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â\200\230Goldstone swoops on Koevoet base

it 3 L 55 T o U BT S - BT

âFrom PAGE 1 . Two white officers who appeared to have been mine to control stock theft 'n m: 4&4â»â«

Interviewed last year, renegade police captain ifi charge of the unit were found at the mine when Mufamadi told The Weekly Mail that none of

Dirk Coetzee said he believed disbanded Koevoet the raid took place. One of these men, a Sergeant - the unitâ\200\231s members appeared to speak ifocal black,

members were behind much of the violence in the Taljaard, took the commission to a nearby house use languages. During the raid or'l'\_i\*f oâ\200\230,fâ\200\230fhe couhter-

townships, and had a particular role in theâ\200\234random where the cache of R-1 rifles was discovered. insurgency men said he was from Rustenbutg but

massacres disrupting negotiations between the Therifles were found in a jocked trunk and the was unable to speak seTswana. He conceded

government and the ANCâ\204ç. raiding party was told that the keys were not available - under questioning that he was from (Aâ\200\230)Shak'atl.w .

The lightning raid â\200\224 carried out jointly by the - able. Arrangements had to be made for the trunk to ANC officials say they know of two witnesses

ANCâ\200\231s intelligence department, a Goldstone com- be broken open. - 3 who will testify that member pfithâ Koevoet

missioner and a special police task force â\200\224 took The head of the police special task force, squad at Ogies travelled to Boipatong to take part\*

place after the ANC obtained evidence that member Colonel Henk Esslinger, focused himself during in the massacre. One of these men failed to

members of the secret unit had been involved in the massacre - the raid as he was a former Koevoet officer. ~ appear at the hearing yesterday in the commis-

sacre at Boipatong in an effort to undermine the - ANC official Sydney Mufamadi, who took part â\200\234sion will sit today to hear hisâ\$ â\202-Vidence: "

ANC mass action campaign. in the operation, told The Weekly Mail that the lack ~ Mufamadi said ANC sources on the mine had

When the raiding party arrived on the mine it of police command had made it difficult to proceed ~ seen vehicles pick up the Koevoet members from

found a group of surprised Koevoet fighters â\200\224 with the raid. He added that the white Koevoet officer - the hostel in the evening and return them in the

members of a police counter-insurgency unit that officers instructed black members of the unit not to early hours of the morning. say

was supposed to have been disbanded two years answer any questions. Py say PHILIPPA GARSON is a member of the .

ago â\200\224 present in a section of the hostel. ~ Members of the Koevoet squad were hauled - National Union of Min â\200\231W'diâ\200\230l\_tgrql,(i-\201zuâ\200\230\_ who'

The room was located in a section of the hostel before an emergency session of the Goldstone = Went to investigate theâ\200\230â@g'ilipg on S\_âi-\201â\200\230f}i-\202\_ A last:

set aside for Gold Fieldsâ\200\231 mine security personnel. Commission yesterday in Pretoria. In their opening - week, after the ANC had received â\200\231vidâ\200\230ceiinks âç

The commission found at least two licensed hand- statement, police lawyers acknowledged the unit ing its occupants to the Bo.patb\*hg,i-\201shyii-\201g that

guns as well as nine R-1 rifles in a trunk at a house was made up of former Koevoet members now - he saw about seven unit memberâ\$ stand ifig outside

in the married quarters of the mine complex. under the control of the South African Police and the security barracks. "l'hâ@yWâ@fâ\200\231Hkmg astange |

Most members of the 40-strong squad said they that â\200\234there was no secret about this â\200\235. .-~~~ â\200\230. language I didnâ\200\231t understand V\_â\200\230

were Namibian nationals, although some spoke But police counsel Phillip Hattingh then asked .. The official said he. r"ecei ed ma

Portuguese, indicating they belong either to the for the hearing to be in camera, a request

refused . about 30 dark-skinned men had arrived at the mine  
army's controversial 32 Battalion or are elements by the presiding commissioner, Mr  
Justice Steyn. \_ on May 25 and were staying in special quarters in  
of Renamo that may have been involved in the third- The police claimed they had rented  
the premises - the security barracks. 8 8 F s St o

Â¥

force's attacks. from Gold Fields and that the unit was based at the ' . I was  
as told that during the day they sometimes  
- 1 wore overalls and were taken to the shaft and that

at night they went elsewhere. They do not eat in the

the mine kitchen. They eat separately, which is;

" cooked for them, which is sent 10 7

their room.

. The NUM official said he personally Witnessed  
' two police vans collect a group of 5 of the men, who were  
carrying two large canvas bags, at about 9.30  
on the night he visited the hostel  
~ In his opening statement to the 2011 trial  
. yesterday, ANC counsel Gys Rantambach  
do not allege at this outset that

o

- responsible for the Boipat

' dence needs to be led and people

. 10 the bottom of the list.; given to; z b 8  
. Police lawyers said, in their statement: We  
" deny that this unit was involved in the planting of  
\* exclusion of any Belsh Violence It Belong of  
elsewhere. This is not the only pointises the police:

\* the news public And say that there are ex-Roevoel  
& also going to hide it.

:M@Tĩ¬\201si'sâ\200\231ĩ¬\20116;gĩ¬\201ĩ¬\2011uĩ¬\201iaĩ¬\201Â\$

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\*\_rents to houseits limits: â\200\234We are ot going to mã\200\231;â\200\230:{i  
i

- people around but we:  
2 NUM president

\* had alld for urgen{ el I Charnbet |  
of Mines today on thÃ© latter. He said he had ho 4

doubt that Gold Fieldsâ\200\231, man  
covert practices at its mine.. LT  
Gold Fieldsâ\200\231 public affairs department has +  
refused to comment on the isst but confirmed  
that the Goldstone CommisÃ©ion had Visited its -  
Greenside ColliÃ©ry on Wednesday.Ã©i 4 -  
â\200\234Management does not wish to comment on the  
urpose of the visit as it concerns onÃ© of the tenants  
â\200\234who i leasig property.from thÃ© fiine which'isâ\200\231  
currently in excess of the mineâ\200\231s fequirements.  
This is a hormal comimercial transaction,â\200\235 the  
company said, availing itself to provide further  
information the commission may require.  
nt wiis aware of .

- Weekly may 29 & Jul,

Striking while the

EE and LINDA RULASHE

protest by the country's

action to depressed living stan-

dards but it could be the driving force behind

the push for political change: 7 :

In the past month, cities have been paralysed  
arises. Strikes are crippling

company millions in turnover,

Disputes teetering on strike action have erupt-  
ed in the clothing, metal, commercial and paper

around pay talks in the strategic rail and munic-  
ipal sectors, - REh !

The marches and the strikes are essentially a  
Spontaneous popular reaction to economic  
slump, but they are steadily acquiring a political

of crooks. - o

Transnet offices.

4 , the African National Congress

and the South Africa Communist,

Party will set a final date for 4 general strike.

Cosatis has also set Up an action committee to co- |

ordinate its campaign for, democracy, which is?

is aimed at securing elections, Cogate hopes to |

maintain the militancy on the ground by includ-

ing bread and butter issues in this campaign.

Klerk to resign and accused

senior ministers of being "bribe" in 201. if

von Monday, a march by more than 20 000.

National Union of Metalworkers' members-dis-

rupted Johannesburg when workers Elafried

entire streets and dared impatient motorists to

cross their lines. On Wednesday, 15 000 rail-

Way workers marched in Johannesburg to

In the past

workers have also

Paper, Printing

' (PQ e â\200\235L-

That would have been the most expedient path.  
But the ANC leadership was vigorously reminded  
by tramping around Boipatong that it ignores its base  
at its peril. : Sion

â\200\230De Klerk himself came face to face with that con-  
sideration on Saturday when he witnessed the fury  
of Boipatong from inside his car. It was a journey  
that elevated Boipatong from being just another  
township massacre to becoming a turning point in  
our politics. -

. Simply to respond, as De Klerk did, that they were  
put up to it by the ANC and the Pan Africanist  
Congress exposed how sorely out of touch and badly  
advised the president is.

Perhaps that explains why De Klerk has so far  
underestimated the volatility of the townships, why  
he has underestimated the will of the ANC not to  
allow itself (o be politically outmanoeuvred, and

y he has overestimated the new mood of accep-  
tance of the international community.

In the end, says Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the  
ANC will have to find its way back to the negotiat-  
ing table. i

Yes, but not on terms that compromise democra-  
cy and emasculate the ANC. And not while nothing  
is done to stop the murderers of ordinary black  
people. - .

Which brings one to the demands that the ANC  
has made. :

What they amount to is forcing the government to  
take the carnage in the townships seriously. If it looks  
like a repeat of the April 1991 ultimatum it is  
because the conditions of violence are, incredibly,

the same after all this time. ;

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa stressed  
that all the demands were â\200\234do-ableâ\200\235, :

Those concerning the hostels have already been,  
agreed, and simply await implementation, %

the prosecution of security force personnel such  
as General CP van der Westhuizen, head of Military  
Intelligence, who have been implicated in murder  
and other misdeeds, is simply a call to start applying  
the common law of the country. '

As for disbanding 32 Battalion, Judge Richard  
Goldstone has already recommended that they not  
be deployed in the townships.

The ANC is quite right to say that there should be  
no more talking about these questions. People are  
impatient for action, i

As for an international inquiry into the Boipatong  
massacre, De Klerk made some important conces-  
sions on Wednesday, allowing an assessor at the

Goldstone Commission and an international review  
of the police investigation,

A bigger battle lies ahead in the ANC's demand -  
for international monitoring of the township vio-  
lence. :

Klerk an easy way back from the brink." - !  
He would be foolish to squander another opportu-  
ity, as he did at Codesa II when he believed that  
time was on his side. : : '

This time De Klerk and the NP need to clutch at -  
the life-raft that has been thrown for them. But he should  
should go even further.

He needs to restore trust, even if he will never  
again be hailed by the township comrades in the way -

that he was after February 1990. SR ]  
He should declare that the NP is willing to accept  
democracy as it is normally understood, and that it is

not committed to tricky power-sharing manoeuvres  
that will retain the NP permanently in power irre-  
spective of the verdict of the electorate. :

Yet actively the ANC's demands

That De Klerk's one Way of undermining the  
& "3 action campaign that has him so bothered. He  
can prove that its premise, that he is not about to sur-  
. Fender power to the democratic process, is fallacious.

suspicion that there is a double agenda at work.  
The win in the House of Representatives seat of  
Dnan'mant\_ on Wednesday and the NP's recruitment

meeting in the black township of Inkageng prove that  
there is a political route for the party that does not

ensure a role in government. - i D O  
As he sits down to ponder his Options to overcome  
the crisis, there is a route for FW de Klerk. =+ ;.

It is a hard one, perhaps requiring the same  
courage as it took when he stood up to address par-  
liament on February 2 1990. But it will be equally  
important for the future of this country, . .

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Weddly fraf 3

The easy solution would beto |  
close the hostels. But that would |  
ignore the root of the problem. |  
the hostels are the only foothold  
many people have in the cities  
By EDDIE KOCH

UBLIC outrage at the

Boipatong massacre has led |

to demands for the demoli-  
tion of 'single-sex hostels. |

| The mood on the streets was  
shown by young militants who  
recently hijacked a bulldozer to  
smash down parts of the Dobson-  
ville hostel. =

But demolishing the hostels may  
actually exacerbate the conflict, a  
view borne out by a statement issued  
by the Transvaal Hostel Residence  
Association on Wednesday.

~ â\200\234The association notes with con-  
cern that the African National  
Congress/South Aï¬\201ncan Communist  
Party alliance is bent on destroying  
the only place called home for thou-  
sands of people,â\200\235 the statement said.  
â\200\234If hostels were demolished, what  
- will happen to those thousands, with  
the housing crisis in our country?  
â\200\234The only thing we can foresee is  
more chaos and conflic \_  
inmates, should the hostels be

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Under close scruti

. The hostel

destroyed, will simply walk into the

townships and occupy all those hous-

es. The ANC will be responsible for

that.â\200\235 : e

The ANCâ\200\231s position includes short-  
term demands for|security forces to  
fence off the hostels, search them reg-  
ularly for weaponsâ\200\230and mount perma-

R it

â\200\234There is no doubt that the hostels are



among the most burning issues of the day and the current crisis will not go

on

ã@way livnti\*1" sdmeti¬\201i;lg' is done about them. But the ANC faces a

56 & 0> v/ | conundrum: while township resi- Closing the | hostels is not the solu

| dents are demanding the destruc- tion of the hostels, many people

| have no choice but to live in them.

| Says Durban University socioio- A gist Mike Morris: â\200\234Itâ\200\231s a real A dilemma. The hostels are the only 21 foothold that many people have in the cities. The disintegration of

â\200\230apartheid also means a move away

from institutions that make up the entire urban survival base for migrant workers. It is an ironic twist to South African history that the most exploited sector of black society should be the most threatened by the demise of apartheid.â\200\235 - o Morris agrees with the ANCâ\200\231s view that there is an urgent need to overhaul the current methods of l?ringing law

and order to these institutions. Though the South African Police has acknowl- edged that police patrols are often unable to deal with hostels that have been turned into armed fortresses, the Department of Law and Order has demonstrated scant concern for the problem. o

@ AP spokesman Craig Kotze told QW The Weekly Mail this week there had been no discussions at minis- terial level about how to deal with vio- lence emanating from the hostels. â\200\234This is dealt with by our forces on the ground ... it is not for the minister to decide whether to use five or 10 metres of barbed wire,â\200\235 he ; | : In the face of such official indiffer- â\200\230ence, political pressure for much stricter controls over the hostels is inevitable. â\200\234But the ANC should be

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careful to avoid creating a situation in

which, by calling for more policing, they abandon a vital constituency and

create even further distance between hostel dwellers and township residents,â\200\235 warns Morris.

One reason why the hostels have become bastions of rightwing terror has been the ability of Inkatha activists to exploit genuine fears among hostel inmates that there is a sinister plot to destroy the only homes they have in a hostile urban environment.

Two hostel residents who participated

in recent township attacks have told

The Weekly Mail how the militarisation of their residence began with visits

by Inkatha officials. â\200\234They called ~ meetings and

argued that it was necessary to form defence units because people from the townships were intent on destroying our homes,â\200\235 said one.

i 1TAdllllillg a

gospel ot violence

The churches in SA have contributed directly to the new season of violence, argues an editorial in Britainâ\200\231s Spectator magazine

WHY do blacks in Soulh Africa kill each other? It is still the \$64 080 question despite the ANCâ\200\231s campaign to lay most of the blame at the governmentâ\200\231s door. One answer being given is particularly shocking.

It was spelt out in February last year by Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The leaders of the Christian churches in South Africa have, in his words, â\200\234helped to legitimiseâ\200\235 violence as an instrument of liberationâ\204¢; the result is that â\200\234black people in the townships are reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches helped to sowâ\200\235.

The SAIRR is no too} of the South African government, nor is another opponent of apartheid, the London-based Christian Studies Centre, which has just published a study of the question (Revolution or Reconciliation: The Struggle in the Church in South Africa).

This concludes that South Africaâ\200\231s radical church organisations (most particularly the South African Council of Churches and the Institute for Contextual Theology) â\200\234have contributed to the cli-

mate of violence which has rocked the countryâ\200\235. It also finds that these organisations have been partly funded by radicalised church aid agencies in developed countries. The policy of go-ahead churchmen to back radical â\200\224 and sometimes violent - â\200\234structuralâ\200\235 solutions to the problems of the oppressed has been well established, of course, for many years.

Everything was seen in the

context of the World Council  
of Churchesâ\200\231 notorious Pro-  
gramme (o Combat Racism.  
The mentality behind this  
programme was influenced  
by the armed liberation  
movements which benefited  
from it, and which were in-  
vited by the WCC to contrib-  
ute to the formation of its  
pOh('y

This policy was based on a  
quite conscicus inversion â\200\224  
some would say perversion  
of orthodox Christian theol-  
ogy. This inverted theology is  
variously known as liberation  
or conixtual or Marxist the-  
ology.

Sin is not something from  
which individuals need sal-  
vation; sin is in the structure  
of capitalist society. Man's  
true end is not eternal life in

the presence of God; it is real-  
ised wholly in this world.  
The Christian Aid slogan,  
â\200\234We believe in life before  
deathâ\200\235, has to be understood  
as a classic formula of con-  
textual theclogy. The Cruci-  
fixion is the suffering of the  
oppressed, and the Resurrec-  
tion has not yet happened.  
The consequences of such a  
theology in practice are real  
and they cap be brutal. Herve,  
for instance, at a WCC Con-  
sultation on Racism in 1968, is  
Oliver Tambo insiructing bis  
hearers on how they should  
interpret ome of the Beati-  
tudes: â\200\234When those who wor-  
ship Christ shall have, in pur-  
suit of just peace, Laken up  
arms against tbose who hold  
the majority in subjection by  
foree of arms, then shall it  
{ruly be said of such worship-  
pers also. blessed are the  
peacemakers, for they shall  
be called the sons of Godâ\200\231  
The iiberl Christian  
organisations which have  
been drawn into partisan sup-  
port for the advocates of  
armed revolution have stead-  
fastly averied their gaze  
from its nastier results.  
When, in 1978, the Patriotic  
Front â\200\224 in what was then  
Rhodesia â\200\224 brutally mur-  
dered eight British mission-

aries and their children, the  
WCC ignored the outcry; only

three weeks later they announced a grant of \$85 000 to the Front.

This capacity of radical Western churchmen to give support to cruelty and violence without flinching has a direct bearing on township violence in South Africa

Mr Mandela's accusation that President De Klerk was directly involved in the Boipatong massacre may or may not be true. What is beyond any doubt is that black-against-black violence has been greatly intensified by the ANC's brutal policy of reprisals against reformists and other collaborators and by its widespread destruction of their schools, churches and homes,

it may be that the ANC would rule South Africa justly. It may be that peace and democracy would flourish although the precedents are hardly encouraging

But, even if that does come to pass, those Christians who have funded brutality and murder along the way still have to answer for it one day before the throne of the God whom they claim to worship

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Zulu k

THE King of the Zulus, His  
Majesty King Goodwill  
Zwelethini, married his  
fifth bride a Xhosa teen-  
ager in a colourful tradi-  
tional ceremony at Nop-  
goma in the heartland of  
Kwazulu-Natal yesterday.  
The 44-year-old king for-  
malised his marriage to  
19-year-old Indlunkulu  
Nompumelelo Mchiza of  
Umzimkulu in the Trans-  
kei.  
But Kwazulu Chief Min-  
Mangosuthu Buthe-  
! jezi, an uncle of the King,  
dismissed as "non-sense" -  
{ferences in the media that  
the king was marrying a  
Xhosa as a symbol of politi-  
cal alliance between  
Zulus and Xhosas.  
{ He the bride was  
' from the Bhaca people  
| part of the Zulu nation who  
had migrated south into  
what was now Transkei.  
The Bhacas were Zulus by  
identity and historical  
{ origin, he said.  
i "This is nothing but a

1ster

the

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sad

love match with no political  
| Â al connotations, he said

[ By TERRY van der WALT J

Several thousand people,  
mainly from the Nongoma  
region, converged on the  
grounds of the new Queen's  
residence at Enyokeni,  
north of Ulundi, for the  
wedding.

Curious subjects and  
members of the vast royal  
family stampeded to get a  
glimpse of the teenage  
bride for which the king re-  
solutely paid a lobola of 21  
head of cattle, plus one of  
his pure white Nguni cattle  
the extra beast paid for  
a virgin.

Violating women in designer dresses and broad-worn hats jostled with men in traditional skins to see the bride, who was dressed in a white gown decked in costume diamonds and pearls

The king is believed to have spotted his new wife when she took part in the reed dance for virgins in October last year, but his advisers had difficulty m

onr

negotiating the proposal with her parents.

Earlier reports claimed her well-educated and career-minded parents - from Clermont in Durban - were not entirely in favour of the marriage

In a clear reference to this, Chief Buthelezi said in his speech: I thank Mr and Mrs Mchiza and the

Mchiza family for allowing their child to do what she thought best for herself and thank them for co-operating with the king's messengers who negotiated this marriage on his behalf

A huge contingent of dip-

lomats, many of whom attended the Inkatha Freedom Party conference in Johannesburg last weekend, were present

ing with a Xhosa teenager

Israeli ambassador to South Africa, US consul-general in Johannesburg, British consul in Johannesburg were among the invited guests. But the guests who received the most interest from the Zulu re was Ciskei and Transkei was no less from the Transkei





Mass apathy greets,

ANC call to action

Sunday Times Reporters  
THE ANC'S plans to occupy cities  
with unprecedented mass action  
fizzled this weekend into a series of  
minor protests.

Hundreds of thousands were  
expected to take part in marches  
throughout the country in support of  
ANC demands for rapid political  
change. But less than 20000 people  
rallied in Durban, Johannesburg,  
Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Cape  
Town.

Such was the lack of enthusiasm  
that even Winnie Mandela bailed out  
after 1000 protesters in Johannes-  
burg decided to extend their march  
beyond the scheduled destination of  
John Vorster Square

car and sped

She climbed into 3  
away

Five hundred people were arrest-  
ed in central Johannesburg yester-  
day after they refused to leave the

city's main post office, Inkatha and

ANC supporters were kept apart by  
police in Durban, and in Port Eliza-  
beth 8000 people occupied Market  
Square to demand the boycott of the  
SABC and other media.

But in the Vaal Triangle, the flash-  
point of mass action this week, it was  
business as usual.

People milled around the streets  
of Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Boi-  
patong, selling sheep, shining shoes  
and having their hair done.

Barricades made of uprooted road

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c  
of

signs and trees and burnt-out mot-  
tor vehicles were the only remnants  
of the week's action.

All the marches were character-  
ised by restraint = on the part of  
both the ANC and the police. Large  
contingents of police armoured  
vehicles were strategically placed in  
all the cities,

The Palm Springs Civic Associa-  
tion occupied the Jeppe Street Post  
Office in Johannesburg to demand  
lights, postal services and telephones  
in residents' homes.

Post office security chief Peter  
Frazer called the police to clear the  
building at midday. Men, women and  
children were packed into police  
vans and taken to John Vorster  
Square where they were charged  
with trespassing

Pangas

Lieutenant Wikus Weber said ser-  
vices at the Jeppe Post Office were  
disrupted during the sit-in which  
started at noon.

About 200 Inkatha Freedom Party  
members armed with axes spears,  
pangas and sticks blocked the start  
of an ANC march in Durban and  
forced more than 2 000 marchers to  
change their route,

Policemen ran from all directions  
to form a thin blue line between the  
two groups.

The ANC Youth

League agreed to  
CTeo Page 2

00 pi-

ple joined hands to form 2

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In Cape Town,

measures before  
stopped by the po

It's 200\231s mass apathy

From Page 1

postpone a mock trial of

IFP Leader Chief Mangos

President F'W de Klerk,  
Suthu Bulhelezi and other

a0

human chain around the

central business

A  
supporters

district

users had applied for per-  
mission for 70 000 more

ers to descend on the Union

They handed 2 memo-  
randum to acting district

commissioner Colonel Piet

few hundred

Luthuli

ANC

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L their pres.  
â\2027

Police kept

ence of a minibus and

during a peaceful, but Live  
ly demonstration

Buildings. The authorities

Fourie demanding a con-

also

gh Maritz

marched through  
hurg.

iations with the po-  
licing a stand-off that

lasted more than half an

homeland leaders after  
hour.

negotia-  
tions

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usually issued a permit

level  
for

constituent assembly and an

interim government

In Johannesburg, about  
1 000 people, led by Walter  
and Albertina Sisuly, Steve

Tshwete, Alrad Nzo and

of pe-

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(3

there were no signs

15 000. They need no

Winnie Mandela arrived have bothered --

late and was greeted with 500

Eight thousand people

marched Port Elizabe

lice dogs.

less than

people turned up for  
the march

raised

Wisses and

Amos Masondo, marched

Sy

crowd

ANC Y  
bolically renamed Fare-

The

weil Park in front of the  
{ Durban City Hall after for-

i  
i

in a quiet and

orderly procession

bugs,

i  
J

ey centre

Even then, the march  
did not get further than 400

persons.

Hare

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.

John Vorster

(3 1]

i mer ANC leader Albert poli

"BSSION

In Pretoria, the organ-

ce headguarriers.

{  
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}

ing rules, or barons, or

the upstarts take

HE breakdown of Codesa has  
claimed two important victims:  
President De Klerk and Mr Nel-  
son Mandela. Both have been

diminished in stature, in their .

political authority, and in their control  
of their own followers.

Their weakness has been vividly  
demonstrated in the range and variety  
of interventions by other, lesser play-  
ers; Cosatu and Saccola, the United Na-  
tions and Mr Cyrus Vance, the Gold-  
stone commission and Dr Peter Wad-  
dington of Reading University. Also, on  
both sides, the hardliners are back in  
action, and the moderates have been  
put on the defensive

A fine from TS Eliot sums it up:  
King rules, or barons rule.â\200\235 Neither  
President De Klerk nor Mr Mandela  
can heal the rift between them, or stop  
the violence, or bring order, or carry  
the process of negotiation forward, so  
other people try. Where Codesa breaks  
down, Cosatu and Saccola try to step  
to the breach.

The scattering of authority shows  
itself in a dozen ways. President De  
Klerk cannot keep his police under con-  
trol, so he calls on Mr Justice Gold-  
stone, who in turn calls on Professor  
Philip Heymann from Harvard and Dr  
Waddington to tell us what we have  
known for years: that our police are  
untrained, undisciplined, and at dag-  
gers drawn with the society in which  
they try to operate

Mr Mandela cannot find ways to  
protect his followers against the conse-  
quences of the war between the ANC  
and the police, on the one hand, and  
between the ANC and Inkatha on the  
other. So he appeals to the United  
Nations, which condemns the violence,  
immediately hands the responsibility  
for stopping it back to President De  
Klerk, but sends Mr Vance anyway to  
monitor the situation and recommend  
solutions.

Upstarts clamber to preminence, so  
that television viewers, passively

bewildered, find themselves constantly lectured by Brigadier Gqozo or threatened by General Holomisa, leader of a wing of the ANC which is entirely sustained by the South African taxpayer.

Weakness seeks to pacify, not to control or dominate, When the embassy in Umtata is besieged and invaded, the Department of Foreign Affairs whimpers and hands over more money to General Holomisa, like a defeated mother bribing a brat with candy,

King rules or barons rule. . | Actually, It's not quite so simple. Saccola, moving into the vacuum created by the collapse of Codesa, has tried valiantly to tie Cosatu into a relationship based on 2 social charter, Cosatu has tried as hard to win Saccola over to the cause of mass action aimed at bringing President De Klerk to his knees.

the end, President De Klerk's allies in Saccola were hardly likely to sign an agreement that would enable Cosatu, and perhaps even the ANC, to claim that big business has joined our struggle. There is a limit to how much power the barons can usurp, and the pact between the bosses of labour and the bosses of industry was stillborn,

A year ago, conventional wisdom held that President De Klerk and Mr Mandela depended on each other for survival, and that they would therefore stick together. The first part of that equation has proved true, the second

proved false when Mr Mandela, reacting to an ill-advised speech at Codesa 3 demolished the president's character and the relationship between them

Codesa 2 was doomed in the closing hours of Codesa 1.

So now comes the show of strength for which the SACP hardliners and the labour barons have lusted ever since Mr Mandela agreed to the suspension of armed struggle, and for which the securocrats have been praying ever since President De Klerk clipped their wings.

HE instruments of ungovernability the block committees, the comrades, the kangaroo courts, the barricades in the streets, the massing of young bucks are back, The strikes, the obstruction of normal life, the Sit-ins, the Occupation of public and private Spaces, are still to come. So far, most of it has been street

over

theatre, albeit street theatre of a peculiarly violent South African kind, As comimunist gury Jeremy Cronin has tried to warn his less intelligent allies, the Leipzig option â\200\224 the forms of mass action that brought East Germany, and indeed Poland, to a halt â\200\224 is not a viable strategy in this country.

Nor can industrial action be turned on and off like a tap, The foreign investors are scuttling off, the financial rand has weakened, the lecal businessmen are in despair, and economic depression is gnawing at the very sinews of industrial South Africa. The jobs destroyed today won't be back for years.

HEREFORE, street theatre is inescapable. The theory is that turmoil, or even the appearance of turmoil, will somehow gÃnerate pressures on President De Klerk which will, in due course, compel him to sue for peace. After all, the argurment runs, â\200\234ungovernability" forced a retreat from apartheid and from the militaristic policies of President Botha; so why should it not force another retreat? A There is no need to dwell on the folly of this argument. President De Klerk still presides over a powerful bureaucracy, though at the cost of dispensing gatros on a ruinous scale. Could he not stop the corruption in his government, he might easily double the size of his police force and send all its officers to Germany or Britain for advanced training in crowd control. He would not need to call in Dr Waddington. .

King rules or barons rule, Eljor wrote, the strong man strongly, the weak man by caprice. Last yearâ\200\231s strong men have made themselves weak, and they have put the country into the capricious hands of those who waited off-stage during the time when hopes ran high â\200\224 the anarchists of Street theatre, and the militarists who watch the rising disorder with lip-smacking anticipation

- KEN OWEN





By \$â\200\231BU MNGADI  
THE elusive, i{.)n'tr-]â\200\230.t'.\_n\_uâ\200\230,uâ\200\234 meehis  
tween Zulu monarch  
Zwelithini and ANC president Nelson  
Mandela remains uncertain uniy  
number of obstacles have been  
removed.

This became clear at this week's  
meeting between a high-level ANC dele-  
gation, led by deputy general-secre-  
tary Jacob Zuma and the king, backed  
by half the KwaZulu cabinet and IFP  
leadership. The meeting took further  
steps to pave the way for the historic  
meeting.

Zumaâ\200\231s delegation included foreign  
secretary Thabo Mbeki and senior  
ANC leaders Josiah Jeic, Penuell Ma-  
duna and Joe Nkadimeng, white Zwe-  
lithini was supported by health minister  
Baldwin Ngubane, finance mnistes  
Dennis Madide, justice. education and  
culiure minister Celani Mtetwa, works  
mimsier Simon Gumede and princes  
Gideon and Repgie

The kingâ\200\231s de

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King Goodwill

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hour meeting  
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the Zwelithini-h  
ising 10 hold fur  
as possible

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No agreement  
on Zwelithini,  
Mandela talks

Following discussions regarding pre- |  
vious attempts to get the (wo leaders 10 |  
meet, the statement said it had been  
agreed that the Xingâ\200\231s response should |  
be conveyed ko Mandela

But behind the cordial spirit which |  
characterised this weekâ\200\231s meeting was  
tough tatking, which, City Press [earnt,  
resulted in lack of finality on the pro- |  
posed meeting

Although the kingâ\200\231s response was not  
made public, insiders said he demanded  
clarification on or withdrawal of Man-  
dejaâ\200\231s alleged "offendingâ\200\235 siatements

segarding the long-overdue meeting.

In particular, Zwelithint expressed |

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Gt"ahar"i-\201 VSp;nâ\200\230Ã©o.â\200\234 %  
Gienn McDougall  
and Prakash Naidoo

A BLOODY battle almost erupted in  
Durban yesterday as the African Na-  
tional Congress and Inkatha Freedom  
Party came within a fraction of fighting  
on city-centre sireets.

And in Pietermaritzburg another con-  
rontation was defused at the last mi-  
nute when a group of armed IFP sup-

porters had to be restrained from at-  
tacking ANC supporters

Durban was Natal's main flashpoint,  
and when ANC flags and posters of IFP  
President Mangosuthu Buthelezi were  
torched as seemingly implacable  
crowds faced-off across a few metres, it  
seemed a pitched street fight was inevi-  
table

It started about 1pm when the ANC !

began to march from Durbanâ\200\231's Em-  
manuel Cathedral along West Street to

present a memorandum about the â\200\234rac-

ist Âcityâ\200\235 to the council,

Along the way they were to have held  
mock trials against Dr Buthelezi, Presi-  
dent FW de Klerk, President Lucas  
Mangope, and Brigadier Qupa Gqozo,  
charging them with murder

Without warning an impi of Inkatha  
â\200\224 including heavily armed men in war-  
rior regalia, women and children = ar-  
rived. And they were angry

Police immediately formed a thin  
barrier. The IFP were armed with axes,  
home-made spears, and knobkerries  
topped with gear cogs. The ANC were  
not visibly armed.

As tensions rose, and it seemed that  
blood would certainly be spilt. heavily  
armed police carrying pump-action  
shotguns, rifles, stun-grenades, and  
tear-gas, arrived and reinforced the  
barrier

Both sides screamed insults in Zulu

Wrong

â\200\234See,â\200\235 said an ANC marshall, â\200\234this is |  
not an ethnic thing These people have  
been told that the ANC is against Zulus  
~ this shows they're wrong.â\200\235

A women from the IFP, who would  
not give her name, said they had come  
because â\200\234enough was encughâ\200\235

â\200\234I say this â\200\224 bulala! (kill). They can  
not come and kill our leader in the  
streets (a reference to the proposed  
mock trial) and expect us not to get  
angry.â\200\235

As the line of policemen was  
stretched to the limit, Colonel Eddie  
Kennedy called spokesmen from both  
sides.

â\200\234Get your people marching, we will  
hold Inkatha,â\200\235 he told the ANC.

â\200\234Don't you chaps try anything,â\200\235 ne  
warned the IFP.

â\200\234It is an illegal gathering and the IFP  
are armed â\200\224 disarm them now,â\200\235 de-  
manded ANC leaders.

Col Kennedy shook his head. The re-  
ality was that to avoid a bloodbath, the  
two factions had to be kept separate.

Eventually Southern Natal ANC or-  
ganiser Bheki Cele took a brave step.  
He grabbed a microphone and confront.  
ed the heavily armed Inkatha impi. The  
mock trial of Dr Buthelezi would not be  
held if the IFP dispersed, he said. They  
(the ANC) were for peace and why were  
the IFP coming with weapons?

By now yellow police vans were posi-  
tioned strategically across the road be-  
tween the groups.

From then on, the march down West  
Street was without incident, stopped  
only by lengthy political speeches.

At the City Hall a memorandum was  
handed to Mike Oâ\200\231Meara, executive  
director of Corporate Services.

Speaking to the 2500 people present,  
Mr Hadebe said they were renaming  
Francis Farewell Square Chief Albert  
Luthuli Park.

â\200\234Farewell was an adventurer who  
only took from the people. And this city

honours him. We will change all that"â\200\235  
he said.



uEas!

s

2 Nis-1 FEoddd

THE Zulv monarch King \  
Goodwill Zwelithini ka-  
Zulu has married his  
Trnnskian-born fifth  
wife at Enyokeni Royal

cat KwaNon-  
goma in â\204çN

But the wedding, which  
yesterday transformed  
the rural village into a  
kaleidoscope of colour as  
western-style  
with tradition,  
ruined by a  
which affected the couple  
on the eve of the wedding.

Following one-and-half  
hours' delay in the arrival  
of Zwelithini and his  
pride, KwaZulu Chie\_f

r and 1

delay of 3  
is present  
Natal.

The Inkatha leader was  
quick to add that the couple  
had not spent the wedding  
eve together.

The new queen had  
spent the night with her  
family in Clermont near  
Durban, he said.

" Buthelezi also stressed  
(that Zwelithini had not  
overslept because of the  
traditional Jate-night stag  
party. The colourful wedding  
was attended by Brig  
Oupa Gqozo, military ruler  
of the Ciskei, Pata-  
mount Chief Maxhoba  
Sandile, of the Rarabe in  
Ciskei and brother-in-law  
to Zwelithini, and mem-  
bers of the diplomatic  
corps.

\_Conspicuous By their

absence were members of  
the Transkeian govern-  
ment, headed by ANC-  
supporting General Bantu  
Holomisa.

. To dispel any suspi-  
cions, Buthelezi told

guests that the â\200\234trueâ\200\235  
Xhosas were in the Cis-  
kei, and not in the Trans-  
kei, as many peopie had  
thought. .

Zwelithini arrived at  
the wedding followed by  
the bridal party in 3 fleet  
of luxury cars. They were  
greeted by chanting, sing-  
ing regiments and bare-  
breasted maidens. The  
king and his four pages  
later discarded their Brit-  
ish-style sailor suits and  
the bride, her designer  
virginal white gown. Both  
parties returned in tradi-  
tional dress.

The new queen took to  
the stage and showed the  
Zulu nation what she was  
made of. Led by Buthe-  
lezi, the groomâ\200\231s party re- .  
fused to be outdone, sing-  
ing regimental songs com-  
posed by previous Zulu  
kings.

P e e

:22A THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER Sunday, July 26 1992 oooo

By TINA susmm  
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG â\200\230South Afncaâ\200\230\_  
â\200\224 President F.W. de"Klerk said"  
Saturday he' was ready to â\200\234call:  
elections for a new. government, .  
but only after the ANC returns.to

political negotlauons

â\200\234announcement

came after - a.  
â\200\230special two-day  
- cabinet meeting

monthlong

standoff with  
the . African  
. National - Con--

DeKlerk" gress, which  
halted. negotia-

tions to protest political violence. '

â\200\234The need to have an election

De 'â\200\231 Klerk'si~\201''

S nauonal unity-and: for the: estab-:  
. lishment -of ,a, consntutlon-makmg  
;:body-isâ\200\231 becommg more urgent by:  
" the . day,""" deâ\200\231 Klerk. said - in- a-  
- statement: "â\200\230However such a pro--

s t

For se\}eral months de Klerk has :  
\_said heâ\200\231 â\200\230supports the idea of elec--

tions for a multiracial interim â\200\230gov-

â\200\234'ernment. His latest.statement con-';  
\_tained nothlng new, andâ\200\231 could be

called â\200\230to- dis. : aimed at convincing. U.N. special :

Ccuss - ways of -  
ending - a.

envoy Cyrus Vance that:the. gov- ;

Â» ernment..is;committed. to- power,  
; shanng with the black majority.

"Vance'is investigating how- the  
Unlted Nations can help revive the -

' talks,." halted \* after â\200\234the â\200\234June - 17 :  
slayings of at least 39 black people

in Bonpatong

for a transitional government of |--

4A .. .THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER â\200\231 Tuesday, July 28, 1992 +s+ Â»

g

ANC del'lvlanâ\200\234ds  
S.Africa probe  
â\200\230prison deaths.

-ixJOHANNESBURG,: South â\200\230Africa 'â\200\224 At leas( 29

: people have died in policeâ\200\230custody:in the past 18:  
.. months, a-monitoring group said Monday, and the;  
\* African National Congress demanded a probe of a  
e doctors claims: that ofhcers rounnely knll pnson-  
ersiiny Sinkn gl

utAi-black .man- arres&d on weapons charges  
â\200\234>collapsed. and - died:in" custody' Sunday, ;police  
- announced, ! fueling the : controversy: caused by â\200\230  
% pathologlst â\200\230Jonathan Gluckman's allegations. -

"'â\200\234The' Human Rights Commission, which monitors  
" political wolence, said 102:people have died in  
' police custody since 1963, including 29 in the past  
#:18 months The report dld not hst vnctlms races.â\200\231

Ry