

**NOTES****BRIEFING TO FOREIGN DIPLOMATS****INTRODUCTION:**

1. The issue of violence and the government's connivance in it have become the most serious impediment to the negotiations process. It is an issue that needs to be dealt with seriously and decisively. In April, the ANC sent an Open Letter to the government demanding certain actions that would help reduce the violence.
2. What has been their response thus far?
  - 2.1. They did respond on dangerous weapons but only to the extent of banning them in so-called unrest areas. But even today in these "unrest areas" gangs of attackers continue to carry these weapons.
  - 2.2. They accepted the principle of transforming hostels into family units. But nothing has been done beyond the promises.
  - 2.3. On the question of the arrest of perpetrators, no intensive serious investigation have been undertaken.
  - 2.4. The commission set up by De Klerk is far from what all responsible South Africans have been calling for.
3. We are concerned about the fresh outbreaks of violence in the PWV and Natal. The new wave started when the ANC was at Conference, and the killings continue. It is clear, both in Natal and the Vaal Triangle, that there is a special relationship between the criminals involved and the security forces. Another trend which is gaining momentum are assassinations and attempts on the lives of local leaders of the ANC and other democratic organisations.
4. All this is happening during the talks initiated by religious groups and business to work out modalities of bringing the violence to an end. This is extremely worrying, given the fact that intensification of violence seems to coincide with a measure of progress being made in initiatives of this nature.



## IMPLICATIONS OF THE EXPOSURES:

5. The essence of these exposures, in so far as the ANC is concerned, is as follows:

5.1. A clear confirmation that state agencies are involved in the massacres that have taken place against black people. The SADF's 5 Recce unit, CCB operatives and other Special Forces have been heavily implicated. This is the crux of the matter, and needs to be given the attention that it deserves.

5.2. Strong evidence has been provided of collusion between the state and Inkatha. The reasons for this co-operation are outlined in detail in the Memo of senior security officers. Running like a red thread in all this is the shared commitment between Inkatha and the government to destroy what they see as a common enemy. As Ndimene's SADF commanders put it, "a different kind of war" is being waged against the democratic movement.

6. These exposures bring out in bold relief the strategy of the De Klerk administration in this current phase:

- \* to be seen to be talking and coming to some agreement with the ANC
- \* to sow murder and mayhem within the black community and destabilise the ANC;
- \* to prop up parties and organisations which subscribe to the government's policies; and
- \* to so pressurise the democratic movement that it accepts compromises, in negotiations, which fall far short of non-racial democracy.

7. To this end, the state is prepared to shed as much blood as possible. It subverts its own law and order and precipitate anarchy and heightened crime in society. It even breaks its own laws. Within several echelons of the government there are forces who are prepared even to derail the whole peace process. It is clearer now why the perpetrators of the violence have not been brought to book; why simple issues such as dangerous weapons are made so complicated; why the violence is professionally timed to coincide with events such as ANC campaigns and peace agreements. The words of government leaders about the levelling of the political field sound hollow against the backdrop of these revelations.



## ANC BROAD APPROACH TO CURRENT SITUATION:

8. We consider these revelations with utmost seriousness. A measure of trust is required in the process of negotiations. We have gone on record acclaiming the integrity of the State President, sometimes astounding our members and followers. This was based on a clear conviction. But it is not possible to repeat these words today without sounding hollow and unrealistic. We have all along said most of the things that are being exposed today; but we believed that the State President would take action to prevent the erosion of the peace process.

9. We are also profoundly aware that the current scenario cannot be approached from the point of view of selfish political interests on the part of any organisation. The fundamental question is how we can save the peace process and make it credible to black people in particular. We initiated the current process and we are determined that it should succeed. We believe therefore that it is necessary that all responsible South Africans and the international community must act together to ensure that the government eliminates the impediments to genuine negotiations.

10. To this end, we have proposed the following:

10.1. The ministers who bear direct responsibility for these crimes must be dismissed from public office.

10.2. A multi party commission of enquiry must be instituted to investigate the full extent of government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activities.

10.3. The special counter-insurgency forces of the SADF and the SAP, including those composed of foreign mercenaries must be visibly and publicly dismantled.

10.4. The secret fund must be opened up to public scrutiny and frozen

10.5. The state must give guarantees that civil servants and other state employees who come forward to tell the truth about these covert operations will be immune from prosecution and receive protection.



Commissions as culpable for perpetrating violence must be put on trial

11. The seriousness of the government must be measured against these viable and practical proposals. It is worrying that government ministers revel in denying these proven allegations or attempting to justify them in obvious garbled talk. There is a serious lack of seriousness on their part. It seems the full impact of the situation has not fully dawned on them. That is why pressure is needed so that the government stops its dilly-dallying and seriously addresses the problems at hand, with the aim of facilitating the negotiations process. Within the country, consultations are under way about the actions to be undertaken in this regard.

#### **ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY:**

12. Perhaps far more than the ANC, many governments have been too trusting of the present Pretoria government. The belief in its absolute integrity has led to over-hasty decisions regarding the amount of pressure needed to see the peace process through. Many argue boldly that the process is now irreversible. But these exposures - and they are merely the tip of the iceberg - show quite clearly that the process can in fact be reversed, and reversed by no other than the agencies of De Klerk's government. Therefore, we would argue for more pressure; we would argue that the issue of sanctions is treated with much deeper reflection - not because we are vindictive, but because facts show clearly that without such pressure agencies of the regime will delay and perhaps even derail the whole process.

13. The basic goals that we pursue are well-known. The most important in this current situation are an end to the violence and the clearing of remaining obstacles so that real negotiations can start in earnest. The demands outlined above are both practical and reasonable, and so are those contained in the OAU (Harare) and UN Declarations on SA. BUT PERHAPS ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE, THESE REVELATIONS CONFIRM IN UNCERTAIN TERMS THAT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE TRUSTED TO SUPERVISE THE TRANSITION. AN IMPARTIAL MULTI-PARTY INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IS NECESSARY, OTHERWISE WORSE WILL HAPPEN AS THE NATIONAL PARTY AND ITS ALLIES TRY TO SECURE THEIR POWER AGAINST THE ANC AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC FORCES.



transition to take place. We believe that it is necessary to protect and consolidate that unity and consensus, especially now when the whole process is in danger. A united voice by the international community - particularly at the level of the UN and its Security Council - on the issues of violence, the other obstacles, and an impartial interim arrangement, will help to advance the peace process.

15. We hope that you have all keenly observed the fact that, the more the apartheid government feels let off the hook, the more it drags its feet. Failure to make them feel that they cannot negotiate and at the same time wage war against black South Africans will most certainly encourage the kind of irregularities that have now become public. SA and the whole world will be the losers. This is the extent to which we measure your immense role in helping to resolve the problems of our country. This is how we value your support on these critical issues at this critical time.

**END**