

Keeping their secrets ...

Big Two in bush peace bid

CRUCIAL deals will flow from the first secret bush meeting between the government and African National Congress.

But both sides will keep quiet about agreements for a while for fear of upsetting party faithful and nervous homeland leaders.

Observers predict that prospects for peace and reconciliation will be greatly improved by Christmas — hopefully with a firmer foundation than Codesa.

The agenda of the "bosberaad" or extended bilateral meeting between the government and ANC deals not only with restarting Codesa-style negotiations, but with the substance of those negotiations.

The nitty gritty will include the shape of the Transitional Executive Council that will lead up to elections. This will involve key issues like finance and the security forces.

Greater understanding is likely to be reached on issues which sank Codesa, namely the

■ The government and the ANC expect to reach real understandings in the bush this week — but will not announce too much detail afterwards for fear of annoying Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

majorities that will be required in an interim government and constitutional-making body and their life-span.

But when the negotiators come out of the bush, mum will be the word and public statements are likely to be bland, pointing to further "bosberaad" in January.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Roelf Meyer, made soothing sounds this week. The bosberaad, he said, would not reach another record of understanding similar to the one at the September 26 summit that angered Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Observers point out that Mr Meyer has to take this stand to avoid annoying Chief Buthelezi and other homeland leaders in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), Mr Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The Cosag leaders are to meet President F W de Klerk within days of the ANC-Government bosberaad and would be outraged by any firm agreements "behind their backs".

However the government and ANC delegations, likely to be led by Mr Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, are expected to reach a greater understanding on the timetable for transfer of power.

The government envisages elections for an interim government by April 1994; the ANC by late next year.

Government sources believe that even their own timetable is highly optimistic given the difficulties in agreeing on new multilateral talks, a transitional government and above all in containing violence.

WEEKEND ARGUS 28-29 Nov. 1992

CAPE TOWN teenagers — and their parents — have discovered a nightclub and teen centre that's the root of all goodness.

Along with the fun side — 25 pool tables, scores of video games, 3 000 video movies and ha-lal snack bar at Ozland in Reen Road, Athlone Industria — is a broader mission in terms of which funseekers aged 13 to 19 can mix pleasure with the business of discovering themselves and acquiring life skills.

Owned by financial advisor Archie Moroni, Ozland will during the next few months host art exhibitions, educational quizzes, informal seminars on fashion and beauty, and awareness programmes about alcohol and drug abuse.

On Thursday Mr Moroni and entertainment entrepreneurs Christian Syren and Kader Khan were joined by social workers, community workers, civic organisations and dozens of clean-living teenagers at the launch of Ozland's latest venture, a liquor-free nightclub called The Wizard.

"The whole idea with this complex is that it had to be family entertainment, and that we

Liquor-free teen centre is a wizard

were going to be a business with a social conscience," Mr Moroni said.

The Ozland facilities are available to families or community organisations that want to arrange entertainment for large groups of teenagers.

Mr Khan said the management was committed to keeping the centre liquor-free and would stick to their guns.

"It's easy to start off with wonderful ideas and to start selling booze three months later, because the concept didn't work. But we will carry it through. Cape Town does not have another venue like this."

Mr Syren said the venue would provide a platform for emerging local talent, particularly with-

in the African Hip Hop Movement and would serve to develop an interest in local music among teenagers who are vastly exposed to overseas material and artists.

African Hip Hop Movement spokesman Shamiel Adams said The Wizard was a brave alternative to existing clubs in Cape Town and would take the pressure off teenagers who felt they had to fit in with conventional trends.

"Here they can find other ways to ventilate that energy," he said.

Social worker Mr Tony Davidson, who works in Lentegeur Hospital's rehabilitation programmes for drug abusers, said to win the battle against drugs, addicts had to be offered alternatives.

"They must be able to go to places where they won't be bombarded with substances and the whole subculture around them."

Ms Washiela Bohardien, a social worker at the Lentegeur Hospital Adolescent Unit, said the new club was an exciting prospect.

"There are many youngsters who do not want to be a part of the drug scene, and it will be good to have a venue that will not be a nightclub only, but will educate young people as well."

Goldstone gets 'the power'

Weekend Argus Correspondent

28/29 Nov. 1992

THE Goldstone Commission has not sought and does not seek further legal powers, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced.

In a statement in Pretoria yesterday Mr Justice Goldstone said he had emphasised in his statement of November 16 that from its inception, the commission had enjoyed the widest legal powers to enable it to perform its mandate.

He said the commission had sought the active co-operation of all the relevant parties to enable it to investigate the activities of public and private armies and other agencies alleged to be involved in public violence and intimidation.

It also requested from the government the manpower and resources to enable it to carry out those investigations.

Mr Goldstone said at his meeting with President De Klerk on November 20 there was an agreement regarding the commission's request.

As Mr De Klerk said after the meeting, additional manpower and resources were being placed at the disposal of the commission and details were being discussed.

He quoted from a statement issued yesterday by himself and General Pierre Steyn, saying the government had agreed to give its full co-operation regarding the intelligence activities of the South African Defence Force as far as they were relevant to the commission's mandate.

He said the commission hoped other relevant non-governmental parties also would give the commission their active co-operation.

Mr Justice Goldstone also met senior cabinet ministers yesterday and won a pledge that the government would give the commission access to military information relevant to the probe on political violence.

He said after the meeting with Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, and SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg, that he had not been seeking wider



MORE MEN TO HELP: Mr Justice Richard Goldstone gets more manpower to enable him to get to the bottom of things.

powers for the commission, but manpower and other resources.

"The government has agreed to its full co-operation with regard to the intelligence activities of the South African Defence Force as far as they are relevant to the commission's mandate," said a joint statement issued by the State President's Office.

In a related development, a member of the Goldstone Commission, advocate Mr J P Pretorius, has been appointed to work closely with General Steyn who has been appointed to investigate claims of a Military Intelligence "dirty-tricks" campaign

against the African National Congress.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone Commission committee investigating attacks on train commuters postponed its hearing yesterday amid conflicting reports on the Mlamkundi railway station attack.

The chairman of the committee, Mr Gert Steyn, told the sitting in Pretoria he had decided it would be unwise to hear argument before an inquiry into the Mlamkundi attack in which 38 people died earlier this week.

Mr Steyn adjourned the sitting until January 25.

Hopes for an end to political violence soared this week with the announcement that the African National Congress and its rival Inkatha Freedom Party were headed for a meeting that would bring leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi face to face.

The prospect was hailed by political parties and other groupings.

More than 2 000 people have been killed in violence this year and the National Peace Secretariat acknowledged on Thursday that violence had heightened since the Peace Accord was signed in September last year.

Police in the Eastern Transvaal seized two more arms caches including a massive 461 kg of plastic explosives, 102 detonators and fuses.

The find was unearthed on a tobacco farm in Schegen area near Nelspruit. This discovery led investigators to a house in the area where several firearms including an AK-47 rifle, one R4 rifle, a revolver, fuses and detonators were found.

Police said 10 publications on explosives were seized during the raid. They included one allegedly entitled: *Umkhonto we Sizwe — An Elementary Handbook Of Explosives*.

Last week, police arrested a 39-year-old man after a large arms cache was found in a cave on a Nelspruit farm.

In Soweto, police raided the Dobsonville Hostel on Thursday night, seizing two AK-47 rifles, a revolver, two hand-grenades and several rounds of ammunition.

Police said they had arrested four people in the raid.

In Transkei, military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa held talks with business leaders from Herschel over violent attacks in the town which borders South Africa.

The government told the crisis meeting extra police had been sent to the area to beef up security. Troops had been patrolling the area since armed attacks on motorists last week in which at least two South Africans died.

The case of Thami Zulu

PERHAPS the single case which has aroused the most concern within the ranks of the ANC has been the death in November 1989 of Thami Zulu (real name Muzi Ngwenya), a senior MK commander, days after his release from 14 months' detention in the custody of the ANC security department.

According to Amnesty International Mr Zulu had been commander of MK's "Natal Command" since 1983. Natal was one of the most active centres of MK military operations but also suffered high casualty rates.

There had long been a suspicion that there was a highly placed South African agent in the command.

In early 1988 Mr Zulu's deputy, known variously as Cyril, Ralph or Fear, died in the custody of the ANC security department.

The official explanation was that he had choked on his vomit, although there was never any independent investigation. The evidence against Cyril appears to have consisted of an unsigned confession in his own handwriting.

In August 1988, after the ambush and killing of nine MK members by South African security forces on the Swaziland border, Mr Zulu was detained by the ANC security de-

partment on suspicion that he was a Government agent.

He was apparently held for a year under a form of house arrest, although according to a subsequent internal commission of inquiry his interrogators concluded at any early stage that there was no evidence that he was a South African Government agent (while criticising him for reckless negligence).

From August 1989 until shortly before his death he was held in solitary confinement in the White House, another ANC detention centre in Lusaka.

Amnesty International has concluded that in the five days between Mr Zulu's release and his death in a Lusaka hospital his condition declined rapidly.

He suffered acute diarrhoea and became chronically weak before dying of heart and lung failure. Postmortem examinations established a number of factors relating to his death, although not with any certainty the cause of the heart and lung failure.

First, he was found to be HIV-positive. Second, he was found to be suffering from tuberculosis. He had suffered from the disease in the past and it appears that it had recurred during his period of detention and he had not received treatment for it.

WEEKEND MERCURY SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1992

16/1/11

The case of Katiza Cebekhulu

Witness News

TWO key figures in the trial of Winnie Mandela on charges of assault and kidnapping have been held in Zambia, apparently to prevent them from testifying at her trial. One of them, Katiza Cebekhulu, remains in a Zambian prison.

The other, Gabriel Pelo Megkwe, a witness in the case, was held for several months in ANC custody before being returned to South Africa earlier

this year.

In February 1991, before he had given evidence, Mr Cebekhulu secretly left the country and spent three months in a Lusaka hotel.

In May 1991 he gave an interview to the press and was promptly placed in what the Zambian authorities called "protective" custody in a Lusaka prison.

The Zambian authorities have repeatedly failed to respond to

requests from Amnesty International to explain the legal basis for Katiza Cebekhulu's detention.

In April 1992 Zambia's chief immigration officer told a Lusaka newspaper that he was not an illegal immigrant. In September 1992 the Lusaka High Court heard that Mr Cebekhulu remained in detention without charge or trial, although he had been served with a deportation order.

16/1/11

A-32 The Orlando Sentinel, Thursday, November 26, 1992

ANC agrees to meet Inkatha for talks

□ Nelson Mandela will meet with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a rival leader. Meanwhile, violence rages in South Africa.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Hopes for peace between black factions and power-sharing with whites rose on Wednesday when the ANC softened its demand for immediate majority rule and agreed to meet with the rival Inkatha group.

Violence continued, however. More than 30 blacks were injured when attackers opened fire at a railway station in the black township of Soweto near Johannesburg, police said.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will meet "as soon as possible," said Thabo Mbeki, a top African National Congress negotiator. No date was given.

The ANC-Inkatha meeting is crucial, because multiparty talks on ending apartheid have virtually no chance of resuming unless the two groups are at peace. Fighting between ANC and Inkatha supporters has claimed thousands of lives since the mid-1980s.

The talks include both black groups and the white government.

The ANC leadership formally accepted on Wednesday the possibility of sharing power with President F.W. de Klerk's governing National Party.

The ANC previously demanded

majority rule, believing it would win South Africa's first elections that include the black majority.

In accepting possible power sharing, the ANC said it realized a sudden shift to majority rule could cause problems and that it was committed to a peaceful transition. The ANC is still committed to eventual majority rule, but it gave no time frame for that.

Mandela did give a deadline for an interim government, however. After a meeting of the ANC's national executive committee he said that it wants an elected interim government to replace the exclusively white one within 12 months.

The government says it is committed to multiracial elections. But it has refused to set a deadline for the vote, saying the date must be negotiated among all parties.

Mandela reiterated that black-white talks, which broke down in June over political violence in black townships, were the only way for the ANC to come to power.

Compliments of
Cliff Gasney

WEEKEND ARGUS 28/29 NOVEMBER 1992

PAC 'not holding crisis talks'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress said it had no emergency internal meeting scheduled to discuss the apparent breakdown in talks with the government.

PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander reiterated yesterday that as far as the organisation was concerned, the scheduled December 9 talks had not officially been cancelled.

A PAC spokesman said on Wednesday the organisation had called an emergency meeting for tomorrow, following widespread condemnation of the November 28 attack by the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) on a King William's Town golf club in which four people died.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday the PAC should be banned following the attack.

● Meanwhile Minister of Law and Order Mr Her-nus Kriel said yesterday the government was well aware of the statements on intensified terrorism in white areas by some PAC and Apla members.

Such utterances were not only irresponsible but also whipped up feelings of hate and revenge, and would not be tolerated, he said.

● Also reacting to the golf club attack, Azapo said yesterday the four whites killed were victims of war.

Azapo leaders also said they would never permit its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, to be subjected to a probe by the Goldstone Commission. — Sapa

Sayings of the Week

□ Very much his own man, as the English say. — Izak de Villiers, editor of *Rapport*, after a discussion with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

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□ Religious organisations are front-runners when it comes to repressing women. — Mrs Yasmin Sooka, delegate to the SA Conference for Religion and Peace, as reported in *Beeld*

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□ The next Springbok team for an overseas tour must not only know their rugby but must also be true gentlemen their country can be proud of. — Die Burger



— Derek Bauer of the Weekly Mail.

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ANC rejects De Klerk *The Australian* timetable 28. 11. 92 for change

By KATHLEEN BARNES in Johannesburg

THE South African Government and the African National Congress are back on a collision course over a timetable for democratic transition, partly eclipsing the substantial progress made earlier in the week.

The President, Mr De Klerk, said on Thursday that he foresaw an election for an interim parliament by April 1994.

His statement, in apparent response to an ANC demand for a clear timetable for elections, included a prediction that multi-party negotiations would resume before the end of March after a 10-month hiatus.

He also proposed the completion of a transitional constitution by the end of September next year.

The ANC, which has issued its own timetable calling for elections within eight to 12 months, immediately retorted that Mr De Klerk's proposal was "totally unacceptable".

The ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said on Wednesday he wanted to see the interim parliament sitting by the end of next year.

Mr De Klerk said if the main parties did not co-operate in moving towards his goal, the Government would find "other means" to ensure the continuation of constitutional reform. He did not elaborate on those other means.

The ANC chastised the Government for making its timetable public a few days before it was scheduled to be discussed at an ANC-government summit.

In a statement issued minutes after the President's remarks, the ANC replied: "South Africa cannot afford any delay in the process. The economy cannot sustain a further year of corruption and mismanagement.

"The people will no longer tolerate

lack of governance or the increasing uncertainty that will clearly be accompanied by escalating violence, growing unemployment and deteriorating socio-economic conditions."

The rhetoric may be simple political posturing by both sides as they once again draw close to the negotiating table.

The most recent rhetorical exchange came at the end of a week in which the ANC made substantial concessions towards power-sharing even after democratic elections and in which Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed to look for a solution to the political power struggle that has sparked township violence and claimed 9000 lives in the past three years.

Mr De Klerk is not the only political leader who has made inopportune statements at delicate moments.

Mr Mandela has made several statements recently contravening ANC policies, leading to speculation that he is either "shooting from the hip" or that he is out of touch with ANC thinking.

On Wednesday, the ANC's foreign affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, issued a statement that the ANC and Inkatha top leadership had agreed to meet.

But on Thursday, Mr Mandela held to what was viewed as an ill-considered statement when it was issued on Monday that he would not meet Mr Buthelezi until the Inkatha leader agreed to some preconditions.

Mr Buthelezi rejected Mr Mandela's conditions for the meeting — that the Inkatha leader create a climate of free political activity in the Zulu homeland of KwaZulu and agree to a ban on the carrying of weapons in public.

ANC and Inkatha negotiators scrambled to repair the damage, but the Mandela-Buthelezi summit now seems unlikely.

SATURDAY STAR, 28 NOVEMBER 1992

Shock Amnesty report urges prosecutions

ANC's 12 years of torture exposed

SATURDAY STAR, 28 NOVEMBER 1992

ANC torture

● FROM PAGE 1.

abuses documented by the commission it had appointed, Amnesty insists the process must be taken further.

"A weakness of the commission of inquiry is that it did not sufficiently examine where political responsibility lay for abuses in the camps. An important question is why the leadership failed to table the report of the (internal) James Stuart commission of inquiry into the mutiny at the ANC's consultative conference in Kabwe."

While it concedes that infiltration has been a real threat to the liberation movement, Amnesty argues that many of those imprisoned and tortured were not agents of the apartheid state. The failure of the ANC to bring its security department to book, combined with blanket denunciations of former prisoners as spies, laid prisoners who returned home open to further danger.

A large number of abuses documented in both the Amnesty report and the recent ANC-initiated inquiry occurred after the mutinies by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Viana and Pango camps in Angola in 1984. Amnesty states that:

● When the mutiny began in Viana, mutineers found the body of a man called Solly in a "metal container" used by the security department for detaining people. Solly had been mentally ill and had criticised ANC leadership. "He was known to have been detained in the container and had apparently been shot by members of the security department," the report says.

● After the Viana mutiny, 32 participants were taken to the Luanda State Security Prison. There they were severely beaten by ANC personnel and detained in appalling conditions, virtually without medical care. Selby Msimang and Ben Thibane died there within five months of detention.

● After the second uprising, at Pango, seven mutineers were condemned to death by a summary tribunal and, without any right of appeal, put before a firing squad, Amnesty says. They were James Nkabinde, Ronald Msomi, Mbumbulu, Thembi Hobo, Mahero, Wandile Ondala and Stopper Nyembezi.

● The remaining mutineers were kept naked and bound with ropes at Pango camp for three weeks before being transferred to Quatro (another ANC camp). It appears to have been the intervention of a senior ANC official, Gertrude Shope, which ended the ill-treatment of the prisoners at Pango as well as preventing any further execu-

tions, the report states.

● At Quatro — where most mutineers remained until 1988 — conditions were grim, and hard labour and physical abuse routine. "Many former prisoners describe being beaten on arrival at the camp, particularly on the buttocks and the soles of the feet. Prisoners also suffered random ill-treatment throughout their time there," the report says.

"In one incident described by two former inmates, guards poured boiling water on the head of a prisoner. The wound blistered and became purulent. A sympathetic guard shaved the prisoner's head to help the wound heal, but the guards repeatedly banged his head against a tree to re-open the wound."

Prisoners had code names for various forms of torture — "pompa" was having puffed-out cheeks brutally slapped in; "napalm" was a stinging leaf they were forced to crawl through; "slaughter" was being forced to dig holes and climb in them, often while being pelted with stones.

"What is apparent from the abundant testimony about life in Quatro is that poor living conditions, the hard labour and the ritualised abuse had no aim but the humiliation and degradation of the prisoners," Amnesty concludes.

The Amnesty report covers a longer time-span and wider area than the ANC-initiated commission. Of the period before the mutiny, it observes that in the late 1970s and early 1980s the ANC's security department conducted severe crackdowns against alleged indiscipline.

"Former MK members have described alleged dagga smokers being hung in trees for several days at a time as punishment. A number of MK members are believed to have died as a result of such ill-treatment, including Oupa Moloi, a political officer at Camalundi camp, eastern Angola, who died in 1981."

In relation to Lusaka, Amnesty has accounts of torture taking place at the ANC's Revolutionary Council building in Villa Park, at the "Green House" which was the security department's headquarters and at a farm on the Lusaka-Livingstone road.

Mostly, "the purpose of this torture was to force the prisoner to sign a confession which had already been prepared by security officials... In some cases it appears to have been carried out with the knowledge of senior members of the ANC security department."

The ANC refugee settlements at Dakawa and Mazimbu in Tanzania did not function as long-term detention centres, Amnesty says, but "there are credible reports that prisoners in the early stages of their detention at Dakawa or Mazimbu were severely beaten or tortured in other ways".

SATURDAY STAR, 28 NOVEMBER 1992

**PETER FABRICIUS
and ESTHER WAUGH**

THE cumbersome and long-dormant negotiation machine began to creak into action this week as plans were announced for the long-awaited Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and an intensive "bosberaad" between the Government and the ANC.

The negotiation barometer moved to "cautious optimism" as it emerged that a team of Cabinet ministers under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and top ANC officials under secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would retreat into a secret bush venue from Wednesday to Friday to thrash out the remaining obstacles to resuming Codesa-style multiparty negotiations.

The two sides moved closer together earlier this week when the ANC's national executive committee endorsed a strategy option of sharing power with the National Party even after interim government.

Programme for transition

Giving an overview of the week's positive development, one key player remarked that all parties had finally realised they could not destroy each other, and were at last resorting to real negotiations.

President de Klerk sounded an optimistic note — and tried to seize the initiative from the ANC — when he announced that Codesa could start in March, setting in train a negotiation process leading to the country's first democratic elections in March or April 1994 for a government of national unity.

The ANC officially spurned De Klerk's timetable as too long, but ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said that at last the Government had committed itself to a definite programme for transition.

The most troubling problem still outstanding is the position of Chief Buthelezi and the IFP, who still remain officially outside the negotiation process.

Although the planned Buthelezi/Mandela meeting is seen as an encouraging sign that the IFP leader is thawing, the Government is fearful that its bosberaad with the ANC may once again infuriate Buthelezi and drive him further away — as did the ANC/Government summit of September 26.

In an interview yesterday, Meyer was at pains to point out that the bosberaad would not be a summit, as De Klerk and Mandela would not attend.

He said that the Government was currently meeting all major players, including the IFP. It would meet the PAC on December 9, and Buthelezi and other estranged homeland leaders also next month.

He and Ramaphosa yesterday announced a second phase of this week's bosberaad in January.

The meetings would deal with multilateral negotiations, the transition process, the problem of violence, transitional/interim government, a constitution-making body, a transitional executive council, a climate for free political activity and participation, and unilateral restructuring. Another topic is likely to be the ANC's power-sharing strategic perspective.

No date has been set for the Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and the agenda is still to be discussed.

Talks wagon creaks on to the road again

SATURDAY STAR, 28 NOVEMBER 1992

JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE African National Congress executed, tortured and ill-treated prisoners in its camps in various African countries over a period of at least 12 years — and government agencies of the host countries actively collaborated in some of these abuses.

This is the conclusion of an investigation of abuses in ANC camps, based on first-hand accounts by surviving victims, by Amnesty International, the influential London-based human rights group.

It reinforces the recently published findings of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry which found "extraordinary abuse of power" by ANC security officials and "gratuitous and random violence" by guards at the camps.

Security apparatus

The Amnesty investigation emphasises the need for the ANC and relevant authorities to take action against the perpetrators.

"Individual torturers should be identified in order to ensure that they hold no future position in the ANC or government security apparatus.

"Details of their cases should also be forwarded to the appropriate authorities in the countries where the abuses took place in order that they might be the subject of criminal investigation and, if appropriate, prosecution," Amnesty argues.

"However, these steps should be taken only after a thorough investigation which will allow the alleged human rights violators the opportunity to respond to the allegations against them."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus pointed out yesterday that the ANC had been gearing up to act on the findings of the inquiry it had initiated. As a first step it had set up a second, more clearly independent, commission comprising two foreign members and one South African.

"Our National Working Committee is still determining the terms of reference of this commission. In doing so, the issues raised by Amnesty International will also be taken into account," he said.

Amnesty insists that in August 1991 the ANC still held prisoners in Tanzania although it publicly denied this. Amnesty says it has tried in vain to trace five of these prisoners who were held at Dakawa camp: Justice Gumbi, Albert Bhengu, Terror Wonder, Schaft Lwane Khoza and George Kiteseng.

Niehaus reiterated yesterday that none of these was in ANC custody. They were either in Tanzanian jails or else unable to obtain amnesty to return to South Africa.

Noting that ANC president Nelson Mandela said that the leadership of the ANC accepted full responsibility for the

● TO PAGE 2.

LNUK/PA/NUK/VI

LONDON

28/11/92

ANC accused of torture and killing

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL issued a report yesterday documenting torture, ill-treatment and executions by the African National Congress (ANC), mostly against its own members, over more than 12 years. The last instances of abuse were in 1991.

Although blame was placed squarely on the ANC's security department, known as "Mbokodo" ("the boulder that crushes"), Amnesty made it clear in a 26-page report that the senior leadership, including the former president, Oliver Tambo, could not be held responsible for the frequently "random" nature of the brutality, cited more than a dozen alleged killings, in some cases as a result of physical assault; beatings with batons, bicycle-chains and barbed-wire; torture which included pouring boiling water over prisoners' heads and forcing them to crawl through red ants' nests; and subjecting prisoners to cramped and lengthy confinement with no access to the most basic medical treatment.

The worst single case identified in the report documents the summary trial and execution by firing-squad of seven prisoners. All the crimes were carried out in ANC camps in Angola, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia - in some cases, Amnesty said, with the collusion of the local authorities.

Amnesty noted that Mr Tambo signed a declaration in 1980 pledging the ANC's adherence to the Geneva Conventions, which include a prohibition on murder, torture and humiliating and degrading treatment.

Claims by the ANC that those members of its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), who were imprisoned were all South African agents were disputed by Amnesty, who said there were many instances when the victims were "bona fide" MK members.

In the late Seventies, the first cases of abuse chronicled by Amnesty, Mbokodo

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

began the practice of hanging marijuana-smokers from trees for days at a time. "A number are believed to have died thus."

The event that precipitated the worst horrors was a mutiny by a large number of MK soldiers against their military leadership in a camp in Angola in 1984. Mbokodo arrested many mutineers and transferred Angola. The cells in Quatro, where the prisoners who survived were held until 1988, were "dark, with little ventilation and suffocatingly hot". Food and water were inadequate, disease was rife and many prisoners were required to perform hard labour. Torture was routine. "In one incident," the report said, "guards poured boiling water on the head of a prisoner. The wound blistered and became purulent. A sympathetic medical orderly shaved the prisoner's head to help the wound heal, but the guards repeatedly banged his head against a tree to reopen the wound."

Amnesty criticised an internal ANC inquiry, the findings of which were issued last month, saying it was flawed because of its lack of independence and narrowness of scope. But they backed a call by those who conducted the inquiry for further investigations and for all those found guilty, many of whom still work in the ANC security department in Johannesburg, to be excluded from future law enforcement - and to be brought to justice.

THE government and ANC will meet next week to discuss a date for elections to end white minority rule, according to a joint statement yesterday. The talks will also cover the transition to a multi-racial government, and violence, AP reports.

GUARDIAN LONDON 28/11/92

Two sides resume talks about talks

THE ANC and the government yesterday began a series of bilateral meetings to prepare the ground for a resumption of constitutional negotiations, our correspondent writes from Johannesburg.

The minister of constitutional development, Ruelf

Meyer, and the ANC general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, said afterwards that the two sides would be holding another three-day meeting next week and further talks in January. They did not disclose the level at which the talks would be taking place.

Times London
28/11/92

Amnesty calls for ANC trials

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN
IN JOHANNESBURG

AMNESTY International, the London-based human rights organisation, has called for the governments of Angola, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia to prosecute officials of the African National Congress for human rights abuses.

The Amnesty report documents a long-standing pattern of torture, ill-treatment and execution of prisoners by the ANC's security department. It shows that this pattern of abuse was allowed to go unchecked by the ANC's leadership in exile and by the African frontline states.

For the first time since they broke down six months ago, the South African government and the ANC have agreed to resume talks on constitutional reform. The two sides will meet on Wednesday for three days to discuss a seven-item agenda. A second round of talks is planned for early January.

Muhammad Valli Mousa, an ANC executive member, said of Mr de Klerk's new timetable for the talks: "We do consider it to be a victory in that this is the first time we have been able to get this government to commit itself to a time frame."

However, the ANC believes that the first fully multiracial elections could be held within nine to 12 months instead of by March or April 1994 as Mr de Klerk proposes.

S African poll date rejected

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg and Agencies

PRESIDENT de Klerk's timetable for an end to white minority rule in South Africa in 1994 was attacked by political opponents to the Left, Right and Centre yesterday.

The African National Congress said Mr de Klerk's plan, announced on Thursday, for open elections and the installation of an interim government by April 1994, was "totally unacceptable".

South Africa could not afford any further delay in the democratic process. A full, democratic election should be held next year, the organisation said. However, the fact that the government had now committed itself to "clear time frames" was hailed as an ANC "victory".

The timetable will be discussed at a three-day meeting between ANC and government officials next week. Dr Pallo Jordan, ANC information chief, criticised Mr de Klerk for announcing his plans before the issues had been discussed.

The South African Council of Churches also expressed its displeasure at the "long-term nature" of Mr de Klerk's plan. An SACC spokesman criticised Mr de Klerk for linking an election timetable to the curbing of violence, saying: "This could encourage those bent on destruction and mayhem in our country to intensify their actions in order to stop the move towards democracy."

Mr Andries Treurnicht,

leader of the Right-wing Conservative Party, said Mr de Klerk would be obliged to capitulate to the ANC's demands as a result of setting a timetable. The ANC's intended "socialist and communist straitjacket" for the country was a nightmare and could not be made acceptable through negotiations.

The ultra-Right Boerestaat Party said Mr de Klerk's timetable would create "certain disaster".

Before an election date can be set, the government, the ANC and other opposition parties will have to reach a series of agreements in a new round multi-party talks. The last session collapsed in May amid bitter recriminations.

However, the ANC has become increasingly pragmatic and appears more willing than before to strike a deal with the government. In a key policy shift last week, the ANC said it would consider sharing power with other parties to ease the transition to majority rule in post-apartheid South Africa.

Next week's meeting will be followed by another in early January.

Apart from the election timetable, the agenda will also include the resumption of multilateral negotiations, the constitution-making body, the transitional executive council that will see the country through until elections and plans for free political activity.

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Blacks 'would resist a veto on reform'

By Fred Bridgland in Cape Town

BLACK people in South Africa will not accept a veto on constitutional reform in a referendum of whites, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the African National Congress, told President de Klerk yesterday.

The referendum issue is growing in controversy as the pace of political reform gathers thrust and white support slips away from Mr de Klerk's ruling National party to the right-wing Conservative party and extremist political groups, some of them neo-Nazi in ideology.

Mr Ramaphosa, the former mineworkers' leader who is second in power in the ANC to Mr Nelson Mandela, said: "We would not see ourselves subjecting ourselves to a referendum which would give white people a veto, which would reduce to zero everything we are doing in Codesa [the Convention for a Democratic South Africa]."

Mr Ramaphosa said that if Mr de Klerk wanted to test public opinion on fundamental constitutional reform through any kind of referendum he would first have to negotiate it at Codesa, the multi-party, multi-racial forum which has become the country's most important political institution.

It is more broadly representative than the present parlia-



Ramaphosa



De Klerk

ment, which excludes blacks. However, it can only propose legislation and draft it before sending it to parliament.

Mr de Klerk told whites in 1989 that they would have the right to approve, in a referendum any major changes he decided to make to the existing apartheid-based constitution. Since then, he has conceded that Coloureds, Indians and blacks should also be allowed to vote in a referendum, but has yet to clarify whether there are to be four separate race-based referenda, with the whites, forming less than 20 per cent of the total population, having a right of veto even if the other three groups vote 'yes'.

Mr Ramaphosa said: "We would not favour a referendum which would be racially based. And if we did opt for a referendum, it would have to be negotiated in Codesa. It would have to be global, and we see no reason to group it

into black, white, Coloured and Indian sections."

Mr Roelof Meyer, Defence Minister, rejected suggestions of a possible Right-wing coup. "What justification would there be for a coup? The way is open for them [the white Right] to come forward and put their proposals on the table."

Opening parliament last week, Mr de Klerk said the white Right could discuss the issues of self-determination, secession and partition at Codesa if it decided to end its boycott of the negotiations.

● Mr Sam de Beer, the South African minister responsible for black education, said yesterday he would introduce a Bill in parliament within days to reform the black education system. Mr de Beer, a reformer, said: "We are committed to moving to a situation of parity in educational spending as quickly as possible."

● Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg writes: Mr Benny Alexander, general-secretary of the radical Pan Africanist Congress, was among five people arrested by police. Officers fired tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse a crowd of 500 residents of the city's southern suburb of Ennerdale who protested against the local authority's decision to cut off electricity and water supplies.