

Argus 29.5.92

POLITICS

Mandela rejects Goldstone findings

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Nelson Mandela has summarily dismissed the findings of the Goldstone Commission on the causes of violence in South Africa.

Opening the ANC's crucial four-day policy conference at Nasrec, near Johannesburg, yesterday, Mr Mandela told nearly 800 cheering delegates that the report was "superficial".

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone released to parliament this week a bombshell report which said the primary cause for the violence was "political rivalry" between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Although he did not specifically exonerate the security forces — consistently accused of fomenting "black-on-black" violence — Mr Justice Goldstone's report was immediately interpreted by the government as a vindication of repeated

claims that its "hands were clean".

In his keynote speech, Mr Mandela went out of his way to avoid a personal attack on the judge, but left no doubt that the ANC rejected the commission's conclusions.

Delegates to the ANC conference said this raised serious questions about the future credibility of the government-appointed commission.

Mr Mandela said to prolonged applause: "The (Goldstone) statement pre-empts the work of his own commission."

Mr Mandela said that to attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and IFP was to ignore the fact that the rivalry had been fostered and manipulated by the government and its security forces.

"Secondly, with regard to who holds the key responsibility for bringing the violence to an end — to place this responsibility on the ANC and IFP is

to ignore the reality that it is the National Party regime which wields state power."

The commission was still charged with, among many other things, investigating alleged military training by the SADF of at least 200 IFP members "who are still loose in the community".

"It is also investigating secret funding by the regime of the IFP over a period of at least four years, and the involvement of the KwaZulu Police and the SA Police in West-
selton.

"The judgment in the Trust Feed massacre case is unmistakable proof that none of this can be dismissed as irrelevant or imagined."

Other delegates expressed outrage that the report appeared to apportion blame equally between the IFP and the ANC — a conclusion they disputed hotly — and that the involvement of the security forces in violence was treated as secondary.

Government bugged us, says ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A bugging device was found in an ANC meeting hall at Nasrec where the organisation is holding a four-day conference on an economic programme for a post-apartheid South Africa.

ANC spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan, holding the device, a miniature microphone with an in-built transmitter said to have a range of between 500 m and one km, said the main suspect was the government.

The ANC had scheduled a discussion on the role of the police and the army and other security services.

"This is an example of what we are up against. There is very little doubt who is behind this and our principal suspect is the South African government," Mr Jordan said.

● Police told The Argus political staff that they had no reason to spy on legitimate political organisations such as the ANC.

Emotional welcome for ex-Democratic Party MPs

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Five former Democratic Party MPs have exchanged the comfort of parliament's leather benches for plastic delegates' chairs at the ANC policy conference here.

Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Rob Haswell, Mr Dave Dalling and Mr Pierre Cronje were given an emotional welcome, including a standing ovation.

Four of the five attended in their new capacities as delegates of the Western Cape region of the ANC, while Mr Cronje represented the Natal Midlands.

Shortly after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela ended his opening speech, an official, Ms Cheryl Carolus, asked that the five join the organisation's leaders on the platform.

They were escorted to the stage amid tumultuous applause, shaking hands with delegates as they made their way to the front of the hall.

The five then greeted ANC

secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Mandela.

Mr Dalling said afterwards: "I have never experienced anything like that in my life before."

Mr Van Eck said he had felt a "wonderful sense of liberation", while Mr Haswell said it was a "warm and tingling sort of experience".

Mr Momberg said it was an "emotional" experience that made him feel he had been accepted unconditionally.

The MPs — who now sit in the cross-benches in the House of Assembly — left the DP for the ANC five weeks ago after a protracted dispute over where the party should place itself in the changed political scene.

PAC rally flops

TZANEEN. — Only 30 people attended a Pan-Africanist Congress rally in Nkoma township here — and even the guest speaker, PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemaadzhivanini, did not arrive. — Sapa.

ANC

Cape Times
29.5.92

threat

Mass action
plan after
July deadline

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday set a July deadline for the government to negotiate on a new constitution, warning that blacks may otherwise take to the streets and stage crippling strikes.

In separate comments before about 300 delegates at the National Exhibition Centre outside Johannesburg, Mr Mandela also attacked the findings of an independent commission which on Wednesday largely blamed the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party for ongoing violence in the country.

Speaking at the opening of a four-day ANC policy conference, he said a proposal to delegates had set July as a deadline for

possible mass action "to break the intransigence of the regime".

Mr Mandela announced the deadline after the Congress of South African Trade Unions announced plans on Tuesday for a high-profile programme of marches, demonstrations, stayaways and even a general strike.

Cosatu assistant secretary-general Mr Sam Shilowa said the campaign was designed to "strengthen the hands of the (ANC) negotiators."

Mr Mandela, referring to recent deadlock at Codesa, said: "The inescapable reality is that the regime laid bare its fundamental contempt of democracy and its unmitigated desire to hang on to power."

He said the ANC blamed the police and army for carnage in black townships, despite the findings of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of South Africa's standing commission on violence.

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● Spying device at ANC talks — Page 2



COMRADELY GREETINGS . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela warmly greets her estranged husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, at the start of the ANC policy conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

A NC THREAT

ANC threat

On a more general issue, Mr Mandela accused the National Party of duplicity in its talks with black political leaders.

There was proof that the South African Defence Forces had ordered the assassination of prominent black activists, he said.

This was a reference to the publication of a document implicating the present head of military intelligence, General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, in the assassination of four activists in 1984. The government has not denied the authenticity of the document.

Mr Mandela also said many political prisoners had still not been released despite intensive discussions between the ANC and the government.

"This matter must be taken out of the realm of bilateral talks between the ANC and the South African government and placed within the ambit of Codesa so that it can be resolved speedily and satisfactorily."

Mr Mandela stressed that there was no question of the ANC pulling out of negotiations. "We are in Codesa because the minority regime must be denied the right to rule our country. We are in Codesa in fulfilment of our historic mission, namely, the transfer of power to the people," he said.

Codesa had not failed. "It is the National Party which has failed," he said, to rapturous applause.

Mr Mandela also said: "The ANC must emerge from this conference with clear policy proposals."

Like past ANC statements, Mr Mandela's speech gave no details on what the proposals would be, but he acknowledged the importance of satisfying both poor blacks and wealthy whites. — Political Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

Man gets medals 47 years late

QUEENSTOWN. — Forty-seven years after the conclusion of World War

Mixed reaction to Goldstone

Cape Times, 29.5.92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Justice Goldstone's statement that the ANC and Inkatha were ultimately responsible for township violence was superficial and pre-emptive, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at the opening of the ANC's policy conference, Mr Mandela said Mr Justice Goldstone's statement was superficial because "to attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and IFP is to ignore that the rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the government and its security forces".

In Cape Town last night, Deputy Justice Minister Mr Danie Schutte said in a statement to Sapa that he was amazed at Mr Mandela's scepticism about the Goldstone Commission's findings.

The report had unmasked the ANC's quest for marxist-type absolute power, conducted under the disguise of a commitment to democracy.

In response to the report, IFP chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that Inkatha would not prevent its supporters from carrying "traditional" weapons.

Mr Mdlalose said he did not know who the Inkatha leadership should disarm as the organisa-



DRAWING ON EXPERIENCE... ANC chairman Mr Oliver Tambo and president Mr Nelson Mandela put their heads together at the movement's policy conference, which is expected to put a sharper edge on ANC constitutional and economic demands.

tion — unlike the ANC — did not have a trained army. What some Inkatha members carried "on certain occasions" were traditional weapons. These were "no more dangerous than a fist, a shoe or a stone".

The Goldstone report stated that even if the government was fostering the violence it could not flourish without the participation of members of both the ANC and Inkatha.

Mr Mandela said: "With regard to who holds the key responsibility for bringing the violence to an end — to place this responsibility on the ANC and IFP is to ignore

the reality that it is the National Party regime who wields state power."

He also charged that Mr Justice Goldstone's statement pre-empted the ongoing work of his commission.

The commission was currently investigating military training by the SADF of at least 200 IFP members and the secret funding of the IFP by the government over a period of at least four years.

"We remain convinced that the police and army are responsible for fomenting the violence in our country," Mr Mandela said.

Women ignore ousting

JOHANNESBURG. — The suspension of the regional executive committee (REC) of the PWV region of the ANC Women's League took a new turn yesterday with a statement by the REC that it intended to ignore the ousting.

"The democratically-elected REC of this region has come to the conclusion that the 'suspension' has no force and effect," the REC statement said.

The decision to suspend the REC

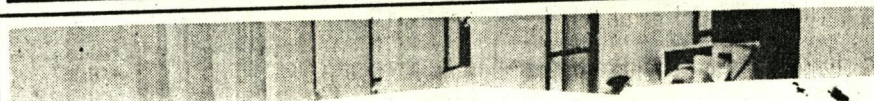
was taken last Sunday at a meeting of 33 branches of the ANCWL in the PWV region and was later endorsed by the league's national executive committee.

But the REC statement said it intended to carry on business as usual.

It had also called a meeting of all the relevant branches of the Women's League on Sunday, June 7, to try to clarify the position. — Sapa

Perot picks up the pace

DALLAS. — Mr Ross Perot yesterday began picking up the pace of his unofficial US presidential campaign even as the political primary season wound down for Democratic frontrunner Mr Bill Clinton and Re-



1992

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CITY

Probe into deaths of 'Cradock Four' gains momentum

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The investigation into the deaths of the "Cradock Four" was proceeding on several fronts, acting Attorney-General for the Eastern Cape Mr Michael Hodgen said today.

Mr Hodgen said a team under his direction was gathering information following allegations which appeared in the newspaper New Nation about the deaths of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three colleagues in the Eastern Cape.

President De Klerk has ordered a new investigation into the deaths of the four — Mr Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Mr Hodgen said he could not

say at this stage whether an inquest would be held or whether charges would be brought against anyone.

Any inquest would be held in open court, but some proceedings could be held in camera.

He had tried to reach independent MP Mr Jan van Eck, who claimed in parliament earlier this week that Mr P W Botha had allegedly said his government was responsible for the execution of large numbers of black radicals.

He wanted Mr Van Eck to contact his team if he had any information that could help them.

"I have spoken to his wife," he said.

There had been no communi-

cation from Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

General Holomisa's refusal to hand over a file allegedly containing details of state-sponsored violence was hampering investigations.

Mr Hodgen said the original document was vital to the investigation.

He appealed to anyone with information to contact his team.

People could contact either him or Advocate Mr J P M Marais, chief clerk of the Attorney-General, Grahamstown, ☎ 0461 29333 or the police investigating team, headed by Colonel Kobus Jonker, ☎ 012 310 1287 (o) or ☎ 012 543 0556 (a/h).

Prices include VAT 488 4911 CAPE TOWN, FRIDAY MAY 29 1992 The Cape's largest daily newspaper

ANC gets tough

Argus 29.5.

Political Staff

THE GOLDSTONE Commission's latest report on violence has unleashed a fresh round of invective between government and African National Congress as the two groups continued at each other's throats today.

"The findings have unmasked the ANC's quest for Marxist-type absolute power, conducted under a disguise of a commitment to democracy," said the deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte.

But the report, which said the root of the trouble was the ANC-IFP power struggle, has not stifled ANC accusations that the government and its securi-

ty forces are fomenting the killing and destruction.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela reiterated this yesterday, saying the ANC-IFP rivalry had been "fostered and manipulated" by the State.

And in his opening speech to the ANC's four-day National Policy Conference at Nasrec near Johannesburg Mr Mandela said from now on negotiations would be coupled with mass action.

"In the interests of all the people of our country we must break the (negotiations) deadlock. We know that the masses of our people is a most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanism."

However he gave tacit support to Cosatu's planned programme of mass action, scheduled for July.

"We have said that negotiations are a site of struggle. Consequently, the negotiations under way at Codesa must be supported by other means of struggle. A draft alliance programme

of action will be discussed in this conference."

He revealed that a special ANC "negotiations commission" had been set up — and that one of its primary tasks was to link the negotiations process to practical action by the ANC.

"This conference will consider activities to break the intransigence of the regime," he said. "The draft proposal has earmarked July as the deadline."

While laying the blame for the failure of Codesa 2 squarely at the door of the Government, Mr Mandela said there was no question of the ANC pulling out of Codesa.

"We should not feel defeated after the failure of Codesa 2 to deliver in terms of the timetable which we have proposed," he said. "If anything, that reality should spur us on to strive for the deadlines which we ourselves have defined."

The ANC leader said the current conference was "essentially about preparing to govern". The ANC should emerge with clear policy proposals for a future democratic government.

He said the conference would seek to inspire South Africa's poorest, most downtrodden people, but also "those who have benefited from apartheid."

"Let us provide them with a vision of the future — a vision of a single nation, a vision of an ANC govern-

ment which will be able to govern competently and inclusively."

He added that "even those who have benefited from apartheid, live in great fear and insecurity."

■ In an escalating war of words which started during Codesa 2 earlier this month, neither the government nor ANC have relented in their mutual blame for the event's failure.

Both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela have been accused of personal responsibility for the deaths which have taken place.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer described Mr Mandela's initial salvos, delivered on a visit to Sweden and Switzerland, as the type of comments which fanned violence.

Truncated

Meyer said that from the Government's perspective, "we can still say it (an announcement on Thursday) is still attainable." He cautioned "extensive debate" lay ahead and also expressed concern "that we have not made significant progress on the violence issue".

Yesterday's debate on the technical committee's report on violence was truncated after several negotiators raised concerns about its contents. A proposal by Meyer that the technical committee expand its report to indicate what conditions were necessary to eliminate violence was adopted.

It will report back on Tuesday. Meyer was supported by Ramaphosa and IFP negotiator Walter

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The talks

● FROM PAGE 1.

Felgate. The 15-member commission on regions was also appointed during the day.

It will make recommendations within six weeks on the delimitation of regions for elections as well as their implications for the "structures of the constitution".

There was considerable relief among negotiators that a potential crisis had been defused yesterday when the Government and PAC emerged from an early-morning meeting with a compromise agreement.

It allowed the PAC to stay in the process and was hailed by key negotiators as an indication of the resilience now inherent in negotiations.

"It was an indication that the negotiating council's roots are firmly anchored," Meyer said. "It was the first time the resumed process had been subjected to these types of demands."

"The fact that all parties are at the end of the week still at the table is in itself significant," he said.

Ramaphosa said that although Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had tried to "sabotage" negotiations, they had been salvaged by Thursday's

emergency session to discuss the arrests of PAC members.

The fragility of the process had been thrown into sharp relief by the raids. The spotlight has now moved to the PAC national executive committee meeting today in Johannesburg. In terms of a joint statement by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander and Meyer, the PAC undertook to "discuss its commitment to armed action and its position on violence".

The organisation further undertook to give "a clear unambiguous report" on these positions at a meeting with the Government on Tuesday. The Government agreed to release certain key PAC members and return those documents police had seized and which were not required for investigations.

PAC sources said the organisation was unlikely to suspend its armed struggle or to sign the National Peace Accord after the NEC meeting. However, it may commit itself to peace.

Government sources have indicated that it would press for compliance to earlier resolutions taken by the negotiating council. These resolutions committed parties to peace and barred them from further participation if they did not do so.

New hot seat at Trade Centre

**ESTHER WAUGH and
CHRIS WHITFIELD**

A WEEK of political turmoil has exposed a yawning gap between the Government's negotiators at the World Trade Centre and some of their Cabinet colleagues.

Top Government sources are adamant that the differences are more about style than substance, and that talk of a split should be ignored.

However, their political opponents believe that hawks in the Cabinet are bent on destroying, or at least manipulating, the process.

Baptism of fire

Government sources said differences existed between those who had been exposed to "the mood of South Africa" at the World Trade Centre and those in Parliament who were exposed only to "the mood of whites".

At the World Trade Centre, Kriel faced a baptism of fire at the Negotiating Council on Thursday night — the first time he had attended a council meeting.

Of more political significance was the fact that it was the first time a Cabinet Minister had

● TO PAGE 2.

Hot seat

● FROM PAGE 1.

had to account for his and his department's actions before the Negotiating Council. Kriel was warned by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa that it could be repeated.

The flip side of the coin is that it has created a precedent — one apparently insisted on by the Government — and other parties can also be called to give account of their actions.

Kriel fared poorly in the session. He appeared to deliberately duck questions, particularly those on why he did not inform Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer and the other Ministers at the

negotiating table.

He was subjected to harsh criticism, especially from Ramaphosa, and he was told that he was a danger to negotiations. SACP chairman Joe Slovo said the "best service" Kriel could do for the negotiating process was to resign.

The fact that constitutional talks are still on track is due in no small measure to the commitment by all groups to negotiations.

The Patriotic Front members in the Negotiating Council urged the PAC to remain in the process and not to fall into "the trap set by Kriel".

The PAC was still there yesterday. Kriel was not, his place once again being filled by Meyer. Has Kriel fallen into his own trap?

Released prisoners 'mostly ANC members'

WHETHER the transgression was politically motivated was the universal, unchanged test for the release of political prisoners, the Minister of Correctional Services, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on his Budget Vote, he said 1 477 prisoners had been released since February 2, 1990, most of whom had been ANC members.

A panel of judges had drawn up the guidelines for the release of political prisoners and the government had received strong representations from

across the whole political spectrum.

The release programme was important for the negotiation process and the idea had been that "this should clear the slate".

The government had to be fair and even-handed to all.

Yet the Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) complained when one IFP member was released, but had nothing to say about released ANC members.

The LHR hid behind its human rights mantle. It was time South Africa knew exactly what they were playing at.

If the country wanted to build a new future, the book would have to be closed on the past.

"That is why every-one has to be judged by the same norms."

Mr Vlok said Mr Mahmoud Rajab (DP Springfield) had warned about a possible civil war in the prisons. The government was aware of and prepared for this.

He also wished to add his shock and sympathy at the attack on the car of the wife of the MP for Ermelo. Mr. Moolman Mentz, near DF Malan Airport on Thursday.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Agreement

YOU can look at the Pan Africanist Congress-government agreement on the PAC-Azanian People's Liberation Army arrests in two ways.

The first is that it puts the negotiations back on track.

The PAC remains at the talks — at least until the National Executive Committee meets today to consider its position.

The PAC undertakes to discuss its "commitment to armed action and its position on violence".

It will report back to another meeting with the government on Tuesday with a "clear, unambiguous report on its position in this regard".

One assumes by this that the PAC will decide whether APLA, its military wing, will continue its killing of Whites, particularly farmers.

It will no longer be possible for the PAC to say simply that it is not in charge of APLA, which has its headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, and therefore has no control over its actions.

If the PAC says "clearly and unambiguously" that its armed struggle is at an end, we will be the first to say thank goodness for that.

A second way to look at the agreement is that the government bowed to pressure to make concessions that would keep the PAC at the talks.

Look at it this way:

The government agreed to release PAC National Executive Committee members Thomas Likotsi, Waters Toboti and Dr Solly Skosana immediately.

Addressing the negotiations on Thursday night, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, did not refer by name to Mr Likotsi, but accused Mr Toboti, head of publicity, of involvement in crimes already mentioned.

This could be a whole range of crimes placed at the door of other arrested NEC men, but the charges are not specified.

Dr Skosana, head of economic affairs, was accused of being involved in co-ordinating APLA task forces on the East Rand and the housing, funding and medical care of APLA members.

The release of these three men suggests there was nothing against them — or they were freed under pressure.

In his statement, Mr Kriel said that Mr Jaki Seroke, head of political affairs, was accused of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

He appeared in court yesterday.

The government is to provide on Tuesday a further report on NEC members Enoch Zulu, Maxwell Nemadzivhanani and Abel Dube.

Mr Kriel accused Mr Zulu of a murder allegedly committed in 1977; two charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition; providing funds for the purchase of firearms and possession of an illegal passport.

Mr Nemadzivhanani, national organiser, was said to be facing two charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Information was being investigated that he might have been an accomplice in the murder of Mrs Sandra Swanepoel, a farmer's wife, of Letsitele, and that he applied for and received three identity documents.

As for Mr Dube, PAC intelligence chief, Mr Kriel said he was possibly connected to a murder in the Western Cape; and he allegedly drew up plans for attacks on police stations as well as a list of SAP and SADF members to be eliminated.

We do not know whether on Tuesday Mr Kriel will have reasons for releasing these men as well.

If he has, then one might ask why they were arrested in the first place.

Meanwhile, of the original 73 PAC/APLA members held, only 30 are still in detention. A swoop of this magnitude must have had a purpose, and the police must have been confident that they would net some important fish, otherwise it was a waste of time and the row the arrests caused should have been avoided.

Or is the answer simply that pressure forced the police or the government, or both, to backtrack?

Constitutional principles tabled at negotiations

THE technical committee on constitutional matters yesterday presented negotiators with a comprehensive set of constitutional principles which, if accepted, could signal important progress in the peace process.

The technical committee's report was tabled at yesterday's session of the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, in Kempton Park.

Negotiators for the government and the African National Congress and their allies said if the constitutional principles were accepted by the council before next Thursday's negotiating forum meeting, a date for an election might be set next week.

The council adopted a declaration of intent at the beginning of May which said if the negotiation process moved forward "sufficiently" by next week, an election date not later than the end of April next year would be set.

Negotiators aligned to the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) were sceptical, however, yesterday that sufficient progress could be made by next week.

Their argument is that the public commission dealing with the boundaries of regions has first to issue a report before sufficient progress can be made.

The technical committee on constitutional matters yesterday tabled 14 "general constitutional principles", as well as a

detailed list of principles dealing with the "allocation of powers to different levels of government".

The general constitutional principles begin with a recommendation that the future constitution "shall provide for the establishment of a single sovereign state with a democratic system of government and a common South African citizenship".

"There shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary, with appropriate checks and balances to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness."

"The diversity of languages, cultures and religions shall be acknowledged, promoted and protected."

Government shall be structured at national, regional and local levels.

"At each level of government there shall be democratic representation."

"Each level of government shall have appropriate and adequate legislative and executive powers and functions that will enable each level to function effectively."

Amendments to the constitution, including alterations to the powers, boundaries, functions or institutions of regions, "shall require special procedures involving specified majorities".

"Collective rights of self-determination in forming, joining and maintaining organs of civil society, including lin-

guistic, cultural and religious associations, shall, on the basis of non-discrimination and free association, be recognised and protected."

The status of traditional leaders shall be acknowledged and recognised "in an appropriate manner in the constitution".

"Provision shall be made for participation of minority political parties in the legislative process in a manner consistent with democracy."

It further recommends that a financial and fiscal commission, to include representatives of each of the regions, be constituted to advise the national government on the distribution of financial and fiscal resources. — Sapa.

All outside talks are sidelined, says Mandela

ANYONE who stays out of South Africa's negotiations will be politically sidelined, African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference at the ANC head office in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela said despite the recent drama in multi-party negotiations as a result of this week's arrest of Pan Africanist Congress members, "there is no reason to be pessimistic about the future".

"You will notice the way we (negotiators) handled demands like self-determination from the

Right-wing ... and the PAC crisis, in spite of sharp differences.

Process

"I am optimistic ... the democratic process is strong enough to weather all storms."

Mr Mandela was conciliatory when he was asked if he still trusted the government after Tuesday's police raids on PAC members.

"This should not lead to any extraordinary panic," he said, and in an apparent reference to the PAC's threat to withdraw from negotiations, added,

"anyone who stays out of the process will definitely be sidelined".

Asked about a meeting with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said he had been prepared to meet the Inkatha leader after Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini reportedly volunteered his services as facilitator.

Misquoted

The king, however, apparently had been misquoted and a meeting was therefore now not possible.

The ANC leader said violence was a feature of the kind of transition South Africa was going through.

"It is very naive to think violence will end before a democratic government is in place."

The IFP yesterday morning reiterated its belief that a public meeting by the two leaders and a joint commitment to peace would "go a long way to instilling similar sentiments in their followers".

The IFP repeated its offer to Mr Mandela to meet Chief Buthelezi at the earliest possible opportunity and said Inkatha had no preconditions for such a meeting. — Sapa.

ANC/IFP leaders' meeting off

CAPE TOWN. — Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he is astonished and disappointed that African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela is no longer prepared to meet him on a one-to-one basis to find ways of curbing political violence.

Chief Buthelezi said in Cape Town yesterday

that it was vital for the two leaders to meet in order to set an example of reconciliation for their followers.

He said it was not the function of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to facilitate a meeting between them.

He was still determined to try to arrange a meeting, however, as he believed that the problem of

political violence could not be resolved if it was not jointly addressed by the IFP and ANC.

Earlier this week Mr Mandela agreed to meet Chief Buthelezi after King Zwelithini reportedly offered to act as a facilitator.

But, speaking during a tour of Witwatersrand schools on Thursday and again at a conference in

Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC leader claimed the King had been incorrectly reported, and said the intended meeting was now off.

The King could not be reached to confirm this.

Mr Mandela also cited the ANC's old position that violence could only be ended when a democratic government was in place. — Sapa.

Tokoza: Police are not to blame

By Carol Hills

THE Goldstone Commission's preliminary inquiry into the violence at Tokoza following Saturday's march, in which 13 people died and 61 were injured, found that the police had acted responsibly and sensitively and that allegations against the SAP were based on incorrect information.

The commission in a statement yesterday commended the ANC alliance for undertaking a complete evaluation of the conduct of mass marches in light of the events at Tokoza.

It also expressed its appreciation to ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, for his personal role in the evaluation and said this reflected the seriousness in which the ANC viewed the matter.

The commission said the facts not in dispute indicated that:

- There were substantially fewer marshals at the march, from the Tokoza Stadium to the Alberton City Hall, than the 1 000 the ANC alliance organisers had undertaken to provide. There were not sufficient marshals present to control the marchers.

- ANC alliance organisers gave no consideration to the desirability of

marching past the Tokoza hostel, which was known to house people who would have strong objections to such a march.

- ANC alliance organisers made an "error of judgment" in failing to consider alternative routes for the march when, on the morning of the march, they were informed of hostility at the Tokoza hostel.

- A fracas broke out between marchers and hostel dwellers when the marchers reached the hostel, but was broken up by police using teargas, rubber bullets and bird shot. No injuries or deaths were known to have resulted from this action.

- A group of about 10 people, who were behind the hostel and not in sight of marchers, then fired into one of the hostel buildings.

- A shoot-out ensued in which firearms were used from both within the hostel and within the marchers. One AK-47 was found on the road where the marchers had been proceeding.

- Some of the marchers proceeded to Khumalo Bridge. At least five people began firing at members of the SAP with AK-47 rifles. The police returned fire with live am-

munition. There were no reports of deaths or injuries.

The commission said the ANC alliance conceded that attacks made by some of their spokesmen against police conduct on the day in question were based on incorrect information. The alliance had retracted these allegations on the basis of

that misinformation.

The Tokoza Hostel Dweller's Association regretted hostel residents' use of firearms against the marchers and undertook to take appropriate steps to ensure that hostel dwellers were not in possession of illegal firearms. The Inkatha Freedom Party supported the undertaking.

CP slams govt, PAC agreement

Citizen Reporter
and Sapa

THE Conservative Party yesterday described the agreement between the government and the PAC as absolutely shocking and a clear sign that the government had now capitulated.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said in Cape Town the decision was a setback for the maintenance of law and order in South Africa.

It was now clear to the CP that the government had no intention to stop violence.

"With this, the gov-

ernment gave a green light to the PAC to carry on with violence," Dr Hartzenberg said.

In terms of the agree-

ment, three senior PAC detained members were released yesterday. They are Dr Solly Sko-

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CP slams agreement

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sana, Mr Waters Toboti and Mr Thomas Likotsi.

They were released from John Vorster Square yesterday afternoon.

PAC secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, was also released and was charged with illegal possession of a firearm.

He appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court late yesterday as the courts were closing for the day.

Dr Skosana and Mr Toboti were at the court to lend support to Mr Seroke.

Defence attorney, Mr N M Mavundla, apologised to the court for the lateness of the hour,

but said the matter had not been in his hands.

The magistrate, Mr H Badenhorst, postponed the case to June 14 for further investigation.

He released Mr Seroke, 33, of Lily Avenue, Berea, Johannesburg, on warning.

A report on the other detainees, including NEC members, Mr Enoch Zulu, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, and Mr Abel Dube, will be submitted at a bilateral meeting on Tuesday.

The PAC will then make its position clear on violence and armed action.

It will give a "clear unambiguous report on its position in this regard".

The PAC's national executive committee will meet today to dis-

cuss the issue.

The government agreed that all material and property confiscated from PAC offices during the raid this week would be returned, while an assessment of damage to PAC property would be provided by the government when it meets the organisation on Tuesday.

PAC secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, said while they would participate in yesterday's proceedings, the PAC National Executive Committee would meet today to assess the climate for further participation.

National Council of Trade Unions general secretary, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, was not arrested and detained

during the swoop on the Pan Africanist Congress, NACTU said in a statement yesterday.

The statement, signed by Mr Ngcukana himself, said he had been in Brussels at the time of the raids and only returned to South Africa on Thursday.

NACTU's offices were, however, raided by police this week, and the trade union federation was seeking legal advice following the police action.

NACTU said advice was also being sought following the detention of staff members and statements by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and the Ministry's spokesman, Capt Craig Kotze, "with a view to instituting legal proceedings".

SLIM CHANCE OF ELECTION DATE

THE chances that multi-party negotiators will set an election date next week as predicted appeared slim after a long day of negotiating at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park yesterday.

A meeting of the 26-party negotiating council

managed only to deal with two of seven technical committee reports which are crucial for progress.

"Maybe we expected too much from the technical committees," a negotiator commented afterwards. "This could become a lengthy process."

The government and

African National Congress maintained there was still a chance an election date could be set at next Thursday's negotiating forum.

However, they admitted negotiators faced an uphill task if they wanted to complete the workload in time.

Members of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) said yesterday evening they doubted the negotiating council would achieve the task.

The council only meets once more, on Tuesday, before Thursday's forum.

Members of the planning committee confirmed they would meet twice before the Thursday meeting and would be assessing progress.

Yesterday began with a meeting between the government and the Pan Africanist Congress on the controversial police swoop on PAC members on Tuesday, and it was later announced the PAC would remain in the negotiation process.

However, the pressures

Poll date chance slim

FROM PAGE 1

of Thursday night's special session of the council on the police swoop, which ended after midnight, took its toll on negotiators, and by yesterday afternoon participants appeared drained of energy.

In the end, the awaited debate on the report of the technical committee on constitutional matters was not held.

Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said afterwards he was concerned about the lack of progress made by the council in its

discussions on the technical committee report on violence.

A spokesman for the committee admitted to the council there were "some difficulties" within the committee. "There are political agendas."

A resolution proposed by Mr Meyer was adopted which specified what the council wanted the technical committee to do for its next report on Tuesday.

The committee will now examine specifically what conditions are needed to eliminate violence.

ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa,

said yesterday evening he remained confident of agreement on an election date.

Inkatha Freedom Party chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, however, commented: "I am still worried that we're moving too fast."

PAC foreign affairs secretary, Mr Gora Ebrahim, said as far as the PAC was concerned, yesterday was the "first substantive meeting" of the negotiating council.

"There is a lot of common ground, (but) there are also serious differences," Mr Ebrahim said. — Sapa.

radation of the environment, the highly conservative nature of the white population and of the police force in the area, the strong concentration of returned exiles in the Vaal, anarchy resulting from the breakdown of administration, a (rumoured) plot on the part of the Government to use the Vaal as a testing ground for destabilisation policies, the ready availability of weapons and inter-organisational rivalry".

The township environment was very poor. Recreational facilities were virtually non-existent. There were no parks, few sports fields (the few fields available were mostly neglected) and no playgrounds for children.

Living conditions were sub-standard and the air was polluted. A recent health survey conducted at schools in the Vaal area found that 70 percent of children suffered from respiratory illnesses.

The administrator of Sebokeng — the most populous of the six Vaal townships, with 28 000 houses and a population of just less than 500 000 — estimated that at least half its people were out of work. The proportion was thought to be typical of the other five major Vaal townships.

MUNICIPAL personnel and private construction companies refused to work in the townships for fear of car hijackings or physical attacks. Municipal property was vandalised and sabotaged, black policemen had been forced to evacuate their homes, and doctors had been robbed by thugs posing as patients.

Police in Vereeniging said Sebokeng and other Vaal townships were "no-go" areas for whites.

Comrades had built barricades and dug trenches in the townships' streets. All factors combined to paint a picture of a militant, anarchic and highly politicised region.

Although the report dealt mainly with violence, paranoia and a general sense of insecurity in the area, the delegation said it had observed

promising signs of normality.

"We had the pleasure of being invited to a ballroom-dancing competition, organised by the ANC Youth League in conjunction with the Sebokeng Dancing Society," members said. "Before a stern-looking jury in a bare concrete hall, young couples performed waltzes and tangos in an attempt by the ANC to broaden support by engaging in a variety of activities. As one ANC Youth League leader explained: 'Not all youth is interested in never-ending meetings, workshops and toyi-toying'."

THE report added: "We saw schools where teachers were teaching and students were studying, we met many people who in various ways were working for a better future.

"One encouraging aspect of the peace process in South Africa is the fact that a broad range of people has become involved in a variety of negotiations and discussions at different levels.

"Transforming South Africa from an apartheid state to a more open and democratic society is not only the business of men (and a handful of women) at the top. Negotiations are held at local level between white municipalities and civic organisations from the townships on restructuring local government and a common future in undivided cities.

"The National Peace Accord and its peace committees meet regularly, trying to find peaceful ways of dealing with conflicts ... no doubt, the mode of operation of peace committees calls for improvement. But the important fact is that they exist, and that many of them function effectively at one level or another.

"This broad level of involvement on various levels is a unique feature, not found in most countries that are trying to make the transition from war to peace and from authoritarian rule to democratic government. Many people have a stake in making it work."

TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE: Dutch observers lash out at police and

politicians' actions and indifference in the seething Vaal

A DUTCH observer mission investigating violence in the Vaal area has castigated the security forces and political parties for their roles in it.

The mission's report, published in the Netherlands, claims there is wide-scale abuse of power on the part of security forces.

It says State violence against black township residents is by far the worst form of violence threatening South Africa.

However, the report reserves serious criticism for political organisations, accusing them of overlooking murder and intimidation.

The mission, sponsored by three Dutch police unions, was made up of two senior police officers — Gert van Beek of Amsterdam and Joop Koops of Gronigen — and Amsterdam advocate Willem van Manen, who previously visited South Africa as an observer of political trials on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists.

The mission, which decided to observe matters at grassroots level, was based for three weeks in Sebokeng's Zone 7 — scene of some of the worst violence in recent years. Members stayed in Sebokeng Hostel, known as Vietnam, and the nearby Cuba squatter camp.

"Our report is based on the specific experiences of the delegation between March 4 and 25," said Fons Geerling, a member of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement who acted as facilitator for the mission. "During that time we held numerous meetings with police officers, both black and white, ranging in rank from brigadier to constable. Except for an initial hassle about being refused visas, no obstacles were placed in the way of our work."

They also interviewed many members of the major parties and organisations either directly affected by or who took part in the violence, and made several recommendations on improving police conduct in the townships.

Blood on all their hands

We have no right to yell 'Fire!' in a

WE HAVE the right to kill those who kill us." Not the words of an Old Testament prophet, warning of retribution, but a direct quotation from a speech given on the East Rand this week from a man likely to hold a post in the next Cabinet. His name -- Tokyo Sexwale.

Mr Sexwale is chairman of the ANC's FWV region. He was speaking to a crowd of supporters in the wake of the violence which erupted last weekend. The violence appears to have been triggered by the ANC insisting on marching past an Inkatha-controlled hostel.

Clearly, there has been a great deal of til-for-tat in the wake of the march. Were the police in-

involved, as both Inkatha and the ANC claim? The Goldstone Commission has announced that it intends to investigate.

But let's examine two key issues -- and examine them in broad terms, so as not to preempt any findings the commission may eventually make.

Does any group have the right to stage a march likely to erupt in violence, or even to cause violence as a peripheral item?

Supporters of such organisations will argue their right to freedom of assembly. Of course, it's not a right yet, but ought to be, and hopefully will be enshrined in a future constitution.

The ANC, for example, demanded that it be allowed to exercise such a right in its planned

NOTEBOOK

CHRIS Gibbons



march on Ulundi. It went ahead with the march on Bisho -- and who can forget the outcome there?

There's the rub -- and I can best illustrate my point by referring to another right -- freedom

of speech. As I have written many times in this column, freedom of speech involves not only being able to say what you yourself want, but according the same status to the next man, however much you dislike his views. It's a

crowded theatre

basic right.

But freedom of speech ends at a certain point. You may not shout "Fire!" in a crowded theatre. If you do, you will be held responsible for the consequences.

To insist on holding a certain march at a certain venue under certain political conditions is no different from shouting "Fire!"

From this, we can see that the word "right" is becoming overworked and undervalued in our political context.

Which brings me to the opening quotation from Mr Sexwale.

Certainly, supporters of the ANC have many rights. But they are no different from any other citizen of the land, and even the continued and iniquitous exemption from the vote does not ac-

cord them special status.

They do not have a right to kill those who kill them.

Their rights extend no further than the courts. The courts will decide who has done the killing and what punishment will be suffered. Perhaps even the death penalty. But no political player has a right to grant his followers grace to cause further mayhem.

Nor should any group be allowed to add fuel to the fire by staging a march where the only certain outcome is death. To take this course is to make a mockery of the very concept of rights, so sadly abused in our land these many years.

● The author is programme director of news and sport at Radio 702.

At nightfall, the people in and near Kathlehong, Tokoza and Phola Park, begin to tremble. JOE LOUW reports.

THE people of Siluma View Park, a small satellite township near Katlehong on the East Rand, huddle together in a crowded community hall in neighbouring Park Ridge, a predominantly Indian community.

There are 500 of them, refugees from the violence that has engulfed Katlehong, Tokoza and Phola Park since last Sunday.

The people in this area are no strangers to violent conflict. But they have never seen anything like this. "It was the closest thing I had ever seen to real live war," said Kindiza Ngubane, a Peace Action monitor, of a gun battle he saw in the field between Siluma Park and Kwesine Hostel.

Hostel residents, armed with AK-47s — about five of them — were crawling in the grass, some crouching and firing, all of them in the direction of the township. They began retreating until, when I got a clearer view, I saw several young boys, also armed with rifles and handguns shooting and driving the hostel dwellers back.

Naveen Naidoo is the co-organiser of the Park Ridge Crisis Committee, a hastily formed community structure which includes Islamic Welfare organisations, the civics of both Siluma View and Palm Ridge and others.

'Guy Fawkes night'

"The gunfire that we hear at night emanating from both the township and the hostel is unbelievable," he says. "It is like Guy Fawkes night."

The flight of the refugees — men, women, old people and dozens of small children — started late Monday. According to an eyewitness from Siluma View, a group of about 100 heavily armed men swarmed out of Kwesine Hostel to attack residents of the Mavimbela section of Kathlehong township.

"They burnt houses, shooting and killing at least 30 residents," the witness, who wanted to remain unnamed for fear of reprisals, told the Saturday Star. "Mavimbela is near our township — just an empty field separates us. We were terrified and many families nearest the hostel began to evacuate the women and children."

The next day the mob attacked Ramkumpi section in broad daylight, according to a resident, and Siluma residents began to flee in earnest. The men in the township began to take measures to protect themselves.

"Palm Ridge people also got frightened when they saw hundreds of families arriving in their township asking for help," Naidoo says.

"We had to organise quickly to try and respond to the crisis. Fortunately, we were able to persuade the Germiston City Council to make available the Palm Ridge Community Centre for a temporary shelter for our neighbours."

Operation Hunger supplied blankets and food, while Nestle has been providing baby foods, the Red Cross medicines and nappies and the Central Islamic Trust, local business and members of the Indian community all played a role in a magnificent demonstration of spontaneous humanitarianism.

The "big guys" of the ANC have not been quite so impressive, as far as some members of Park Ridge Crisis Committee are concerned. "None of them have made an appearance here in Park Ridge to express solidarity with the people or to console them in this dark hour," said Naidoo, "Only the regional representative showed up here although Kempton Park is barely 6 km away from here."

When questioned about what the police have been doing to defuse the situation, cordon off the hostel and protect residents, one of the refugees had a short answer: "Nothing."

"On advice of the ANC peace desk," Naidoo said, "we contacted a police member of the local dispute resolution committee, an Adjutant van Wyk, requesting a patrol. He promised to come here but never did and so far nothing happened about a patrol."

"We are worried sick about our houses," one family-head commented. "The police never bothered with us — only once in a while one sees a Casspir running past there on the main road; nobody is patrolling although they know exactly what is happening."

The tension around this welter of townships — Kathlehong, Tokoza, Siluma Park as well as Park Ridge and the nearby squatter camp, Phola Park — eases during the day but as soon as night falls people begin to tremble.

Yesterday when we visited Palm Ridge Community Hall as hundreds were being fed, fresh stories and rumours added to the already intense fear. "Busloads of reinforcements are on their way to Kwesine to reinforce the hostel dwellers," was the latest information.

Siluma residents will spend another freezing night on the floors of the Park Ridge Centre. Tomorrow night, a disco has been booked and nobody knows what will happen.

'What front' East Rand resembles

SABC board: FW rejects panel choice

OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE panel selecting the new SABC Board has been told to rethink its selections.

Cooling speculation that the announcement of the new SABC Board was imminent, Chief Government Spokesman in the Office of the State President Dave Steward said yesterday the panel had submitted a list to President de Klerk on May 21.

The proposed board list "created concerns which the State President discussed twice with the panel". As a result, an amended list has been submitted which will be considered by De Klerk.

Steward said an announcement on the new board would be made "probably on Monday, but no later than Tuesday at which time, for the sake of full transparency, he will also issue the panel's original list".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC

objected to the state of affairs whereby the State President turned down proposals of very eminent persons chosen to make recommendations about the new board.

The ANC found it disturbing that here was a situation where an independent process had been set up with these persons given authority, yet their suggestions were turned down twice.

Strange

Conservative Party Broadcasting spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder said his party felt negative about the whole process because they had been ignored right from the beginning. He said the Government chose to negotiate with the ANC and did not ask other parties to participate.

"It is strange that the Government decided on the method but are now not satisfied with the outcome," he said.

Mandela rejects Goldstone findings

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Nelson Mandela has summarily dismissed the findings of the Goldstone Commission on the causes of violence in South Africa.

Opening the ANC's crucial four-day policy conference at Nasrec, near Johannesburg, yesterday, Mr Mandela told nearly 800 cheering delegates that the report was "superficial".

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone released to parliament this week a bombshell report which said the primary cause for the violence was "political rivalry" between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Although he did not specifically exonerate the security forces — consistently accused of fomenting "black-on-black" violence — Mr Justice Goldstone's report was immediately interpreted by the government as a vindication of repeated

claims that its "hands were clean".

In his keynote speech, Mr Mandela went out of his way to avoid a personal attack on the judge, but left no doubt that the ANC rejected the commission's conclusions.

Delegates to the ANC conference said this raised serious questions about the future credibility of the government-appointed commission.

Mr Mandela said to prolonged applause: "The (Goldstone) statement pre-empted the work of his own commission."

Mr Mandela said that to attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and IFP was to ignore the fact that the rivalry had been fostered and manipulated by the government and its security forces.

"Secondly, with regard to who holds the key responsibility for bringing the violence to an end — to place this responsibility on the ANC and IFP is

to ignore the reality that it is the National Party regime which wields state power."

The commission was still charged with, among many other things, investigating alleged military training by the SADF of at least 200 IFP members "who are still loose in the community".

"It is also investigating secret funding by the regime of the IFP over a period of at least four years, and the involvement of the Kwazulu Police and the SA Police in West- selton.

"The judgment in the Trust Feed massacre case is unmistakable proof that none of this can be dismissed as irrelevant or imagined."

Other delegates expressed outrage that the report appeared to apportion blame equally between the IFP and the ANC — a conclusion they disputed hotly — and that the involvement of the security forces in violence was treated as secondary.

Government bugged us, says ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A bugging device was found in an ANC meeting hall at Nasrec where the organisation is holding a four-day conference on an economic programme for a post-apartheid South Africa.

ANC spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan, holding the device, a miniature microphone with an in-built transmitter said to have a range of between 500 m and one km, said the main suspect was the government.

The ANC had scheduled a discussion on the role of the police and the army and other security services.

"This is an example of what we are up against. There is very little doubt who is behind this and our principal suspect is the South African government," Mr Jordan said.

● Police told The Argus political staff that they had no reason to spy on legitimate political organisations such as the ANC.

Emotional welcome for ex-Democratic Party MPs

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Five former Democratic Party MPs have exchanged the comfort of parliament's leather benches for plastic delegates' chairs at the ANC policy conference here.

Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Rob Haswell, Mr Dave Dalling and Mr Pierre Cronje were given an emotional welcome, including a standing ovation.

Four of the five attended in their new capacities as delegates of the Western Cape region of the ANC, while Mr Cronje represented the Natal Midlands.

Shortly after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela ended his opening speech, an official, Ms Cheryl Carolus, asked that the five join the organisation's leaders on the platform.

They were escorted to the stage amid tumultuous applause, shaking hands with delegates as they made their way to the front of the hall.

The five then greeted ANC

secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Mandela.

Mr Dalling said afterwards: "I have never experienced anything like that in my life before."

Mr Van Eck said he had felt a "wonderful sense of liberation", while Mr Haswell said it was a "warm and tingling sort of experience".

Mr Momberg said it was an "emotional" experience that made him feel he had been accepted unconditionally.

The MPs — who now sit in the cross-benches in the House of Assembly — left the DP for the ANC five weeks ago after a protracted dispute over where the party should place itself in the changed political scene.

PAC rally flops

TZANEEN. — Only 30 people attended a Pan-Africanist Congress rally in Nkowa township here — and even the guest speaker, PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanini, did not arrive. — Sapa.