



S.A. UPDATE

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NEWSLINE

The Gluckman Files: More Deaths and Denials

* A delegation of the ANC, led by Deputy Secretary General, Jacob Zuma, met with Zulu King Goodwill Swelithini, on Tuesday, 21st July. Discussions centred around a proposed meeting between King Goodwill and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

* Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob is reported by a senior Namibian diplomat in the US to have requested US Secretary of State, James Baker, to use his influence with Pretoria to resolve the issue of South Africa's continued occupation of the Namibian port of Walvis Bay

* A two-month old trike against SABC by Media Workers of South Africa members is suspended pending SABC Board ratification of agreements reached between MWSA and the SABC. The suspension removed the threat of an Olympic blackout for SABC viewers.

* ANC President Nelson Mandela joined dozens of international dignitaries at the opening ceremonies of the 25th Olympiad, following a brief tour of the Middle East.

The South African olympic squad was participating, without the tri-colour flag and Springbok emblem, for the first time after decades of suspension.

* The ANC-led democratic alliance, currently conducting mass action in South Africa to pressure the government to stop violence has called on the international community to support the action in various ways (See page 2).

* Scott MacLeod, Johannesburg correspondent for TIME magazine suggests, in the July, 1992 issue, that F.W. De Klerk is now perceived as part of the problem, rather than part of the solution to the crisis in South Africa.

State pathologist, Jonathan Gluckman, presented the public with a dossier of some 200 files from which he concludes that over 90% of the cases were killed by the police in detention.

Prompted by the latest killing of Simon Mthimkhulu, Gluckman revealed that he had written twice to F.W. De Klerk, "but nothing came of it," some eight months later. Gluckman had also discussed the deaths with the Minister of Law and Order, Heunis Kriel, and Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok.

The new revelations come on top of damning reports by Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and harsh criticism of the police by independent expert, Peter Waddington, who was invited by the Goldstone Commission to observe the work of the South African Police (SAP). While these new revelations have been common knowledge for many years in the oppressed community the reaction of the State President and the ministers responsible was disheartening to those in the international community who assumed that at a time like this, authorities would respond with appropriate vigour and firmness to put a stop to the ongoing carnage in South African prisons.

Most revealing, in this latest incident, is the fact that the murdered youth was dumped outside the Kwa-Masiza hostel, thereby seeking to create the impression that Mthimkhulu was killed by "hostel dwellers". This, it was possibly hoped, would incite nearby township residents to undertake revenge attacks against the

apparatus would be exonerated and we would continue to be told of "black on black" violence.

In reacting to this incident it is indicative that all Minister Kriel could offer was "to investigate this situation further". However, as the Minister has already concluded and stated publicly that Dr Gluckman's findings were not true, clearly any "further investigation" will be strictly confined to clearing the name of the police.

Observers of the South African scene are convinced that another massive cover-up operation along the lines of the Trust Fee massacre will get underway. Dr Gluckman has "soiled the wells," so to speak, with the police and will, in all likelihood, find himself under investigation and pressure, if not in danger for his life, if past incidents are anything to go by. A telling truth in Minister Kriel's response to the press is that "the police are out of control". Indeed, how could they be, when their President and Minister were informed more than eight months ago of the killings and yet, to this day, not only make new promises of "investigation" but actually pronounce protection of and confidence in the police. Clearly the message to the police from the highest level is that they remain free to continue with their activities and murder.

The (white, liberal) Democratic Party, the ANC, the Church and human rights bodies are demanding an independent investigation, preferably with international participation, and all-party supervision of the security forces.

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NEWSLINE

Those Who Dare May Die

Statement Before the Goldstone Commission

* The numbers of detainees arrested in peaceful demonstrations and sit-ins throughout South Africa is now estimated in the thousands. Human rights agencies are expressing concern at the fate of these detainees in light of new revelations of police brutality towards detainees.

* The SA government's attitude of responding with an iron fist to peaceful mass action showed the government was prepared to let South Africa slide into civil war, rather than let people participate fully in their country's government, according to Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, Rev. Frank Chikane.

* The ANC has condemned the latest all-white military call-up. In a statement on 8th July, the ANC said that all military forces need to be brought under a single command structure, to create a professional, democratic army that serves, and has the confidence of all South Africans. The statement was prompted by threats by the Minister of Defence, Mr Gene Louw, to use the SADF, if the negotiations do not go the way of the ruling National Party.

* Norway announced on Tuesday, 21st July, that it would not lift remaining sanctions against South Africa, following the breakdown of multi-party negotiations to end apartheid.

* Former ANC President and current Chairperson Oliver Tambo, handed to Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of Tanzania, the ANC development settlements of Mazimbu and Dakawa, in a ceremony attended by some 300 guests, on the 9th July. The ceremony took place in Mazimbu, some 300km south-west of the port city of Dar-es-Salaam.

* In a statement on the 10th July, 1992, the ANC appealed to European bankers not to become involved in bond issues for South Africa until an Interim Government was in place. The statement was prompted by new attempts by South African state corporations to raise bond issues on European money markets.

The ANC Regional Chairman for the PWV region, Tokyo Sexwale, told the Goldstone Commission, in a recent hearing following the Boipatong massacre, that residents had refused to give evidence to the police because of "profound mistrust of the police and security forces".

The issue of evidence before the Commission had become contentious following Judge Goldstone's consistent refrain in all his reports that "the Commission was not presented with any evidence" that the police were involved, and had participated, in so-called "black on black violence". The judge's careful formulation has been propagandistically interpreted by the regime to mean exoneration of the police.

Commenting on this, ANC President Nelson Mandela, pointed out that it took almost eight years for information on the killing of Cape UDF activist Goniwe and others, to surface. More recently still, the Trust Feed massacre and subsequent trial demonstrated beyond doubt the lengths to which state organs will go to cover their covert involvement in the violence wrecking black communities.

Judge Goldstone has meanwhile offered to establish a protection system for potential witnesses, which however, has been met with some scepticism, as it would, again, rely on the very state organs against whom accusations are being levelled.

Making Sounds Without Moving

De Klerk's response to ANC demands re-visited

Statement from the ANC

President De Klerk's statement of 14th July is yet one more example of the South African government's trivialisation of the serious crisis that faces our country.

The statement was clearly crafted to provide Pretoria's Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, with the "ammunition" he requested to counter the ANC's charges before the UN Security Council meeting in New York.

De Klerk unashamedly distorts and deliberately misrepresents what the Goldstone Commission said with regard to the causes of the violence. In his zeal to make cheap party political propaganda, De Klerk pretends that the Goldstone Commission concurs with the NP's view that it is rivalry between the ANC and the IFP that lies at the root of the violence. Quite the contrary is in fact the case. In a passage that deserves to be quoted in full, the Goldstone Commission said:

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Statement from COSATU

1. Negotiations

Mr De Klerk has totally failed to address the critical areas of government intransigence which led to the current deadlock. In particular there is no indication that the government is reconsidering its refusal to move rapidly towards democratic elections for a sovereign constituent assembly, or to abandon its proposals for a minority veto.

2. Covert Units

The half-measure which De Klerk is proposing in this regard falls far short of what the majority of South Africans are demanding. In fact, if anything, these measures may worsen the situation. The decision to integrate the mercenary units - 31 and 32 Battalions and Koevoet - into the security forces is fatally defective in two fundamental respects:

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(Statement from the ANC from page 2)

"...the causes of the violence are many and complicated. In historical sequence they include:

"2:3.1. The economic, social and political imbalances amongst the people of South Africa. These are the consequences of three centuries of racial discrimination and over 40 years of an extreme form of racial and economic dislocation in consequence of the policy of apartheid." De Klerk takes further liberties with the truth with the scurrilous allegation that the ANC has given instructions to functionaries to kill members of the Police force.

To this end it is necessary that the De Klerk regime agrees to:

- * The creation of a democratically elected and sovereign Constituent Assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution;
- * The establishment of an interim Government of National Unity which is the only way all South Africans will recognise that the country shall have moved decisively to end white minority rule;
- * Terminate all covert operations including hit squad activity;
- * Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made up of foreign nationals;
- * Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence;
- * Ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing states, and in the so-called independent states, is ended forthwith
- * the immediate implementation of the programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family unit accommodation;
- * the installation of fences around these establishments;
- * guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multi-lateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy hostels illegally;
- * regular searches of hostels with the participation of multi-lateral peace

structures;

- * banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public on all occasions including so-called cultural weapons;
- * the implementation of the universal demand requiring at least the establishment of an international Commission of inquiry into the Boipatong Massacre and all acts of violence as well as international monitoring of the violence;
- * release all political prisoners forthwith;
- * repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws which we so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of parliament.

(Statement from COSATU from page 2)

- It disperses trained killers in De Klerk's words "throughout the rest of South Africa", making it impossible to control and monitor their activities. Experience has already demonstrated that the CCB, JMC, and Security Police operations continue in other guises. We have no reason to believe that members of these units won't continue to perpetrate their nefarious activities.

- It ignores key covert units and state structures which have recently been implicated in death squad activities, including SADF Special Forces such as 5 Recca, Police hit squads (such as those recently exposed in the Vaal), KwaZulu Police, Military Intelligence and the State Security Council.

COSATU fully supports the demand on covert units made by the recently formed Coalition against State Murder and Corruption (CASMAG), a coalition of about 50 organisations. CASMAC demands "a full audit, revelations of personnel and units involved in covert operations. These units should be identified, disarmed and confined to barracks under international supervision."

3. Dangerous weapons

De Klerk's 'decision' to ban dangerous weapons in unrest areas is nothing new. This announcement was already made last

year and has been ignored by De Klerk's own security forces, when it suits them. Further we don't understand why the carrying of dangerous weapons in public should be limited to so-called "unrest areas". Thousands have been killed and maimed by dangerous weapons outside these areas. Is Mr De Klerk saying that is acceptable for people to continue to be killed by dangerous weapons as long as this is done outside unrest areas?

4. Hostels

The lack of urgency which De Klerk is handling the question of hostels place a serious question mark over the sincerity of the communities made by the Government last year to phase out single-sex hostels, and provide alternative accommodation for hostel dwellers. It is an insult to the thousands of bona fide hostel dwellers who have been chased out of the hostels who continue to be terrorised in the hostels by vigilantes, for De Klerk to claim that the government doesn't want to upgrade the hostels without "consulting" hostel dwellers; while on the other hand they allow vigilantes to use these hostels as armed barracks to terrorise both hostel dwellers and township residents. By refusing to take decisive action on the hostels. De Klerk is not planned and executed from them, but is denying bona fide hostel dwellers access to safe and decent accommodation.

5. Conclusion

The timing and content of De Klerk's statement clearly suggests that he is not serious about addressing the crisis we are facing at home, but is rather attempting to play to the gallery at the UN. De Klerk's failure to address our demands on the eve of the general strike is effectively telling the majority "do your damndest". It is of utmost concern to COSATU that this government is content to play political games while our country is burning. We call on all South Africans, regardless of political affiliation, to stand up and oppose this corrupt government, drunk on 44 years of untrammelled power.

Mass Action and Solidarity

The following are messages from COSATU

SACCOLA's failure to obtain a mandate from employers for the joint action contained in the Charter on Peace Democracy and Economic Reconstruction comes as a major shock and disappointment to all South Africans determined to resolve the current crisis facing our country. A historic opportunity has been thrown away by employers.

The proposed Charter had to components:

1. The acceptance of broad principles and processes around democratic transition, violence, and socio-economic transformation. The pre-requisites set out in the Charter for the political transition involved:

- 1.1. one person one vote of equal value
- 1.2. principles of democracy as the basis for the work of the constitution making body
- 1.3. an elected constitution making body, unfettered in its capacity to agree and adopt for SA a new constitution, and would make decisions based on universal norms of democracy
- 1.4. effective transitional arrangements
- 1.5. a time frame for the accomplishment of these goals within 6-9 months

2. A Day of Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction which involved a 24-hour shutdown of all economic activity to focus the nation's attention on demands being made in the Charter, around the political transition, end to violence and curbing poverty, as well as jointly convened public assemblies throughout the country.

In the interests of all peace-loving people, COSATU had sought to act jointly with business to ensure a speedy and effective political transition. We have had extensive consultations with our affiliates and regions. Three Special Central Executive Committees have been called within two weeks and regional congresses and meetings have been held in

all our regions. We have also met several times with our political allies to discuss whether they were prepared to suspend the planned general strike in return for the more limited form of action - the one day shutdown.

COSATU and our allies had agreed to this proposal, despite the considerable compromise it entailed on our side.

The employers' failure to commit themselves to act on the goals contained in the draft Charter can only confirm the feeling amongst the majority that many employers, while declaring themselves, as in the Referendum, to be in support of Democracy, are in fact supporting the government's attempts to cling onto power through various mechanisms.

The failure of SACCOLA to get a mandate leaves us no option but to revert to our original programme of action for the weeks of 3 August.

While having failed to reach agreement on joint action with SACCOLA, we remain committed to the draft Charter for Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction and call on employers to publicly commit themselves to the Charter and the actively demonstrate their support for the Charter during this week of action.

Warm greetings from COSATU at this crucial time of South Africa's pro-democracy mass upsurge.

The COSATU Central Executive Committee, ANC, SACP in league with other democratic formations have taken a decision to embark on rolling mass action "for Peace Democracy and Economic Reconstruction".

The programme of this mass action is based on four sets of interrelated demands:

1. The establishment of Interim Government and democratic elections for the Constituent Assembly
2. The levelling of the political playing field including most importantly decisive steps by the regime to end the violence
3. An end to unilateral economic restructuring and the release of resources to address people's needs
4. An end to government corruption and state sponsored death squads.

An integral component of mass action will be a week of unprecedented action including a two-day general strike. The programme will be as follows:

Monday, August 3: A complete withdrawal of labour with local rallies, marches, pickets and other actions.

Tuesday, August 4: Same as above

Wednesday, August 5: City and town demonstration, occupations and marches

Thursday, August 6: Sectoral actions by workers and others, determined at a local level including occupation of government buildings

Friday, August 7: Same as above

Saturday, August 8: Local, regional and national assessment meetings

Sunday, August 9: Celebration of National Women's day and religious activities for Peace and Democracy.

At this decisive moment in our struggle for a South Africa free of all forms of oppression, we call on all progressive-minded people to support our action in whatever way possible.

At our Central Executive Committee a number of suggestions were made which we request you to consider e.g.

1. Marching on South African embassies, consulates and trade missions
2. Occupying these institutions
3. Blacking of South African goods
4. Shutting-down of communication with South Africa
5. Sending letters to De Klerk calling on him to resign in favour of an interim government of national unity and agreeing to a democratically elected sovereign Constituent Assembly
6. Pressuring your government to do the same
7. Acting against transnationals who will victimise workers for their action
8. Placing adverts in major local and South African newspapers in support of our call
9. Sending of delegations to South Africa to monitor the government, police, army & Inkatha behaviour during the week of unprecedented action.

We are making this appeal in the profound conviction that you will help us rid the world and our country of the crime against humanity - the scourge of apartheid.

Join us in saying that "ONE MORE DAY OF APARTHEID IS ONE MORE DAY TOO LONG."

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!