

16/1/11

# First ANC detainees to be freed 'in days'

THE FIRST ANC detainees jailed for political offences are to be released within days following a crucial agreement this week between the Government and the ANC.

The discussions of the joint working group set up by the Pretoria Minute on August 6 to devise a plan for the releases were reported to be on deadline.

The working group — jointly headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and ANC executive member Jacob Zuma — was one of several created after the second round of talks to iron out technical differences between the two sides.

## Exiles

According to government and ANC sources there was general agreement on the principles of who will qualify for release and be given indemnity from prosecution. It is now up to the Government "to put names and faces to the principles" and release those that qualify.

People expected to be granted indemnity include some already sentenced and jailed, as well as ANC mem-

By DRIES van HEERDEN

bers in exile who may face prosecution if they return.

Some of the cases may be quite easy to decide on, such as those convicted purely of being members of the formerly banned ANC or for leaving the country without the necessary travel documents.

Indemnity on a large scale for these categories will be granted as of October 1.

The more complicated cases will be considered on an individual basis, using the guidelines agreed on by the working group. This process

must be completed by the end of April 1991.

The indemnity granted will not only imply freedom from prosecution for specific offences but will also preclude any civil proceedings that may be instituted because of losses suffered.

Another working group created by the Pretoria Minute — to monitor the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle — will meet for the first time this week.

The ANC has appointed the controversial chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Chris Hani, to lead its delegation and the government team is led by Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok.



SAL

## WORLD

# South Africa Cops Blamed In Shootings

By Susan Hack

Newsday Special Correspondent

Johannesburg, South Africa — In findings released yesterday, an independent judicial commission of inquiry appointed by President Frederik W. de Klerk ruled that 30 police officers acted illegally and without justification when they opened fire on a crowd of black demonstrators in March, killing at least five people and wounding more than 200 others.

The report of the commission headed by appellate court Justice Richard Goldstone appeared to be the most serious indictment of the police ever delivered by a government-appointed body. Human-rights activists welcomed the findings as an encouraging step toward reforming the police, who have been frequently criticized as the main enforcers of apartheid.

The commission found that 30 police officers acted illegally and in violation of department regulations when they opened fire on a crowd of black protesters in the township of Sebokeng, near Johannesburg, on March 26.

About 50,000 people had gathered to protest rent increases and other issues. They had been planning to march into the adjacent white town of Vereeniging but were stopped by a line of police, who opened fire. As a result of the incident the African National Congress threatened to call off exploratory talks with the government.

Finding there was no justification for the shootings, the commission said the police officers fired on people who posed no threat to them and generally were not misbehaving. It said the officers had no order to shoot or even to load their weapons.

Goldstone said he was disturbed by the callousness of some of the police who gave evidence, noting that "they displayed an attitude of unconcern for the lethal nature of their ammunition and for the consequences of its use. This is an attitude no police force should tolerate."

Finding that the direct cause of the shootings was a "lack of discipline and control" over the police officers, the commission said their commanding officer had been in his car and out of touch with them. Goldstone recommended that the actions of the 30 officers who fired be reviewed by the attorney general for possible prosecution.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said he would turn over the report to the attorney general but added that the findings applied to "individuals" and not the entire police force.

The ANC called for prosecution of all the implicated policemen and urged an end to the routine use of live ammunition to control crowds. "This reinforces the perceptions widely held by our people that the police are not a body for the maintenance of law and order, but a force of repression," an ANC statement said.

The Goldstone Commission was the first major government investigation into police actions since 1976, when a similar commission investigated the shooting of Soweto schoolchildren protesting the imposition of Afrikaans-language education. In that case a judge took three years to release his findings, which did not involve significant censure of the police.

"It's not an issue of thirty policemen being prosecuted or not," commented Max Coleman, head of the Johannesburg-based Human Rights Commission. "This is not the first time the police have used force incommensurate with a given situation. The wider issue is disciplining the security apparatus as a whole."

The Goldstone report was released only four days after prominent church leaders handed de Klerk a memo accusing police of helping whip up the black factional violence last month that left more than 500 people dead in Soweto and other townships. The churchmen, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, recommended that monitors for police behavior be appointed and that a new force be created to handle political unrest.

NEWSDAY, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1990

15



# Neutral force not so simple ✓

STAR 2-10-1990

The vilification of the police to which your paper appears to be a ready accessory is a matter of considerable concern.

Every allegation, whether substantiated or not, is given credence.

That the police are not blameless is accepted. The Goldstone Commission was a salutary warning, but to condemn the force as a whole is irresponsible and can only tend to alienate it.

I have long been sympathetic to the cause of the ANC. It is my belief, however, that in recent times it has lost direction and has become increasingly militant.

Mass demonstrations, boycotts, intimidation, stayaways and strikes are, in my view, co-ordinated to muster all blacks into one camp.

The ANC has been particularly vociferous in its condemnation of the police. To this con-

demnation your paper has responded with the facile suggestion that an independent force should be deployed in the townships to maintain order.

Are the police then to abrogate authority in the townships? What thought has been given to the logistics of such a suggestion?

How is such a force to be recruited? What is to be its strength? What weaponry and transport are to be provided?

What are to be the rates of pay? How is it to be commanded? In whom will the ultimate responsibility for its actions reside? Where will this force be trained and who is to undertake its training? And finally, how are the townships to be policed during the period of training?

I say nothing of the cost of maintaining such a force.

Louis Kane-Berman  
Arnot

## Terrible

2-10-1990  
harm to

STAR  
economy ✓

Each time the collective mouth of the ANC is opened, irreparable harm is done to the economy by talk of nationalisation and socialism, together with threats to strip Sanlam, the Old Mutual, the Unemployment Fund *et al* of the funds of their shareholders/contributors (who include thousands of black people).

Do people believe that overseas businessmen would risk their capital by investing in a country controlled by such a government? They should ask Mugabe, Kaunda and the rest up north this question.

The continued thoughtless threats by all and sundry to resume the armed struggle border on the ridiculous and cause more white voters to support the Conservative Party.

A R Seaton

Krugersdorp

Too much  
2-10-1990  
flitting ✓

for Nelson  
STAR

Nelson Mandela must have proved a great disappointment to many. Here is a man, built up into a myth by the world press, whom everyone thought was going to prove a statesman.

But he is being led by the nose by the ANC and the SA Communist Party, trots out the same tired old revolutionary slogans and clichés again and again, and does little but flit and flirt around the world while his country is burning.

Maybe it is hoping a little too much that the ANC will be able to come to grips with the fact that the only hope of a stable democracy lies in the marriage of the talents of all the various parties in the country, if we are to create the kind of prosperity it needs to be able to offer all its citizens a decent life.

Bernard Raymond  
Chairperson: Church  
Media Publications

Bryanston

It's time to be  
STAR 2-10-90 ✓  
constructive

The constant hammering of Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha movement in your letters columns has, to say the least, become suspect.

Sibusiso Gumede (Reader's Views, September 25) says he was shocked to hear about the R50 million damage in Natal - which he lays at the feet of Inkatha.

Surely the time has come for reconciliation and for the bickering and finger-pointing to turn into something more constructive.

Maybe your reader missed The Star article saying disruption and violence since Nelson Mandela's release had cost R3 billion. I suggest the ANC was the cause of most of it, considering that the damage was done in areas where Inkatha was not all that active.

It is time the ANC started thinking about winning over the minds of people through their actions. Up to now, I would guess they have lost more than they have gained.

Bloemfontein

Alan C Brown



16/1/20

5 Times 02/09/90

# Priests, protest, politics do mix

AT A time when political changes are taking place at breakneck speed, the Christian churches in the country are faced with novel challenges which most of them may be ill equipped to handle.

The establishment denominations — especially the Afrikaans churches — have been left behind by the rapidity of the De Klerk revolution. They will need a ground shift of landslide proportions.

The churches and theologians traditionally opposed to apartheid need an equal adjustment to a situation where every societal ill and woe can no longer simply be attributed to unjust policies.

## BASE

A country in transition will increasingly look to its spiritual leaders for stability and principled guidance.

The Church, says University of Cape Town theologian John de Gruchy, should help build the moral base upon which democracy becomes possible in the long term.

In the dark days preceded

ing the unbanning of political organisations, black church leaders played an important role in keeping the aspirations of their communities alive.

Clerics like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, the Rev Frank Chikane and Father Sman-galisso Mkhwatsha could often be seen at the head of protest marches, addressing political rallies or leading deputations to confront the Government on a variety of matters.

It was, in a sense, leadership by default. With most of the recognised leadership corps either banned, jailed or in exile, churchmen, by and large, enjoyed a measure of immunity from a government which balked at the suggestion of arresting

men of the cloth. But will this situation change now that the political heavyweights have returned to the scene? Will churchmen revert to what most white Christians prefer to call their "traditional role" — preaching the Gospel, attending to their flock, caring for the aged and the infirm.

## CONCEPT

"I hope not," says Unisa theologian Takatso Mofokeng. "The idea of the Church as a distant, dispassionate 'conscience of the nation' is wrong.

"The 80s saw the Church — especially in the black community — moving into the streets, and that is where it belongs in the period of transition wait-

ing for us in the 90s."

Professor De Gruchy agrees. "The 'traditional role' of the Church is to get involved in the day-to-day activities of the community it serves. That includes taking firm positions on political issues, fighting against injustice, scrutinising government action, playing a watchdog role on economic issues and promoting the welfare of the poor and powerless."

Stellenbosch theologian Johann Kinghorn argues: "Our problem is not a wrong concept of the role of the Church but an erroneous definition of politics.

"It is not politics if a church protests against children dying of hunger when other people are living an abundant life a few kilometres away. Or to

point out that particular policies are having disastrous effects on certain sections of the community. Or that the majority of people have got no vote in the country of their birth.

"That is the traditional role of the Church."

For the largest Afrikaans denomination, the NG Kerk, the next few months will be a watershed period.

## RELEVANCE

The four-yearly general synod of the church will soon meet in Bloemfontein and it will not be able to ignore the increasing rifts in the Afrikaner community, which have already led to the formation of a right-wing breakaway group,

the Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk. From all sides of the political spectrum, the synod will be watched with keen interest. If it chooses to endorse the process of political change the floodgates to the right may be opened.

But if it continues "to halt between two opinions", as Elijah told the prophets of Baal, the haemorrhage of some of its members to more liberal churches and its isolation in the ecumenical world will increase.

"It is a problem that the NG Kerk cannot avoid," says Dr Mofokeng, himself a member of the (black) NG Kerk in Afrika. "The Bloemfontein synod will show whether it will be of any relevance in the new South Africa." Dr King-

■ A PROTEST OF CLERGYMEN ... but changing times will pose many questions about their future role in state affairs

horn says it will need a "fundamental shift" in NG Kerk policy. No longer can it only update its theology to bring it in line with political reforms. "The Government has made a U-

turn. Will the churches that have always supported it be able to do the same?" he asks.

But President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech has also changed the script of those churches and leaders traditionally opposed to government policies. The unbanning of organisations and the return of the exiled leaders have helped considerably to level the political playing fields.

## ABILITY

"Up till February 2 it was relatively easy for clergymen to preach only the gospel of resistance," says Dr Kinghorn. "It did not require much finesse because the problem was one-dimensional — bad apartheid vs good resistance."

It is no longer possible "to burn incense" over

everything the ANC says or does. Its policies, utterances and actions must be scrutinised with the same measures usually reserved for the Government.

Professor De Gruchy calls it "critical solidarity" — the ability of the Christian church to speak out against injustice wherever it occurs in the community.

For Dr Mofokeng, this means the Church should not be sidelined while the negotiations about future political policies are being discussed by the various political movements around the negotiating table.

"It is not a question of the Church taking over the role of the politicians or providing specific political blueprints," he says.

"But the Church, as the defender of the rights of the poor, the powerless and the weak in society

should leave no doubt about its views on future economic and social policies."

Professor Kinghorn believes the Church should also play an active role in preparing its members for the fundamental changes about to take place.

## HUMILITY

"It is of little use if politicians agree on fundamentals or the leaders of different denominations see eye to eye but this does not filter through to the rank and file.

"In this period of violence and intolerance, the Church can make an important contribution to preach humility, tolerance and forgiveness," he says.

The Church must be a moral pressure group in society, says Professor De Gruchy, "irrespective of who is in power — or who is struggling for power."



A time when political changes are taking place at breakneck speed, the Christian churches in the country are faced with novel challenges which most of them may be ill equipped to handle.

The establishment nominations — especially the Afrikaans churches — have been left behind by the rapidity of the De Klerk revolution. They will need a ground shift of landslide proportions.

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16/1/20



# Wayward Winnie not right for the job, say colleagues

16/1/11

5 Times By STEPHANIE HULL 02/09/90

THE militant image projected by Winnie Mandela — newly appointed head of the ANC's social welfare programme — has raised eyebrows among her professional colleagues.

This week, a delegation of social workers took their complaints to the ANC after Mrs Mandela wore a combat outfit to the funeral service for victims of township violence.

Members of the profession believe she put both combat-booted feet in it by sporting camouflage gear at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Police are also investigating a complaint against Mrs Mandela for contravening a law that governs the wearing of military or police garb.

Eight social workers from progressive, mostly ANC-aligned, organisations met with a top ANC delegation to raise their objections to Mrs Mandela's appointment as the organisation's head of social welfare.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Child Welfare Society said: "The main objection is that although she is a qualified social worker, Mrs Mandela has not practised the profession for a number of years.

"There are people within the ANC who are more in touch with what is going on in social work and are better qualified for the job."

## Conflict

The ANC would not comment on the objections, but confirmed that a delegation of social workers had been received by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

Members of the profession said other objections to Mrs Mandela's appointment were:

- A decision by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres had not yet been made on whether to prosecute Mrs Mandela over her alleged involvement in the assault on child activist Stompie Seipei. Mandela United football club coach Jerry Richardson has been sentenced to death for Stompie's murder.

- The militant image projected by Mrs Mandela which appeared to conflict with her reputation as "mother of the nation" and the image of a social worker, which was one of compassion and conciliation.

At the funeral this week, Mrs Mandela wore a camouflage print combat jacket with a matching cap, military boots and a khaki skirt.

Her alleged offence is enshrined in Section 26 and 26(A) of Police Act 7 of 1958 as amended.

Civilians who dress in military or police uniforms (this includes prison warders' uniforms) face a fine of up to R200.

The outcry over Mrs Mandela's outfit — dismissed this week by the ANC as "a ridiculous form of harassment" — is the latest in a long line of controversial incidents involving her.





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MILITANT ... social workers say this isn't the right image for a head of the ANC's social welfare section

16/1/11

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210/90



16/1/11

# Minister's girl in ANC post

By GEORGE MAHABEER

THE daughter of a House of Delegates minister has joined the ANC — and he says it's OK with him.

In fact, Health Minister Baldeo Dookie this week gave a hint that he, too, may one day want to join the ANC — although its fiercely anti-House of Delegates stance is well known.

Mr Dookie lauded Mrs Rina Pillay's involvement in the organisation, saying he "encouraged diverse political thinking".

Boasting about having friends aligned to the ANC and the Natal Indian Congress, Mr Dookie said:

"In this time of changing attitudes, I'm certainly not going to ostracise my daughter for the political path she has chosen.

"Who knows? There

might even come a time when I want to rethink my political role and — if I still want to be involved in community matters — the ANC may be the answer," he said.

A member of the House of Delegates since its inception in 1984, he said he would not dictate politics to any member of his family. Mrs Pillay, a teacher at a Chatsworth primary school, confirmed her position as membership secretary of the ANC's Havenside interim recruitment committee but refused to discuss the matter further.

5. Time  
02/09/90



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# Summit blames Zulu chief

From MICHAEL HARTNACK IN HARARE

LEADERS of the seven frontline states blamed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu leader, for the continuing black-against-black violence in the republic when they met for a summit in Lusaka, the Zambian capital, at the weekend.

Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress's deputy president, and Johnson Mlambo, the chairman of the rival Pan-Africanist Congress, addressed the summit, chaired by President Kaunda

of Zambia. After the meeting President Kaunda said: "The summit sent a message to President de Klerk of South Africa to stop the carnage.

"We have done that, and comrade Mandela will deliver that message to Mr de Klerk.

"The wanton destruction of life by supporters of Buthelezi has reached a very dangerous stage and cannot be allowed to continue."

● HARARE: Leaders of the seven frontline states blamed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu leader, for the continuing black-against-black violence in the republic when they met for a one-day summit in Lusaka, the Zambian capital, at the weekend (Michael Hartnack writes).

Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress deputy president, and Johnson Mlambo, the chairman of the rival Pan-Africanist Congress, addressed the summit, which was chaired by President Kaunda of Zambia and attended by President Masire of Botswana, President Nujoma of Namibia, President Chissano of Mozambique, and the foreign ministers of Angola, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

After the meeting President Kaunda said: "The summit sent a message to President de Klerk of South Africa to stop the carnage. We have done that, and comrade Mandela will deliver that message to Mr de Klerk.

"The wanton destruction of life by supporters of Buthelezi has reached a very dangerous stage and cannot be allowed to continue," he told a news conference.

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London

Rev Margaret M.  
Lloyds U.K.