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Monday 2 November 1992

THE CITIZEN

ANC power-sharing report 'not policy statement'

THE African National Congress yesterday confirmed the existence of a document which reportedly suggests power-sharing with the National Party after the next general election.

However, the organisation denied it was a policy document as reported by a Johannesburg-based Sunday newspaper.

ANC spokesman Gill

Marcus said it was "just a discussion document outlining certain views". She said the document had "no standing whatsoever in the organisation".

The document was circulated at the Patriotic Front conference in Port Elizabeth last week, she confirmed, adding that its

circulation was "merely to discuss it".

She said it was "probable" for an ANC document to be passed on to the organisation's allies and its regions for further discussion.

According to the newspaper report, the ANC plan also suggests it would be prepared "to cut private deals" with the NP on the critical issues such as regional powers and the future of the White-dominated civil and security services.

"Even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and the NP are the main players," the newspaper quotes from the document.

"It may therefore become imperative to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement." — Sapa.

ANC slams Westville's ban on blacks using sportsfield

Political Reporter

THE decision by the Westville Town Council to stop blacks using the Frank Farrer sportsfield is a triumph for old racial attitudes in the white community of Westville, says African National Congress convenor for southern Natal, Mr Mosiuoa Lekota.

He described the decision as "a major blow to the spirit of negotiation now pervading the country" and as "grossly undemocratic".

Mr Lekota said the main motivation for the decision came from Mr Michael Hood, an attorney.

"The motivation was supported by all the racial

laws, such as the Group Areas Act, and rulings by apartheid administrative officials of the past 42 years of National Party rule," he said.

"It was laced with references to adult domestics as 'girls' and 'boys'; as Third World vulgar barbarians who undress in public, urinate anywhere they see a clean spot and generally are an extremely offensive cause of nuisance.

"The decision was also grossly undemocratic. In fact, it only stood because one councillor could not vote as he is a black person.

"The ANC condemns the decision with contempt. That the organisation and its officials were abused was immediately understandable because all those who uphold racism have always condemned the ANC."

Mr Lekota said the matter was by no means closed as the ANC intended to keep the issue constantly before national and international eyes.

16/1/11

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21/1/91

Citizen Nov 2 1991

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Invest now

THIS country's economy is in a mess, and it needs a vast injection of foreign capital, loans and assistance.

The ANC is aware of the bleakness of the situation.

ANC president Nelson Mandela admits that sanctions have mainly harmed the Blacks.

And the general secretary of the ANC, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, has stressed the importance of foreign investment in a "democratic South Africa."

However, the ANC does not want sanctions lifted, or foreign investment to flow in now.

Which is why the Commonwealth decided to maintain financial sanctions, including lending by financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, until agreement is reached on a new constitution, or when this is recommended by an all-party conference or an interim government.

Which is why the Commonwealth decided that trade and investment sanctions should be lifted only when appropriate transitional mechanisms are agreed which would enable all parties to participate fully and effectively in an election.

Which is why the ANC keeps on talking about waiting until it gives the signal to lift sanctions and reinvest here.

We do not think the ANC doubts for a moment that State President De Klerk's reforms are irreversible.

So why keep hammering away at the need to maintain sanctions?

We know why.

It's because the ANC uses sanctions as a weapon against the government, hoping to create conditions of instability that will force the government to make even more concessions than the ones it has already made.

You want sanctions lifted? Hasten the negotiations.

You want sanctions lifted? / government.

You want sanctions lifted? / ent assembly.

The ANC does not want to / government any financial wants help to come after a / ernment", meaning itself. And that is why it is telling / community to wait till then Senator Richard Lugar, who / gressional campaign to against South Africa over Reagan's veto, has asked / take the lead in an international aid, trade and investment / ca.

But the multi-million dollar available only after "fully established" here.

Well, we don't think that S wait, or can afford to wait society".

We do not think the country should continue to suffer still wants to use sanctions / cal purposes.

We do not think South / starved of billions of rands cause the ANC is out of to /

So we say to the US:

Lift your ban on the IMF /

We say to the European Co /

Denmark to stop blocking / tions and help this country /

- feet. We must also encourage Japan / ended sanctions, to invest here

Above all, we must convince / community that the time to a

ca to "restructure and regenerate the African economy" (Mr Ram /

is now, not when the new South / "democratic South Africa," /

For the country must prosper / it must have an end to cond

the culture of violence and / ish, it must have the chance

improvements in socio-economic / so that a new South Africa c

peace and hope.

We repeat: The time to help S / NOW.

Citizen 2 Nov 1991

Peace chief: keep to accord

Citizen Reporter

THE general strike against VAT would be the greatest test the National Peace Accord had faced so far, National Peace Committee chairman, Mr John Hall, said yesterday.

There was desperate concern that the peace process might suffer if all concerned did not make an earnest attempt to ensure peace was main-

tained and that moves and counter-moves occurred without violence and intimidation.

And he urgently appealed to the leaders of signatory parties to the Peace Accord to keep to the letter and spirit of the accord and, even in the run-up to the strike, to meet their obligations.

Mr Hall called on them to refrain from making inflammatory statements which might endanger the process.

"The rest of the country is waiting to see whether, at a time when mass action of this nature and extent is being planned and carried out, the signatories attach real value to the principles they endorsed in signing the accord.

"This is indeed a great test for the accord. And now is the time for all who take the cause of peace seriously to show that the accord can work," he said.

Hint that state security is threatened

F W admits: NIS is spying on CP

Saturday Star

Nov 2 1991

ALAN DUNN and STAFF REPORTERS

PRETORIA — President de Klerk has admitted that National Intelligence Service agents are monitoring certain Conservative Party activities, which suggests that they may be officially viewed as a threat to the state.

In a startling response to CP claims that the NIS is spying on it, Mr de Klerk said yesterday that the service concerned itself with any instance, including CP activity, which endangered the safety of the state.

But he emphatically denied that it would do so for party-political ends: "It has got nothing to do with usual party politics," he said, noting that intelligence was gathered because of proven or suspected threats to the state.

Mr de Klerk's admission directly contradicts a denial by the NIS on Thursday that it was involved in projects launched against any political party.

The NIS issued the statement specifically in answer to CP charges that the NIS was spying on it.

A spokesman for the service said: "In no manner can the normal working operation (*werkverrigting*) of the service be labelled secret projects or be equated with them. Likewise, there is no question of any projects being launched against any political party."

Last night the CP national secretary Andries Beyers said Mr de Klerk's startling admission meant he had lied to the country during the Inkathagate scandal when he said there was no covert monitoring of political parties.

By-election

Mr de Klerk was speaking at a lunch-time political meeting in Welkom in support of Mr Jack Kloppers, the National Party candidate for the Virginia by-election, set for November 28.

He was reacting in a carefully worded speech to charges by the CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who has claimed that the NIS is using sophisticated bugging devices to spy on the

NIS

CHARGES

party and is using agents — virtually one to each of 41 MPs — to persuade them to join constitutional negotiations.

Mr de Klerk said Dr Hartzenberg was trying to create a false image of the NIS spying on the CP on behalf of the Government, and thus the National Party. This was an apparent attempt to breathe new life into the CP's "hate politics".

The NIS had nothing to do with the CP as a legal political party concerning itself with normal political activities.

Mr de Klerk said that while the NIS also had the primary responsibility of counter-espionage, it had an additional duty when it became a target for infiltration by other intelligence interests.

"It is an unfortunate state of affairs, but also a fact, that the CP boasts repeatedly of its own spies which spy on the state," he said.

On the undermining of state security and political espionage by political parties, he said those who instigated violence and unrest, or

were guilty of war talk and threats of violence, were in conflict with the law and exposed themselves to security attention.

Anybody spying on the state and trying to gather information illegally also exposed himself to investigation.

The NIS was required by law to timeously warn the Government of any threat or potential threat to the state — not the NP.

As in any democratic country, its activities included the maintenance of public order, the protection of the country against foreign intelligence services, the protection of leaders' lives, the combating of external interference in domestic affairs and the identification of revolutionary and radical political violence and those perpetrating it.

"The NIS is a national asset. It serves the country. It does not spy on other political parties to the advantage of the governing party."

However, CP MP Clive Derby-Lewis rejected as "far-fetched" Mr de Klerk's inference that the CP was a threat to the state. The NIS monitoring of the CP was an "abuse of state funds", he added.

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SAP bosses 'planned killings'

Inkatha supporters
attacked by mistake

Saturday
Star
Nov 2 1991

THE Maritzburg trial of seven policemen, including two captains, on 11 counts of murder is perhaps the most important case before the courts today.

Its ramifications reach beyond the Trust Feed community — 11 of whose members were shot at a funeral vigil on the night of December 3 1988 — to the very heart of the political turmoil which is threatening to tear South Africa apart.

The allegation that policemen colluded with Inkatha officials to kill black people opposed to Inkatha has been heard before. It has been voiced by the African National Congress and, before the ANC was unbanned, by the United Democratic Front.

The difference in the Trust Feed trial is that the allegation is made by the state, that the prosecution is led by the Natal Attorney-General, Mike Imber, and that key prosecution witnesses include the local Inkatha leader at Trust Feed and a posse of policemen.

If the charges are proved — the policemen have all pleaded not guilty — suspicion that the Trust Feed massacre is the tip of a proverbial iceberg will undoubtedly be reinforced.

What is not in doubt is that 11 people were killed and eight injured at a house in Trust Feed, 30 km north-east of Maritzburg, by unknown gunmen on the night of December 3 1988.

Injured

A police statement at the time speaks of an attack on a Trust Feed house by an "unknown number of blacks".

The indictment in the trial before Mr Justice Andrew Wilson in the Maritzburg Supreme Court is more specific. Its list of victims who lost their lives includes a nine-year-old boy, Nkonyeni Shangase, and a four-year-old boy, Muzi Shangase.

The question is: who killed the 11 occupants of House No 83 at Trust Feed and why?

The state alleges that they were killed in an attack on the house by Captain Brian Mitchell, police station commander at New Hanover, and four special constables who were billeted in Trust Feed to protect Inkatha leaders.

The indictment says a plot to kill members of the anti-Inkatha Trust Feed Crisis Committee was discussed at a meeting in November 1988 between a local Inkatha leader, Jerome Gabela, and Captain (then Lieutenant) Mitchell.

These discussions led to a further meeting between Captain Mitchell and the head of riot police in Maritzburg, Captain Deon Torblanche (who was later assassinated by one of his

own men), at which "it was agreed that members of the police would carry out the envisaged attack".

Captain Mitchell's co-accused include Captain Jacobus van den Heever and Sergeant Neville Rose. With them in the dock are four auxiliary or special policemen: Special Sergeant Dinkisoani Ndwanlane and Special Constables Kehla Ngubane, Thabo Sikhosana, and David Khambula.

The state alleges that the special policemen took part in the attack under Captain Mitchell's command. It charges that Captain van den Heever and Sergeant Rose knew of the pending attack and "actively associated" themselves with it.

A critical difference divides them into two groups: the three white officers — Mitchell, Van den Heever and Rose — deny having taking part in the attack; the black special policemen admit having done so but insist that they were acting on orders which they considered to be lawful.

So far the court has heard testimony from Mr Gabela that Captain Mitchell mooted the idea of killing those opposed to him in Trust Feed, that he heard shooting on the night of December 3, and that Captain Mitchell had warned him, on the pain of death, never to talk about what had happened.

Mr Gabela has told the court of a bizarre twist to the events: the alleged police killers attacked the wrong dwelling, blasting a house occupied by Inkatha sympathisers attending a funeral vigil instead of the homestead of a local shop keeper and anti-Inkatha man.

Another state witness, Constable Selby Mkhize, has related how the four special constables who allegedly took part in the attack told him about it soon afterwards and how they were instructed to conceal their weapons and lie down in the police vehicle when they were driven out of Trust Feed after the massacre.

After the slaughter at House No 83 the special policemen were ordered to stay out of sight, Constable Mkhize has testified. Later, Constable Mkhize has said, when they tried to draw their wages they were confronted by Captain van den Heever who said: "Would you prefer to receive your salaries and then be hanged ... Disappear before I call the police."

The trial is proceeding.

● Trust Feed was declared a "black spot" in the 1980s but in 1988 it was identified as a black development area. Its new status seemed to precipitate a struggle for control of the area between pro- and anti-Inkatha forces.

Constitutional negotiations may be more conciliatory than we expect

**LINSCOTT
AT LARGE**



Nat alliance could

DAILY NEWS 2 November 1991

be good news for all

SOME serious arm-wrestling seems to be on the go. Dr Gerrit Viljoen announces that the Government no longer seeks special protections for minorities but wants to go into elections in alliance with other movements. It will fight and beat the ANC, he says.

President de Klerk speaks in similar vein. It seems the Nats are opting for the DTA tactic — lining up a non-racial alliance of “moderates” against perceived “radicals” in the ANC and the PAC.

It didn't quite work for the DTA in Namibia, though they were able to win enough support to deny Swapo the two-thirds majority, which would have allowed them to impose whatever constitution they wished.

After a decade of bellicosity and interference from the P.W. Botha government, the argument goes, it was surprising that the DTA won even what they did. In South Africa the Nats, holding the purse strings and the levers of power, would have several years in which to convince large numbers of black South Africans that they are not such bad chaps after all.

A compelling argument, to be sure. Yet could it be that the Nat tactic of picking up the ball and running with it has a short-term objective just as much as the medium-term to long-term one of leading an alliance to electoral victory?

Constitutional negotiations lie in the short term. When you are in such negotiations and you are assured of a massive majority at the polls, you have little incentive to provide in the constitution for such things as power-sharing — second prize for he who comes second. You know you are going to win and winner takes all.

But when the outcome is not that certain, you have a strong incentive to provide something, such as a share in government, for the one who comes second. After all, it might be you.

If you are sensible you will also realise that in a country as volatile as South Africa it would be dangerous to totally exclude a party or grouping which has significant support.

It applies equally to the Nats and the ANC. If the Nats develop the kind of electoral alliance which looks anything like doing well, the ANC would be well advised to negotiate for a constitution which stops short of winner take all. And the same quite obviously applies in reverse, whatever happens.

The American philosopher John Rawls describes it as “the veil of ignorance”. Men establish the ground rules for a society, not certain where in the pecking order they will end up. So they

make sure it is a system they can live with no matter where they are placed in it.

Before February 2 most people assumed that an unbanned ANC fighting an election would sweep all before it. It might yet — but there are all kinds of uncertainties.

One is that the Nats are not going to fight as a white minority. It is surely significant that a conservative black church with a membership of some two million has formed a political party.

And all kinds of things have not been going right for the ANC. The Japanese refuse funds. The European Community is to switch its funding from institutions with strong ANC leanings to neutral development projects. Inkatha has not been sidelined. A planned meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mr Gorbachev did not come off. The ANC's national conference has been postponed.

All this without the Nats having yet put together their grand alliance.

If the gap is narrowing, constitutional negotiations could turn out a lot more conciliatory than we at first imagined. And that would be excellent news for the country as a whole.

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MEANWHILE, those who are

sceptical about the irreversibility of President de Klerk's moves away from apartheid should consider how irreversibly his constituency has altered.

When angry farmers invade the congress of the South African Agricultural Union with a list of grievances as long as a khaki-sleeved arm — and demand that the Government address them — it is like the city of London turning on Mrs Thatcher.

Agriculture had traditionally been an unshakeable basis of National Party support. Probably no other sector had been as cossetted with soft loans and other government favours. Probably no other sector approved as heartily of old-fashioned apartheid.

If it is any consolation to Mr de Klerk, he lost most of those farmers a long time ago. Obviously he has come to terms with it.

But the point is that he no longer has the option of returning to apartheid, even if he wished to. The apartheid constituency has gone elsewhere and a sizeable portion of it is expected to march this weekend from Pretoria's Church Square to the Union Buildings to be addressed by Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The sceptics surely need to open both eyes.