

## 26 OTHER LIVES

# State violence spells death to peace hopes

*The Guardian*

*18/7/92*

*London*

## World view



Victoria Britain

THE international community is facing a moral challenge on South Africa after violence has produced a complete breakdown in the national peace accord and the path to majority rule. Only outsiders can break the political deadlock: the United Nations, Commonwealth, Organisation of African Unity and European Community are all involved.

At the UN this week, the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, called for an international investigation into the violence which has sabotaged the optimism of three months ago, when an interim government seemed in sight.

The Security Council refused to go that far but its Special Representative, who is to be urgently dispatched, must set out conditions for negotiations to be resumed, and that means stopping the state's violence.

Since 1985 12,000 black people have died in the townships as a result of political violence. Since July 1990, 250 people have been dying every month, in particular in the Witwatersrand/Vaal region around Johannesburg in patterns of violence previously seen over five years in the war zones of Natal.

The picture of a senseless, self-sustaining war for township control between the ANC and Inkatha has till now reinforced the international community's reluctance to intervene in the internal affairs of a South Africa perceived to be in the throes of bold reforms. But a host of studies from organisations such as the International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, South

Africa's Human Rights Commission (HRC), Lawyers Against Apartheid, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, and the Community Agency for Social Inquiry, reveal a coordinated state strategy of destabilisation behind the patterns of violence.

Thousands of unchallenged affidavits record massacres on trains and in squatter camps, political assassinations, Inkatha armies on the march, security forces' involvement in violence, state funding of Inkatha, the use of rural migrant workers' hostels as a base to launch attacks, or the use of foreign forces, and the failure to bring named perpetrators of violence, particularly top security officers and Inkatha warlords, to justice.

The violence is closely correlated with political developments. It began in Natal in the mid-1980s when the United Democratic Front (an ally of the then banned ANC) began challenging Inkatha's traditional control in that area.

The second wave, extending to the Witwatersrand/Vaal region, began in July 1990 within hours of the newly unbanned ANC suspending the armed struggle, and beginning to create a legal infrastructure inside South Africa. The first massacre, an attack on an ANC hostel at Sebokeng on July 22, coincided with the launch in the area of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The violence has given the National Party, and its ally IFP, a breathing space. The clear political loser has been the ANC, undermined in the townships by its inability to protect its members.

The individual victims of violence, in an HRC study made over the past two years using a sample of 50 per cent of those affected, were 84 per cent ANC and township residents and 15 per cent Inkatha members. Vigilante action, notably led by Inkatha warlords, accounted for 81 per cent of attacks.

Dr Max Coleman of the HRC has called the vigilantes the "shock troops of destabilisation".

The documented failures of the peace mechanisms, from local disputes committees to the national Goldstone commission, fit this grave pattern of state/Inkatha coordinated attacks: last-minute refusals by the IFP to participate in peace meetings; and the state's failure to honour agreements. The UN mission can not avoid a confrontation with the South African government.



# 'Beautness of leisure' in a life of peril

## OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA

John Carlin



JOHANNESBURG — My friend Bheki Mkhize founded a football club called the Mahlabatini Black Heroes in the early Seventies. Stocky, happy, boundlessly energetic, he was the team's goal-scorer, manager and inspiration. They played out of a single-men's hostel in Johannesburg but named the team after the Zulu town where they were born.

They were all "homeboys" from Mahlabatini, next to Ulundi, the capital of Kwa-Zulu and seat of the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi — who is Bheki's uncle on his mother's side.

When politics split the Zulu nation in the mid-Eighties between those backing Inkatha and those the ANC, the "Black Heroes" faded as a footballing force. They kept playing, but political tensions off the pitch tore the team apart.

Today Bheki, who is 39, has switched his soccer allegiances. His hero is Gary Lineker. His team, Tottenham. Why, I haven't been able to fathom. But it turns out there are a whole lot of people in Soweto crazy about Spurs.

to kill her cousin. "Why?" Bongy asked the white man. "Because he's in the way of the people who've sent us here."

The most recent episode, on 9 June, involved Bheki's eight-year-old son, Kingdom. "He went down the road to buy bread, and when he came out of the shop a man grabbed him, put a gun to his head and told him: 'Tell your father that if we are unable to kill him, we'll kill you. We know where you're schooling'."

Since then, Bheki said, his son has not been "normal". "He's traumatised. He's always been such a sweet, smiling boy. Now he's so frightened. He's so worried about his father."

It is not too difficult to see why the people are in whose way Bheki is standing. First, he is one of the millions of Zulus who do not support Inkatha. Secondly, he is a prominent activist in Cosatu, the ANC-aligned union federation and, as such, outspoken in his condemnation of what he calls Inkatha's "brutality". ("My uncle, the chief, doesn't want the eyes of the people to be opened to democracy. He wants all to be Inkatha.") Thirdly, having lived 12 of the last 20 years in the hostels, now Inkatha strongholds in the township violence, he retains contacts there and possesses detailed information on those leaders responsible for stirring up the Zulu inmates as he puts it, "to war".

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Bheki was in London earlier this month on a week's holiday. I managed to get a free plane ticket through the kindness of a British friend and gave it to Bheki, who works as a security guard, earns about £200 a month and — more than most people I know — needed a break. While in London he saw all the usual sights, Buckingham Palace, Trafalgar Square, the Tower of London.

He also made three pilgrimages to White Hart Lane, where people from the supporters' club took him in to see the players and watch the grass grow.

They also gave him the necessary paper work to start a supporters' branch in Soweto. "We could get hundreds," he told me yesterday. "But the nation is bleeding. It's not the time for pleasure, my friend."

Besides, these days Bheki cannot go to Soweto, where his home is and where three of his nine children live with his cousin Bongy. For Bheki lives in constant fear of his life. He knows with as much certainty as Dirk Coetzee, the South African police defector hiding in London, that there are hit squads out to get him. The difference is that while Mr Coetzee — 6,000 miles away — enjoys round-the-clock protection from Scotland Yard, Bheki — in the belly of the beast — has only his wits and his friends as allies.

Bheki moved out of his home on 20 February after surviving the fifth attempt on his life in two years. It was lucky he did, because on 4 March two men with guns — one white, one black — turned up at his front door at five in the afternoon and told Bongy they had come

Those same leaders, Bheki's tribal sources have told him, have a hit-list with his name on it. "The last thing I heard was that they have given instructions not to kill me now, after Boipatong, but to wait until things have settled."

But Bheki is never settled. I would be shattered, but hardly surprised, if I were to receive a call one day saying he was dead. I have never met anyone more street-wise, more sharp-witted, more hardened by experience who is at the same time so simple, sweet-natured and generous-hearted. He is one of those unselfconscious people who engage complete strangers in cheerful conversation. As he did in a bus in London with an old lady who, on the way to Tottenham, steered him to Wood Green. Strolling there, he told me in his over-excited way, he delighted in what he called "the beautness of leisure".

"I walked and walked in London and I felt free and safe, totally safe, my friend. I was in heaven. I saw things that will change my life for ever."

"I tell you: One morning I was in Buckingham Palace, enjoying the soldiers with the big black hats and the red coats, and I met a policeman and we started discussing. My friend, I couldn't believe it! God, I really couldn't believe it! Policemen in London are normal, friendly human beings!"

## ANC presses ahead with protest plan

By Christopher Munnion  
in Johannesburg

THE African National Congress and its allies yesterday pressed ahead with plans for mass protests to try to force the downfall of the government, despite the United Nations Security Council decision to mediate in the country's crisis.

After a two-day emergency debate, the Security Council voted unanimously to appoint a special representative to investigate violence in South Africa and called on all political groups to resume talks "as speedily as possible".

But as Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC president, was asking the UN to intervene in South Africa, ANC officials and leaders of the South African Communist Party and the trade union alliance Cosatu, were holding talks on their mass action campaign, dubbed "Exitgate".

The programme includes rolling strikes, tax defiance, the occupation of cities and towns and a march on the government headquarters in Pretoria "to install Nelson Mandela as president".

Mr Jay Naidoo, Cosatu general secretary, said the plans for a general strike next month would go ahead only if the unions failed to reach an agreement with employers and businesses to secure their support for "a quick transition to democracy".

The UN vote to investigate violence was widely interpreted as indicating more support for the government than for the ANC, which had called for a permanent UN presence and UN peacekeepers in townships.

Seventy-eight people, all residents of the KwaMakhalala migrant workers' hostel, are to be charged in connection

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## Massacre hostel-dwellers to go

ISCOR said yesterday that KwaMadala Hostel in the Vaal Triangle, from where the June 17 Boipatong massacre was allegedly launched, will be vacated and its residents moved to another hostel.

Iscor, the owner of the

controversial hostel, said in a statement: "The target date for the full integration of the KwaMadala residents into the Kwa-Masiza Hostel has been set for September 21, 1992."

Iscor said this decision was taken recently at its meeting with the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa on the proposed closure of the hostel and the relocation of its residents.

Iscor said it had also been agreed with the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) that KwaMadala Hostel would meanwhile be divided by a steel wall, which was already under

construction, and the section of the hostel closest to the road would be closed.

Residents from the closed section would be moved to the western side of the hostel.

Iscor also accused Numsa of a "breach of good faith" following public pronouncements by the union on the Kwa-Madala Hostel.

"Numsa has seen fit to ignore its agreement with Iscor not to issue a Press statement regarding the sensitive negotiations being conducted around the closure of KwaMadala Hostel and the relocation of residents," Iscor said.

— Sapa.



The Citizen 18/7/92

# ANC hails resolution

THE African National Congress yesterday welcomed the resolution on South Africa adopted by the United Nations Security Council.

"The Security Council reaffirmed the commitment of that international body to the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa, and called upon the De Klerk government to take immediate measures to end the violence that has already

cost thousands of lives," the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC in particular welcomed the Security Council's positive response to the request made by ANC president Nelson Mandela for a special representative of the UN Secretary-General to be sent to South Africa and report back to the Security Council on the issue of violence.

The UN resolution was a categorical repudiation of the attempts by the government and its allies to

blame the ANC and the democratic movement for the violence, the ANC said.

Referring to the activities of two SADF members in Britain who were allegedly planning the assassination of former police captain Dirk Coetzee, the ANC said it was revealing that on the very day that the Security Council started its sitting, evidence of the government's continued employment of murder as an instrument of state policy was published. — Sapa



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## Boipatong: 78 to face charges

By Sapa and  
Fred de Lange

THE Attorney-General for the Transvaal has decided that 78 people will be charged in connection with the Boipatong massacre on June 17, according to a statement by Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe yesterday.

"A case of murder and public violence was investigated in consultation with two advocates attached to the Attorney-General's office," the statement said.

The 78 detainees were originally held in terms of the unrest regulations but they are to remain in custody in terms of Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act, a Pretoria police spokesman explained.

The suspects are all residents of the KwaMadala Hostel near Boipatong.

They are to appear in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court on Monday.

Eighty-three people in total were held since the start of the investigation.

Gen Van der Merwe said the investigation into the massacre was at an advanced stage and expressed his sincere appreciation to the investigating unit who was still continuing the investigation.

Police initially arrested seven residents of the KwaMadala Hostel, and later 76 more in connection with the massacre. Information and evidence pointed to the fact that between 200 and 300 residents of the hostel could have been involved in the massacre.

Two of the original seven held were released.

The 83 men were extensively questioned and a number of statements

were made.

Forensic tests made on weapons seized in the hostel also showed that a number of these weapons could have been used in the massacre.

A docket was sent to the Attorney-General who decided that five of those arrested should be freed and the rest charged.

A spokesman for the Attorney-General's office in Pretoria yesterday would not comment on the Boipatong matter specifically.

He did, however, say that his office could only recommend charges according to the evidence available.

"Obviously we are after the murders which took place at Boipatong but what happened there included public violence," the spokesman said.



# Pik warns on campaign

IF the ANC's mass action campaign causes disruption and conflict, the organisation would be acting against the spirit of UN Resolution 765 on South Africa, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said last night.

Addressing a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport upon his return from the UN Security Council meeting in New York, Mr Botha said parties would be acting "against the resolution" if they embarked on mass action and did not resume negotiations.

Mr Botha said Department of Foreign Affairs staff would be handing copies of the official documents relating to South Africa's negotiation process to the UN Secretary-General's office.

Responding to the denials by the ANC and Zimbabwe that they were involved in an arms-run-

ning operation from Zimbabwe to South Africa, Mr Botha said he would be very happy if the allegation was not true.

He said his information about the alleged operation had come from "a reliable source of another country", which he could not identify.

Mr Botha said he was "more than satisfied with the turn of events" at the UN.

"I left with the feeling that the council was even-handed, fair and objective."

The UN's special envoy Cyrus Vance, appointed in terms of Resolution 765, would travel around South Africa and Mr Botha hoped he would have discussions with all par-

ties, newspaper editors, academics and would visit the townships to establish how violence could be curbed.

The Security Council had emphasised all parties should co-operate in curbing violence, and had not blamed the SA Government for the situation.

Mr Botha said he had acknowledged the SA Government was responsible for stemming violence and said the UN resolution on South Africa did not detract from his government's powers to curb violence.

The UN mission to SA would not interfere with this responsibility and the Secretary-General was

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## Pik warns on mass action

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not prescribing what should be done.

"It is the first time a UN resolution doesn't

condemn the (SA) government," he noted.

The Security Council had urged all parties to return to the negotiation table, and all parties were

also to "tell the (UN) Secretary-General what they have done to assist in curbing violence".

Mr Botha said he did not know whether the

ANC would be returning to negotiations soon.

There had been no time to discuss this with the organisation in New York, he said. — Sapa.

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## Vance to be UN's special envoy

**UNITED NATIONS.** — Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance will head a UN mission to South Africa to try to end the political crisis and violence, UN officials announced yesterday.

Mr Vance will leave early next week, according to a UN statement.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali named Mr Vance his special representative for South Africa, one day after the Security Council in a special session urged him to name an envoy.

The mission is a combination of fact-finding and goodwill, aimed at finding ways to help end the escalating violence and political deadlock and get Black-White talks on power-sharing restarted.

Mr Vance then will report back to the Se-

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## Vance to be special envoy

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curency Council, which will decide what kind of role it could play to help South Africa achieve a non-racial multi-party democracy.

Mr Vance also has been a special envoy for Yugoslavia and was instrumental in arranging the initial cease-fire and agreements under which 14 000 UN peacekeepers were deployed in Croatia to keep peace

between Croats and Serbs.

In a resolution adopted on Thursday the council called for a special representative, condemned the violence, especially the Boipatong massacre, and urged South African authorities to take immediate steps to end the violence.

It also called on all nations to continue to honour the UN arms embargo against South Africa. — Sapa-AP.



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# 'No talks before violence ends'

By Sapa-AFP and  
Brian Stuart

PARIS. — Violence must be ended in South Africa before the African National Congress will think of resuming talks with President De Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

He noted that the UN Security Council, whose deliberations he attended on Thursday, had emphasised the question of halting violence when it voted to send a special representative of the Secretary-General to investigate the facts in South Africa.

"As long as this violence continues to ravage the country, it is going to

be impossible for us to go back to negotiations," Mr Mandela told AFP after a 50-minute talk with France's junior Foreign Affairs Minister Georges Kiejman.

The ANC broke off constitutional discussions with the SA Government after the massacre of more than 40 people in Boipatong Black township on June 17.

Mr Mandela said that according to official estimates, close to 12 000 people had died in violence since 1984, while other estimates put the toll as high as 15 000.

"We find it unacceptable to continue to talk with a regime which has the capacity to put an end to violence but which is

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## 'Violence must stop before talks start'

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not doing so, simply because it is Black lives that are being affected," Mr Mandela said.

As one of the big powers committed to democratic values, France had an obligation to put pressure on Mr De Klerk to put an end to violence, the ANC chief said.

He commented: "If there is one thing De Klerk wants, it is to keep the image of a reformer, and if in countries like France that image is becoming blurred, I think Mr De Klerk will feel compelled to do something about it."

In Cape Town the National Party called on the ANC to heed speakers in the Security Council debate, as well as the unani-

mous Resolution 765, and return to the negotiation table.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, NP secretary-general, said yesterday the NP welcomed the limited UN involvement in the negotiation process.

"The NP feels that the UN's active full-time monitoring mechanism will be a positive forum in defusing the violence."

"We are convinced that the involvement of the UN representative will show conclusively that the government is not involved in or responsible for the violence in the townships, in any capacity."

"In the NP's view, the fact that a wide spectrum of South African political parties participated in the

debate was a demonstration to the international community that the ANC is not the only political party representing the Black community and that there are many other important role players."

"The NP calls on the ANC to take heed of the calls by virtually every speaker in the debate for the parties to return to the negotiation table."

"The NP is ready to resume the negotiations and trusts that in the light of the UN resolution, the ANC will think again about its refusal to talk to government and the other delegations at Codesa," said Dr Van der Merwe.

Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development and his Deputy Minister, Dr Tertius Delpoort, who is gov-

ernment spokesman on Codesa, were not available for comment yesterday.

Dr Zach de Beer, Democratic Party leader, described Resolution 765, unanimously adopted by the UN Security Council, as sensible, reasonable and constructive.

"I hope it may lead to a gradual improvement in the situation here," he added.

However, it was distressing that South African speakers during the Security Council debate used the platform to attack one another on party political issues.

"Our first priority should be the achievement of a new constitution. The political battles should be fought afterwards," said Dr De Beer.



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## ANC protesters in W Tvl arrested

Citizen Reporter

MORE than 100 supporters of the ANC and other affiliated groups were arrested in Schweizer-Reneke in the Western Transvaal yesterday during protests forming part of the ANC's mass action campaign.

A Western Transvaal police spokesman said police acted against protesters on three occasions during the morning, but there had been no violence and no injuries.

In the first incident, 39 men and 14 women were taken into custody at 11.40 am outside the police station in Du Plessis Street. They were arrested for allegedly holding a protest march without the permission of the Schweizer-Reneke Town Council.

Twenty minutes later, police arrested 27 men and three women outside the Schweizer-Reneke Post Office. They had pl-

legedly occupied the building.

Roughly an hour after that, 12 men and 13 women were arrested outside the post office on charges of holding an illegal gathering.

The protesters appeared in court last night, but the hearing was still in progress at the time of going to Press.

The spokesman said members of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu were in the group.



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## Lawyers slam SAP deaths

LAWYERS for Human Rights has condemned the spate of necklacing and killing of police officer, director Brian Currin said yesterday.

Mr Currin said the comments in the media of African National Congress Youth League president Peter Mokaba were regrettable.

Mr Mokaba was quoted saying the ANCYL would identify the homes of police who had killed

people during riots and harass their families.

"An unacceptable statement and one that needs to be retracted before any further police officers lose their lives in senseless and mindless witch-hunts," Mr Currin said.

He said undoubtedly there were rotten apples in the South African Police as well as principled and courageous people.

He agreed with the finding of Mr Justice Goldstone that the anger and frustrations of the community was leading the country into an intolerable situation.

• The body of a woman who had been shot was found in Mooi River in Natal on Thursday, according to the police unrest report issued yesterday.

Train violence continued with four women

injured when they were thrown from a train.

Two policemen were injured in stone-throwing attacks as assaults on police continued on Thursday.

A policeman was injured by a stone-throwing crowd at Kwa-Kwatsi near Koppies in the northern Free State, and a delivery vehicle was set alight.

— Sapa.



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## Natal marchers claim township bias by SAP

DURBAN. — About two hundred Bruntville residents marched through Pietermaritzburg yesterday to protest against alleged police bias in the Midland's township, police reported.

Pietermaritzburg police spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said the residents marched to the police headquarters where they delivered a memorandum to a senior police officer.

Their demands included a call for the riot unit to be removed from Bruntville and the sacking of two police officers who the African National Congress alleged had assisted Inkatha Freedom Party attackers in violence in Bruntville earlier this week.

An ANC official said marchers were also calling for the disbanding of hostels in Bruntville and a total ban on the carrying of weapons in public. On Wednesday, at

least one person died in clashes in Bruntville, outside Mooi River.

The ANC claimed Inkatha Freedom Party hostel dwellers attacked residents, while Inkatha said its supporters were attacked first.

Local ANC activists said police had not prevented the attacks but had openly sided with the IFP.

Yesterday's memorandum also strongly protested against alleged police bias in Bruntville.

Capt Budhram said the allegations were false. Police had told the demonstrators to produce facts and make statements so that their allegations could be investigated.

"We also informed them that our primary role is to maintain law and order. We're apolitical and we are not here to get involved in disputes between different organisations," he said.

— Sapa.



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## '28 IFP leaders dead this year'

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday claimed that two IFP leaders had been slain in Natal this week, bringing the year's national figure of its office bearers assassinated in political violence to at least 28.

A total of more than 220 IFP leaders had been killed in political violence, according to Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet.

Mr Tillet said Dominic Mhlongo, the IFP's Etholweni leader in Umbumbulu, south of Durban, was killed on Tuesday.

Mr Tillet said unidentified occupants of a vehicle pulled up outside his home and opened fire with AK-47 rifles, killing him instantly.

In another incident, the IFP's branch chairman at Glebelands Hostel in Umlazi, Dome Wellington Ngobese (56), was gunned down in his hostel room on Thursday night.

— Sapa.



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## Mock trial probe a waste of time: ANC

DURBAN. — The African National Congress' Midlands deputy chairman yesterday described Thursday's meeting by the National Peace Committee on alleged mock trials in Pietermaritzburg as a "waste of time".

Reggie Hadebe, along with other ANC representatives, attended a meeting in Johannesburg at which the issue regarding the ANC's sentencing to death of the State President and the leader of Inkatha was referred to arbitration.

The meeting, however, failed to address the issue and was not conclusive because of a technicality raised by the government, said Mr Hadebe.

### Better purpose

"The ANC believes yesterday's (Thursday's) experience was a waste of

money that could have been used for a better purpose. It is our view that the complaints should never have been referred to arbitration in the first place as the complaint that the ANC sentenced people to death is without any basis."

Mr Hadebe added that the National Peace Com-

mittee should have verified the truth of the allegations by the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"This exercise is a propaganda ploy by the IFP and the government to discredit the ANC as it begins its campaign of mass action," Mr Hadebe said. — Sapa.



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## Weapons collection: ANC 'necklacing the truth'

**Citizen Reporter**

THE Ministry of Law and Order yesterday accused the ANC of "necklacing the truth in pursuit of propaganda" after establishing through investigations that a massive consignment of weapons allegedly delivered to the KwaZulu Government office in Witbank was, in fact, a consignment of collectors' weapons exported by a Witbank dealer to the United Kingdom.

The arms dealer concerned has confirmed the facts as outlined by the Ministry and said that there had been nothing "sinister" in the transaction.

Earlier this week, Mr Mathew Phosa, Eastern Transvaal leader of the ANC, alleged that police and defence force elements delivered a consignment of 152 firearms to the KwaZulu Government's offices in Witbank on July 5.

He said this information came from ANC intelligence, and that it was feared that some of the weapons had already been distributed as IFP members had been seen with pistols.

Based on the allegations, the SAP raided the offices on Tuesday, and found a shotgun and pistol, both of them legally licensed.

Ministry spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said the police had subsequently established through investigation that the consignment of weapons referred to, and of which the ANC said it had the serial numbers, had been ordered by a Mr Andrew Souter, a director of a gunshop which has premises opposite to the KwaZulu Government offices in Witbank.

These weapons, all collectors' items made between 1800 and 1880, had not been delivered to the offices as reported, but to Mr Souter's home, where they were put in a strong-room for safekeeping.

Delivery took place on July 4, after which Mr Souter applied for export permits of the weapons on July 10. He obtained permits on July 13, after which they were exported to a company called Service Arms UK in South Wales, run by a Mr Brian Knapp.

It is believed that the ANC learned of the weapons and serial number details by gaining sight of copies of the documentation given to the Witbank police for the purpose of obtaining the export permits.

"This is confirmation of what we have been saying all along, that unless the ANC brings evidence, their allegations are often simply propaganda," said Capt Kotze.

The facts which had emerged also brought into question the quality of the ANC's intelligence.

The ANC had shown that it was prepared to use untested information in a "shameless fashion" to get at the police and Inkatha.



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## Police warn: Avoid Kagiso

Citizen Reporter

POLICE yesterday warned the public to steer clear of Kagiso following 33 attacks on vehicles in the area over the past three days.

Six delivery trucks have been burnt out in the at-

tacks and police and private vehicles have been stoned.

Yesterday Mr A Gavin, was shot at by youths while driving in Kagiso.

There was no damage to his vehicle and Mr Gavin was not injured.

The youths later fled.

Police spokesman Major Henriette Bester said the surge in violence was related to a number of meetings to discuss the mass action campaign held during the week.

The area had been

quiet before the meetings, he said.

Police are appealing to all people who do not live in Kagiso, as well as companies who make deliveries in the area to avoid driving there at the weekend.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

### Res. 765

IT would be foolish to try and make one side or the other out to be the winner in the Security Council debate on South Africa.

There was some hard talking against the government: on the other hand, the African National Congress got a roasting from some of the speakers.

In the end, the Security Council unanimously decided to send a special envoy to South Africa "to assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations."

The envoy is likely to be Mr Cyrus Vance, American Secretary of State in the days of President Jimmy Carter.

Since Mr Carter was totally against Pretoria, Mr Vance must have shared his prejudices.

In recent years, he has visited South Africa on several occasions and for a variety of reasons.

His meetings with the ANC are recorded, but not with the government (if he did, in fact, meet it).

He is said to be a painstaking negotiator, but he is a liberal Democrat so his good offices may tend to favour the ANC.

But we cannot pre-judge him, whatever our suspicions are, and those who believe in peace and a resumption of negotiations will await his arrival with keen interest.

Looking at the Security Council debate, it is clear the ANC achieved its objective of internationalising the crisis, particularly the violence.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, succeeded in putting the government in the dock, though not to the extent that it was indicted — or punished.

As the drama unfolds, we can expect demands for a peacekeeping force to be sent to South Africa, particularly if the violence continues, which it is bound to do.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha is cockahoop about the Security Council's resolution, which was mild and did not censure the government.

However, whether the Security Council genuinely accepts the complexity of our problems, or whether it decided that conciliation was necessary to get the negotiations going, the effect of its resolution was to give Mr Botha the feeling that everything had gone off well.

However, our problems are far from over.

Will the ANC and its allies abandon mass action and especially the one-week national strike in August?

We don't know.

Will the ANC and its allies return to the negotiating table?

We also don't know.

Will the government offer a new package in terms of Mr Botha's offer at the United Nations, and will the ANC accept the offer as a basis for renewed talks?

We also don't know.

Meanwhile, we fear the violence will continue — and the UN will not be able to stop it whatever moves Mr Vance makes.

One only has to look at Yugoslavia to see how ineffective the UN can be.

Mr Botha welcomed the visit of a UN special representative to South Africa, but said ultimately it was up to South Africans to settle their own problems.

In endorsing a UN political mission, however, Mr Botha was careful to put it in the category of a goodwill mission rather than bind himself to any recommendations it would make.

Whether this stance will be maintained when the Vance mission unfolds is another matter. There is one overriding danger and that is that Resolution 765, as it is called, could be like Resolution 437 on South West Africa.

It may pave the way for an ANC takeover in the same way as there was a Swapo takeover in Windhoek.

Resolution 765 may be the thin end of the wedge, and if it is, we will rue the day the United Nations got its foothold here.

18/7/92



Police say it's a smear — but it could backfire

# Ancient guns on ANC list of 'IFP weapons'

WITBANK — A consignment of handguns and rifles which the ANC said had been delivered to Inkatha's Witbank office this week consisted of antique firearms.

Some dated back to the 1800s and none was less than 50 years old.

Hardly the stuff to fuel a modern civil war, but then stranger weapons have been used in the township conflict.

Still stranger is the fact that, according to the ANC, the weapons were delivered to offices which are next door to the local headquarters of the National Union of Mine-workers and a stone's throw from an office used by the ANC's local leadership.

The ANC furnished a list of the weapons, including serial numbers, which included Martini Henry rifles (first made in 1869), Webley pistols (1883 onwards) and Mausers (1871).

Included in the consignment were four Tower 577 muzzle-loaders.

Yesterday, police said they could prove the ANC's claims were pure fiction.

**CHIEF Reporter JOHN PERLMAN examines a mysterious "weapons delivery", and tells why the claims and counter-claims surrounding it have an Eastern Transvaal town on a hair-trigger.**

Captain Craig Kotze said investigation had revealed that the guns on the list had been put together by Andrew Soutar, the owner of a gunshop in Witbank, and shipped out of the country to a dealer in antique arms in Britain.

The dealer, Service Arms (UK), confirmed that Soutar's gunshop had acted as a local agent for the dealer.

The gunshop is across the street from the KwaZulu government offices.

## "Smear"

"These weapons were exported quite legitimately and were delivered to the shop-owner's home, which is six kilometres away from the KwaZulu offices," Kotze said.

"Yet the ANC has tried to use this to smear the police and Inkatha."

ANC Eastern Transvaal leader Mathew Phosa said the ANC stuck to its story.

"How are the police able to work out that these are the

guns when they do not yet have the serial numbers?" he said.

"I personally handed over a list but they complained that the numbers were not clear, so we agreed to show them the original on Sunday."

Phosa said the police would also have to explain how the list of weapons had ended up in Inkatha hands.

"It was leaked to us from inside Inkatha," he said.

In the KwaZulu government's first-floor offices — which were set up a year ago — Wilfred Majozi and Casper Makhaye laughed roundly at the ANC's claims.

"None of us was here on that day," says Majozi, who runs the United Workers Union of South Africa office in Witbank but does recruiting for the IFP.

"Who would buy those old guns?" says Makhaye, who is a security man for the KwaZulu office.

The police did raid the

KwaZulu government offices, Makhaye says, and found three weapons there, a shotgun and two pistols. All three had licences issued by the KwaZulu government.

The ANC is just trying to detabilise our conference this weekend," says Majozi. "They also want to cover up their own arms caches in Angola."

It might be tempting to dismiss the whole thing as an eccentric propaganda war if it were not so dangerous, and the ANC in Witbank is taking it all in deadly earnest.

In the townships of Lynnville and Ackerville and the settlement of Hlalanikahle, where there have been no clashes with Inkatha to date, the first signs of bad blood are brewing.

Meetings were planned in every area last night to discuss a proposed march on the town today — for which authorities had refused permission — action in support of striking hospital workers, and the

alleged arms deal.

"We have had no qualms about Inkatha organising in the area," says ANC Eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu.

"We have been trying to avoid violence in Witbank. But now our members are feeling threatened and are asking if an Inkatha office should be allowed to exist in the light of these revelations."

"There were also the disclosures that Koevoet was based in this area. The tolerance of one people is being tested to the limit."

Majozi says Inkatha has a very good relationship locally with the ANC. "This thing is just high-ranking ANC officials trying to create problems. This need not create tensions here, but the ANC must substantiate its claims and prove that we have these weapons."

The details on the three-page list of weapons — which itemises calibre, make and in most cases serial numbers — could settle the issue once and for all.

It has been sent to the Goldstone Commission, which is likely to investigate further.

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# Boipatong: 78 in court on Monday

See Story

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JOE LOUW and SAPA

A TOTAL of 78 KwaMadala hostel residents will appear in court on Monday in connection with charges of murder and public violence, after an intensive police investigation into the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The men, being held under unrest regulations, will be released but re-arrested immediately to appear in connection with fresh criminal charges.

In another development, Iscor yesterday indicated that KwaMadala hostel, from where the massacre was allegedly launched, would be cleared and its residents moved to another hostel.

There was confusion last night after two apparently contradictory police statements on the 78 hostel suspects had been issued.

The first indicated that the accused would be charged with public violence and released. Later clarification confirmed that the men would have to appear in connection with murder charges as well.

The first statement announced that the police investigation had reached "an advanced stage" and that the docket had been referred to the Attorney-General for his decision.

It went on to say that the Attorney-General had decided that the suspects would be released and all 78 then charged with public violence.

No mention was made of any charges in connection with the deaths of the people killed at Boipatong.

## Correction issued

The suspects, the statement concluded, were in custody and would appear in court in Vanderbijlpark on Monday.

Several hours later a second statement was issued, apparently correcting the first. It stated: "A case of murder and public violence was investigated in consultation with two advocates attached to the Attorney-General's office."

Police had decided to release the 78 detainees but would bring them before court in Vanderbijlpark on Monday. It went on to say all 78 were still in custody.

This was taken to mean that the men would immediately be re-arrested on criminal charges after being released under the unrest regulations — a point later confirmed by the Attorney-General's office.

Major-General Wouter Grove of the SAP, briefing journalists and editors on July 9, expressed the hope that the investigation would be recorded as "a success story".

He said 81 KwaMadala hostel residents had been arrested and over 1 000 sworn statements collected.

On the closure of KwaMadala, Iscor said in a statement that he target date for the full integration of the KwaMadala residents into its official hostel, Kwa-Masiza, has been set for September 21, 1992.



Sci Star 18/7/92

POLICE foot patrols had proved effective in stabilising the trouble-torn area of "Beirut" in Alexandra, Captain Carel Theron van den Bergh of the SAP Internal Stability Unit said yesterday.

Van den Bergh told the Goldstone Commission committee inquiry into problems of displaced people of Alexandra that the South African Police had recently

## SAP patrols soothe 'Beirut', probe told

deployed policemen successfully to patrol "Beirut" on foot.

"Beirut" was not a well-structured township, and it was difficult for the police to patrol in vehicles.

Policemen on foot could walk easily among the residents, making

policing much more effective

Van den Bergh said he believed that if residents worked hand in hand with the police, they could be easily protected and would not have to flee their homes.

However, he could not say that if people re-

turned to their homes in "Beirut" they would not be shot at.

He believed that the continuous police presence would curb shootings and intimidation in the area.

The chairman of the committee, R Nugent SC, asked Van den Bergh

if it was possible for the police to solve the crisis in "Beirut" without first identifying the problems that had led the residents to leave their homes.

Van den Bergh said a crisis committee of representatives of the police and community

leaders, including African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party officials, had been formed and given the task of identifying the problems.

He said that people were not prepared to make statements to the police.

He said that the township was overpopulated, and that the police were working with others to help clean up the area and repair broken water pipes.

Conflict in the township was partly the result of militant speeches by political leaders at rallies, he added.

The hearing continues on Monday. — Sapa.



## S. Africa: 78 to be charged in massacre

By TINA SUSMAN

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Police said Friday that 78 people will be charged in the township massacre that derailed political talks and led to U.N. involvement this week in trying to end factional violence in South Africa.

The suspects are residents of a worker hostel reputed to be a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said a brief statement from the national police commissioner, Gen. Johan van der Merwe. They face charges of murder or public violence and are to appear in court Monday, the statement said.

Inkatha is a bitter rival of the African National Congress, the leading black opposition group. Authorities have blamed township fighting on supporters of both groups.

At least 39 people were killed in the black township of Boipatong June 17, leading the ANC to break off talks with the government on political reforms. The ANC accused police of aiding the killers.

There was no immediate ANC reaction to Friday's statement. The 78 suspects were rounded up shortly after the killings and will remain in custody, police said.

U.N. officials in New York said Friday that Cyrus Vance had been selected as a special envoy to try to revive ANC-government talks. He is to leave early next week, a U.N. statement said.

Pallo Jordan, an ANC spokesman, said the group welcomed U.N. involvement but did not intend to resume negotiations until the government addresses ANC demands to end political violence.



## WORLD BRIEFS

### **U.N. representative to go to S. Africa, fight violence**

NEW YORK — The U.N. Security Council on Thursday decided to dispatch a representative to South Africa to develop recommendations for halting black factional violence and resuming talks on multiracial democracy.

But Pretoria's foreign minister on Thursday made clear the South African government would not accept one possible recommendation — U.N. peacekeeping troops. R.F. "Pik" Botha called for renewed talks with Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, but dismissed charges that his government foments racial violence.