, Sebokeng and Sharpeville, was killed two days before he was due to testify before the Goldstone Commission.
- A witness to the assassination of Chief Maphumulo was killed the day before the inquest.
- During an inquest into the deaths caused by the activities of the "Black Cats" gang in Wessleton, the gang leader and the mother of a renegade member were killed.

The ANC says police officers

involved in violence and cover-ups have been identified by commissions of inquiry and in court judgments, but the Government has failed to take action.

Examples included:

- No prosecutions followed the findings of the Harms Commission, which uncovered evidence of murder, poisoning, kidnapping, arson, perjury and destruction of evidence by members of the SADF and SAP.

- SAP Deputy Commissioner General Lothar Neethling was suspended after it was found he had deliberately lied to the court and the Harms Commission.

- "Though there is prima facie evidence of the involvement of Lieutenant-General van der Westhuizen in the assassination of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicela Mhlau, he remains Chief of Staff Intelligence (during) investigations".

- "No action has been taken against Brigadier Floris Mostert who refused to open his files to the Harms Commission and was accused of perjury by the commission. Brigadier Mostert had arrested two SADF agents for the murder of David Webster".

The Government had failed to demobilise Koevoet and 32 Battalion which were "among the special forces that have been implicated in many cases of violence".

The conduct of these units have been criticised repeatedly, including by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone. □

The Star 10/7/92

FW's warning as ANC insists Govt breaks the deadlock

'Difficult times ahead'

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

South Africa faced "difficult weeks and difficult months", but the current impasse in negotiations could be overcome. President FW de Klerk said last night.

Mr de Klerk's remarks, during an address to the National Party Youth Congress in Stellenbosch, came as the ANC released a strongly worded letter from Nelson Mandela to Mr de Klerk, which suggests that formal negotiations can resume only once the Government has taken "practical steps" to address the organisation's demands.

Declaring that the "war of memoranda" was over, the ANC said there was "a way forward" for negotiations, but placed the responsibility for breaking the deadlock squarely on the Government.

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Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who studied Mr Mandela's letter yesterday, said that it raised "serious points of difference" which would have to be dealt with at great length and discussed multilaterally.

Appearing to downplay the polemical elements of the ANC challenge, he said the exchange of memoranda had helped to identify points of difference as a possible base for further discussions.

The ANC had raised a number of matters of justifiable concern to all parties, he said. The Government would be holding full discussions on the document.

In his letter, the ANC president warned Mr de Klerk: "You may succeed in delaying, but never prevent-

ing, the transition of South Africa to a democracy."

The 10-page letter, in response to a letter from Mr de Klerk released on Thursday last week, was accompanied by three detailed annexures. At a media conference in Johannesburg Mr Mandela read out a short statement, after which he left and Cyril Ramaphosa and other senior ANC officials answered questions.

Mr Mandela rejected out of hand Mr de Klerk's earlier response to ANC demands, and said the ANC no longer believed the Government was committed to a democratic negotiated settlement. "You have not addressed the issues I raised in my memorandum," he said.

Mr Mandela refused Mr de Klerk's request for a face-to-face meeting, accusing the Government of wanting to elevate "peripheral" issues to the status of "fundamental" ones, and thereby stalling the transition process.

He said the Government had made transitional arrangements the central focus of negotiations and had failed to commit itself to the "acid test of democracy", a sovereign elected constituent assembly.

This "betrays the positions your Government has been taking and which lie at the heart of the crisis".

The ANC now believed the thrust of Government negotiating tactics had been to guarantee a constitutionally entrenched role for the National Party.

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted, by the end of this year, all-in elections for a democratic constituent assembly. This would have a single chamber and would reach decisions by a two-thirds majority.

● To Page 3

Difficult times ahead - FW

● From Page 1

Half of the delegates would be elected on a national list and half on a regional list. Decisions on regional matters would require two-thirds approval by both categories of delegate.

Mr Mandela strongly denied Government allegations that the ANC sought an unstructured and unconstitutional transfer of power.

He rejected the recent Government proposal for a three-year cut-off period, whereby fresh elections would be held if there were deadlocks in reaching a permanent constitution.

"It is essential that there is a speedy transition to democracy," Mr Mandela said.

He accused Mr de Klerk of trying to "entrench federalism by subterfuge".

Mr Mandela angrily rejected "bland" Government denials of any role in the current violence, and referred to detailed annexures in support of his argument.

He called on Mr de Klerk to "immediately take over personal responsibility for the portfolios relating to the security forces and the police".

And he attacked the president for "unilaterally restructuring the affairs of our country at a time when you are supposed to be negotiating a transition to a democratic order".

Rejecting allegations of SACP-Cosatu control of the ANC, Mr Mandela insisted mass action would go ahead. He called for a "peaceful and disciplined" campaign.

He ended with a call to Mr de Klerk to "find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis... find a way to address the demands placed before you... so that negotiations can become meaningful and be vested with the urgency that the situation requires".

At the media conference, Mr Ramaphosa disclosed he had had discussions "about the exchange of memoranda" with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

But, he said, there would be no "negotiations by stealth".

If the Government did not respond to ANC demands, deliberations would remain "in an impasse".

The Star

10/7/92



The Star 10/7/92

Report not biased in favour of ANC, claims Amnesty

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — Amnesty International has rejected suggestions that its latest annual report is biased because of its failure to report ANC attacks on Inkatha.

The international human rights organisation this week castigated South African authorities over alleged security force involvement in — or their failure to prevent — acts of murder and violence against supporters of the ANC.

It also claimed Inkatha was acting against its political opponents with the tacit approval of the security forces.

However, an Amnesty

spokesman yesterday rejected a suggestion that the report was flawed. She said: "The focus this year was on killings and violence directly linked to governments or their agencies. There has been some confusion in reporting the report where the State link has been overlooked.

"This is not to say we are not aware of alleged ANC attacks on Inkatha supporters or of young 'comrades' on police. We receive a great deal of information from a highly organised network of informants, and this has been part of the information received. It is simply that we have no evidence whatsoever of any ANC attacks which were carried out in collusion with State security forces."

B/Day 10/7/92

Police praise Boipatong probe

PRETORIA — Police were hopeful their Boipatong massacre investigation would be recorded as a success story despite difficult circumstances at the scene and the involvement and interference of political interests, the chief investigating officer said yesterday.

Maj-Gen Wouter Grove was briefing newsmen on obstacles and progress in probes into the June 17 massacre.

More than 40 people were killed in the overnight attack allegedly mounted by KwaMadala hostel dwellers, and the ANC reacted by halting constitutional negotiations with government.

Eighty-one residents of KwaMadala hostel had been arrested after tracking down and eliminating hundreds of alibis, and more than 1 000 sworn statements had been collected, Grove said.

"A large number of weapons which we suspect were used in this tragic event have

been seized, and forensic tests, which obviously take time to complete, are under way," Grove added.

A large team of detectives had been assigned to investigate evidence. But they had faced almost insurmountable obstacles in gaining access to physical evidence at the scene and political propaganda discrediting the police.

The investigation team had been kept out of the field by cheap propaganda which created distrust of police impartiality to the extent that some relatives of the dead had even refused to identify bodies for detectives.

Detectives had wanted to get on with the job, but had not been able to investigate the scene of the crime properly.

Evidence had been trampled, removed or tampered with, and a simple fact was that "a fingerprint in Boipatong would have had the same value as one on a counter in the OK Bazaars". — Sapa.

Forum will take over decisions on hostels

DECISIONS on the future of workers' hostels in the PWV would be turned over from the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) to a national housing and development forum, the TPA agreed this week.

The forum would be created by the housing task group, a sub-committee of the Central Metropolitan Witwatersrand Chamber. It would meet next week to frame the forum's constitution, terms of reference and funding.

Hostel residents, owners and administrators, and people who lived near hostels would be included in the forum, charged with formulating short- and long-term strategies for dealing with the hostel problem. It was agreed that initiatives should recognise that accommodation was required by single people and families.

The forum would take charge of more than R50m allocated by government last month for the restructuring of 13 hostels in Johannesburg, Soweto and Alexandra.

Chamber CE Vic Milne said the TPA had intended to retain new hostel initiatives under its own ambit but had agreed this week to use the more representative chamber structure as an interim measure.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that TPA deputy director Len Dekker said violence would increase if government went ahead with its plans to transform hostels without consensus from all parties.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Responding to claims that government had ignored the Goldstone commission's recommendations, particularly with regard to hostels, Dekker said government had not been able to get hostel residents, owners and residents from surrounding communities to agree on plans.

"We are accused of dragging our feet, but if we go in and make changes unilaterally we will only cause more violence than before," said Dekker. "In most cases we have not even managed to get people around the table — and when they do get together they only want to fight."

The ANC had demanded that all single-sex hostels be converted to family units, but the issue was not so simple, said Dekker. Many single hostel dwellers opposed plans to convert hostels into family units. Many wanted them upgraded; others wanted them destroyed.

Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday that fencing hostels could cause further conflict, our Political Staff reports.

He told the NP national youth congress in Stellenbosch he did not want to fight with Judge Richard Goldstone, but it should never be forgotten that there were people living in the hostels.

B/Day 10/7/92
 pen in
 M-Water

B/Dag 10/7/92

Political Staff

Negotiations damage
can be mended — FW

CAPE TOWN — The damage which had been done to negotiations could be repaired, but the seriousness of the present situation should not be underestimated, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Government was prepared to negotiate and compromise, but it would not be threatened into making concessions which young people would have to live with for the rest of their lives.

De Klerk warned that the country faced "a difficult few weeks, even months", but stressed "the government would not sit in a corner, cry and stagnate".

He told the NP's national youth congress in Stellenbosch he had not yet seen the ANC's response to government and therefore could not respond to it.

Government would, however, pursue every avenue to get negotiations going.

He said the NP did not want a constitution that would benefit it in an election, but one which had the overwhelming support of all South Africans.

He dismissed as "lies" claims that the NP wanted to cling to power, it demanded a minority veto and the government was involved in violence.

The allegation that government was not trying to combat violence was untrue. "We have nothing to hide. Your party looks into the eyes of every South African and into the eyes of the world, and says violence must be ended."

SA was in the middle of a very complicated situation and emotions were running high, with radical elements continuing to add fuel to the fire. "Their goal is to create a vicious cycle of crisis upon crisis and deadlock upon deadlock."

"The silent majority of moderate South Africans are shocked by what they perceive to be an irrational retrogression in the negotiation process."

"The threats of widespread strikes and mass action have give rise to a mood of deep apprehension

inside and outside SA."

De Klerk said the country faced a serious setback in the process which, until recently, offered so much promise, and this posed a tremendous challenge to SA's political leadership.

He said he would refrain from discussing details of the present tensions created by the ANC and its allies, but "we are in communication with them and need time to study their detailed reaction to my letter and memorandum".

"However, I would like to say we, the political leaders of this country, owe it to all its people to prevent them from sliding back into the vicious circle of pre-1990."

De Klerk has established a social relief fund to assist victims of violence in unrest-stricken communities, Sapa reports.

Financial assistance would be made available to approved organisations or institutions to channel the funds, and not directly to individuals.

The Independent London

Friday 10 July 1992

Mandela to speak at UN next week on SA violence

NELSON MANDELA, scoring a significant international diplomatic success, will address an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council next week on the political violence in South Africa and the deadlocked constitutional negotiations, it was officially announced yesterday.

The head of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, Ibrahim A Gambari, the Nigerian ambassador, said the President of the African National Congress (ANC) would speak during a two-day Security Council session. It will be Mr Mandela's first address before the Security Council.

It was at Mr Mandela's initiative that the Security Council meeting, the first on South Africa in three years, was convened. At a political rally four days after the massacre at Boipatong township, the event that led the ANC to call off talks with the government of F W de Klerk, Mr Mandela publicly issued his request for an emergency UN session.

In another indication of the increased international interest South Africa's political crisis is generating, Cyrus Vance, a former US Secretary of State, announced

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

yesterday that he was likely to visit South Africa after next week's Security Council session.

On Wednesday it had been thought that Mr Vance would visit South Africa ahead of the meeting but the plans were changed after a recommendation by the ANC to wait until after Mr Mandela had had a chance to state his case at the UN. The object of Mr Vance's visit will be to find ways to help end the township violence and persuade the ANC and the government to resume talks.

Mr Mandela made it plain in Johannesburg yesterday, however, that first the government would have to demonstrate a commitment to peace and democracy. The ANC president accused the South African government of closing its eyes to the seriousness of the crisis affecting the country, a crisis with "explosive" potential that had come about because of the government's concern to protect its power and privilege.

In a statement complementing a letter he sent yesterday to Presi-

dent F W de Klerk, Mr Mandela said that negotiations to bring about democracy had broken down essentially because "the ruling National Party keeps looking for ways to exercise power even if it loses a democratic election".

The only way forward was for the government seriously to respond to the ANC's demands. These are: that the government show a commitment to democracy in the form of agreement to free and fair elections for a constituent assembly by the end of this year, and that it address the violence by taking action to neutralise the single-men's hostels by banning dangerous weapons in public, by disbanding the army's Special Forces units and by welcoming international peace monitors.

Mr Mandela urged the President to "find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis ... Find a way to address the demands we have placed before you ... so that negotiations can become meaningful ... Failure to respond in this way can only exacerbate the crisis. You may succeed in delaying, but never in preventing, the transition of South Africa to democracy."

Mandela rules out power sharing

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

WITH a fierce rebuttal of President de Klerk's allegations that it was in the hands of the militant left wing, and a pained complaint that its position on an interim constitution had been sadly misrepresented, the African National Congress banged the door last night on any immediate resumption of talks with the government.

What Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, called "the war of memorandums" went another stage, with Nelson Mandela, its president, sending another missive tizzing down the N1 motorway from Johannesburg (the ANC headquarters) to Pretoria.

Although Mr de Klerk's own epistolary rocket carried a good deal of explosive force, it also contained some useful compromises that might have enticed the moderates of the ANC into some kind of exploratory talks. But Mr Mandela's counterfire has put a stop to that, declaring: "To call for face-to-face talks in such a situation is entirely unacceptable."

The ANC president also made clear that he and his movement are not interested in power sharing. Introducing his latest letter at a press conference in a hotel in the city centre in Johannesburg, he said: "The essence of the crisis is that the government is not willing for ways to exercise power even if it loses a democratic election... The parties which lose such elections should go

into opposition. One of the best safeguards for democracy is to have an open parliamentary opposition.

"The National Party instead wants a minority veto power under the guise of so-called power sharing. Their real concern is to protect the power privileges and greed of the National Party leadership and top-ranking officials in the security forces." At the press conference Mr Mandela also softened the tone of his letter by pointing out that it was he, from prison in 1986, who initiated efforts to persuade the government to negotiate with the ANC, adding: "We remain committed to genuine negotiations to bring about democracy."

The Mandela letter also repeated allegations about government involvement in the violence that is ravaging parts of South Africa, although it did not claim that Mr de Klerk is personally involved.

Mr de Klerk last night made it clear that he has no intention of caving in to ANC demands. In a speech given wide publicity by the state-run television news after the contents of Mr Mandela's letter were made known, he declared: "We will not allow South Africa to slide back into isolation and helpless stagnation. We will... tolerate... not sit in a corner, cry, worry and stagnate. We will discharge our duty at all costs. We will take new initiatives."

New de Klerk offer of talks turned down

By Christopher Munnion
in Johannesburg

THE African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, last night rejected President de Klerk's call for urgent talks to resolve South Africa's constitutional crisis, but said the ANC was keen to "find a way forward".

He again accused Mr de Klerk of using the critical situation to play party politics and of attempting to find excuses to reject majority rule and retain minority power.

Mr Mandela gave details of the ANC's formal response to Mr de Klerk's latest memorandum, part of the arislength exchange of views since negotiations towards a democratic South Africa collapsed in recriminations after the Boipatong massacre.

He made clear that the ANC would return to the talks if the government showed its willingness to act firmly and positively on the issue of violence.

The government sought to blame the ANC's mass action campaign for the violence, but the real cause was the ruling National Party's attempts to cling to power and "the greed of top NP officials", he said.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC secretary-general, said there were some signs of a convergence of views, but Pretoria must be committed to genuine democracy.

Observers noted that the ANC leaders avoided repeating his minister's claim that the ANC was responsible for Boipatong.

The Times

10/7/92

London

Daily

Telegraph

10/7/92

SACC searches its soul on its political role

By CARMEL RICKARD

SOUL-SEARCHING about the role of the "mainstream" churches during the current political impasse dominated the South African Council of Churches' annual conference in Durban this week.

A crop of resolutions to be debated today asks delegates to take far-reaching decisions about how the SACC will push for change.

One draft resolution proposes that the SACC leadership should halt all further meetings with members of the government, as "communication" does not appear to help bring about change and merely gives Pretoria legitimacy.

Another draft resolution urges that members of the churches belonging to the SACC should support all actions aimed at ending the present political dispensation as soon as possible. If passed, this could throw the weight of church members behind the mass action campaign of the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party, which the church leadership has already promised to back.

Underlying a number of the proposed resolutions and some of the discussion was the continuing debate over whether the church should play a mediating role or the role of "speaking with a prophetic voice" — or both.

Other resolutions still to be debated included a call to members of the security forces, who might have information about destabilisation, to come forward and speak the truth. Another resolution relates to withholding taxes, or portions of tax, to indicate disapproval of the way in which the government spends state income.

A clear sign of the SACC's deep mistrust of the government was the response of one of the discussion groups to a proposed new Bill. The Internal Peace Institutions Bill deals with the National Peace Secretariat and dispute-resolving committees at local and regional level. It also provides for remuneration to those involved in the work of the commission.

Several speakers yesterday raised severe misgivings about the government's motives in proposing the Bill. One warned the state was trying to set up a network of paid informers. Yet Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, vice-chairman of the National Peace Committee, said the committee had asked that financial help be provided for grassroots peacemakers, many of whom had to take time off work to attend meetings. He said problems should be raised with the secretariat so that action could be taken to modify the proposed legislation.

In his presidential address at the start of the conference, Methodist Bishop Khoza Mgojo urged that the conference consider how the SACC had come to be perceived as "the ANC at prayer". He said that if the SACC was to be effective, it could not afford to be perceived as taking sides with any political group. However, the SACC had to condemn "what needs to be condemned", regardless of which group was responsible.

He said the different political groups had to be told clearly by the church that "they need not kill in order to convince ... They say they kill in order to expand democracy — but how can they bring democracy to those they have killed?"

Mgojo also addressed strong words to the government, saying many had died at the hands of the security forces and "mysterious murderers".

w/mail

10/7/92

Wait and see as KZP gets control

By LENA SLACHMUIJLDER

NATAL unrest monitors have reacted with alarm to moves which will increase the role of the kwaZulu Police (KZP) in countering unrest.

From July 1, the South African Police stopped using Internal Stability Unit (ISU) members in kwaZulu unless specifically called in by the KZP district commissioner.

The chairman of the Natal-kwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee, MC Pretorius, said the move was a matter of "restructuring command".

Pretorius said that as the KZP held the major responsibility for areas under its jurisdiction, it would feel compelled to act in a more responsible manner. "Unfortunately, we'll only be able to tell if it doesn't work by counting the deaths," he said.

The ANC representative on the Umlazi dispute resolution committee, Felix Dlamini, and local unrest monitors doubted that the KZP could be trusted to act more responsibly if given freer rein.

Complaining that the decision had not been canvassed with local peace structures, Dlamini said it had put the brakes on progress towards joint SAP-KZP policing in Umlazi. SAP patrols around troubled shack settlements in Umlazi had fostered a climate of peace, while joint patrols in the township over the Easter weekend had greatly improved residents' perceptions of the security forces.

"The decision is discouraging in the face of increasing violence," said Democratic Party unrest monitor Roy Ainslie. "We have used the ISU to a great extent, and have been very impressed with them recently."

The move follows the release of an updated report by the Legal Resources Centre and Human Rights Commission, which paints a picture of deteriorating KZP conduct and distrust of the force by communities over the past six months.

wfmail

10/7/92

W/MAIL 10/7/92

LETTERS

Neither villains nor angels but victims, Father Tim

In his article "Police involvement in the Natal conflict", Father Timothy Smith interprets the Natal conflict in the familiar "villains/angels" genre, a flawed theme which most violence commentators appear to succumb to. Such glib explanations blur the complex, multi-faceted nature of the Natal conflict.

For example, many of the clashes Smith speaks of were spontaneous community responses and not premeditated Inkatha "offensives" as he suggests. By fragmenting his assessment into finger-pointing clichés, Smith displays extraordinary insensitivity to those victims of violence who do not fit his description of a "politically correct" organisation. Surely all are equal victims of a devastating human tragedy and ultimately share its destructiveness? If we are to conduct an intelligent debate, the myth of "villains and angels" must be debunked.

Smith's testimony must be viewed against a history of manufacturing perceptions. Perception warfare has moved full circle from the "total strategy" era which demonised the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance and their internal wing, the United Democratic Front, as the "enemy" of the state to be eclipsed by the unrelenting campaign to discredit the Inkatha Freedom Party. ANC propaganda has succeeded in sanitising the role of itself and its surrogates in the conflict to that of "innocent bystanders". Smith's account slavishly follows the trend.

But be that as it may, it is indeed astonishing that a priest will use the church as a platform to launch his overtly partisan views. By choosing sides, Smith compromises his integrity and ability to facilitate reconciliation and the attendant healing process in this country.

Ironically, in a paper tracing the roots of the conflict presented to a University of Natal seminar on political violence in April 1988, Smith makes it clear it was Inkatha on the defensive.

We seek to make no political mileage when we note his former revealing inference that Inkatha was the initial victim. Such an implication appears to conflict with the general pro-UDF overtones of his recent article.

That he has fastidiously recorded (albeit selectively) exact dates and accumulated volumes of evidence to support his anecdotal claims reinforces our suspicion that his "analysis" is motivated by a malicious personal vendetta against Inkatha. He is far from even-handed in his outrage and condemnation at perceived injustice.

Smith does make several valid points. We concur that neutral police action in the very beginning, the apprehension of those suspect-

ed of murder and their prosecution by law would have had an immediate dampening effect on the conflict. However, conducting a witch-hunt with the aim of identifying villains and angels will not facilitate peace because it exonerates the UDF/ANC, one of the major antagonists in the conflict. Neither the reputation of the ANC nor that of Inkatha emerges unscathed from this conflict and no organisation can be absolved in its responsibility to end it. The second interim report of the Goldstone Commission seems to confirm this cogent observation. — Ed Tillett, IFP Information Centre, Durban

IN *The Weekly Mail* of June 5 to 12 1992, you inflict a double whammy on those trying to fight AIDS and HIV. First, in Mark Gevisser's predictably excellent piece on AIDS in Uganda you sub-edit "AIDS" to read "Aids"; and secondly Krisjan Lemmer refers to Benetton's "pictures of dying Aids victims".

Strictly, AIDS is not a disease: it is a syndrome resulting from the progressive effects of infection with HIV. AIDS itself is not transmissible and is not contagious or infectious. Only the virus that ultimately results in AIDS is transmissible (though, of course, not easily).

AIDS should in print therefore remain an acronym. To render it "Aids" is semantically incorrect since the neologism has not been accepted in any of the circles worldwide what deal with AIDS. None of the literature or information emanating from any AIDS agency will offer "Aids" rather than "AIDS". "AIDS" is in this respect a special case and

analogies with organisational names (Nato, Unesco) are spurious.

The reason for the practice is equally important: abandoning the acronym subverts AIDS educational efforts. It undermines the understanding that AIDS is an abbreviation for a syndrome and not an independent concept. The capitals, which signal the compression, reflect this.

Also: never "AIDS victims". The term "victims" is not only condescending. It also disempowers and thus ultimately itself victimises people with AIDS or HIV. "Victims" evokes images on the one hand of criminality and wrongdoing and on the other of helplessness and punishment. These concepts infringe the dignity of persons with "AIDS" and collide with those who posit "innocent" and "guilty victims". — Edwin Cameron, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Wits

I WRITE about the advertisement on the second page of *The Weekly Mail* (volume 8, number 25 June 19 to 25). "Win with the ANC" was the title. Why is the ANC trying to trick people into phoning an 087 number? These calls are charged at R5.97 per minute!

According to the competition a "lucky" winner will receive R1 000 in cash. But to find out if you have won the money or T-Shirts you have to buy the ANC's monthly magazine *Mayibuye*. Many people are taken in by this hoping they will win. In my opinion this is gambling.

Why can't the ANC just ask for donations and get rid of their pride instead of using capitalist tricks? Is the ANC afraid that they will not get the same amount of money by asking for donations?

The Weekly Mail claims to be a paper for a changing South Africa. What are we changing to? I hope it is not a South Africa full of 087 numbers.

PS: I love your computer section. Please publish it every week. — Karim Saloojee, (age 13), Nelspruit

AS your readers may be aware, 1993 will be the 20th anniversary of the 1973 Durban strikes. The Natal Room (a small resource room linked to the Department of Political Studies) and the centre for Industrial and Labour Studies are planning a seminar for 1993 to reassess the impact that the 1973 strikes had on industrial relations.

We appeal to anyone who might have documents, pamphlets, photographs or personal memories of the strikes, to make these available to us for the seminar.

Please address all material to: Christine MacDonald, Department of Political Science, University of Natal, Durban, King George V Avenue, Durban 4001

Letters should be addressed to: The Letters Page, *The Weekly Mail*, PO Box 260425, Excom 2023. The editors reserve the right to edit for clarity and space.

w/mail 10/7/92

No convictions on carnage

Weekly Mail Reporter

NOBODY has been convicted in connection with the more than 40 massacres on the Reef over the past two years, in which at least 1 200 people have died.

"Massacre" has been defined according to the Human Rights Commission's criterion of a mass killing claiming the lives of at least 10 people. This definition excludes the conviction of a man involved in the 1991 Braamfontein train attack, in which two people died.

Prior to the Boipatong massacre, 45 arrests had been made in connection with five massacres, according to police figures. Trials of some of these suspects are still in progress.

Last week John Zakwe, one of five men accused of slaughtering 13 mourners at an Alexandra night vigil in March 1991, was acquitted on grounds of insufficient evidence.

This came hard on the heels of the acquittal of seven alleged Inkatha Freedom Party men on murder charges in connection with the Sebokeng night vigil massacre of January last year, in which 38 people died.

Delivering his judgment in that trial, Judge W Schultz dealt the South African Police a tongue-lashing, saying they "should have tried harder" to find incriminating evidence.

The SAP's credibility crisis in the townships had led to a situation where lawyers had

to take over the job of the police, ensuring that witnesses went to court, providing them with "safe houses" and persuading them to testify, commented a lawyer representing one of the families affected by the Sebokeng slaughter.

But SAP media liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman has accused the media and political organisations of hindering police investigations.

Media allegations about the Boipatong massacre, for example, had made potential witnesses "confused, angry and even more emotionally charged," he said, stressing that the African National Congress had instructed residents not to communicate with the police.

Giving further details of progress made in investigating the massacres on the Reef, a police spokesman said:

● The attorney general had temporarily withdrawn charges against five people arrested in connection with a Johannesburg train attack two years ago which claimed the lives of 15 people.

● Twelve people arrested in connection with the May 1990 Swanieville massacre — in which 28 people died — had all been released on bail.

● Twelve people had appeared in court in connection with the deaths of 11 people at the Chamdor coalyard, on the West Rand, on August 21 last year.

w/mail

10/7/92

By CARMEL RICKARD

SCORES of hostel dwellers in the greater Durban area made their needs clear this week: they want swimming pools, more football fields, clinics and night school facilities. No one said a word about bulldozing or closing down the hostels.

Representatives of five hostels and members of organisations in their immediate vicinity held an all-day workshop with officials of the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) and planners involved in a R19-million upgrading project.

Sue Rubenstein, who works for a Johannesburg consultancy which since early 1990 has been conducting interviews with hostel residents on

the changes they favour, said some wanted to bring their families to the urban areas because this would save money and foster family life. Others wanted to leave their families in the rural areas as they feared the corrupting influence of the cities on their children. A third group wanted a range of other possibilities to be offered, like secure premises for temporary family visits. She pleaded that various options should be made available to suit the individuals concerned.

Rubenstein stressed that it was essential to "depoliticise" the

upgrading process. Her research had found that, since the violence began, hostel dwellers felt pressured by organisations into taking positions on the future of the hostels.

The chief director of the NPA's planning and development department, John Johnson, urged hostel dwellers and township organisations to put aside political differences so that work on upgrading the hostels could begin.

Johnson said more than R19-million had been allocated to Durban's five hostels by the government, while

another R10-million was to be spent on hostels elsewhere in Natal.

In sharp contrast to former years, the NPA is insisting that upgrading will begin only after "all those parties directly involved" have been consulted and have agreed on how the money will be spent.

Despite political divisions among the workshop's participants, group discussions produced a surprising degree of consensus.

A number of hostel dwellers said they were downcast at the lack of progress and that they believed offi-

cials were "dragging their feet" about getting the project started.

Several speakers said that developers involved in the upgrading project should employ people living in the hostels who have no work, instead of hiring "outsiders".

Residents also said hostel rooms should not house more than three people and that more halls should be built for entertainment. Some suggested that if land was a problem, the developers should put up "12storeys" to accommodate more people.

The steering committee of the Natal Hostels Initiative, which organised this week's consultation, will meet later in the month to consider the proposals made during the workshop.

① w/mail 10/7/92

The boat, the tap and the Leipzig way

HAVE the insurrectionists within the alliance between the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party won the day, as the government seems to think?

Not so, according to a key SACP document which rejects insurrection as unrealistic, "given that we are further (and we were arguably never that close) from insurrection now than we were three or four years ago".

There is, undoubtedly, a strong desire among grassroots militants to take the mass action campaign to its limits and seize power. But while some senior leaders are openly using the language of insurrection, sources within the tripartite alliance see this more as an attempt to mobilise support for the campaign than as a part of any coherent insurrectionary strategy.

The SACP document, entitled "The boat, the tap and the Leipzig way: a critique of some strategic assumptions in our ranks", was written by national executive committee member Jeremy Cronin and circulated at the SACP's extended central committee meeting last month.

It strongly suggests that the widely-held view that there is a hidden insurrectionist agenda

There is intense debate in the alliance between the ANC, the SACP and

Cosatu about mass action, its meaning and purpose.

PHILLIPA GARSON reports

underpinning the mass action campaign is far-fetched.

Not surprisingly, the government has vested interests in discrediting the campaign as a victory for the insurrectionists, portraying a liberation movement divided into "communists" and "moderates" and leaving the door open for a government crackdown.

In his response to the ANC's decision to pull out of negotiations, President FW de Klerk accused the organisation "and particularly its allies in Cosatu and the SACP" of following "their own agenda towards the seizure of power".

Familiar accusations, to the effect that the "communist cabal" forced moderates within the alliance to capitulate to demands for an insurrectionary take-over, have repeatedly been made in government circles, harking back to the days of Operation Vula.

Last week the Sunday press, citing a document by SACP stalwart Raymond Suttner, warned: "In dealing with mass action the possibility must be kept in mind that the campaign has a hidden as well as a public agenda." Other internal alliance documents have been quoted in an attempt to pin down a "hidden agenda" and exactly what the mass action campaign is

expected to achieve: insurrection or forcing sufficient concessions from the government to allow the ANC to go back to the table.

The *Weekly Mail* last week quoted a confidential ANC paper which argued the case for an extended political strike to paralyse the country and force the government to capitulate. The paper is an updated Youth League document, the original of which has been in circulation in alliance circles for some time.

Cronin's document identifies three strategic strands within the alliance: the "don't rock the boat" school; "the tap" school (the strategic switching on and off of mass action); and the "Leipzig option" (a popular uprising like that which toppled Eastern European communist governments).

He argues that all three approaches fall short. Cronin criticises the insurrectionary stance touted by the Youth League leadership as an "elite, conspiratorial fixation" which has detracted from developing grassroots youth programmes of action.

His document argues in favour of mass action as a continual feature of the political process, both now and in the future, and sets out to show that all three strategies fail to guarantee this.

Most interesting, however, is that the document confirms different strategic positions within the alliance. It also points to a rejection of the insurrectionary road from the SACP think-tank, despite claims that it is the party has pushed the ANC towards insurrection.

The document to some extent shows that, while the decision to pull out of Codesa may have been more or less unanimous, perceptions within the alliance of what the mass action cam-

paign is to achieve may be less so.

The paper describes the moderate "don't rock the boat" outlook within the alliance as seeking democracy primarily through "negotiated pacts between elites". In this view — which many observers identify with international affairs department head Thabo Mbeki — conflict should be resolved through bargaining, not militant mass action.

Cronin criticises this strategy, which he sees as likely to gain popularity if and once the ANC becomes the government: "The temptation of (this strategy) is therefore, likely to be particularly alluring to some in our ranks who are beginning to see themselves as future bureaucrats."

The "tap" option, said to be favoured by president Nelson Mandela and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, is seen as a more militant version of the first: mass action and other militant struggles should be used to win concessions at negotiations, but no more.

Cronin sees this approach as dangerously "instrumentalist" — that mass action can justifiably be resorted to as no more than on-off pressure to achieve voting rights for the majority, a device used in periodic sports, for example, during elections. "It begins to suggest that soon the national liberation movement must transform itself narrowly into an electoral machine," says Cronin.

On strategy three, "the Leipzig way", Cronin supports the principle of "a mass uprising that builds dual power, that overthrows an incumbent regime and replaces it with the emergent organs of popular power", but ultimately rejects

● To PAGE 5

LETTERS

War between ANC and Inkatha

THE two articles by David Beresford, Ruan Malan, and Dennis Beckett (July 5) inject a much needed dose of reality into the reporting of recent events in South Africa.

Folks who mutter darkly about the probability of civil war should note that it started over a year ago.

Our Weekly Mail, which distributes your paper, has an article entitled "Where massacre is a way of life," which details Boipatong-style killings occurring at a rate of two per month with an average death toll of 25 per event since late 1990.

Violence in South Africa is unremarkable. A daily toll of less than 5 "unrest" related deaths is considered peaceful.

It seems necessary to remind readers that the fundamental cause of political violence is the war between the ANC and Inkatha. They are implacable foes and with good reason.

The ANC is socialist, federal, and republican. Inkatha is conservative, regional, and monarchist. Overlaying these political differences is straight tribal animosity.

"Faction fights" as they used to be called probably pre-date the arrival of Van Riebeck and have been considered an unfortunate fact of life ever since.

Whilst everyone would agree that the activities of the security apparatus of the National Party in previous years was reprehensible, to suggest that they are orchestrating the present violence is laughable. First, the antagonists need no encouragement, and second, the de Klerk government is not that competent. Besides, there is no mileage in any of this for the Nationalists.

The sad fact is that this is how things get done in Africa. Its post colonial history is not littered with many examples of conflicts being resolved by parliamentary debate. What worries everyone who lives here is where will be the voices of those screaming foul at the present government when their champions emerge en masse into the street with their knives drawn?

Bernard Benson,
Parkurst,
Johannesburg

The Citizen 10/7/92

Violence: Govt accused

THE African National Congress continued to maintain that the South African Government remained involved in fomenting violence, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

Fielding questions on the ANC's 24-page memorandum of demands addressed to State President De Klerk, Mr Ramaphosa said the government was still involved in the violence by "acts of commission as well as acts of omission".

With the tardiness of investigations into acts of violence, the frequent failure of the police to bring the perpetrators to

court, or effect convictions, the ANC could come to no other conclusion than police complicity in the violence, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The government's failure to take action against renegade forces implied government collusion in the continuing violence.

"What we maintain is that the government has the responsibility of protecting its citizens... in the areas where there has been violence... (government) has not acted in a way where it has given adequate protection to its citizens."

Referring to the exchange of memoranda between the government

and the ANC, Mr Ramaphosa said this process had now to come to an end "because you cannot conduct negotiations by memoranda".

"We do not in the ANC see ourselves going down the path of exchanging memoranda on an endless basis and our memorandum of today could very well be the last memorandum on this particular issue."

It now depended on the government to take practical steps in considering the ANC demands before the ANC National Executive would reconsider its position on the resumption of talks. — Sapa.

The Citizen 10/7/92

ANC 2 'had army uniforms, guns'

POLICE in Durban yesterday searched two prominent African National Congress members and found a 9mm firearm, two sets of army uniforms and three balaclavas in their possession, police in Pretoria said.

Discoveries of this nature had become frequent, they added, and questioned the motives behind them.

"Allegations are continuously levelled against the security forces for attacks carried out by their members, particularly in areas where no record exists of any security force activity." — Sapa.

The Citizen

10/7/92

Strolling with AK-47s

At an international news conference in Pretoria (The Citizen, July 3), the Minister of Law and Order said the government has no intention of reimposing a state of emergency.

One should not dismiss the seriousness of the release of 57 000 criminals into our society during 1991. It is therefore futile for the Minister to say that the violence is limited to a few hot spots.

SPAG has appealed to the State President twice this year for the imposition of a state of emergency,

the reason being that the SA Police and Security Forces will then be in a position to plan a massive crime sweep across the country to seize the millions of AK-47 assault-rifles, arms caches, pistols, limpet mines, hand-grenades and masses of ammunition.

We have on good authority the information that young ANC and PAC comrades can be seen at any time strolling around the Vaal Triangle with AK-47 rifles over their shoulders. Before our

moderate Black people can even consider getting back to a reasonably safe lifestyle, this situation must be addressed.

SPAG is constituted to lobby for a better deal for the South African Police. We resent the attitude of the government towards our representations in respect of the escalating violence and the ensuing danger to the SA Police.

AVRIL B BUDD

Chairman

Support Police Action Group

Bryanston

The Citizen 10/7/92

Rapid upgrading of Tokoza's hostels

Citizen Reporter

TOKOZA's sprawling hostel complexes — built to house single male Zulu workers, and a major source of complaints from Phola Park squatters — are rapidly being upgraded.

The first renovated complex in this township near Alberton is scheduled to be handed over to the Tokoza Town Council by the middle of next month.

The Town Clerk, Mr Herman Combrinck, yesterday showed The Citizen how work on the first of three complexes being upgraded, Hostel One in Khumalo Street, had progressed.

"Every single change or improvement was first approved by the hostel dwellers and township residents living nearby, and these changes conform to all the requirements spelt out by the

Goldstone Commission and other parties."

A particularly strong concrete and barbed-wire fence, almost 3 m high and aptly dubbed the "Stop Nonsense" fence by township residents and hostel dwellers, surrounds the entire complex. One heavy metal gate, under 24-hour guard, provides access to the hostel. Designed to house 1 717 males, the hostel is divided into rows of six, 10 or 11 units. Each unit consists of four rooms, each with four beds, with a spacious kitchen-cum-living room in the middle.

Novelty

Electric lights and — a novelty for hostel dwellers — power points were installed in every room and kitchen.

Mr Combrinck said it would also be the first hostel with hot and cold running water and a

water-borne sewage system, as well as a stormwater drainage system and tarred roads. Few of these exist in other hostels on the Witwatersrand.

The R3.5 million improvement project has been financed by the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA).

The TPA's deputy director general of community development, Mr Len Dekker, yesterday said only 12 of the 156 hostels in the Transvaal belonged to the TPA. The other 144 were the property of local authorities.

Upgrading of hostels was being severely hampered by township residents not co-operating.

Citing Katlehong, also on the East Rand, as an example, he said the TPA could have upgraded and secured the township's hostels months ago, but residents had simply not turned up for meetings.

The Citizen

10/7/92

Police slam ANC's account of death

THE South African Police yesterday sharply criticised the African National Congress for trying to discredit the police to cover up its own shortcomings.

The police statement, issued in Pretoria, follows an ANC rebuttal of the police account of the death of Mr George Mashele, a leading member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), in Vosloorus earlier this week.

"George Mashele was a suspect in a case of murder after the bodies of a man and a two-year-old baby were found in the remains of a house which had burnt down after a petrol bomb attack," the police statement said.

"Following are some of the blatant inaccuracies contained in the ANC statement:

"George Mashele and his mother, Lilly Magosha, were chillingly attacked and killed. Mashele died after a handgrenade was hurled into the room."

"His mother was killed with five bullets' after she had 'opened a window through which several shots were fired."

"Several rounds of teargas were fired into the room' and 'his mother, whose body was full of blood and riddled with bullet holes ..."

The police statement said only one teargas grenade was thrown into the

house through an already broken window, and no shots were fired by police.

"All indications are that George Mashele was handling the grenade when it detonated. The remains of a Russian F1 handgrenade were found at the scene," the police added.

Police were not issued with handgrenades during the course of normal duties and went to the house openly.

"The autopsy revealed that there were no bullet wounds in Mrs Lilly Magosha's body, but a number of shrapnel wounds."

Police said investigations indicated that Mr Mashele was with his mother when the handgrenade detonated, and it must have exploded either partially beneath him or between him and his mother.

What also concerned the police was that members of the ANC kept a key witness in their presence and later took his statement before the police could do so.

Police said a Johannesburg newspaper on Wednesday questioned independent witnesses (residents) and were told that Mr Mashele blew himself up and then shot his mother while he lay dying.

"Residents also told reporters that the police raided Mr Mashele's house after he and his comrades had burnt down

a house belonging to David Selepe — a relative of Vosloorus Councillor Sidwell Mofokeng and a policeman whom the comrades claimed had a hit list including the names of MK members.

"We trust the world will now take note of the type of anti-police propaganda which the ANC continues to spread, and will have a better understanding of what the SA Police have to contend with." — Sapa.

The Citizen 10/7/92

3 policemen killed in Katlehong in 2 days

ANOTHER policeman was shot dead in Katlehong on the East Rand yesterday morning, bringing to three the number of policemen killed in the township since Wednesday, a police spokesman reported.

W/O Andy Pieke said that at 6.30 am yesterday an "apparently well-known" police reservist had been shot dead in Ramakanopie East, Katlehong.

Mr Matli Mobaie (35), was shot by un-

known attackers while walking along a road.

"He was fatally wounded and his private firearm taken by his attackers," W/O Pieke said.

The policeman was not on duty at the time of the attack.

Yesterday's official police unrest report said two policemen had been killed in Katlehong on Wednesday.

The report said a group of men armed with AK-47 rifles shot dead two policemen.

The attackers took the policemen's firearms and drove off in a white Nissan Skyline.

The attackers also opened fire on a police patrol vehicle which came to assist the policemen. The vehicle was extensively damaged, but no injuries were reported.

"These attacks on members of the police will not deter the SA Police from performing their duties or in maintaining law and order," the report said — Sapa.

The Citizen

10/7/92

'Lethal force by police only for self-defence'

CAPE TOWN. — Lethal force by police could be justified only by self-defence, protection of the lives of others or the prevention of certain serious violent crimes, the panel which studied demonstrations and protests has recommended.

In its report to the Goldstone Commission, the panel said the protection of property normally did not justify the use of lethal force.

Lethal force should also never be used to disperse a crowd, especially a threatening crowd.

However, preventing the use of lethal force by police depended largely on the ability of the organisers of a demonstration to prevent protesters from engaging in action which threatened the lives of others.

It also depended on the careful choice of police equipment and tactics to avoid placing policemen in situations where their lives might be endangered. Adequate physical protection of police, rather than the use of lethal defensive force, should be first priority.

The panel said the present practice of bringing in large numbers of riot policemen in a single vehicle and requiring them to disembark, perhaps under threat of fire, increased the need for defensive fire and the risk of death to all parties.

Police should be trained in the use of "sub-lethal" policing resources and in human relations and negotiation to control demonstrations.

In its report, the 10-man panel said if its re-

commendations were accepted, there should be a comprehensive review of present police training in dealing with demonstrations.

This would require a new emphasis on particular techniques and tactics, with police required to master new equipment and reduce the emphasis on lethal weapons.

Increased training in negotiation should also be given, with more attention paid to the social and psychological factors which influence both police and demonstrators in times of stress.

Human relations training designed to equip police with the knowledge and skills to deal with other people should be a central part of law enforcement training.

— Sapa.

The Citizen 10/7/92

Call to use local police in demonstrations

CAPE TOWN. — Primary responsibility should be given to local police for any demonstration for which they can be trained, equipped and organised to handle, the panel report on demonstrations and public protests has recommended to the Goldstone Commission.

The panel, headed by Prof Philip Heymann of Harvard University, said the relationship between

local police and community was an important resource which was threatened by the policing of demonstrations.

While the use of special units in policing demonstrations had advantages, it also had several disadvantages — such as their lack of knowledge and background of the demonstration compared to local police.

Special units also had

no responsibility for the aftermath, and therefore there was no major incentive for restraint.

Because such units were generally small, they tended to rely on very forceful offensive action, a tendency which was reinforced by their military approach to public order policing. This in turn encouraged opponents to use more force and become more violent.

The Citizen 10/7/92

ANC donates its camps and farms to Tanzania

MGOROGORO.

Tanzania — The African National Congress yesterday formally handed over to the Tanzanian Government the camps and farms where for years it trained its men and women to fight.

The handover marked the end of an era during which Tanzania, under former President Julius Nyerere, was a key ANC supporter and leader of the so-called frontline states which backed the ANC's political and military war.

ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, the group's leader until Mr Nelson Mandela's re-

lease from detention in 1990, gave Tanzania's ruling CCM party the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College named after a slain South African activist.

He also donated two farms where refugees and activists from South Africa mapped out the downfall of apartheid.

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi called on the South African Government to deal decisively with those responsible for South Africa's township violence.

"It is only through sus-

tained peace and stability that the current peace process in South Africa will stand a chance of success," he said at the ceremony.

He also called on the international community to help the repatriation and resettlement of the few remaining exiles who have not gone home since State President De Klerk began his reform policies.

Some opposition spokesmen in Tanzania's fledgling multi-party system have called for the facilities to be returned to Tanzanian people rather than the ruling party.

"It was the people of Tanzania who made a great sacrifice for the liberation of southern Africa. It is only fair that the complexes be handed over to them and not to CCM," civil rights lawyer Mr Mabere Marando said. — Sapa-Reuter.

The Citizen 10/17/92

Police warning: Avoid Sebokeng

STRANGERS are warned to stay away from the violence-torn township of Sebokeng near Vereeniging.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday violence in the township had escalated to

such an extent that it had become a danger area.

Although the danger specifically applied to Whites, strangers of all races take their lives in their own hands if they enter the township, he said. —Sapa

② The Citizen

10/7/92

Mandela No to De Klerk

FROM PAGE 1

porters at a packed international news conference in central Johannesburg.

"To call for face-to-face talks in such a situation is entirely unacceptable," Mr Mandela said.

The ANC leader's response was contained in a 24-page memorandum addressed to Mr De Klerk.

This was in reply to Mr De Klerk's response to the original demands of the ANC when it announced it had pulled out of the negotiation process.

"It is unfortunate that your reply has not addressed the issues I raised in my memorandum of June 26," Mr Mandela said. "Instead, you deliberately obscure matters."

Mr Mandela said it appeared there was agreement South Africa faced a "serious crisis".

"When it comes to charting a way out of the crisis, however, it is clear that there are hardly any points of convergence."

He said this was because Mr De Klerk had chosen "to elevate a number of peripheral issues to the status of 'fundamental' ones, while relegating those of critical significance to a secondary place".

"The matter is made worse by the factual inaccuracies, distortions and blatant party political propaganda involved in the manner in which you raised these so-called fundamental issues," Mr Mandela charged.

"Reaffirmations about your commitment to a negotiated resolution to the

South African conflict need to be supported by stating positions which offer the potential to break the deadlock."

Yesterday's memorandum to Mr De Klerk was divided into three sections: negotiations, violence, and 'other issues raised in your letter'.

There were three annexures, dealing with:

- "Government complicity in violence."

- "Involvement of security forces in the fomenting and escalation of violence."

- "South African Government support for the Inkatha Freedom Party."

The section dealing with negotiations refers to Mr De Klerk's reply that there was a "fundamental difference" between the approach of the two sides regarding the purpose of negotiations.

Mr Mandela quoted Mr De Klerk as saying that on the one hand, there was the government's commitment to constitutionality and a transitional government as soon as possible, while on the other hand, there was the ANC's insistence on an unstructured and immediate transfer of power before a proper transitional constitution had been negotiated.

"This is indeed a novel description of the purpose of negotiations, to say nothing about its gross distortion and patent party political propaganda," Mr Mandela charged.

The ANC leader said Mr De Klerk's characterisation of the government's position bore "very little relationship to

the purpose of negotiations, as set out in the Declaration of Intent we adopted together at Codesa I".

He said that unless the question of the constitution making body was dealt with as the primary focus of negotiations, "issues relating to transitional arrangements are deprived of their proper relevance".

Mr Mandela called on the government, with regard to the constitution making body, to declare its support for "basic democratic principles".

Mr Mandela said the ANC rejected the government's latest position that the constitution making body have a three-year lifespan. "The depth of the crisis facing our country is such that it is essential that there is a speedy transition to democracy."

Outline

He gave a detailed outline of the ANC's position on the constitution making body, or constituent assembly as the organisation and its allies prefer to call it. It should:

- Be sovereign.
- Bound by the general constitutional principles agreed to at Codesa.

- Democratically elected on the basis of one person one vote with proportional representation.

- Be a single chamber "and shall not be subject to the veto or overruling powers of any other body".

- Arrive at decisions by a two-thirds majority.

- Ensure that regional differences be "fully ac-

commodated". The constituent assembly would therefore:

- 1 "Be composed of 50 percent delegates elected by means of a national list, and 50 percent elected on the basis of a regional list, both on proportional representation and one person one vote."

- 2 In deciding on those aspects of the constitution which deal with regional structures, their powers and duties, the constituent assembly would take decisions first by means of a two-thirds majority of the entire assembly and further that such a decision would require the endorsement of a two thirds majority of that half of the constituent assembly delegates who have been elected through the regional list".

- Ensure that the transition is as speedy as possible. There would, therefore, have to be "effective and timeous deadlock breaking mechanisms in the functioning of the constitution making body. We cannot accept three years as a time frame for the constituent assembly to discharge its duties".

Mr Mandela said Mr De Klerk's reply had evaded these questions.

The ANC charged Mr De Klerk had deliberately distorted the organisation's proposals as simple majoritarianism. "You falsely accuse us of wanting the constituent assembly to function in a constitutional void."

"Besides subjecting the work of the constituent assembly to the veto of a regionally elected senate, you seek to entrench fe-

deralism by subterfuge."

The question of the form of South Africa's future government "be it federal or unitary or whatever", was a matter that should be left to a democratically elected constitution making body.

Violence

In the section dealing with violence, the ANC leader said Mr De Klerk's reply on the issue "dismisses our charges against your government for involvement in the violence by a bland denial and the assurance that where 'elements in the state structures err' you will not hesitate to take appropriate measures".

"To say the least this is most unhelpful in resolving the crisis."

Unless and until Mr De Klerk took concrete steps against state agencies and its surrogates, the National Party would remain "part of the problem rather than the solution".

Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's demands for action on the issues of the hostels, Battalion 32, international monitors, political prisoners, and legislation.

In conclusion, Mr Mandela said: "Given the party political nature of your reply, we would urge you to desist from this course in addressing our demands. Find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis."

Mr Mandela said it would be a grave mistake if Mr De Klerk's government "thinks that resorting to repression and the use of military and police power that it commands can be a means of resolving the conflict". — Sapa.

MANDELA NO TO TALKS WITH FW

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela yesterday evening rejected President F W de Klerk's call for urgent face-to-face talks about the crisis in the country.

"We would sit down to do no more than haggle about what should constitute the agenda of such talks, rather than the serious business of taking our country to a democracy and developing firm foundations for eradicating and eliminating violence," Mr Mandela said in a statement handed to re-

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ANC donates its camps and farms to Tanzania

MGOROGORO.

Tanzania. — The African National Congress yesterday formally handed over to the Tanzanian Government the camps and farms where for years it trained its men and women to fight.

The handover marked the end of an era during which Tanzania, under former President Julius Nyerere, was a key ANC supporter and leader of the so-called frontline states which backed the ANC's political and military war.

ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, the group's leader until Mr Nelson Mandela's re-

lease from detention in 1990, gave Tanzania's ruling CCM party the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College named after a slain South African activist.

He also donated two farms where refugees and activists from South Africa mapped out the downfall of apartheid.

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi called on the South African Government to deal decisively with those responsible for South Africa's township violence.

"It is only through sus-

tained peace and stability that the current peace process in South Africa will stand a chance of success," he said at the ceremony.

He also called on the international community to help the repatriation and resettlement of the few remaining exiles who have not gone home since State President De Klerk began his reform politics.

Some opposition spokesmen in Tanzania's fledgling multi-party system have called for the facilities to be returned to Tanzanian people rather than the ruling party.

"It was the people of Tanzania who made a great sacrifice for the liberation of southern Africa. It is only fair that the complexes be handed over to them and not to CCM," civil rights lawyer Mr Mabere Marando said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Call to use local police in demonstrations

CAPE TOWN. — Primary responsibility should be given to local police for any demonstration for which they can be trained, equipped and organised to handle, the panel report on demonstrations and public protests has recommended to the Goldstone Commission.

The panel, headed by Prof Philip Heymann of Harvard University, said the relationship between

local police and community was an important resource which was threatened by the policing of demonstrations.

While the use of special units in policing demonstrations had advantages, it also had several disadvantages — such as their lack of knowledge and background of the demonstration compared to local police.

Special units also had

no responsibility for the aftermath, and therefore there was no major incentive for restraint.

Because such units were generally small, they tended to rely on very forceful offensive action, a tendency which was reinforced by their military approach to public order policing. This in turn encouraged opponents to use more force and become more violent.

Mandela still refuses to see FW

Govt, ANC meet in move to revive talks

GOVERNMENT and the ANC held discussions at senior level at least once this week in an attempt to restart stalled constitutional talks — but ANC president Nelson Mandela last night again rejected a meeting with President F W de Klerk.

However, in tones more conciliatory than the two groups have used with each other in recent weeks, Mandela urged De Klerk to "find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis". And in reply to Mandela, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said "the ANC has raised a number of matters of justifiable concern to all parties".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night confirmed he spoke yesterday to Meyer and that they had discussed memorandums exchanged by the ANC and government. He would not comment further on the discussions.

The ANC yesterday unveiled its response to De Klerk's memorandum and government sources said it offered no compromise in the dispute.

However, the ANC and government are relying on mediation on violence-related problems as an opportunity to restart constitutional talks. Next week Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha will address a special sitting of the UN Security Council which will decide what form mediation should take.

Government had wanted UN special envoy Cyrus Vance to come to SA before the session, but the ANC intervened with the UN yesterday to delay the visit until after

PATRICK BULGER

then.

Mandela said yesterday there was a way out of the impasse. "There is a way forward. It depends on how the NP government responds to our efforts to break the negotiations deadlock and take practical steps to end the violence."

He suggested that in the light of his denial of blame for the violence, De Klerk take over the portfolios of Defence and Law and Order.

Mandela urged government to concentrate on a constitution-making body rather than putting its efforts into a transitional phase.

"The manner in which you have elevated the transitional arrangements to the central focus of negotiations betrays your preoccupation with obtaining guarantees of a constitutionally entrenched role for the NP, which you recognise will remain a minority party in the event of a democratic constitution," Mandela said in his letter to De Klerk.

Mandela said the ANC wanted an elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution and that the ANC "fully supports constitutional and legislative measures to ensure that there is no constitutional void".

"There should be a clear understanding that all interim arrangements relating to the administration and governance of regions shall be such as to not pre-empt the decisions of the constitution-making body," Mandela said.

Government has proposed a comprehensive

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Talks

sive transitional constitution drawn up at Codesa and making provision for regional boundaries and governments which could exercise a veto over constitutional changes affecting them.

The ANC is proposing that half a constituent assembly be elected on a national list, and half on regional lists. Changes in regard to regions would take place by a two-thirds majority of both national and regional representatives.

Mandela yesterday highlighted alleged government complicity in violence, its support for Inkatha and security force involvement in violence as reasons for his refusal to meet De Klerk.

Meyer said in response to the ANC that

government would study Mandela's response and reply to it next week.

He said, however, there were serious differences between the two groups, which included the ANC's refusal to co-operate on violence and its "strategy of imposing its views on other parties through confrontation and mass mobilisation".

Meyer said a government meeting chaired by De Klerk took place yesterday at which negotiations and Judge Richard Goldstone's criticisms of government were discussed. A similar meeting will be held next week to reply to the Goldstone report and the ANC document.

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B/Day
10/7/92

Red Cross waits for ANC guidelines on camp visits

WILSON ZWANE

THE International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was still in the dark yesterday about procedures it had to follow when visiting the ANC's former detention camps in Tanzania and Uganda.

The committee has also not been cleared by Tanzania and Uganda to visit the camps.

The ANC has invited the committee to visit its former detention camps after allegations by ex-detainees that they had been maltreated there.

Committee spokesman Toni Psanner said yesterday the committee had accepted the invitation and was keen to visit the camps. "But we still have to discuss with the ANC the exact procedures which we have to follow during our visits," he said.

He added that because foreign governments were also involved, permission to visit the camps should be obtained from them. "We are busy working on that," Psanner said.

Meanwhile, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus has said the commission of inquiry which the ANC appointed in March was planning to investigate the camps.

The commission consists of three advocates — Lewis Skweyiya, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla.

Sapa-Reuter reports the ANC yesterday formally handed over to the Tanzanian government its camps and farms there.

The handover in Mgorogoro marked the

end of an era during which Tanzania, under former president Julius Nyerere, was a key ANC supporter and leader of the frontline states.

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He also donated two farms where refugees and activists from SA plotted the downfall of apartheid.

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi called on the Pretoria government to deal decisively with those responsible for SA's township violence.

"It is only through sustained peace and stability that the current peace process in SA will stand a chance of success," he said at the ceremony.

He also called on the international community to help the repatriation and resettlement of the few remaining exiles.

Some opposition spokesmen in Tanzania's fledgling multiparty system have called for the facilities to be returned to the Tanzanian people rather than the ruling party.

"It was the people of Tanzania who made a great sacrifice for the liberation of southern Africa. It is only fair that the complexes be handed over to them and not to CCM," civil rights lawyer Mabere Marando said.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The damage which had been done to negotiations could be repaired, but the seriousness of the present situation should not be underestimated, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Government was prepared to negotiate and compromise, but it would not be threatened into making concessions which young people would have to live with for the rest of their lives.

De Klerk warned that the country faced "a difficult few weeks, even months", but stressed "the government would not sit in a corner, cry and stagnate".

He told the NP's national youth congress in Stellenbosch he had not yet seen the ANC's response to government and therefore could not respond to it.

Government would, however, pursue every avenue to get negotiations going.

He said the NP did not want a constitution that would benefit it in an election, but one which had the overwhelming support of all South Africans.

Negotiations damage can be mended — FW

He dismissed as "lies" claims that the NP wanted to cling to power, it demanded a minority veto and the government was involved in violence.

The allegation that government was not trying to combat violence was untrue. "We have nothing to hide. Your party looks into the eyes of every South African and into the eyes of the world, and says violence must be ended."

SA was in the middle of a very complicated situation and emotions were running high, with radical elements continuing to add fuel to the fire. "Their goal is to create a vicious cycle of crisis upon crisis and deadlock upon deadlock."

"The silent majority of moderate South Africans are shocked by what they perceive to be an irrational retrogression in the negotiation process."

"The threats of widespread strikes and mass action have given rise to a mood of deep apprehension

inside and outside SA."

De Klerk said the country faced a serious setback in the process which, until recently, offered so much promise, and this posed a tremendous challenge to SA's political leadership.

He said he would refrain from discussing details of the present tensions created by the ANC and its allies, but "we are in communication with them and need time to study their detailed reaction to my letter and memorandum".

"However, I would like to say we, the political leaders of this country, owe it to all its people to prevent them from sliding back into the vicious circle of pre-1990."

De Klerk has established a social relief fund to assist victims of violence in unrest-stricken communities, Sapa reports.

Financial assistance would be made available to approved organisations or institutions to channel the funds, and not directly to individuals.

Soweto electricity bill: three choices

THE CITIZEN

16/07/1990

ON Thursday, June 21, on the news, it was said, by the newsreader on Radio Highveld, that a member of the DP of Johannesburg had this to say: Soweto owes the Johannesburg City Council R100 million for electricity used.

It would be unfair for the Whites in Johannesburg City Council area to pay it alone. It is also the responsibility of the City Councils of the East Rand to help pay the Soweto electricity bill.

Reasons given by this DP: The people of Soweto can not be without electricity because, shame, how would the people in Soweto cook their food?

Furthermore, the people of Soweto would not be able to watch their TV programmes.

I want to say just this: If the Whites don't pay their electricity account within 48 hours, their electricity supply would be cut off without notice. Reconnection fees and the full account are required before services of electricity continues. Otherwise, no dice!

If the people in Soweto

can afford to have TVs and all-electrical appliances, surely they can afford to pay their own electrical bills?

Why must the Whites always be there to support and look after the Blacks, if the Blacks show no indication of wanting to support and look after themselves.

No city council or government has ever given the Whites anything for nothing. The Whites had to work and pay for it themselves.

We are living like poor Whites because of giving and paying. Surely there is a law against taking what is not yours especially without permis-

sion?? (theft)??

Every second Black has a motor car, but he can't pay his rent or electricity bills.

The only three solutions to the Soweto electricity Bill problem are: 1) The Johannesburg City Council should write it off as a bad debt or as a gift; 2) cut the electricity supply until they pay the bill (just like it is done in the White areas all over the country), or 3) ask the State President, F W de Klerk, to pay the bill, I am sure he can afford it. He then just gave away R5 million for a two day Swapo party in Namibia.

ELECTRICITY BILL
Johannesburg