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BUSINESS DAY 23-06-92

Into the future

SOUTH Africa faces a difficult few months. It seems inevitable that the ANC will suspend many, if not all, facets of negotiations with government; the campaign of mass mobilisation will go ahead with a vengeance; and the trade unions are likely to exacerbate the pressures by co-ordinating industrial action in a number of sectors facing wage disputes. Any hopes that the ANC would feel free to take a conciliatory approach were surely scuttled by the angry taunts Nelson Mandela faced from the crowd in Evaton on Sunday — comparing the organisation's leadership to lambs while its supporters were slaughtered.

Nevertheless, while the ANC may find it necessary to take a decision on suspension which, as information chief Pallo Jordan puts it, sends a strong signal to government and the international community, it would be apt for the organisation's NEC to look beyond that at today's meeting.

The ANC will surely not take the view that insurrection is the route to a new South Africa. Even in the unlikely event that it achieves its primary goal of unseating the National Party, the further consequences would be horrific. As alluring as the examples of Iran in 1979 and the eastern bloc nations in 1989 may appear as demonstrations of benevolent "people's power", the outcomes are not encouraging. The Iranian example is complicated by the factor of Islamic fundamentalism. And, in eastern Europe, only the former East Germany, support-

ed by its Western counterpart, has attained real democracy. Of the rest some — like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia — have been riven by ethnic division — while Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria are not certain to escape a new form of fascism.

If it is accepted that negotiation is the only route to peace and democracy, the NEC will have to begin thinking of what must follow the sharp "signal" it is intent on sending. The need to resolve the constitutional deadlocks is apparent, but more urgent are measures to stem the violence. This will involve dealing with the hostel system which is at the centre of so much of the violence. At the very least, every one of the 15 or so hostels associated with violence must be permanently policed to ensure that armed residents cannot spread terror on the streets.

New forms of security force management — as envisaged in the peace accord and in Codesa agreements — must be introduced as soon as possible to give those forces the community credibility they require but have lost. And this will have to include the abolition of private armies, including the ANC's, and strenuous efforts by the ANC to bring to heel its renegade supporters in Phola Park and elsewhere who are fuelling the violence.

The common feature of all this is that it requires talking and negotiation. Soon after the gesture of withdrawal has been made, it will be time to return to the table.

SA

Buthekezi,

Peace talks 'in tatters'

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela's rage at the massacre of blacks in a shanty settlement has pushed South Africa's faltering democracy talks to the brink of collapse for the second time in 15 months.

Mr Mandela has cancelled talks with the Government planned for today and called an emergency meeting of African National Congress leaders to review the future of bilateral and multi-party talks about ending white rule.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he said.

Following Mr Mandela's announcement, President de Klerk was expected to cut short a visit to Spain, to be back in time for a crucial cabinet meeting tomorrow.

SABC radio said Mr de Klerk left for Spain yesterday.



● Nelson Mandela
... cancelled talks.

day and was due to return on Thursday after meeting King Juan Carlos and visiting South Africa's pavilion at a trade fair.

Mr Mandela told angry followers at a rally that Wednesday's massacre of at least 39 people including a baby at Boipatong, a shanty town south of Johannesburg, was the worst since the 1960 police shooting of 69 people at Sharpeville.

"Sharpeville has been repeated with a ferocity that may completely put an

end to negotiations with the regime," he said.

The ANC suspended talks with the Government in April last year when police acknowledged they had funded its main rival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Then, as now, Mr Mandela cited the Government's alleged role in township violence that has killed 12,000 people in eight years as the main reason for suspending talks.

Mr Mandela did not formally reopen the talks, but they got under way slowly after Mr de Klerk shifted two Cabinet ministers named by the ANC as factors in the violence.

Political analysts said the two sides would eventually return to negotiations because there was no way to escape them.

— REUTER

STAR NEWS 23 JULY 1992

Alleged E Tvl assassin isn't our man - ANC

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

The ANC yesterday vehemently denied that a man arrested in the eastern Transvaal in connection with the murder of an 18-year-old schoolboy, a Secunda cafe owner and four Inkatha Freedom Party members was an ANC-trained assassin.

ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu was reacting to a report in an Afrikaans newspaper yesterday that Mzwandile Gushu (29) had been a trained

assassin working within the ANC Youth League in Secunda.

Mr Mthembu confirmed that Mr Gushu had been arrested at a hospital in Secunda shortly after 18-year-old Morgenzon schoolboy Dawid du Bruin was shot dead with an AK-47 rifle in Evander on July 1.

But, he added, the ANC "never hired Mr Gushu or any other person to engage in the alleged activities, it has no assassins within its ranks and it has no policy of engaging its members in assassinations".

He charged that the report

was "dangerously misleading, sensational and downright malicious".

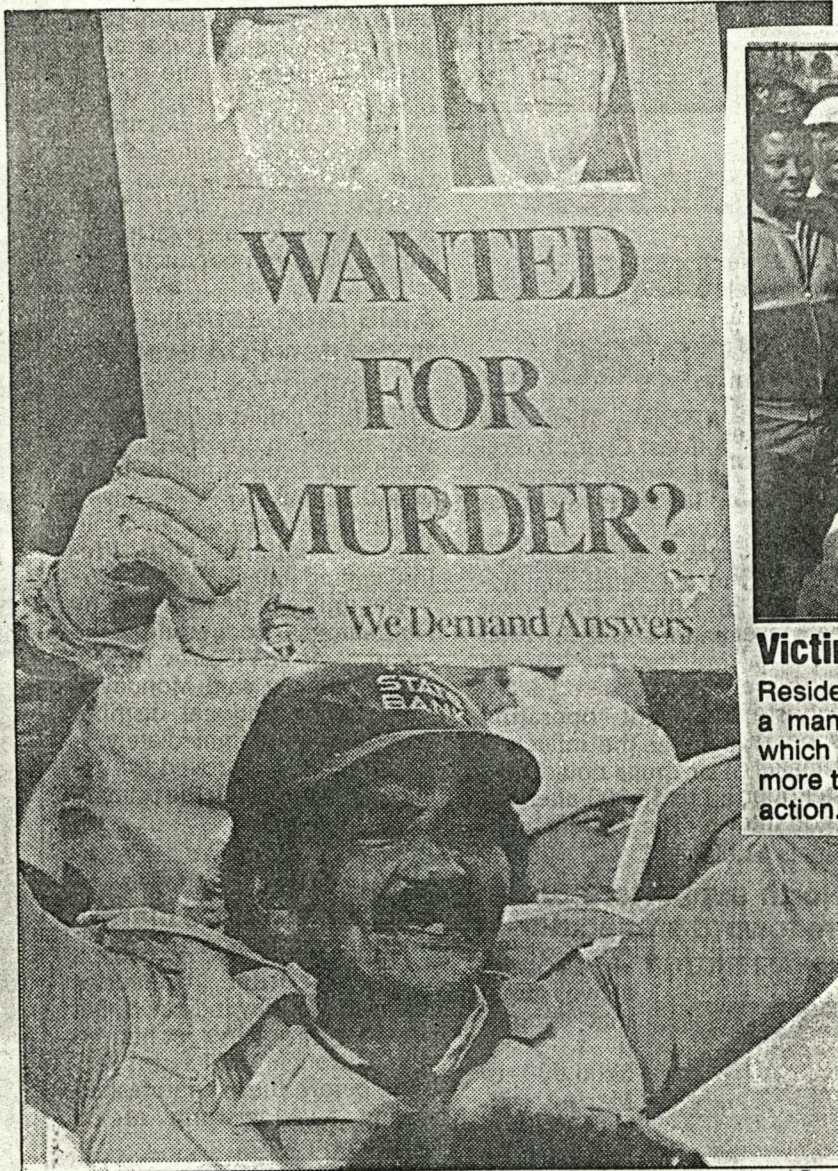
According to police, Mr Gushu allegedly admitted in a statement made to a magistrate that he had attempted to murder Ali Ntsibi, the mayor of a township near Piet Retief, who was shot last year. Mr Ntsibi's brother-in-law was killed in the attack.

He also allegedly admitted that he killed Sabata Zwane of Wesselton last year, Chris Mgwanya and his wife in April

this year and Advice Kwala of Langverwacht in November last year.

Mr Gushu is also accused of taking part in the killing of a cafe owner in Bekker, near Secunda, last year in an attempted robbery by a group of men. It is alleged that Mr Gushu identified his five accomplices as Lucky Mbuqe (24), Lucky Mbokane (23), Brian Ngwampela (23), Willie Nkosi (28) and a 16-year-old youth.

The six appeared in court in Evander on Monday and the case was postponed to August 3.



Associated Press

Protest: During a protest Monday in the Elsies River township near Cape Town, an African National Congress backer holds South African Foreign Minister R.F. "Pik" Botha (left) and President F.W. de Klerk (right) responsible for last week's massacre.



Associated Press

Victim of anger

Residents in the Boipatong township in South Africa accuse a man of being a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party, which has been blamed for last week's massacre that left more than 40 dead. The crowd let him go with threats of later action. Monday's developments/page 4A



Associated Press

Grief: Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu cries at a Cape Town prayer service Monday.

The Citizen 23/6/92

Roelf urges ANC to resume talks

Citizen Reporter

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, last night called on ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, to resume negotiations and not to allow "this opportunity for a peaceful settlement to slip away from us at this crucial stage."

Mr Meyer said that Mr

Mandela in announcing that he was suspending negotiations with the government until the ANC's National Executive Committee had had the opportunity to "examine its options" at an emergency meeting today, had said he could no longer explain to his followers why he continued to talk to a government, "which is murdering his people".

There are only two conclusions which we can

draw from this statement: Either he genuinely believes his accusation to be true or he is strategically using the Boipatong tragedy as an excuse to break off negotiations and to sweep up support for the ANC's campaign of mass action, with the intention of making the country ungovernable and of pursuing the unconstitutional seizure of

power. If he genuinely be-

lieves the accusations, it is essential that the ANC and the government should meet as soon as possible to discuss and investigate the facts in a responsible way.

"Through such discussions we might remove the obstacles which currently stand in the way of the resumption of constitutional negotiations."

TO PAGE 2

Roelf's call

FROM PAGE 1

These obstacles include:

- "The escalating violence;
- "Inflammatory statements and unsubstantiated accusations; and
- "The consequences of the ANC's proposed mass action campaign.

"If, on the other hand, Mr Mandela is exploiting the Boipatong tragedy to promote mass action with the purpose of forcing the government and other parties into submission, a meeting is even more urgent and essential.

"The government believes that there is only one course that will secure peace and progress for South Africa. That is the course of negotiations.

"At Codesa II and agreement on transitional government was within our reach. History would not forgive us if we were to allow this opportunity for a peaceful settlement to slip away at this crucial stage."

The Citizen 23/6/92

Massacre probe: 5 held

By Tony Stirling
and Sapa-Reuter

FIVE residents of the KwaMadala Hostel near Boipatong are being held in terms of the unrest regulations and questioned in connection with last week's massacre in which 39 people were killed.

Major Ray Harrold, spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria, said: "They have not been formally charged. They are being questioned in connection

with the matter."

Foreign diplomats attending a briefing at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, yesterday afternoon were told of the detentions by General Johan Swart, head of the SAP Internal Stability Division.

An intensive police investigation, which included the deployment of 200 detectives, followed last Wednesday night's massacre.

A number of weapons were seized at the hostel last Thursday and sent for forensic testing.

Residents of the KwaMadala Hostel are still being confined to the hostel.

Iscor — for whom the KwaMadala residents work — has pledged its full co-operation with the police investigation.

Iscor said in a statement no evidence had been found to support allegations that the attackers were residents of the hostel.

It would not comment on the matter until the police had completed their investigation.

However, Iscor has decided to close KwaMadala, move the employees to other accommodation.

5 hostel men held

FROM PAGE 1

Mr Neels Howatt, Manager, Public Relations, said the company had taken the decision following talks yesterday with the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), which says the hostel has been a base for violence against residents of Vaal townships for the past two

years.

"It is our intention to close KwaMadala," Mr Howatt said.

"We are investigating alternative accommodation. The solution will obviously have to be acceptable to the employees."

He gave no indication of when the closure would take place.

Numsa organiser, Bernie Fanaroff, told Reuters there were about 300 employees living in the hostel and 200 other people of unknown status.

The union had been campaigning for two years to have KwaMadala closed because of alleged acts of violence by inmates, many of whom are supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

TO PAGE 2

OAU to consider forming own peace-keeping force

BUSINESS DAY 23-06-92

DAKAR — African leaders gathering in Dakar would consider forming a continental peace-keeping force as conflict hampered the transition to multi-party democracy in many countries, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said ahead of next week's OAU summit.

OAU foreign ministers were beginning preparations yesterday for the summit, where heads of state will discuss also the process of ending single-party — and often military — rule.

Ridiculous

"If we are now a global village, and if the whole world can interfere in African affairs, why should Africa not concern itself with itself?" Salim asked at a weekend news conference.

The secretary-general added that such countries as Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Senegal had shown they could muster troops for UN peace-keeping operations.

"In the longer term, there need to be units in every country capable of intervening in the event of conflict," Salim said.

African intervention would avoid external intervention, and that would "stop us looking ridiculous".

The OAU, in a switch from a long-standing policy of non-interference in the affairs of its member states, has backed Nigerian-led military intervention in Liberia, where the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) sent a peace-keeping force in August 1990.

"I am going to propose to the heads of state a sort of institutional mechanism to enable the organisation to endow itself with the capability to tackle the internal conflicts faced by numerous countries," Salim explained.

"The exciting period of democratic transition we are living through in several countries demands this of us," he said.

"Regularly, we are called upon as a pan-African organisation to supervise and monitor the successful conduct of elections, and we should have the means to do so."

Salim said there could be no real economic integration in Africa as long as there was no stability and security, with the free circulation of goods and people.

The OAU's military force could comprise special units from different African armies with training in peacekeeping tasks.

He suggested also that a fund be set up to provide finance for conflict

resolution programmes.

Asked on Sunday about developments in SA, Salim expressed his grave concern.

Apartheid was far from dead, he said, and the Pretoria government should be pressed better to control its security forces.

Codesa remained the "most appropriate framework" for ushering in non-racial democracy, Salim said.

He added that he had not invited SA's Nationalist Party government to Dakar even as observers to the OAU summit.

Arrears

Other issues on the agenda included the highest-level discussion yet of the threat posed to millions of young African lives by AIDS.

The growing problem of refugees and displaced people, on which the OAU was drafting a protocol, and the following up of the Earth Summit in Rio earlier this month would also be discussed, Salim said.

He added that African leaders would also have to consider the OAU's own financial problems caused by arrears in contributions.

On June 1, the amount owed to the OAU totalled about US\$30m. This was the equivalent of its annual budget, he said. — Sapa-AFP.

Churchmen call for action

Star 22-06-92

CAPE TOWN — Boipatong residents who alleged that police had collaborated in Wednesday's massacre at the township were unlikely to have concocted the story, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

Addressing the congregation of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town, Archbishop Tutu, who visited Boipatong on Friday, said he had not recovered from what he heard there.

"They refer to the fact that a Casspir broke down a wall in one house so that the marauding impis would gain access to the house. And the press who were there early say they saw the prints of a vehicle where the break had been made in that wall," he said.

"In Boipatong the people are not sophisticated people, and it is unlikely they would have sat down and concocted the story.

"You remember how brutally efficient the police were during the states of emergency. Now they have suddenly become so utterly inept. Almost everywhere you go — Natal, Phola Park — the people will say the police have helped those who attacked.

"I pray that the State President will take seriously the responsibility of a government to maintain law and order; for whoever may be causing the violence, they are committing a crime and it is the business of the police to apprehend criminals," the archbishop said.

In Johannesburg, the Rhema Church's Pastor Ray McCauley yesterday said he had sent a message to President de Klerk noting a growing perception among moderates that allegations of police-Inkatha collusion in violence "are not wild politi-

cal propaganda".

Mr McCauley, who visited Boipatong on Friday, said in his message to Mr de Klerk: "Having heard their first-hand accounts of what happened, I am deeply disturbed because it appears the police failed in their primary duty of protecting innocent citizens."

He said there was a growing perception that the Government was party to promoting violence.

Although he was not in the position to make a judgment on such allegations, "I implore you to urge the police to do their job properly."

● Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais yesterday asked that a state of emergency be declared as normal laws were not sufficient to ensure order and public safety. — Sapa-AFP.

Mandela asks UN to intervene

ANC decides today on its 'signal to SA'

BUSINESS DAY 23-06-92

THE ANC national executive committee (NEC) today has to choose between continued attempts to end NP rule through "gentle persuasion" or bringing about its collapse through the force of public pressure, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

The emergency NEC meeting has been called to enable the ANC to consider its response to last week's Boipatong massacre.

Jordan said that regardless of the decision a signal had to be sent to the people of SA, government and the world that it could not be "business as usual".

The massacre and the shootings after President F W de Klerk's visit to Boipatong on Saturday were "a watershed event".

It was also announced yesterday that De Klerk was cutting short his visit to Spain because of the crisis triggered by ANC president Nelson Mandela's threat to cancel negotiations.

Mandela asked the UN yesterday to help solve the crisis, a UN official said.

Mandela telephoned secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali to ask the security council to find "ways and means to normalise the deteriorating situation in SA" and try to save negotiations, said security council president Pail Noterdaeme.

A senior member of the ANC's PWV regional office said a suspension of Codesa was likely, and a complete break-off was possible. If Codesa was suspended, the resumption of negotiations would depend on the success of mass action in winning concessions from government.

ALAN FINE
and ADRIAN HADLAND

These would possibly include the launch of an independent investigation into Boipatong, the suspension of police officers involved, the invitation to SA of an international peace-keeping force, the closure of hostels and some demands linked to a timetable for interim government.

All Codesa discussions and meetings scheduled for this week were postponed by the ANC yesterday pending the outcome of the NEC debate.

Drawing on events in Iran in 1979 as an example, Jordan said it was possible, although not probable — a "long shot" — that the government could be forced to resign through the force of public pressure.

He recognised the possible negative consequences of this course. But it was also arguable that a long period of "attrition" in which government had a free hand to continue as now could also have horrendous consequences, particularly in terms of exacerbating black/white polarisation.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the organisation's membership was becoming increasingly frustrated with government's stalling in negotiations, as well as the spiralling township violence. "The mood of the people is becoming 'otherwise' and as we are a mass organisation it is our duty to respond."

Sexwale said the ANC leadership had been criticised at several rallies over the weekend for behaving "like lambs when people are dying".

ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj said yesterday it had become increasingly "dif-

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Police detain 5 KwaMadala hostel dwellers

BUSINESS DAY 23-06-92

DIRK HARTFORD
and PATRICK BULGER

POLICE yesterday detained five people at Vanderbijlpark's KwaMadala Hostel, from which the killers of 39 Boipatong residents allegedly launched their attack last week.

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrauld said last night the men were being held in terms of security regulations and had not yet been charged.

A force of about 200 detectives yesterday questioned hostel residents in connection with the massacre.

Meanwhile, Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt said the company would consider closing the hostel only if it was found that residents were guilty of the killings, and if alternative accommodation was found for those not implicated.

The company would not accept responsibility for damage to Boipatong homes or for funerals of those killed.

Howatt was responding to demands by more than striking 4 000 Vanderbijlpark workers and Boipatong residents, who have vowed to stay on strike until the hostel is closed. They are canvassing wider support in the Vaal area.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), which represents many workers in the area, says it has been asking Iscor for more than a year to close the hostel.

Numsa says it has presented Iscor with information to show that KwaMadala is the epicentre of violent attacks in the area.

But Iscor told the union only 300-400 of its employees were housed there, and access was well controlled.

But when Iscor was given information of various non-Iscor employees charged with murder having given their address as KwaMadala, Iscor said its "hostel policy" made provision for wives and children and friends to stay there provided they were properly signed in.

Iscor closed the KwaMadala hostel in 1977, said Howatt. In 1990, after "ethnic conflict" at Iscor's KwaMasiza hostel, about 400 Zulu-speaking migrant Iscor workers illegally occupied KwaMadala.

The company then laid on electricity, lights and water at KwaMadala.

Numsa demo causes concern at IFP office

Workings of Codesa on hold

PROCEEDINGS at Codesa were postponed yesterday at the request of the African National Congress.

This comes in the wake of the ANC's suspension of bilateral talks with the government after the Boipatong massacre.

ANC president Nelson Mandela announced at the weekend the organisation's National Executive Committee would meet today to review its participation in the negotiation process.

Delegates and administration staff at Codesa

yesterday confirmed the ANC had requested a postponement of proceedings until after the ANC's meeting.

Four task groups dealing with creating a climate for free political participation and a Gender Advisory Committee had been scheduled to sit for most of yesterday.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," Mr Mandela told a rally in the Vaal Triangle on Sunday after paying a visit to Boipatong. — Sapa.

A METALWORKERS' protest march in downtown Johannesburg yesterday caused unease among regional Inkatha Freedom Party workers.

As thousands of chanting demonstrators gathered outside the Kerk Street offices of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), IFP executive Themba Khoza called Sapa, claiming his nearby offices had been occupied by "more than a thousand" African National Congress supporters.

He complained that police were not taking action against the "clearly provocative action of the ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance".

The IFP offices neighbour the Numsa offices in York House.

About 50 Inkatha members hovered nervously and grim-faced on the 6th floor Budget House IFP premises.

IFP regional leader, Mr

Humphrey Ndlovu, said the demonstration downstairs was a provocation to the IFP.

"Let one of them come in here . . . he will not leave alive. Only corpses will leave this office. — Sapa.

Sebokeng: Seven found not guilty

Citizen Reporter

SEVEN alleged Inkatha Freedom Party members were found not guilty on 38 charges of murder and eight charges of attempted murder in the Circuit Court in Vereeniging.

The seven men, Mr A Myeni (22), Mr Z Khuzwayoz (32), Mr A Mtshali (20), Mr S Kubheka (37), Mr D Mabote (21), Mr T Lokhozi (28), and Mr H Ndlovu (18), were also found not guilty on several charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives.

Eight men initially appeared following the massacre of 28 people in Sebokeng in January last year during a funeral vigil. More than 50 people were injured during the massacre. One of the accused was however killed during a robbery shortly before the case came to trial.

Mr Justice Schutz said that the State could not prove beyond reasonable doubt that any of the seven accused had participated in the massacre.

Pensioners feast at Codesa

THE only life that remained at the Codesa offices yesterday was a party of pensioners who had come to see the workings of the negotiation process.

They were treated to a free slap-up lunch after proceedings came to an unexpected halt yesterday morning when the African National Congress requested a two-day postponement.

With Codesa delegates gone, the pensioners were served the normally lavish lunch reserved for the country's negotiators.

Yesterday's menu included a carvery, grilled fish, beef curry, a chicken dish, at least six different salads and an array of the desserts.

Fears that Codesa may be suspended for a long time were definitely not shared by the caterers at the World Trade Centre

at Kempton Park.

"Ag, we'll just freeze it for you guys for next week," a caterer told Sapa when asked what she was going to do with all the untouched food.

Codesa's security guards wandered aimlessly around the cavernous building. "We are so bored, we want you people to come back," a security guard said.

The lack of activity was

also reflected in the administration offices, where staff played games on their computers.

"We'll know what's going on as soon as these guys have made their minds up," a staff member said.

The pensioners were given a guided tour of the Codesa meeting rooms, and a talk on how the negotiations process worked. — Sapa.

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Was massacre stage-managed?

I DON'T wish to be over-cynical but it almost looks as if the massacre at Boipatong was somehow stage-managed.

Apparently the police were placed on the wrong track by a false telephone call which ensured that they arrived late on the scene, while the attackers conveniently spoke Zulu.

Surely the attackers must have known that cutting down innocent squatters ranked as a capital offence? Why would they go out of their

way to be so obvious?

Then, immediately after this dastardly deed was discovered, a torrent of abuse was directed at the police for not having promptly averted the atrocities and, as per usual, Pres De Klerk is now being blamed for the whole tragic affair.

We all know that the ANC's mass-action campaign had not come up to ANC expectations and had perhaps led to a few new plays being thought up by its committee mem-

bers (who must be good at that kind of thing).

These people know that certain sections of our Press are only too keen to grasp at anything that seems to bring our police and our government into disrepute and were perhaps only too ready to grab at this distraction.

If I were in the police, I would certainly investigate this angle very thoroughly.

GUILLAUME VAN EEDEN

Pretoria

Send bill to mass action organisers

IN every confrontational situation, there are the guilty and the innocent and it is almost inevitable that the innocent are those that suffer the most. So it is with this ill-conceived and disruptive campaign of mass action in South Africa.

The organisers and instigators will feel no pain. They will not have to dread the knock on the door in dead of night threatening them to stay away from work or face violent retribution. They will not be ordered to take part in marches and protest actions against their wishes.

The architects of this

campaign will not fear the loss of their jobs and even their homes, nor will they have to worry about how to put the next meal on the table for their families. They are cushioned against all adversity.

Mass action means that even those who are prepared to run the gauntlet of intimidation frequently cannot go about their normal business because transport resources are denied them, despite the best efforts of the security forces to guarantee services.

Where can the innocent turn for recompense? Perhaps the one recourse they would use is to send

a bill to the organisers for their suffering, be it lost jobs, lost wages, lost revenue or compensation for physical injury.

To be effective, this would have to be concerted and co-ordinated action and be thoroughly well publicised through the media in order to cause the maximum embarrassment to the culprits. This is just one possibility.

There must be other ways to deal with those whose basic philosophy is: "Pull up the ladder, Jack, I'm all right".

SELWYN

Pretoria

Can't allow country to be destroyed

IF we are going to have a public holiday for every confrontation the radicals have with the police, we are going to get very little done in this country.

Add to these holidays, the Mandela birthday, Mandela release day, Mandela said something intelligent day, sorry, at least that is one day we shall be spared.

Anyway, it seems that the Blacks in this country, like everywhere to the north, have been con-

vinced by organisations such as the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance that money grows on trees. They would much rather toyi-toyi in front of the international television crews than generate wealth.

I wonder how many strikes for ridiculous pay rises there are in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, etc, where, due to incompetence, people are lucky to get

This is exactly the path on which the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance wants to take this country. They have to be stopped. If Mr De Klerk and Co won't do it, it will be up to the rest of us to do it for them.

We cannot allow this country to be destroyed by Mr De Klerk's over-exuberance to placate the Americans and the ANC/SACP.

S G ASTON

Zevenfontein: What lies ahead

THE CITIZEN 22-06-92

HAVING attended another residents' meeting at Nootgedacht held to discuss the impact of the Zevenfontein squatters, it was obvious that resettlement is to go ahead.

The persons attending were average middle-class Whites. One of the speakers made the statement that this was not what was voted for in the March referendum. It would appear that awareness is increasing, but unfortunately for those in the area, it is too late.

Perhaps a global view of events is necessary. Since "democracy" is achieved, the new order will be ushered in. This requires an elimination of the middle class.

For those whose land has been expropriated, at an arbitrary price,

the future may prove them fortunate in the face of what is to come.

There are no worthwhile facilities, and control over the number of "informal settlers" is impossible to enforce.

There were supposedly 1 000 families to accommodate, but 3 500 families have been mentioned in more recent reports.

Job seekers and others will soon be knocking on doors within a 20 km radius and residents must be forewarned of an inevitable escalation in social misbehaviour. (The word crime is not used, as it is regarded as expected in a society undergoing transition.)

It will be a case of every man for himself. Eventually, householders will abandon their properties,

which have already lost value, for greener pastures and a secure way of life. In the interim, the Titanic syndrome continues, with many still not realising what the future holds.

No speaker at any meeting so far has suggested any steps in respect of policing and legitimate action to safeguard lives and property. This must be indicative of the blind faith prevailing in the average White South African.

Resistance in the form of petitions will be irrelevant and more active measures such as Block Watch patrols will be met with well-armed "self-defence units" from the sprawling adjoining informal communities.

JOHANN FOURIE

Honoured

'Death squads' kill five in Natal: ANC

URBAN. — The southern Natal region of the African National Congress yesterday alleged "death squads" had killed five of its supporters in and near Umlazi, Durban, at the weekend.

ANC spokesman Dugani Makhaye said five active ANC members were shot dead in Umlazi's U Section at around 6 pm on Friday.

A survivor said members of the "death squad" claimed they were

policemen.

Those killed were Vusumuzi Mabaso, Thabani Memela and Mazwi Mkhize. Sibusiso Dubazane was injured and survived the attack.

Mr Makhaye said another ANC member, Pitsoyase Mnguni, was killed in the same manner in Malukazi, near Umlazi, also on Friday.

He further alleged that another activist, Pitso Mokoena, was gunned down in U Section on

Saturday night.

KwaZulu police said they were only aware of two killings in Umlazi's U Section on Friday but could not release their names as the next-of-kin had not been informed.

Meanwhile, Mr Makhaye said: "We would want to warn everybody involved in these assassinations that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe's patience is not endless." — Sapa.

Tutu: End violence or withdraw from Games

CAPE TOWN. — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday South Africa should either withdraw or be expelled from the Olympic Games if the government did not accede to one of three demands to end the violence and achieve a political settlement in the country.

"If we allow the situation to deteriorate much further, we will end up with a Yugoslavian nightmare in which international observers will come too late to prevent outright civil war," he said at a lunchtime service in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

"There must be inter-party agreement, either through the mechanisms of the National Peace Committee or through Codesa, on the immediate constitution of an international monitoring force," Archbishop Tutu said.

He also called for an end to the "bickering and power play" at Codesa and for politicians to stop trading insults and making political capital out of the violence, while he urged the government to bring to justice those responsible for the Boipatong massacre.

"This does not just mean that people should be arrested and appear in court — the trial must begin as a matter of urgency and we must see the guilty convicted and sentenced without undue delay."

Another demand was that agreement, through the NPC or Codesa, had to be reached for multi-party control of the security forces.

"Pending the implementation of this agreement, Mr De Klerk must take over personal responsibility for the security forces, particularly the

functions of Minister of Law and Order," Archbishop Tutu said.

"If at least one of these demands is not met before the Olympic Games begin, then the South African team to the Games must withdraw."

He said that when South Africa returned to the Olympic Games it must be done in a spirit of celebration and unity. This could not be achieved while the country was in a national state of mourning for the dead and while caught up in a deepening political crisis. — Sapa.

CITIZEN 23-06-92

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

23-6-92 Ignoring Whites

SOMETIMES we wonder whether ANC president Nelson Mandela and his organisation care a fig about what Whites — other than the political misfits who recently joined the ANC — think.

That feeling has been reinforced by the happenings at the weekend.

Granted that the Boipatong massacre was hideous, the way in which State President De Klerk was chased out of the township by an ugly mob gave many Whites a feeling of revulsion.

Whether or not they support Mr De Klerk — and many do not — they are angry over his humiliation.

This is not the way in which a head of state, and one who has bravely brought about reforms, should be treated.

Yet both Mr Mandela and the ANC continue to blackguard him, accusing him of being responsible for the violence that is this country's sorry lot, including Boipatong.

If that were not bad enough, the ANC has begun mass action that has already raised temperatures and must inevitably result in violence, destruction and death, whatever the ANC and its satellites say about their peaceful intentions.

Whites hate the violence as much as Blacks do. They were shocked at the savagery at Boipatong as much as Blacks were.

They want to see an end to the violence just as much as Blacks do.

Nearly two million Whites voted in the referendum for a continuation of the negotiations.

If ever the Blacks needed a signal that the Whites favoured peaceful change, it was this overwhelming vote.

Yet the situation is worse, not better.

Much of what is happening is due to the ANC's post-referendum belief that the battle is almost over and one big push will topple the government (it won't).

The fact that the government has dug in its heels, demanding power sharing rather than a hand-over of power, came no doubt as a surprise to the ANC.

Hence its bloodyminded reaction.

The mass action campaign was also planned before the Codesa deadlock, the ANC clearly believing it would collapse the government.

Another miscalculation.

The government will not be toppled and it will not submit to blackmail.

Yet the talks could go on, if the ANC wanted to reach agreement. But it has called off negotiations with the government and is reconsidering its position in Codesa.

Well, we can tell Mr Mandela and the ANC that though they are toughening their attitudes and are willing further to damage the economy in the hope of achieving their aims, the attitudes of Whites is hardening as well.

They look at the growing violence and tension and wonder what is happening to this country.

They see the economy in a parlous state because of the ANC's sanctions campaign, with foreign loans and credits denied us.

They watch the growing retrenchments and sackings, the bankruptcies and the economic hardships with increasing distress.

They feel they are becoming impoverished in a land which has such great mineral wealth and such great potential that there is a future for everyone, provided the economic sabotage of that future for political gain is not continued.

Yes, there could be such a wonderful change in the economic climate, in acceptance of each other, in belief in a joint future in which there will be peace, and prosperity, and hope for all.

But nobody in the ANC seems to care what the Whites think. But they had better. For if they don't, they will be sowing the seeds of a civil war that will wreck this country for years to come.

Will anyone in the ANC listen? Will anyone in the ANC consider where they are taking us?

Will anyone in the ANC call for reconciliation and the continuation of negotiations?

The future depends on the answers.

Privatisation remains a dirty word for the strugglers. Tito Mboweni, one of the ANC's better economists, says he argued manfully to have it included in the final version of the movement's latest policy guidelines but it evidently stuck in his colleagues' collective throat. At this point, the most the ANC can bring itself to say is it will "flexibly" consider "reducing the public sector" in light of "the balance of evidence".

Happily, the World Bank recently pulled together a load of empirical data that tips the balance forcefully in the direction of the unmentionable. In a study, *The Welfare Consequences of Selling Public Enterprises*, the bank has produced what it calls the "first systematic and quantifiable evidence" of what happens when governments implement the P word. The answer: "Countries, on the whole, are better off after divestiture than they were before."

This conclusion is based on case studies of 12 privatisations in four countries: Chile, Malaysia, Mexico and the UK between 1984 and 1988. The industries concerned include telecommunications, airlines, electricity utilities, a lottery, a port and a transport firm.

In all but one case — that of Mexicana airlines — the newly privatised companies enjoyed significant gains. On average, their annual sales were 26% higher than pre-divestiture levels. In more than half, annual gains exceeded 10%. Compania de Telefonos de Chile (CTC) saw its turnover grow 145%, Malaysia's Kelang Container Terminal (KCT) by 50%, and Aeromexico, the second of two Mexican airlines studied, by 53%.

The study attributes these gains to four principal factors, the first being increased investment. CTC, the star example, benefited from the massive infusion of foreign and domestic equity attracted by the sell-off, and which in turn gave the company increased room for borrowing. As a result, it has been able to double its capacity since divestiture in 1987, is expanding into a variety of value added services and has dramatically enhanced labour productivity.

Success stories must awaken ANC to the joys of privatisation

BUSINESS DAY 23-06-92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Of course, the freedom to raise capital can also be the licence to misuse it, which is what happened in the case of Mexicana. While its sister company Aeromexico focused on the business travel market, and did relatively well, Mexicana bet \$1.6bn — the cost of 22 new Airbus A320s and options on 14 more — on a tourist boom that did not materialise. The state would have been more cautious. But, as the bank notes, the debacle is "not a condemnation of divestiture. It is merely a reminder that sometimes private firms fail."

The second factor in the gains is the improved productivity at nine of the 12 companies, and which in most instances resulted from smaller workforces, improved labour-management relations, better incentives and internal reorganisation.

For SA, the most significant example may be Malaysia's KCT which not only did not reduce its workforce but actually raised wages, prompting unions to demand that the non-privatised Kelang Port Authority be spun off too. This alchemy was wrought through new incentives, training and participative decision-making which resulted not so much in the growth of output per worker as in lower costs for administration, repair and maintenance.

Third, most of the privatised firms raised previously state-controlled prices to realistic levels. Under-

pricing of output under public ownership had regularly led to the waste of valuable resources. Divestiture enabled government to restructure prices to better reflect the value of these resources to their economies. In most instances, regulation prevented privatised monopolies from exploiting their market power. An exception was British Airways, which gobbled up its main domestic competitor, British Caledonian, in order to raise fares.

Finally, several divested firms were able to diversify at low cost, capitalising on their existing strength. British Telecom and CTC used their existing networks and expertise to provide new value-added services. Sports Toto, the Malaysian lottery, introduced new products. While many of these activities could have been carried out under public ownership, they had mostly gone unexplored because civil servants had no incentive to pursue them or were prevented from doing so by bureaucratic constraints.

Who won and who lost from the divestitures?

Perhaps most important from SA's standpoint, in no instance did workers lose. There were layoffs and forced retirements in several cases,

most notably British Airways, British Telecom and Mexico's Telmex and Aeromexico. Yet all who lost their jobs were compensated, often as a condition of sale, and most quickly found new jobs as privatisation policies helped spur the general economy. In several cases, Telmex, Chile's electricity distributor Enersis, and the UK's National Freight, workers enjoyed substantial windfalls as equity participants. And KCT raised wages as part of its innovative productivity scheme.

Consumers won, but not always. Those who did win were generally helped by competition and also, importantly, by regulation. In five instances, British Airways among them, they were net losers. Telephone services in Mexico are now more costly because previous tariffs were too low to cover costs and allow for expansion — but consumers will ultimately benefit from expanded service. The Enersis privatisation harmed those who had enjoyed free electricity by stealing it.

Foreigners benefited. By last month foreign investors owned 55.7% of Telmex stock and had reaped more than 80% of post-privatisation gains. Yet it must be remembered that it was often foreign capital that made those gains possible in the first place. Furthermore, the very act of privatisation

has in many cases encouraged outside investors to put their money in countries they previously shunned. Since 1989 privatisation has drawn \$15bn in foreign investment to Mexico, nearly double the value of debt relief the country has been granted in the same period.

Buyers, including a host of small shareholders in the UK and pension funds in Chile, came out ahead in every case except Mexicana. So did the governments that sold. After divestiture, most state treasuries received more in sale proceeds and new tax revenues than they would have received in dividends and taxes had public ownership continued. In only three instances, two of them in Chile, did governments lose, and then by narrow margins.

The bank concludes that successful privatisations, defined as those which produced economic gains for society as a whole, occurred where pre-divestiture enterprises were relatively inefficient, where governments established effective post-divestiture regulatory regimes, where the state lacked resources for new investment and service expansion and where the sales did not involve concessions to "sweeten the deal".

That said, even efficient parastatals can be usefully privatised to harness "the entrepreneurial spirit of the private sector". Nor is it always essential for government to shed its stake in an enterprise entirely. For example, the Malaysian government retained effective control of both KCT and the national airline while letting the private sector take a substantial share. This led the state to exercise its control function differently than it would otherwise, to the benefit of the companies and the overall economy.

The bank feels its sample — covering three developing and one developed country and firms of widely differing sizes and structures — is broad enough for its conclusion to be widely applicable. Exceptions are extremely poor countries with highly distorted and underdeveloped markets and the formerly centrally planned economies. Unless the ANC thinks SA belongs in one of those categories, it should pay attention.

13. May 23/6/92

Police detain KwaMadala hostel dwellers

DIRK HARTFORD
and PATRICK BULGER

POLICE yesterday detained five people at Vanderbijlpark's KwaMadala Hostel, from which the killers of 39 Boipatong residents allegedly launched their attack last week.

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrauld said last night the men were being held in terms of security regulations and had not yet been charged.

A force of about 200 detectives yesterday questioned hostel residents in connection with the massacre.

Meanwhile, Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt said the company would consider closing the hostel only if it was found that residents were guilty of the killings, and if alternative accommodation was found for those not implicated.

The company would not accept responsibility for damage to Boipatong homes or for funerals of those killed.

Howatt was responding to demands by more than striking 4 000 Vanderbijlpark workers and Boipatong residents, who have vowed to stay on strike until the hostel is closed. They are canvassing wider support in the Vaal area.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), which represents many workers in the area, says it has been asking Iscor for more than a year to close the hostel.

Numsa says it has presented Iscor with information to show that KwaMadala is the epicentre of violent attacks in the area.

But Iscor told the union only 300-400 of its employees were housed there, and access was well controlled.

But when Iscor was given information of various non-Iscor employees charged with murder having given their address as KwaMadala, Iscor said its "hostel policy" made provision for wives and children and friends to stay there provided they were properly signed in.

Iscor closed the KwaMadala hostel in 1977, said Howatt. In 1990, after "ethnic conflict" at Iscor's KwaMasiza hostel, about 400 Zulu-speaking migrant Iscor workers illegally occupied KwaMadala.

The company then laid on electricity, lights and water at KwaMadala.

ANC slams acquittal of hostel seven

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC has hit out at the acquittal of seven KwaMadala Hostel inmates by a Vereeniging Circuit Court saying it further diminished township residents' faith in the police and judicial system.

The seven, who were acquitted on Friday, had been charged with murdering 38 people at an ANC funeral vigil in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng in January last year.

Judge Schutz was reported to have acquitted the seven because the State had failed to prove beyond reasonable doubt that any of them had been involved in the attack.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the matter was of such magnitude that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel should make a public statement on it.

The judge's acquittal of people implicated in murders because of a lack of evidence further diminished township residents' faith in the police and the judicial system, Macozoma said.

A former official of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression Anton Steenkamp said failure by police to find incriminating evidence where the accused had Inkatha links "seems to be a recurring theme".

The board, in a special report earlier this month, said hostels were a key element in the violence which had gripped the Reef since July 1990 in which 1 207 people died.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said this week that had government "transformed" hostels into family units, as it had promised, people would not have been killed in Boipatong last week.

B. Day 23/6/92

Dear Sir,

THE Boipatong massacre is, in every relevant respect, identical to the massacre at Swanieville on May 12 1991, when 27 people were killed and 112 shacks razed to the ground. In each case, hostel dwellers, armed to the teeth, travelled some kilometres to attack hapless shack dwellers; and they made good their retreat. All went undetected or unprevented by the SAP. There are strong suggestions in both cases that the SAP was involved in some way.

The similarity between the two incidents goes so far as to include the fact that they both occurred two days after the only visits that F W de Klerk has made to Ulundi in recent years. De Klerk visited Ulundi on May 10 1991 to consult Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the issue of the ANC's "deadline ultimatum" that an unequivocal regulation be passed banning the carrying of dangerous weapons in the guise of "traditional weapons", and again on June 16.

There is also significance in the differences in the outcomes of the two incidents.

Swanieville killings reprised in Boipatong

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000
Fax: (011) 836-0805

The Boipatong massacre has caused the Law and Order Minister to institute an inquiry by "200 experienced investigators" into, among other things, "the actions of the SAP prior to, and during the incident".

The Swanieville massacre elicited no such response from the state. On that occasion the police had a similar lame-headed excuse for their non-appearance. Maj Ray Harald claimed that the "impi struck during a police change of shift" — as if everybody does not know that a change of shift is never accompanied by a total absence of personnel on duty, but always by an overlapping of personnel.

Lawyers for Human Rights would like to know why a similar inquiry was not launched into the Swanie-

ville massacre? There is nothing preventing such an inquiry from still being launched at this stage.

After all, memories and police records of that day will certainly not yet have faded from the picture, and if the Minister can identify any relevant differences between the two incidents he should point them out the next time he makes a public statement. He should also note that the incident falls outside the jurisdiction of the Goldstone commission, as having occurred before July 1991.

The question one asks is, if the violence plaguing SA is so serious, then why is the state apparently so tardy in coming to understand it?

DAVID PITMAN
Lawyers for Human Rights
Johannesburg

□□□□

Dear Sir,

OUR economy is in a mess, inflation

is rampant, unemployment is running at more than 40%, workers are being retrenched in their thousands and starvation is a real possibility for many South Africans.

The intellectual giants of the ANC and Cosatu are urging workers to participate in mass and strike action at a time like this.

It's incredible that these are possible future leaders of SA.

They make even the Nationalist leaders look responsible by comparison.

D WILSON
Rivonia

□□□□

Dear Sir,
FOR about 15 years, a basic premise of the SACP/ANC's Marxist-Leninist philosophy has been that violence is a justifiable means for the oppressed to obtain freedom (whatever that means) from their oppressors.

The SACP/ANC has legitimised violence as part of political activity. Nelson Mandela opened that Pandora's Box, now we all experience the whirlwinds.

Simply using the Big Lie constantly, and blaming the government, is too transparent, particularly when ANC officials have been found in possession of SAP uniforms and weapons. The Leninist tactic of the provocateur is old hat.

Unless the SACP, and its subsidiary organisations, stop now to learn the lessons of Africa (Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique) and jettisons its Leninist revolutionary philosophy, our beautiful country will simply deteriorate into violence.

The judgment of history will be that Joe Slovo and Mandela wasted the opportunities presented by F W de Klerk since February 1990.

R V STONE
Randburg

□ While pseudonyms are sometimes acceptable, correspondents should sign letters and give their names, a street address and a daytime contact number. The Editor reserves the right to shorten letters

VIEW

B. Day

23/6/92

FW returns early to deal with crisis

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk would return early from his trip to Spain because of the crisis precipitated by the ANC's suspension of negotiations, Acting President Pik Botha said yesterday.

Botha said De Klerk would return in time for a Cabinet meeting tomorrow, Reuter reports.

De Klerk would keep appointments with Spanish King Juan Carlos, government and leading businessmen and industrialists.

The announcement came amid a broad spectrum of appeals to the ANC to remain in negotiations, and calls for SA not to take part in next month's Olympic Games.

Idasa, Sacob and the British government urged the ANC not to suspend its involvement in constitutional talks.

Sacob said it was appalled by the Boipatong massacre in which 39 people died.

It said, however, that it was a time "for all political leaders to demonstrate statesmanship and discipline, and to continue to search for reconciliation and peace through Codesa and the national peace accord.

"The local and overseas business reaction to the latest political developments has been extremely negative, as shown in the decline in the financial markets," Sacob said in a statement.

Sapa reports Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday SA should either withdraw or be expelled from the Olympic Games if government did not accede to demands to end the violence and achieve a political settlement.

"If we allow the situation to deteriorate much further, we will end up with a Yugoslavian nightmare in which international observers will come too late to prevent outright civil war," he said during a lunchtime service at St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

Tutu outlined three methods of achieving peace, including multiparty control of security forces and immediate constitution of an international peacekeeping force.

He said SA's return to the Olympic Games had to be in a spirit of celebration and unity.

This could not be achieved while the country was in a national state of mourning, or while caught up in a deepening political crisis.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports that British Labour MP Peter Hain called for SA's suspension from the Olympics and the imposition of diplomatic sanctions.

A spokesman for Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said Britain was very concerned that the

Business Day Reporter

violence should not derail Codesa negotiations.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Emeka Anyaoku said SA risked a return to international isolation if it failed to take action against township killers.

ANC sports leader Steve Tshwete said ANC president Nelson Mandela was unlikely to take up an invitation to attend the Olympics following the Boipatong massacre.

The All Blacks rugby tour could also be called off, he said. If it was not, all policemen and soldiers should be excluded from tour games. However, SA Rugby Football Union joint president Danie Craven said such an action would not be considered.

Meanwhile, WILSON ZWANE reports that the US embassy said yesterday it would give the International Committee of the Red Cross R700 000 to assist violence victims.

Part of the donation would go to victims of last week's massacre.

Mandela announced on Sunday that the ANC had proposed establishing such a fund, which would be administered by the Red Cross.

The PAC said yesterday it was pledging R20 000 to help victims in Boipatong. The ANC had pledged R100 000.

The PAC said the ANC's suspension of talks was not enough to protest against the Boipatong killings.

In a statement, the organisation called on the ANC to withdraw from Codesa.

□ Sapa reports that police said in Pretoria yesterday that 13 people died in politically motivated violence during the 24-hour period ending at midnight on Sunday.

Two policemen were wounded in four attacks on police.

A man's body was found outside a burning house in Sebokeng and five other bodies were found in Dobsonville, Soweto, after a raid by armed men on a local hostel.

In a separate incident in Dobsonville, a municipal policeman was wounded when he was fired upon with a shotgun.

In Sebokeng, Vanderbijlpark, a policeman's house was set alight.

Police said six people were wounded and three arrested during the 24-hour period.

In another incident in Meadowlands, Soweto, extensive damage was caused when two private vehicles were set alight.

Killing South Africa's Dream

Two utterances measure the racial chasm that sunders South Africa. "I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to the regime which is murdering our people," said Nelson Mandela after last week's bloodletting in Boipatong, a black township near Johannesburg. "This Government does not kill people," rejoined Hernus Kreil, Minister of Law and Order, who vowed a full inquiry into the seemingly wanton massacre of blacks by police.

Unless justice is done, and is seen to be done, the hopes for democratic change inspired by President F. W. de Klerk could vanish. It beggars belief that Mr. de Klerk was personally responsible. Yet he seems to have failed woefully to control security police who play on rivalries that divide a frustrated and impoverished black majority.

A January report by New York-based Africa Watch found "abundant evidence" that state security forces have contributed to township violence. Amnesty International and the International Committee of Jurists offer similar judgments. Only last

week, a commission appointed by the South African Government said that an elite army unit used inexcusable force against black squatters.

These findings buttress charges repeatedly made by Mr. Mandela's African National Congress, Pretoria's main partner in constitutional talks. But the congress, too, rides a tiger: since it was legalized two years ago, thousands of its exiled members have returned to the townships, armed and impatient. In recent weeks alleged black turncoats have been murdered, some with flaming tires around their necks. Ominously, when Mr. Mandela called for a suspension of multiracial talks, youngsters shouted, "We want arms!"

Last March, Mr. de Klerk gambled boldly, winning overwhelming white approval in a referendum that buried apartheid. He needs now to show comparable courage to make the police stop inciting the violence they are meant to prevent. Anything less than a credible housecleaning risks surrendering the dream of change to zealots on both sides of the racial divide.

Massacre in South Africa



Reuters

TALKS IN JEOPARDY: Police remove the bodies of 39 men, women and children slain in the Boipatong shantytown south of Johannesburg. Residents, who said they were attacked by 200 Zulu-speaking men with guns, knives and spears, blame the massacre on the Inkatha Freedom Party. The incident threatens fragile multi-party democracy talks.

Boipatong: SA mood of gloom, depression

THE Boipatong massacre has plunged South Africans into gloom and their leaders seem powerless to defuse the crisis it has caused, political analysts said yesterday.

From Johannesburg's financial district to middle class suburbs and the slums of the Black townships, the mood was bleak amid the burgeoning violence and political stalemate dogging South Africa's efforts to emerge from White minority rule.

"What happened at the weekend is just heart-breaking. I'm so depressed," said a White housewife on a radio call-in show.

The crisis erupted on Wednesday night with the killing in Boipatong of 39 Blacks, deepened on Saturday when an enraged mob chased Presi-

dent De Klerk from the township and police opened fire on demonstrators, and culminated on Sunday when Nelson Mandela suspended bilateral contacts with the government.

Even the one ray of light for many sports-mad South Africans, a return to world competition, came under threat when Archbishop Desmond Tutu called for South Africa's expulsion from the Olympics unless Mr De Klerk punished the killers and stopped the violence.

Some analysts said South Africa could be heading into an unstoppable cycle of violence.

"Political rhetoric has always been intense in South Africa, but now the words are being replaced by physical action, and that's frightening," said political risk consultant

Wim Booysse.

"There's a yearning for violence, and I don't know how we're going to defuse it. Lebanon here we come."

Mr Booysse said the events of the last 10 days meant foreign investors would put on hold any plans to channel funds into South Africa.

The financial rand, the unit of foreign investment and a key barometer of business confidence in South Africa, dropped four percent yesterday on fears that democracy talks had run into serious trouble.

"None of the politicians are coming out of this well," said Professor Tom Lodge, an expert on the ANC.

"Mandela's speech was not that of a statesman," he said, referring to the ANC president's address in Boipatong on Sunday

in which he directly blamed the government for the massacre.

Prof Lodge said the ANC should have maintained a dignified silence on Mr De Klerk's rough reception in the township the day before, instead of trying to make political capital out of it.

He said Mr De Klerk's visit to the Zulu capital of Ulundi on June 16, anniversary of Soweto riots in 1976, was perceived as a gesture of partisanship towards the Inkatha Freedom Party and had been the lowest point of his career.

"It was disgraceful that he should visit Ulundi on this supercharged day," he said.

"It's a fairly desperate situation," Prof Lodge said. "And it's not helped by the fact that all the sides are blaming each other rather than looking for a way out."

But he said Mr Mandela's angry comments on Sunday were likely to be toned down on reflection by the ANC leadership.

"His words were in response to an angry crowd. I think the ANC will keep the door open to negotiation because they can only lose if they withdraw altogether."

The ANC national executive committee meets today to discuss continued participation in Codesa, where the transition to a non-racial constitution is being debated.

The talks have been deadlocked for more than a month over a dispute over how much power should be devolved to regions and how much should be retained by the central government. — Sapa-Reuter.

'Death squads' kill five in Natal: ANC

DURBAN. — The southern Natal region of the African National Congress yesterday alleged "death squads" had killed five of its supporters in and near Umlazi, Durban, at the weekend.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said three active ANC members were shot dead in Umlazi's U Section at around 6 pm on Friday.

A survivor said members of the "death squad" had claimed they were

policemen.

Those killed were Vusumuzi Mabaso, Thabani Memela and Mazwi Mkhize. Sibusiso Dubazane was injured and survived the attack.

Mr Makhaye said another ANC member, Pitso Mnguni, was killed in the same manner in Malukazi, near Umlazi, also on Friday.

He further alleged that another activist, Pitso Mokoena, was gunned down in U Section on

Saturday night.

KwaZulu police said they were only aware of two killings in Umlazi's U Section on Friday but could not release their names as the next-of-kin had not been informed.

Meanwhile, Mr Makhaye said: "We would want to warn everybody involved in these assassinations that the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe's patience is not endless." — Sapa.

Plan indefinite stayaway

COMMUNITY organisations and trade unions in the Vaal Triangle are planning an indefinite stayaway and a prolonged consumer boycott to protest against the slaying of 39 people in Boipatong.

Occupations or sit-ins of government buildings

and the offices of Iscor, the owners of the Kwa-Madala Hostel, are also planned by the Western Transvaal region of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the Vaal Civic Association, the African National Congress and SA Communist Par-

ty.

In a statement yesterday, the organisations claimed that workers had already stopped work at Metal Box, Van Leer, CWI, Cape Gate, and Blue Armour companies in the area. — Sapa.

Senior ANC man attacked

Citizen Reporter

A SENIOR member of the ANC's Regional Executive, Mr Floyd Mashele, was attacked by unknown people in Diepkloof Zone One, Soweto, last night, Mr Ronnie Mamoepe, spokesman for the ANC's Regional Office said.

Mr Mashele had earlier last night been named by the ANC as the man who had informed police of an impending attack on

Alexandra township last Saturday.

He sustained multiple stab wounds during last night's assault and his car, registration, RDH 455T, was stolen.

Mr Mashele had just emerged from Dr Nthato Motlana's surgery after a consultation when he was accosted by three men. One of the assailants allegedly had a gun and the other two carried knives.

The men attacked Mr

Mashele and stole his car, Mr Mamoepe said.

Earlier last night, the ANC issued a statement saying Mr Mashele was the man who had notified police in advance of an attack on Alexandra, planned for June 19.

The ANC "rejected with contempt" the suggestions by the police that they only came to know of the impending attack from members of the media.

"The ANC wishes to put it on record that a senior police officer, a Brigadier Venter, attached to the Stability Unit was, in fact, notified by a member of the Regional Executive Committee member, Mr Floyd Mashele, after our office was notified of the impending attack on June 19, 1992. Only then was the media alerted to the impending attack by a local branch member."

Sebokeng: Seven found not guilty

Citizen Reporter

SEVEN alleged Inkatha Freedom Party members were found not guilty on 38 charges of murder and eight charges of attempted murder in the Circuit Court in Vereeniging.

The seven men, Mr A Myeni (22), Mr Z Khuzwayoz (32), Mr A Mtshali (20), Mr S Kubheka (37), Mr D Mabote (21), Mr T Lokhozi (28), and Mr H Ndlovu (18), were also found not guilty on several charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives.

Eight men initially appeared following the massacre of 28 people in Sebokeng in January last year during a funeral vigil. More than 50 people were injured during the massacre. One of the accused was however killed during a robbery shortly before the case came to trial.

Mr Justice Schutz said that the State could not prove beyond reasonable doubt that any of the seven accused had participated in the massacre.

Sacob calls for the continuation of Codesa

THE South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) yesterday called for a continuation of the Codesa talks and the National Peace Accord, despite Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

"The South African Chamber of Business is appalled by the horrifying events that took place at Boipatong last week, and hopes a full investigation of the tragedy will be undertaken as soon as possible."

While understanding the strong feelings these events had aroused, Sacob appealed to all concerned to remain calm.

"This is a time for all political leaders to demonstrate statesmanship and discipline, and to continue to search for reconciliation and peace

through Codesa and the National Peace Accord."

A breakdown in the Codesa negotiations and the Peace Accord would have serious consequences for stability and the economy.

Both the local and overseas business reaction to the latest political developments had been extremely negative, as evidenced by the decline of the financial markets. There was a serious risk of business confidence being further seriously eroded, and thus damaging economic performance. — Sapa.

ANC must explain

Recent allegations by the International Freedom Foundation (IFF) on ANC arms stockpiles in Angola were quickly dismissed by ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who called the IFF "unreliable and biased".

Independent verification (Sunday Times, June 14), which detailed the exact location and quantity of the ANC's arms in Angola, requires that the ANC now explain this discrepancy.

The 27 000 tons of ANC weaponry in Angola not only constitutes a breach of the various Angolan peace accords, but also constitutes a major threat to the delicate peace process, especially if these arms were to be moved closer to our borders. We hope the ANC will now store this weaponry under the auspices of the United Nations' UNAVEM peace-keeping forces in Angola, as required by the various peace agreements to which the ANC says it adheres.

The ANC's arrogance in dismissing these serious allegations is sadly indicative of an autocratic mentality: that it is accountable to no one for its often ill-considered actions.

Warwick Davies-Webb,
Research Director, Southern
African Branch, IFF,
Johannesburg

Razor wire cuts down attacks

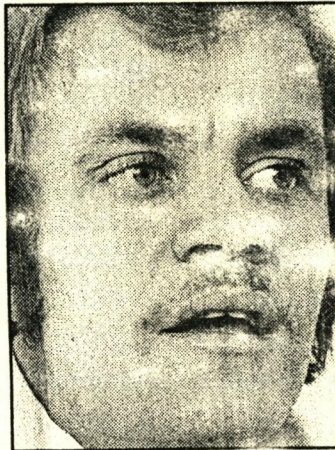
I would like to respond appropriately to Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC ("Phola Park police have faced 121 severe armed attacks", The Star, June 10).

Much of what was said in our earlier letter to the Phola Park Women's League will in all probability come out in criminal trials involving members of the Phola Park "self-defence units" operating inside and outside the squatter camp.

The erection of razor wire allowed the police to control the movement of armed criminals in and out of Phola Park. Attacks by residents on vehicles in and around Phola Park have since ceased. Between May 14 and May 29, before the police moved in, 30 vehicles were attacked, their drivers assaulted and the vehicles set alight.

An average of 27 to 30 vehicles were being hijacked monthly by armed black men inside Phola Park as well as on adjacent public roads. All this should make it more than obvious as to why the razor wire is needed.

Many criminals see Phola Park as a haven. They know the SDU will intervene with armed attacks on the security forces whenever the police enter in search of suspects. Dur-



ANC spokesman Niehaus... peculiar of him, say police, to claim there is no proof that Phola Park attackers are ANC members.

ing such attacks, criminals often escape.

It is peculiar of Mr Niehaus to say that "there is no proof" that any of those persons arrested are indeed ANC members. Many members of the Phola Park SDU openly carry their ANC membership cards pinned to their clothing, especially when a prominent member of the ANC visits. Is he now also trying to say that Umkhon-

to we Sizwe is now not part of the ANC?

Members of MK have indeed been charged for serious crimes. Who propagated and condoned the forming of the so-called self-defence units? Which organisation still condones the existence of such units? Which organisation is still supporting the SDU in Phola Park — even when it is obvious that many of those members indulge in some of the most brutal acts of violence, murder and serious criminal activities? The ANC, of course!

We would also like to refer the ANC to one of the many very interesting and most enlightening paragraphs in the work by Anthea J Jeffery: "Riot Policing in Perspective" (SA Institute of Race Relations):

"Mass action, spearheaded by the civic associations and buttressed by combat units (termed self-defence units) is now envisaged as leading to general insurrection... a brief, locked, violent upheaval (culminating in) the final rout" (page 76).

One now wonders when the ANC will take full responsibility for the actions of such SDUs, including that of Phola Park.

The SA Police would again like to request the ANC to help us to help the entire communi-

ty. The ANC can assist by just adhering to paragraph 2.6 of the National Peace Accord:

"All political parties and organisations shall provide full assistance and co-operation to the police in the investigation of violence and the apprehension of individuals involved. The signatories to this Accord specifically undertake not to protect or harbour their members and supporters to prevent them from being subjected to the processes of justice."

So far the ANC has not supplied the police with any information concerning any of the criminal elements in Phola Park indulging in unrest-related violence, attacks on the police and/or any other serious criminal activities. The SA Police must therefore believe that the ANC has no regard for anything agreed upon and stated in the NPA.

Law and order must prevail and we should stop pointing fingers at each other. We owe it to all the innocent people and children in our country. We should rather work together towards a common goal: Peace, prosperity, tranquillity and a crime-free society.

(Capt) Eugene Opperman,
SAP Media Liaison Officer,
Johannesburg

ANC to make crucial Codesa decision today

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

Senior ANC members last night told The Star it was not a question of whether the organisation would withdraw from Codesa, but how this would be done.

One source said the options included temporarily suspending the ANC's participation in Codesa, or withdrawing completely from the negotiations process.

Senior Government sources believe the ANC national executive committee will, at its emergency meeting today, suspend talks and threaten to pull out completely unless the Government meets certain tough conditions.

These were likely to be that the perpetrators of the Boipatong killings be brought to justice, an international peace-monitoring force be deployed, and the security forces be brought under multilateral control.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would not comment

on the options open to the organisation, saying that was the reason for an emergency meeting being called.

The negotiations crisis follows the Boipatong massacre.

Yesterday, Codesa working group meetings at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park came to a standstill as the ANC requested a postponement pending today's NEC meeting.

Since ANC leader Nelson Mandela's announcement on Sunday of the suspension of talks with the Government, calls have been made urging the ANC not to break off talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night said the Government believed negotiations were the only course that would secure peace and progress for South Africa.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delpoit said negotiations between the Government and the ANC would eventually continue whatever

happened in the short term. The Government would continue with negotiations with whoever was ready to talk. Asked if negotiations would continue without the ANC, he said it would be unwise to speculate.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos last night dismissed the ANC's threats to withdraw from negotiations as propaganda. She believed the most the ANC would do was temporarily suspend its participation in Codesa — but with "escape clauses" to allow itself back in.

Diplomats were briefed in Pretoria yesterday by senior police officers on their version of events in Boipatong.

Lieutenant-General Johan Swart, head of the Internal Stability Unit, told the diplomats during the briefing that the police had detained seven residents of KwaMadala hostel yesterday in connection with the massacre. Police later confirmed that two residents were subsequently released.

Mandela asks UN chief to intervene in SA

By Mike Littlejohn
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Nelson Mandela has asked the UN Security Council to intervene in "the deteriorating situation in South Africa", according to council president Paul Norderdame, the chief delegate of Belgium.

But no formal meeting is in prospect until Mr Mandela has

discussed the question with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Dakar.

Both men will shortly be attending the OAU summit session in the city.

Mr Norderdame said that the ANC chief telephoned the secretary-general yesterday morning to report on the events at Boipatong and the suspension of negotiations with the Govern-

ment.

He had asked Mr Boutros-Ghali and the council to "try to find ways and means to normalise the deteriorating situation in South Africa and try to resume the negotiations which have broken down," the ambassador added.

A UN spokesman confirmed the conversation had taken place but gave no details.

Thus, it was unclear what Mr Mandela expected of the UN since it was the ANC that had pulled out of negotiations.

However, the events were seen at the UN as a sharp setback for the transition process and as a likely death blow to any hope that South Africa would be able to resume its General Assembly seat this year.

The Star 23-06-92

THE STAR 23-06-92

Three possible paths to peace — Tutu

THE STAR 23-06-92

X

CAPE TOWN — South Africa should either withdraw or be expelled from the Olympic Games if the Government did not accede to one of three demands to end the violence and achieve a political settlement in the country, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

"If we allow the situation to deteriorate further, we will end up with a Yugoslavian nightmare in which international observers will come too late to prevent outright civil war," he said at a service in St George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

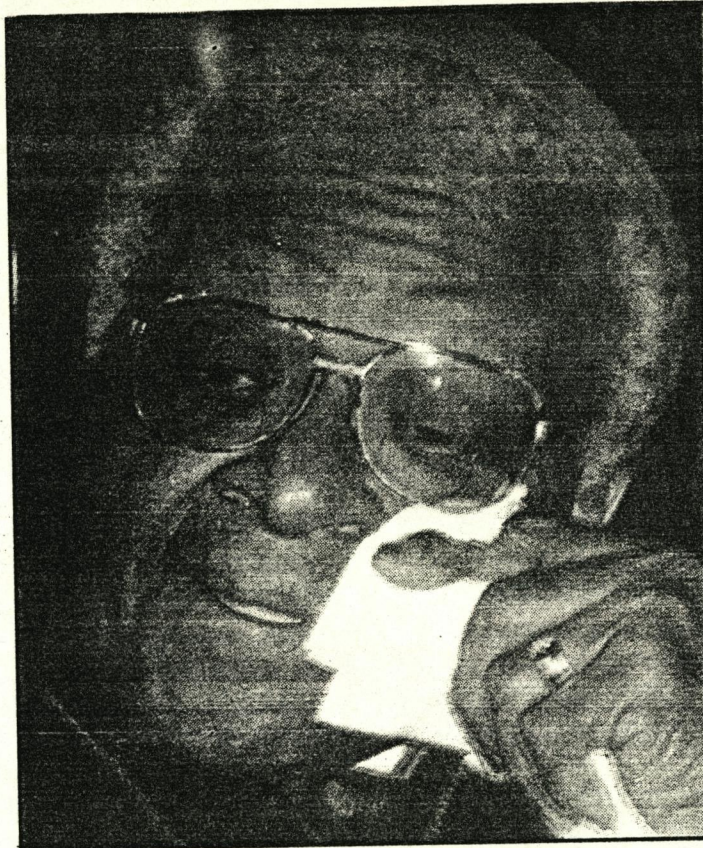
Archbishop Tutu then outlined three methods of achieving peace.

"There must be inter-party agreement, either through the mechanisms of the National Peace Committee (NCP) or through Codesa, on the immediate constitution of an international monitoring force."

He also called for an end to the "bickering and power play" at Codesa and for politicians to stop trading insults and making political capital out of the violence, while he urged the Government to bring to justice those responsible for the Boipatong massacre.

Another demand was that agreement, through the NPC or Codesa, had to be reached for multi-party control of the security forces.

"Pending the implementation of this agreement, F W de Klerk must take over personal responsibility for the security forces, particularly the functions of



Cry for peace . . . Archbishop Tutu wipes a tear from his eye during yesterday's service in Cape Town. Picture AP

Minister of Law and Order.

"If at least one of these demands is not met before the Olympic Games begin, then the SA team to the Olympic Games must withdraw."

He said that when South Africa returned to the Olympic Games it must be done in a spirit of celebration and unity. This could not be achieved while the country was in a na-

tional state of mourning for the dead and while caught up in a deepening political crisis.

Archbishop Tutu said that before embarking upon this course he intended to seek an interview with Mr de Klerk to discuss the violence with him and to warn him that "I intended returning to the international community if he does not act immediately". — Sapa.

Unions plan stayaway in protest

Community organisations and trade unions in the Vaal Triangle are planning an indefinite stayaway and a prolonged consumer boycott to protest against the slaying of 39 people in Boipatong.

Occupations or sit-ins of government buildings and the offices of Iscor, who are the owners of the KwaMadala Hostel, are also being planned by the Western Transvaal region of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the Vaal Civic Association, the ANC and SA Communist Party.

In a statement yesterday, the organisations and unions claimed that workers had already stopped work at Metal Box, Van Leer, CWI, Cape Gate, Blue Armour companies in the area. — Sapa.

SACC, VCA sets up relief fund for victims

A relief fund for victims of the Boipatong massacre has been established by the South African Council of Churches and the Vaal Civic Association.

A bank account has been opened for donations to the Boipatong Relief Fund. Inquiries can be directed to the SACC Vaal branch at (016) 220450 or the VCA at (016) 337728.

Meanwhile, a memorial service in honour of the 39 people who died at Boipatong will be held on Thursday at 2 pm at the Boipatong Community Hall. The mass funeral is scheduled for Monday. — Sapa.

We all know of the National Peace Accord, but what is it really all about? PETER WELLMAN tries to bring it down to earth.



Grassroots plea . . . the National Peace Secretariat is distributing posters in the townships, with a simplified version of the National Peace Accord in several languages.

Sinister plan to thwart ANC alleged

Political Staff

The ANC last night released allegations that the National Party was pursuing a "chilling" two-pronged plan which involved death squads and had the ultimate aim of preventing the ANC from forming a government.

It said the report was based on information "from sources within government circles and the ANC's intelligence department".

The report, due to appear in the July issue of the ANC mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, and released last night "as an item of interest in the present political climate", said the plan was entitled both "Operation Thunderstorm" and "Operation Springbok".

The ANC said in a statement the final aim

of the strategy was to force the ANC into an entrenched coalition with, at least, the NP.

"Operation Springbok is complex but, simply stated, it aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. Normally this would not be sinister. It would be fair competition where a party strives to attain maximum advantage in a democratic dispensation.

"The difference in this case is the existence of Operation Thunderstorm. As its name suggests, this operation seeks to devastate the country in its wake. It is meant to wreak havoc to force the ANC to accept Operation Springbok," the ANC said.

A senior official of the ANC intelligence department said in *Mayibuye* that the plan involved

weakening the ANC so that it was eventually forced into a constitutional coalition.

"At the heart of the plan is the NP goal to be the main partner in a future government, controlling all levers of power — particularly the army, police and intelligence. The process of change, according to NP calculations, should be controlled, contained and regulated by the Government ...", the publication said.

The ANC said Operation Thunderstorm was in the hands of the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI).

"The main strategy of Operation Thunderstorm is to unleash violence using secret networks of the DMI and the 'former' Security Branch of the SAP."

The ANC claimed:

"Operation Thunderstorm aims to root the idea of 'black-on-black' violence in local and international public opinion.

"Random shootings, which appear not to be linked to any political rivalry, form part of this strategy. To confuse matters further, the professional hit squads are provided with arms of Soviet origin — weapons previously associated with the ANC. The train and vigil massacres and, more recently, the murder of 18 people on the eve of June 16, are examples."

The ANC also claimed common criminals released under Government amnesties had been recruited "to take part in the violence".

No Government comment was available last night.

US donation to assist Boipatong victims

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The US government has donated R700 000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross to assist victims of violence.

Part of the donation will be used for victims of last week's Boipatong massacre which left about 40 people dead, the US Embassy in Pretoria announced yesterday.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the US government donation should

at least be matched by internal donations to the victims of the ongoing violence.

In a statement, the US Embassy condemned the massacre and called on all parties to double their efforts to bring violence under control.

In London, British Prime Minister John Major has expressed his distress at the escalating violence in South Africa, the UK Foreign Office said yesterday.

The office said it had noted President de

Klerk's "commitment to bring to justice those responsible for the Boipatong massacre and hoped this would happen as soon as possible".

The British government was concerned that violence should not derail negotiations at Codesa. "Despite the current deadlock at Codesa 2, a great deal of common ground had been established. There is no alternative to negotiations for the emergence of a new democratic South Africa."

The statement said the British government understood that Nelson Mandela had suspended talks with the Government, but not its commitment to the Codesa negotiations.

Mr Mandela suspended the discussions because, he charged, the Government had supported last week's attack.

The British government believed it was vital that the line to the resumption of Codesa negotiations be kept open.

Police detain five men for questioning

THE STAR 23-06-1992

'Massacre' hostel to be closed down

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
and Guy Jepson

Iscor intends closing down the notorious kwaMadala Hostel near Boipatong, where five men have been detained by police for questioning in connection with last Wednesday's massacre in which 39 people died.

Iscor spokesman Neels Howatt said the company had wanted to close the hostel for some time. The inmates would either be moved to another Iscor hostel, or the company would find them alternative accommodation.

The arrests of the five men — made during continuing investigations at the hostel by scores of detectives — were carried out under strict regulations.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said the detained men had not been formally charged. Police had not established their political affiliations and he also could not say whether the arrests flowed from the results of forensic tests conducted on weapons confiscated on Thursday.

Two other men taken were taken into custody for questioning but had been released after intensive investigations, he said.

Police were hoping to make further arrests.

Yesterday the hostel-dwellers were still being confined to the premises as police continued their investigations.

Mr Howatt said the hostel was occupied almost exclusively

● More reports
- Pages 3, 5 and 19.
Opinion - Page 18

by Zulu-speaking men.

"Most of them left the kwaMasiza Hostel nearby in 1990 when ethnic problems flared between them and other groups," he said.

"We have been trying to get them to move back into kwaMasiza, but they say they cannot go."

Iscor representatives had met those of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) and the two hostels on several occasions.

"It was always our principle to move them, but we did not want to force them to move. The Boipatong massacre just highlights the problems that there are with the people in this hostel and the other groups, and makes the matter more urgent."

Asked to comment on Iscor's statement yesterday that there had been no evidence the attackers had been kwaMadala residents, and in the light of the arrests at the hostel, Mr Howatt said he would have to contact the company's representatives in Vanderbijlpark.

He could not say when the hostel would be closed.

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Staring into the abyss

AMID THE anger and bloodshed which threaten to engulf South Africa is an inescapable truth: the De Klerk administration cannot govern South Africa without the consent of the ANC and the ANC cannot overthrow "the white regime" in the foreseeable future.

Thus a stark reality faces these two premier forces: they must either negotiate a settlement or face a long war of attrition in which there will be no winners, only a descent into anarchy.

The ANC, justifiably angered by last week's massacre at Boipatong and the shooting of civilians by police on Saturday, has suspended talks with the Government, pending a meeting today of its national executive. Suspension is a form of brinkmanship. The ANC leadership must not take South Africa into the abyss by withdrawing permanently from the negotiating table.

President de Klerk, having apparently had second thoughts after flying off to Spain on a private visit during a national crisis, has decided to return to preside over a Cabinet meeting tomorrow. He must abandon all thoughts of trying to solve the crisis by repressing dissent. It will lead inexorably, as it did under P W Botha, to a political dead end.

He and his colleagues should rather ponder the apparent inability of the police to learn from their past mistakes. The ANC, however, needs to reappraise its bid to portray the president as a machiavellian politician who plots to kill his opponents while smiling at them. Mr de Klerk, faced with a complex and volatile situation, may have made mistakes. But to link him to the massacre without evidence is unfair and irresponsible.

The ANC will still have to deal with Mr de Klerk. To allow the "comrades" to portray him as a murderer will hinder rather than help re-establish the negotiating process. Codesa may be an imperfect bridge to democracy but it is the only one available.

No schooling in troubled Boipatong

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

Schooling in the troubled Vaal township of Boipatong, scene of last week's massacre, came to a halt yesterday on the first day of an indefinite stayaway to protest against the killings.

Schools were deserted as the entire student body stayed at home. The township was tense with police patrolling the streets and workers milling around.

Although other Vaal townships such as Evaton, Sebokeng and Sharpeville also bore "battle scars" — and

protracted violence in recent months — pupils went to school.

The whole region resembled a battlefield with boulders and burning tyre barricades making access into the townships almost impossible.

"It's difficult to get the kids to concentrate but we are plodding along," said a teacher in Evaton.

In Sharpeville, the flash-point of violent clashes between the police and young activists in recent months, class attendance was "normal" and pupils in some schools were writing the June examinations.

Government tactics have sparked anger and defiance in the ANC,

writes Colin Leg

THE STAR 28-06-92

SA on course for a collision

JULY looks like being another turning point in South Africa's road towards a non-racial democratic society. Unless a compromise becomes possible, the ANC and its principal ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, are committed to launching what promises to be the most serious protest campaign in the country's history.

Two principal points of conflict lie at the core of the crisis.

First, what appears to be a Government decision to slow down the negotiating process in order to gain time to absorb the changes already agreed by the 19 parties engaged in Codesa, and to build up its own electoral strength.

Second, there is the continuing deadlock over the voting power of the National Assembly which is to be elected on the basis of proportional representation and a universal franchise.

Then there is the question of violence — and the massacre in Bopatong last week which has resulted in the ANC suspending bilateral talks with the Government.

A decision on whether to continue negotiations at Codesa was expected to be taken today.

On the issue of slowing down the process of negotiated change, the Government blames the ANC for having set its own timetable or implementing the agreements reached at Codesa.

The ANC's demand was for the necessary legislation to be passed by the end of June. This objective seemed to have been realisable until deadlock was reached over voting powers of the new National Assembly.

The Government remains adamant that a 75 percent vote should be required in the assembly to approve articles in the new constitution. The ANC at first offered a compromise of 70 percent, but as this was rejected it has fallen back to its original demand of a two thirds majority.

Narrow as the difference is between the two positions, the Government's refusal to agree to the lower figure can only be because it feels more confident that, with its allies, it can achieve at least a 25 percent blocking vote, hence its insistence on a 75 percent majority. For the Government this is crucial if it is to be sure of having a decisive say in determining the division of power under the new constitution.

It has now become transparently clear that the Government wants more time to build up its electoral strength, hence the wish to slow down negotiations.

The evidence for this is provided by a statement of Pik Botha, who was recently elected chairman of the Transvaal region of the National Party.

"It is our purpose," he said, "to become the majority party and I believe we need another 10 percent to add to the 10 percent we have already gained; we will then approach the 50 percent plus situation. When we are the majority party we will still have to share power with the minority parties."

Mr Botha made it clear that the NP did not expect to get a clear majority on its own, but would depend on support through an alliance with three or four other parties. These are Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha, Chief Mangope's party in Bophuthatswana, the ruling re-

presenting Indians and coloureds.

Judging by recent polls, it seems possible that a majority of Indian and coloured voters will support parties opposed to the ANC and its allies. What is more doubtful is the actual voting strength of Inkatha and the two regimes in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei in free and fair elections.

However, the National Party is not counting only on the support of its putative allies, but is engaged in a major campaign to win non-white members. Somewhat daringly, Mr Botha has told his party faithful: "It is logical that the NP, the traditional party of the Afrikaners, could have a black leader in the future."

Meanwhile, the ANC has set into motion its plan of mass action which includes nationwide strikes, sit-ins and demonstrations. The aim is to paralyse the country for several weeks in order to demonstrate the ANC's actual strength.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa blamed the Government for having "plunged the negotiation process into a crisis and set itself on a confrontation course with our people". The crisis, he said, afforded the ANC the opportunity to "use its power on the ground and to force the Government out of power". He went on to say "there is no alternative to negotiations".

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer declared that it was "most irresponsible" of the ANC to "push up the political temperature at this stage", considering the present level of violence and the impact mass industrial action would have on the precarious economy with its already high level of unemployment. There could be no assurance that the campaign would not turn violent beyond the ANC's ability to control it.

Mr Coetzer said that "ultimatums cannot be part of negotiations. If one wants to negotiate, one must make compromises". The ANC reply to this is to point out that the compromises must be made by both sides; it had offered a compromise of 70 percent over the voting power of National Assembly; it was the Government which had refused to compromise.

Prof H W van der Merwe of the Centre for Intergroup studies at the University of Cape Town, like other experts in the dynamics of negotiation, forecast that where parties of unequal strength are engaged in negotiations, the weaker party is likely to use whatever power it has to increase its bargaining strength. Since the Government controls all the constitutional instruments of power, it is predictable that its opponents would mobilise their non-governmental power which resides in mass resistance.

There can be no mistaking the mood of militancy among the rank-and-file of the ANC. This was demonstrated at the recent conference of the ANC where the principal item on the agenda was the movement's economic policy. Although there was a significant shift towards moderating the ANC's programme of economic reform, this was not matched by the 600 delegates' overwhelming enthusiasm for taking a much stronger line against the Government. Critics of Nelson Mandela and his senior colleagues complained that they had proved themselves to be too accommodating in the Codesa talks. □

THE STAR 23-06-92

Nowhere to hide after Boipatong

NOBODY CAN be sure who was responsible for the massacre, but a climate has been created in which precise questions of evidence seem almost not to matter. The angry township mob that chased the president and his ministers ignominiously away seemed in no doubt as to who bears the blame.

Yet there is a degree of absurdity in accusing white authority every time blacks slaughter one another, for nobody had more to lose than President de Klerk.

With the earlier breakdown of constitutional negotiations, he had been well placed to resist the ANC's campaign of mass action.

This campaign, aimed at pressuring the Government into further concessions, and ultimately its complete overthrow, had not started well.

Launched last Tuesday, the campaign mustered sparse support: the ANC rally in Cape Town attracted only 5 000 people and the march in Johannesburg led by Nelson Mandela himself was only 2 000 strong.

Given the large demonstrations and successful work stayaways of years past, everything suggested that the campaign was about to flop.

Not only are workers not keen on political strikes in the midst of a deep recession, but every opinion poll monotonously shows huge majorities of all races preferring the Government's philosophy of power-sharing over the ANC's demand for simple majority rule.

By sticking firmly to his position, Mr de Klerk could not only claim to have a large popular majority on his side, but could

South Africa's precarious progress towards democracy is again in the balance in the wake of the massacre at Boipatong on Wednesday and the shambles of President de Klerk's subsequent visit to the troubled area. Nelson Mandela on Sunday accused the Government of complicity in the massacre and said he was calling off the constitutional talks, writes political scientist R W JOHNSON in The Times of London.

enjoy watching the ANC's vaunted campaign collapse under the suffocating weight of popular apathy.

The campaign's only hope of success lay in the possibility that the Government might overreact and shoot down demonstrators or strikers, thus generating genuine mass support.

By the same token, the outbreak of such violence and the police response was the last thing Mr de Klerk could afford.

So, whoever was responsible for the massacre of upwards of 39 people at Boipatong (which

means, with sad irony, "a place of hiding") can hardly have acted at Mr de Klerk's behest. There is, in any case, no reason to distrust the sincerity of his expression of sorrow.

What is hard to credit is the almost unbelievable stupidity of the Government's propaganda machine in announcing with such fanfare the president's impending visit, guaranteeing that the ANC would have time to cook up the furious reception Mr de Klerk got.

The massacre will now be investigated by a commission

headed by the universally respected Mr Justice Goldstone.

Sensational revelations cannot be expected, however.

All we know is that there is a history of conflict between the hostel and the local squatters, that a leading Inkatha activist was assassinated there last week, and that massive retaliation was on the cards.

One can predict that the commission will hear that the attackers were Zulu-speakers and there will be allegations of police collusion, but conclusive evidence will be in short supply.

Given that both Mr Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, have already charged the Government with complicity in the killings, any township citizen who took it into his head to testify in a spirit contrary to the ANC line would have to be a brave, indeed foolhardy, soul.

Equally, any hostel dweller pointing a finger at Inkatha is unlikely to have a safe life.

Despite Mr Mandela's statement on Sunday, the complete collapse of constitutional negotiations is unlikely, for the ANC, like the Government, has nowhere else to go.

But there can be little doubt that the Boipatong tragedy will strengthen the hand of the hardliners within the ANC.

South Africa is now in for a trial of strength, with the two sides looking more evenly matched than they did only a week ago, and with the clear danger that the moderates (including many within the African National Congress) will find their positions weakened at just the point when, for the country's sake, they need to be reinforced. □



Trigger fingers . . . ANC supporters reveal their feelings to Nelson Mandela in Evaton on Sunday.
Picture: AP

BUSINESS DAY 23-06-92

Deregulation would bring few benefits to JSE

RESERVE Bank Governor Chris Stals's recent announcement that a structural adjustment programme is to be formulated by the Reserve Bank in liaison with government to deregulate the SA economy has — following the deregulation of the aviation industry and business licences, together with the promise of an easier regime for liquor licencing and for the marketing of agricultural products — focused attention on the possible "deregulation" of the JSE.

At present the JSE is constituted along the lines of the London Stock Exchange (LSE) prior to "Big Bang" in October 1986.

It is a national stock market characterised by single capacity, strict restrictions on corporate membership and a sliding scale of fixed commissions.

SA's re-entry into the club of nations, the application by the Financial Services Board for membership of IOSCO, the securities regulators association, and pressures from the authorities for greater competition in SA's financial markets have all contributed towards the drive to "deregulate" the JSE on the London model. This would entail the intro-

duction of dual capacity trading, negotiated commission and the opening up of corporate membership.

Naturally, pressures to "deregulate" the JSE invite a superficial comparison with the LSE, which was transformed overnight on October 27 1986. Although at first blush, the comparison with London pre-October 1986 appears well made, closer examination reveals a major difference.

While the process of deregulation in London was driven by Prof Gower's investigation into investor protection and the Office of Fair Trading's strictures of single capacity, the driving force behind "Big Bang" was the abolition by the new Conservative government in October 1979 of all UK exchange controls.

This had the effect of radically opening domestic capital markets and pressurising the City of London to develop itself as the world centre for trading in international securities.

While "Big Bang" has clearly transformed the city, it has done so at enormous cost.

Inadequately capitalised broking firms have disappeared, most lead-

ing stockbrokers are now owned by banks, retail investors have taken flight from the market and major conflicts of interest have arisen in bank-owned broking firms acting as market-makers in shares in which they have a proprietary interest.

Add to this that the broking conglomerates are also merchant banks and the picture becomes disturbing.

Appalling levels of liquidity on the JSE (representing some 4.3% of overall market capitalisation in 1991) combined with a perceived need to be part of the new international order in capital markets, have driven the proponents of deregulation to argue that not only is it a matter of following international precedent, but that by eliminating restrictive practices and creating a so-called level playing field, liquidity on the JSE will not only be enhanced, but become resurgent.

This argument is a makeweight. First, and most importantly, in the presence of an extensive system of exchange controls, far more perva-

sive than that in Britain in 1979, liquidity will never be enhanced on the JSE if domestic capital is, in effect, trapped by state edict.

Second, the continued existence of marketable securities tax and the taxation treatment of the sale of securities within a five year limit, has had and will continue to have an inimical effect on liquidity.

Given SA's endemic levels of corruption, a strong argument against dual capacity is that by permitting a stockbroker to sell a client his own shares, a charter for the dishonest could well develop.

While no system is perfect, single capacity promotes the interest of market surveillance and transparency by, on the whole, ensuring that a broker acts in his client's best interests.

In an economy characterised by excessive concentrations of economic power — four major institutions control almost all the blue chip companies listed on the JSE — it must be debatable that the major beneficiaries of deregulation, the banks, not only stand in a symbiotic relationship with their largely institutional shareholders, but will face a conflict

of interest in dealing in first line securities which share the same institutional parentage.

The ending of financial sanctions is, in the presence of extensive exchange controls and considerable foreign investor uncertainty, unlikely to turn the JSE into a second London or a Taipei.

The move of international, particularly American, business to London which followed in the wake of "Big Bang" is, for these very reasons, not likely to happen to Johannesburg.

Nobody will disagree with the Kimber Committee in Canada that "the principal economic functions of the capital market are to assure the optimum allocation of financial resources in the economy, to permit maximum mobility and transferability of those resources, and to provide facilities for a continuing valuation of financial assets".

But there is no empirical evidence to suggest that the deregulation of the JSE will promote any of these laudable economic aims.

□ Leon is a partner in Webber Wentzel's corporate services department.

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MANDELA ASKS UN TO HELP

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela asked the United Nations yesterday to help solve the South African crisis, a UN official said.

Mr Mandela telephoned UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to ask the Security Council to find "ways and means to normalise the deteriorating situation in South Africa and try to resume the negotiations which have broken down", said Security Council President Paul Noterdaeme of Belgium.

More than 120 Blacks have died since Wednes-

day, when 39 men, women and children were slaughtered in Boipatong township. The African National Congress (ANC) blames the massacre on the government.

Mr Mandela told a rally in Boipatong on Sunday he was suspending bilateral contacts with the gov-

ernment. The ANC leadership would meet today to "examine its options" on Codesa.

Noterdaeme said the Security Council did not take any action because Mr Boutros-Ghali proposed that he discuss the

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