

NMO/012/0029/30

# Thabo Mbeki robbed at knife point



THABO MBEKI

Sowetan  
Correspondent

ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki was last night robbed at knife-point in his apartment of his briefcase and jewellery.

When Mbeki arrived at his apartment last night, he noticed that it had been ransacked.

He phoned a lawyer, asking him to call the police. As Mbeki finished, an intruder put a knife to the back of his head ordering him not to turn around and to lie under a bed.

The burglar made off with Mbeki's briefcase and his wife's jewellery. Mbeki was understood to be making a statement to the police and was not available for comment.

Earlier this year Mbeki's vehicle was hijacked outside his driver's Soweto home.

The car was later returned after negotiations with the "underground".

## Govt, ANC in bid to break stalemate

THE Government and the ANC meet today to try to break the deadlock at Codesa.

Their discussions are expected to include the composition of a constitution-making body, regionalism, federalism and a senate with veto-powers over the constitution-making body.

Codesa yesterday set up four task groups to investigate issues hindering negotiations.

The groups will focus on the media, political prisoners, refugees and discriminatory legislation.

*Sowetan 9/6/92*

## De Klerk to visit Maputo?

By Sapa and Brian Stuart

**CAPE TOWN.** — A spokesman for State President De Klerk's office said yesterday evening he knew nothing about a proposed visit by Mr De Klerk to Mozambique next month.

Reports from Maputo said Mr De Klerk was to visit the country next month.

He was expected to meet Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano during his stay in Maputo, but the date or the visit could not be confirmed.

Kenya's President Daniel arap-Moi will meet Mr De Klerk in Cape Town today in the first visit by an African Head of State to South Africa in recent years.

This will be the first time that an African

president has called on Mr De Klerk in South Africa, although Mr De Klerk has visited a number of African countries.

Mr De Klerk visited Kenya in June 1991, when Mr Moi suggested that Mr De Klerk should meet with the leaders of Africa's two other regional powers, Nigeria and Egypt. Mr De Klerk has since visited Nigeria.

The last African president to visit South

TO PAGE 2

## FW visit?

FROM PAGE 1

Africa was President Samora Machel of Mozambique, who signed the Nkomati Accord with State President P W Botha on March 16, 1984. Mr Machel later died in an aircraft crash in South Africa.

Mr Moi is making a stop-over in Cape Town

on his way to the Earth Summit taking place in Rio de Janeiro.

Government sources indicated that Mr Moi and Mr De Klerk would review relations between the two countries.

Mr Moi is scheduled to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela on his return from the Earth Summit on June 15.

*Citiz 9/6/92*

Political violence is not our biggest problem, writes Victor Nell

# We all believe the Big Lie

**S**OUTH Africa is bleeding to death. In the first four months of this year, 123 people have died in political violence, often in hideous ways. Lawyers for Human Rights report 119 political assassinations in the 16 months to April 1992 — five times higher than 1985-1988, years of the Iron Fist.

No political life is possible under this reign of terror, let alone delicate negotiations in which both sides must give way to the other in trust. What credibility can mass-based black political organisations hope to attain when they are powerless to stop the slaughter of their followers?

As the train murders, the funeral massacres, the machine-gunning of taxis, the hacking and burning of individual victims continue like some evil plague, South Africans have come to believe the Big Lie: the problem is "political violence".

Ask any politician, journalist, political analyst or policeman "what is South Africa's biggest problem today?"

You can bet the answer will be "political violence".

In the sense that politics is another name for power, this is true. In the struggle for power whether

in Natal or Yugoslavia, people get killed for political reasons.

But paradoxically, in today's South Africa, when all is said and done, "political violence" is a false consciousness that obscures the true cause of the problem.

If political violence is the problem, political leaders must carry the can. If the ANC could "control its followers," if Comrade Mandela and Chief Buthezi got together and swore peace, the violence would stop. If the violence is political, political mediation structures must defuse the tensions.

But if the true problem is not political, but criminal, its solution lies not with political leaders or the Goldstone Commission, but with the one state agency whose job it is to compel all people to obey the law.

Political crime is no less criminal than ordinary crime. Killing people outside a hostel or funeral vigil is no less a criminal murder than killing a bank manager.

In a society that is not at war, there is no bright line dividing ordinary violence from political violence. Indeed, in today's South Africa, "political violence" is not a helpful category for either politicians or ordinary people.

All violence is criminal, and

preventing it is primarily a police job. Political leaders must play their part, but their role is secondary. At least two arguments support this view.

In the first place, political violence is the tiny tip of an iceberg. The political killings make the headlines day after day. But there is another set of statistics, even more terrifying, that sketches the size of the submerged mass of violence in our society.

These figures show that back in 1986-1987, 1 614 Johannesburg residents died of violent causes. In the highest risk group, males aged 25-44, there were 79 white deaths per 100 000 population, 133 "coloured" deaths, and 197 African deaths.

These figures can be directly compared to the death rate in political violence. The 923 political deaths reported in the first four months of this year translate to a Johannesburg incidence of just 88.73 per 100 000 a year.

It is violence that is killing people. Relative to the overall death rate by ordinary, everyday violence, political violence is making a very minor contribution. Of the order of only 10-15 percent.

The second argument is that throughout South Africa's recent history, and certainly from the

1950s to the present, the police themselves drew no distinction between their duty to suppress crime and to suppress political crime. The same police force was capable of nipping any crime, political or other, in the bud even before the conspirators had finished laying their plans.

In the days of the Iron Fist, how far would a kombi full of "terrorists" armed with machineguns have travelled before being stopped and taken away for interrogation? Ten metres would be an exaggeration.

Today, every bank robber and political assassin has an AK-47 with a plentiful supply of ammunition. If illegal arms were taken out of circulation as they would have been in the bad old days, if the AK-47 supply lines were cut off at source, a huge contribution to public safety — and the ending of much political violence — would be made.

Overwhelmingly, the victims of both the everyday and the political violence are black. Black people are dying not just because they are the majority in this country, but because they are black.

In this sense, there is a chilling accuracy to Mr Mandela's accusation that the South African state is guilty of the genocidal slaughter

of black people.

It is blacks who are dying, and only the State has the capability to restore the rule of law.

If this principle is accepted — that the problem facing South Africa is criminal, not political, and that only the State has the means to end violence — the next question can be faced.

How can a climate be created in which communities trust the police, and in which the police can turn to communities for support?

Under conditions of near anarchy, there are two routes to the restoration of order. One is by massive repression. Such repression would end Government's international credibility and the reform process.

The alternative route takes longer and makes heavier demands of politicians. It is to create democratic community structures at the local level to which the police are answerable for their acts and omissions.

But first, such structures must be created. Once the constitution writers have developed a framework for democratically elected, nonracial regional and local government structures, on the model of what Van Zyl Slabbert's Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber might still become,



the next steps towards regional police accountability to these structures can be taken.

And in the meantime? Are people to continue dying while this process unfolds? The challenge facing South Africa's politicians and their advisers is to acquiesce in the creation of interim accountability structures that will have the effect of restoring trust between police and communities.

The only local structures presently in place that could serve this role, and still have the credibility to do so, are the Local Dispute Resolution Committees of the National Peace Accord.

They need to be given delegated authority to participate in the development of police policy at a local level, making their recommendations public whenever necessary, and the powers to make sure that agreed policies are equitably implemented.

Such local structures, far more than a single national Police Board, might prove a significant step toward restoration of trust between police and communities, and thus towards effective, acceptable law enforcement. □

© Professor Victor Nell is the Director of the Health Psychology Unit at Unisa.

Star 8/6/92

# 'Individual members of MK can apply to the SADF'

By Fred de Lange

INDIVIDUAL members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, can apply to be taken up in the South African Defence Force and if such members qualify, they will be accommodated.

Defence Force spokesman, Major Charl de Klerk, said in Pretoria yesterday that while the SADF was not yet ready to accommodate whole units of MK or whole units of Right-wing private armies, there was no problem in accommodating individuals.

This followed a statement by the Chief of the SADF, General "Kat" Liebenberg, earlier this week on how he saw the

SADF of the future.

Gen Liebenberg said negotiations had already started with the TBVC countries to incorporate their defence forces into the SADF, and the same discussions would follow with the ANC and organisations such as the AWB and the Boerekomsmando, once such organisations undertook to drop their armed struggles.

Maj De Klerk said what had to be taken into account, however, was the fact that the incorporation of members of such organisations would in the final instance depend on the negotiation pro-

cess.

Another factor was the fact that the SADF was in a process of rationalisation, which could also affect the number of posts available within the SADF.

As far as the TBVC countries were concerned, only about half of the total of 12 000 men could be accommodated, and only the negotiation process would determine how many MK members or members of Right-wing organisations could be accommodated.

The integration of TBVC soldiers would not present much of a prob-

lem, because most of these soldiers were trained by the SADF. Senior officers in these armies also qualified in the same courses as their SADF counterparts.

This meant that with minimal training, they could be appointed in the same ranks that they now held.

MK officials and those of the Right-wing presented a problem. It was the SADF's declared policy that it would not appoint any officer without that officer being qualified for the post.

Gen Liebenberg is on record as saying that affirmative action could not be followed in the SADF without seriously compromising standards and morale.

For that reason MK officers would need to be retrained, and would need to pass certain courses before being appointed in senior ranks.

"But the exact intricacy of how it all will work still needs to be sorted out. Individual members of MK and the Right-wing can, however, be accommodated at this stage already, providing they meet certain standards, Maj De Klerk said.

Gen Liebenberg said this week that the current high standards of the SADF would have to be maintained in a future army. At the same time such an army would have to stay a citizen force army, because a largely professional defence force could not be afforded.

He envisaged the national service system to be extended to include young men of all races, but believed in such a case a draft system would be followed.

*Citizen*  
8/6/92

2 pages

Page 4

THE CITIZEN  
THE CITIZEN

# Private armies reject SADF's integration proposals

**SPOKESMAN** for various private armies yesterday reacted with contempt to SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg's proposals for the integration of these armies into one defence force for the new South Africa.

Gen Liebenberg told an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper that most MK members would have to be "tested if they want to be taken up in the SADF".

"They will have to comply with SADF standards."

Accelerated training schemes "could be considered", he said, but this did not mean there would be "excessive affirmative actions".

He added that the dissolving of Right-wing armies and rationalisation with the Defence Force had yet to be negotiated.

The Pan Africanist

Congress said the African National Congress, currently engaged in discussions with the government on the subject, would be a "sell-out" organisation to accept the conditions as outlined by Gen Liebenberg.

The chairman of Transkei's Military Council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said his government rejected with contempt Gen Liebenberg's views regarding the new defence force.

And Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said he would like to know who would ultimately control the new integrated SADF, and who would be the enemy it would be supposed to shoot.

Gen Holomisa said it was immoral for Gen Liebenberg to unilaterally impose his views on other

interested parties who have a right to shape the emergence of a non-racial defence force.

"His sentiments smack of a ploy to let Whites remain the core of the new force for decades to come," Gen Holomisa said.

The PAC's director of publicity and information, Waters Toboli, said the ANC would sell itself out if it accepted Gen Liebenberg's proposals.

"This man is trying to say that the military wings of the liberation movements must dissolve," said Mr Toboli.

"You cannot tell people to apply to join the SADF as individuals. That is to invite them to get away from their respective armies."

"With the Azanian People's Liberation Army, that will not happen."

The SADF was an oppressive army and no liberation army could join an oppressive army.

"That would be a total sell-out."

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise was not available for comment yesterday, but he told a news conference in Pretoria last month that the SADF should be dissolved along with other armies before a new national defence force could be formed.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said: "It is a complete surprise that the general includes, ipso facto, the AWD with the Wenkommando and Iron Guard in his new defence force, while he has not even spoken to me or the commandant-general of the Wenkommandos (Gen Servaas de Wet) or the general in charge of the Iron Guard (Gen Jurgens Cloete)."

"The AWB leadership would like to know, at this stage, under whose command its commandos and Iron Guard would be in the so-called new defence force."

Asked if he feared they would fall under ANC command, Terre'Blanche said: "That is what the general will have to explain."

Mr Terre'Blanche said he would like to debate the issue with the Ministers of Defence and Law and Order and Gen Liebenberg on television.

"The problem is, who will be the enemy whom the new defence force will be supposed to shoot?"

— Sapa.

## SADF talks at 'advanced stage'

**BILATERAL** talks between the SA Defence Force (SADF) and homeland armies on a future national defence force were at an advanced stage, a Defence Department spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg had held talks with defence chiefs in the homelands on their armies' role.

Liebenberg said in a weekend interview he envisaged 6 000 of the 12 000 troops in the homeland armies being absorbed into a new SADF. Smaller numbers of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe would also be included.

**PATRICK BULGER**

Liebenberg said an outstanding issue was the termination of the ANC's armed struggle.

Sapa reports that spokesmen for various private armies yesterday reacted with contempt to Liebenberg's proposals.

The PAC said the ANC would be a "sellout" organisation to accept the conditions outlined by Liebenberg.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said he would like to know who would ultimately control the new SADF, and who would be the enemy it would be supposed to shoot.

B/day 9/6/92

# Government, Azapo hold informal talks

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

Investigations Editor

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has held several meetings with Government representatives aimed at opening negotiations between the two, *Sowetan* can reveal.

The meetings were held in Johannesburg, Pretoria and two other "bush venues" but did not involve executive members of Azapo.

Sources said the two delegations had "made sufficient progress to set up a meeting outside the country to involve the leadership of Azapo, probably led by deputy-president Dr Nchaube Mokoape and to include Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on the other side".

The meeting, which is likely to be held in Botswana, is to be convened by a respected African church leader, who was approached by Azapo's externally-based sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), which will also take part in the meeting.

Information at the disposal of *Sowetan* is that a senior member of Azapo was approached by an official of the

*Sowetan 9/6/92*

## Secret talks

• From page 1

Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Maritz Spaarwater, in February.

At an informal meeting between a team from Azapo, Spaarwater and two other officials, Dr Chris Maritz and Mr Herman du Toit, indicated that the Government wanted to engage Azapo in negotiations.

It is understood the Azapo delegation indicated the organisation's willingness to talk on condition the meeting was held outside the country, under a neutral chairman and if the Government talked about the handover of power.

The participation of the BCMA was also made conditional on acceptance of the invitation for talks.

Azapo's central committee apparently refused to meet the delegation, insisting that if the Government wanted to meet with the leadership, they should formalise the approach in a letter.

Several informal meetings were held later between the two and the process stopped last month before Codesa 2.

# Moi, FW to hold talks at Tuynhuys

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN** — Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi will meet President de Klerk in Cape Town today in the first visit to South Africa by an African head of state in many years.

The visit by the leader of one of Africa's most important nations is being regarded as another significant breakthrough in South Africa's rapidly thawing relations with Africa and the world.

The last African head of state to visit South Africa was Malawian President Dr Kamuzu Banda, in August 1971.

Mr Moi will be passing through Cape Town on his way to attend the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, official sources confirmed yesterday.

He will break his journey briefly to meet Mr de Klerk at Tuynhuys.

An official dinner hosted by

Mr de Klerk has been scheduled for tonight.

According to Kenyan officials, Mr Moi will also meet ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss progress made at CODESA.

It is understood that Mr Moi will be leaving South Africa tomorrow, although this could not be confirmed.

"He is using the opportunity of his transit through South Africa to meet Mr de Klerk," an official source said.

"It will be a follow-up to their meeting in Kenya last June."

This means the visit will not be official. However, the sources said it was significant that Mr Moi had chosen to use the opportunity to meet Mr de Klerk — and not just to pass through en route to South America.

Mr de Klerk will be seeing Mr Moi only hours after returning last night from a week-long trip to Russia, Japan and Singapore.

It was not clear yesterday whether Mr de Klerk and Mr

Moi had any specific business to discuss.

It seems more likely they will merely bring each other up to date on developments in both countries.

However, regardless of what they discuss, the symbolic value of a visit by the Kenyan head of state is great and will strongly underscore South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa.

South Africa regards Kenya, along with the two other continental giants, Nigeria and Egypt, as the most important nations in its campaign to re-establish ties with Africa.

Relations between South Africa and Kenya are thawing rapidly and last month Kenyan Foreign Minister Wilson Ndolo Ayaha visited South Africa to sign agreements with Foreign Minister Pik Botha for the establishment of formal diplomatic missions.

Since last year South African Airways and Kenyan Airways have been flying between Nairobi and Johannesburg and tourism and trade have both begun to pick up.

for 9/6/92

# Codesa task groups to probe delay

CODESA yesterday set up four task groups to investigate issues hindering progress in the negotiation process.

These are task groups on the media, including the SABC; political prisoners, refugees, and, discriminatory legislation.

The groups are to comprise between five and eight members, appointed mainly from within a 9-member sub-committee set up last week.

The sub-committee was one of three established by Codesa's management committee to take the place of the former five working groups.

The four task groups form part of sub-committee one, which has the job of creating a climate for free political activity.

The groups still have to be ratified by the management committee, which is scheduled to meet next week. Delegates said after yesterday's meeting,

at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, that this should be a mere formality.

Sub-committee four, dealing with the TBVC states, also met.

They adjourned early without having finalised their work programme.

Delegates said they would be reporting back to their principals before meeting again next Monday.

High on the agenda was the Ciskei's position at Eadoca II last month that it would not participate in the negotiations without further clarity on this issue.

Delegates said the sub-committee had managed to finalise about half of its envisaged agenda, and would complete the task next week.

Sub-committee three, which took over from the working group on interim arrangements, did not meet yesterday. — Sapa

## 'Deadlock not only over percentage'

THE deadlock in the Codesa working group dealing with constitutional matters was not only over a percentage needed for approval, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delpont, said.

Speaking in Second Reading debate on the Budget, he said the government could not agree to suspend the constitution until a new one had been hammered out as this would leave a vacuum.

The government felt Parliament would not pass legislation for an interim constitution until a

new one had been drawn up. Other parties saw sense in this proposal and agreed with it.

Agreement at Codesa was reached on a number of matters such as the proposal of a two-house parliamentary system.

The composition of the Senate should be postponed for later discussion as should the drawing up of the various regions for which there had already been provisional agreement.

He called on the Democratic Party to stop facilitating and begin negotiating at Codesa.

The DP had to stand up for what it believed in.

*Citizen 9/6/92*

# Hit list plot

union bosses the target

**A MYSTERIOUS hit list targeting Vaal trade union officials for assassination is threatening to cause a new wave of violence.**

More than 20 Vaal branch officials of the Vaal branch of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa are on the list, Sowetan has learnt.

By VICTOR TSUAI

Already three trade unionists have been assassinated under mysterious circumstances.

The latest victim, whose name apparently appears on the list, was KwaMasiza Muzel Iscor worker Muzel Muzel Muzel with his child, was shot dead at their home

• To page 2

## Hit list may inflame violence

• From page 1

on Friday night.

The other victims were Mr Frans Monakedi who was killed last week, and Mr Colbert King, who was gunned down a fortnight ago. All those killed were NUMSA members.

NUMSA officials were upset the hit list threatened full ramifications the list

would have on the community.

Although the officials confirmed the existence of the hit list, they refused to divulge names "because of precautionary measures".

Officials of NUMSA's Vaal region were also yesterday discussing the list.

The list, according to NUMSA, contains the names of officials tar-

geted for assassination.

They include shop stewards, mostly based at the giant Iscor steel corporation in Vanderbijlpark, and fulltime union officials.

According to Sowetan's information, the man suspected of being behind the hit list is a leading African National Congress official in the area.

name is known to Sowetan, confirmed there was a hit

list but refused to discuss its origin.

"It would be a basic untruth to link me with the list," charged the official.

"I have heard about the list but I flatly deny that I'm behind it. The rumours are basically spoiling my good name in the community, for which I have fought for ages.

"As far as I'm concerned, as a reporter, you

should go there and speak to the people concerned."

The man refused to name the people he suspected of being behind the hit list.

NUMSA officials have indicated that a Press conference on the hit list will be held before the end of the week.

Yesterday a delegation from the Vaal branch was holding urgent talks with officials in Johannesburg.

Sowetan 9/6/92