

Crisis: Jacob Zuma steps in to help

Ten-day sit-in by ANC exiles ends

MERCURY 20-08-93

Political Staff

THE 10-day sit-in by 27 former ANC exiles and Umkhonto we Sizwe members at the ANC's Durban offices, ended yesterday after the protesters were persuaded to leave. The sit-in had paralysed the offices' operation.

The occupation began last Wednesday when the group arrived at the offices, in St George's Street, protesting against a lack of resources and funds since they had stood down as active soldiers.

They refused to leave until demands that their welfare be addressed, were met. The offices were closed to the public and all seven phone lines cut off.

ANC southern Natal regional media officer Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday that the organisation had the capacity to take stern disciplinary action, but believed in persuasion "as a first option", and had successfully persuaded the protesters to leave the office.

It is believed that ANC national executive member Jacob Zuma, who flew to Durban yesterday, stepped in to help resolve the crisis.

Mr Makhaye said that although the members of the group had complained about their treatment, they had not had ideological differences with the ANC.

He said no damage had been done to the office during the sit-in and no office workers had been manhandled.

"While understanding the socio-economic problems faced by this group and millions of other South Africans, nobody can condone the sit-in ... which resulted in the paralysing of the ANC's work in the region.

"It is the irony of South African politics that while members of the SA Defence Force and SA Police, whose calling in history has been to defend the crime of apartheid, continue to be paid from state coffers, those who sacrificed everything so that there may be a negotiated settlement ... are left to fend for themselves," Mr Makhaye said.

16/11/11

Amanyala enzeka ehhovisi le-ANC eNanda Newtown

Umsila 20 - 22/8/93
MHLELI, - Ngithanda ukweseka abafowethu abaningi aseke babhala ephepheni lethu esilikho-nzile mayelana namanya-la kumbe amahlazo enze-ka ehhovisi le-ANC eli-seNanda Newtown A.

Abantu bakwezinye izindawo baphansi phe-zulu balungiselela isimo sokungena kuNew South Africa kodwa lapha ba-phikelele bacindezela umphakathi.

Indaba ithi ingaba-nkulu ingabe isazekeka. Baphela abantu baka-Nkulunkulu. Kodwa kwe-nzenjani? Yasha imizi yamadoda kwenzenjani? Bayishiya imizi yabo abanumzane abahlonipheki-le emphakathini ngoba sitheni thina mphakathi? Bephucwa amalungelo abo ezinkulisa ngoba ko-nakelephi? Kwatatazela u-matron emtholampilo ngoba kufunwani?

Zingaki izidumbu ese-zitholakale kwa-Area 3?

Ngoba boneni abantu bakaJehova? Yimibuzo leyo efanele ukuphendulwa yikomidi lomphakathi.

Bekungakuhle izikhulu zenhlango ye-ANC eSouthern Natal Region zingase zifike zizositakula, nanku umkhumbi we-ANC uzikiswa ngontamolukhuni abaNyama.

- N Z,
KWAMASHU.

16/1/11



Patrick Laurence examines two theories on political violence and the Third Force

'Switching violence on, off'

The Pan Africanist Congress has protested against the arrest of its members on suspicion of involvement in attacks on white civilians, declaring that the "De Klerk regime" is trying to divert attention from the involvement of its own forces in the killings.

A PAC memorandum, submitted to the police last week, asserts that the detained schoolteacher Vuyo Tekane "should not be used as a scapegoat" for the actions of special units in the security forces, including the Askaris, Koekoet and Battalions 31 and 32.

As Tekane (who has since been released) was initially detained for questioning about the July 25 massacre at St James's Church in Cape Town, the implication of the PAC memorandum is clear: the attack, in which 11 people were killed and more than 50 injured, was the work of a "Third Force".

The PAC's allegation is anticipated and supported as a possibility by George Ellis, professor of applied mathematics at the University of Cape Town. Ellis contends in a 14-page monograph that there is compelling circumstantial and logical evidence that a Third Force, based in

the military establishment, is responsible for much of the violence.

Ellis criticises those who adopt what he terms a "judicial style of inquiry" and who conclude that they have not found incontrovertible evidence for the existence of a Third Force.

The clandestine nature of Third Force activities ensures, he reasons, that the conclusive evidence is conveniently lost or destroyed and that high-ranking officers do not hesitate to commit perjury to cover up their actions.

Contending that violence often occurs when progress is anticipated in the negotiations, he states of the Third Force: "The logic of the situation is that as negotiations continue their attacks (will) intensify." He adds: "No form of violence would be ruled out in the struggle to stop the negotiation process succeeding."

Logical step

In a reference to the March attack in Natal which left six black schoolchildren dead, Ellis states: "(It) would be a logical step in the procession, followed by attacks on whites..."

Writing of attacks on white civilians for which the PAC's underground army, Apla, has been blamed,

Ellis, a senior member of the Institute of Race Relations in the Western Cape, posits two "plausible" explanations: they were carried out by Apla — perhaps in response to the March attack on black children — or they were the work of Third Force assassins masquerading as Apla men, or of agents provocateurs who had managed to infiltrate Apla.

He admits that there is insufficient evidence to choose between these hypotheses. But, he adds, the agent provocateur theory has "a logic and power" when seen in the context of the destabilisation campaign against neighbouring states in the 1980s and its wide use of malcontents to foment violence.

Ellis's monograph, first published in November last year and then in a revised and updated form in May, must be contrasted with the rigorous counter arguments in a newly released book by John Kane-Berman, executive director of the Institute of Race Relations, *Political Violence in South Africa*.

Kane-Berman does not discount the possibility of a Third Force. The past record of ruthless and Machiavellian manipulation by the National Party makes that impossible.

But he contends that its existence has not been proved beyond doubt, that those who believe in its exist-

tence often base their case on faulty facts and false reasoning.

He deals with the theory, advanced pre-eminently by the Community Agency for Social Inquiry (Case) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC), that violence is "switched on" during ANC conferences and campaigns to embarrass the ANC and "switched off" during De Klerk's visits abroad to avoid embarrassing him.

"Their reports fail to mention several campaigns and conferences when violence dropped," Kane-Berman writes. "Their reports fail to mention overseas trips by the State President that coincide with increases in violence."

Overthrowing 'puppets'

Kane-Berman quotes Case as saying that violence decreased during a "Government-sponsored peace conference in June 1991." He comments: "June did see a major drop in violence. But the conference was in May 1991, a month which, according to Case's own figures, had the third highest fatalities during the period under consideration."

Kane-Berman argues that insufficient attention has been paid to the ANC's revolutionary campaign to

make the townships ungovernable and to work for the overthrow of "puppets" as a major cause of the violence.

He reasons that resistance from alleged "collaborators" in the black community — many of whom were targets for necklacing — fuelled "black-on-black" violence and created opportunities for exploitation by those with an interest in increasing turmoil in the black community.

Kane-Berman notes *en passant* that the controversial phrase "black-on-black violence" was not coined by malevolent whites intent on creating intra-black conflict but by the now defunct black newspaper, Sowetan Sunday Mirror, in its comment on the use of coercion to enforce a pending stayaway.

He focuses on an important but under-reported assessment by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, made, coincidentally, on the eve of the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani: "We must face truth — our people are just as involved in violence."

Standing back and assessing the situation, one is once again forced to the conclusion that there is no single cause of the violence and that the Third Force — if it exists as a coherent conspiracy — is merely one element in a compound amalgam of causes.

BRIEFLY

**ANC's Durban
office sit-in ends**

A week-long sit-in by disgruntled Umkhonto we Sizwe members at the ANC's Southern Natal region offices in Durban ended yesterday. — Sapa.

The Star

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Twin-track settlement

The State President tries a new ploy to deal with a fractious IFP.

PRESIDENT de Klerk has introduced a new and potentially useful notion into the negotiation process: the two-table option, in which multiparty negotiations proceed in tandem with bilateral talks between his administration and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

The idea has appeal as a constructive response to the IFP's withdrawal from the main negotiations. It would enable those talks to continue and guarantee an indirect input from the IFP via De Klerk's men.

As De Klerk pertinently observes, the final result — an agreed settlement — is more important than the process. But the two-table approach remains, at best, a contingency plan to meet the challenge of the IFP's withdrawal.

Two weaknesses come to mind immediately: the IFP will be represented by proxy at the main discussions, hardly a satisfactory arrangement; and the IFP can reject the final agreement, contending that it was not a satisfactory to it. These difficulties have been compounded by the IFP's early dismissal of the "two-table" concept.

By floating the two-table notion De Klerk, one suspects, has two objectives in mind. His immediate aim is to put pressure on the IFP to rejoin the main negotiations by reaffirming that they will continue whether or not the IFP is there. At the same time he is, quite rightly, keeping the door open for the IFP.

But there is another problem: the KwaZulu government's Supreme Court challenge to the allegedly unfair way in which the mechanism of "sufficient consensus" has been applied in the negotiating council. This has the potential to disrupt and delay the painful progress achieved so far in the multiparty negotiations.

De Klerk can do little, except try to persuade Buthelezi to retract and to ensure that the negotiating council has the best possible legal team. He should pursue both courses vigorously.

Top Cosatu men in line for ANC list

■ BY PAUL BELL
LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

Cosatu is believed to feel strongly that three members of its six-man executive, including general-secretary Jay Naidoo, should go to Parliament on the African National Congress electoral ticket.

The two executives who would accompany Naidoo would be assistant general-secretary Sam Shilowa, currently a member of the South African Communist Party's delegation to the World Trade Centre, and first vice-president Chris Dlamini.

Cosatu sources say it is important to send to Parliament a strong team that includes people already involved in the major national forums — economic, manpower and so on.

The selection of between 25 and 35 union leaders as ANC electoral-list candidates is being discussed by Cosatu affiliates. Cosatu hopes to achieve finality by its next executive committee meeting on September 3, and have the names approved at its special congress a week later.

Meanwhile, the Cosatu committee established to recommend the federation's nominees to the ANC electoral list met this week under the chairmanship of the federation's president, John Gomomo of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA.

Gomomo said that at Cosatu's previous executive meeting a fortnight ago, it had been felt that Cosatu should make its views known to the affiliates on who should be nominated.

IFP may return to talks table

INKATHA'S leader spells out his position in an exclusive interview with The Star

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Ulundi — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi says President de Klerk will not elbow his organisation out of multiparty talks — and suggested the Inkatha Freedom Party intends returning to the Negotiating Forum.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister also indicated yesterday that his relationship of trust with De Klerk had eroded.

"He has shifted from some of the positions which ... we held with him, and that, as far as trust is concerned, is bound to change it (the relationship)," he said.

On De Klerk's "two tables" suggestion that the IFP could engage in intensive bilateral discussions while multiparty negotiations continued, Buthelezi said: "There is no way we are going to allow him to elbow us out of multilateral (talks) by substituting bilateral talks, which everyone has with them."

"It seems there is a wish that we should walk out for good and I don't think it augurs well for the future of South Africa to want us out of there, if you take

into account the constituency we represent, and the size of it".

Buthelezi remains sharply critical of aspects of the existing Negotiating Forum, including its composition and the basis on which decisions are taken.

He said his party was prepared to make compromises in negotiations in a spirit of give-and-take, but was unbending on the need for a strong federal dispensation.

Would he maintain a peaceful approach if a system he disagreed with was imposed?

"For all the '65 years I have been alive, my people have been oppressed. Did I take up arms? Everybody knows I am committed to peace." But he added that "as a servant of my people, any option of my people will be my option too".

■ In a speech prepared for delivery at a Maritzburg rally yesterday, Buthelezi predicted civil war in South Africa, Sapa reports. He accused the NP of betraying its white supporters to the ANC in return for a few more years in power.

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION: Discussion on draft legislation for the body to conduct the April elections was

postponed yesterday until Tuesday. A specially appointed committee failed to resolve disagreements over the draft Bill in time for yesterday afternoon's debate in the Negotiating Council.

The main areas of dispute are the role of international observers, the chairmanship of the IEC and whether the IEC can run the elections and certify the results.

The legislation is expected to be completed by Monday for discussion on Tuesday.

TODAY: The Negotiating Council is not meeting today. On Monday it is expected to finalise legislation on an Independent Broadcasting Authority.

ESTHER WAUGH

Two die on Reef

EAST RAND BUREAU

Two people died violently on the East Rand yesterday, police said.

In Katlehong's Twala section a man was burnt to death and a woman was shot dead with an AK-47 in Tokoza. Police later arrested two men.

An arms cache, including seven AK-47 rifles and more than 140 AK-47 rounds of ammunition, was found at Nguni Hostel in Vosloorus. Two men were arrested.

Police said patrols were attacked in Phola Park and the Chris Hani Park squatter settlement in Daveyton.

Residents stop NP meeting

East London — Angry residents, some chanting ANC slogans, invaded the stage at a National Party meeting in East London last night.

Stinkbombs were thrown on the floor, chairs were overturned and small groups of people danced in front of the stage.

A man with a knobkerrie was removed after he marched on to the stage and tussled with two ANC marshals.

Police said they had information the ANC planned to disrupt the meeting and had warned Gerald Morkel, Minister of Housing and of the Budget in the House of Representatives.

Morkel was prevented from delivering his speech when he was shouted down. — Sapa

Mandela olive branch to Right

■ BY PAUL BELL
LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

ANC president Nelson Mandela, calling the right wing a greater threat to the coming general election than "black surrogate organisations", has extended an olive branch to right-wing Afrikaners.

He said yesterday: "Laal ons die verlede begrawe. Wat verby is, is verby." (Let us bury the past. What is done, is done.)

Addressing the Trans-

port and General Workers' Union congress in Johannesburg, he said there were many in the democratic movement who believed opposition to the April 27 election was now so strong that it could not take place.

Referring to threats by "black surrogate organisations", he said: "If the National Party were to say tomorrow to these organisations, 'Pay your own bills', they would all collapse like a pack of cards. They give trouble

because the NP wants them to give trouble."

But the right wing was strong because it did not rely on the NP for support, he said.

"They have said if democracy is introduced against their wishes, they will take up arms against the democratic government. That is the real threat — not the black surrogates, who have become cry-babies."

The ANC had to find ways to allay white fears that a democratic govern-

ment would punish whites for the past.

On violence and the need to campaign for peace, Mandela said he had been jeered by East Rand youths when he had told them that they had been fighting the Inkatha Freedom Party since 1984, had not defeated it, and would never do so by force.

But, he said, as long as he was their leader, he would correct them when they were mistaken.