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Dust off that table

THE ANC's top decision-makers are meeting to pronounce on the future of formal negotiations. True, talks between the organisation and the Government did not stop entirely after Boipatong — the telephone lines between Roelf Meyer's and Cyril Ramaphosa's offices have been humming — but the negotiating table itself has been gathering dust ever since.

When the ANC broke off Codesa talks, it set out 14 specific conditions for the Government to meet before a resumption would be considered. The political problem thus created was not so much to do with the contents of these conditions (they were reasonable: essentially focusing on violence, interim rule and commitment to full democracy), but rather with their being styled as "demands". Pretoria objects to being seen as giving in to pressure.

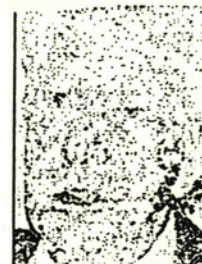
Nevertheless, much has happened in the intervening months, and the Government has demonstrated concern about the issues — even if it refuses to admit that the ANC's calls have had an effect. The full demands have not been "met", and the problems persist, but we believe the national interest requires that the ANC resume formal talks on the basis of progress already made and faith in more to come.

The ANC now has an opportunity to act in a statesmanlike fashion, for the greater good of the country, without being accused of backing down. The economy continues its free fall as long as there is no visible progress towards a negotiated settlement, and the confidence of ordinary people takes a battering. South Africa desperately needs an interim government of national unity, and that cannot come about unless Codesa is revived in some form or another.

There is much that is positive for the ANC to latch on to: the announcement of the Goldstone "task force" is one example among many. There are also negative reasons for the ANC to talk again — if it does not, it gives the Government a plausible excuse for unilateral restructuring, a la Hernus Kriel's new police dispensation. ANC leaders must resolve to take their demands back to the negotiating table.

Taboo on talk about federalism must go, reports R W JOHNSON

Sidestepping the real issue



THE debate over federalism needs to come out of the closet. Until now there has been too much shadow-boxing about whether federalism is a backdoor route to the preservation of bantustans and minority privilege. The real debate is not about that but about whether a South Africa without federalism can remain a single country at all.

The taboo on frank discussion of this issue simply has to go: it is no good pretending that we do not live in a world where countries are sub-dividing like amoebas, or that the pressures which apply to them don't apply with at least equal force to South Africa. The old Union of South Africa, which effectively glued four different countries together, has lasted only 82 years to date — which, in historical terms, means that the glue is barely dry.

South Africa would do well to reflect on the lessons Germany has to teach about federalism. As

every schoolboy knows, Germany was constructed as a single State by Bismarck who welded the disparate states together as the lander (provinces) of the new Reich.

This he did essentially by Prussianising the key institutions: the Prussian king became the German Kaiser, the German army was built on Prussian lines, and Prussian blueprints were used in every field. This authoritarian style was accepted by the lander essentially because Bismarck's long, unbroken record of military triumph and economic prosperity made them all feel strong and rich.

In 1918, however, the Bismarckian state met military defeat and economic ruin. In effect, the lander felt the contract had aborted and the Reich began to fall apart: Germany lost all its colonies, the French took back Alsace-Lorraine and separate republics were declared in Bavaria, Saxony and Thuringia. In the end, the much reduced Weimar Repub-

lic survived only because it conceded much greater federal powers to the lander.

This situation was anathema to Hitler who was nothing if not a passionate devotee of the unitary state. For a while he too made the Germans feel strong and richer, but the Third Reich too ended in defeat and misery: again, the implicit contract failed.

This time the Poles snatched away territory in the east and even the Germany which remained was cut in two. The western rump opted again for a federal state — which succeeded mightily. East Germany opted for highly centralised government — which once again ended in disaster and collapse. German history teaches only federal lessons.

The old Union of South Africa had its implicit contract too: there was to be absolute white supremacy and equality between Boer and Brit. Within those limits, however, a federal discretion was to be allowed to the provinces. The Cape could keep its idiosyncratic franchise, and marriages across

the colour line could continue as they always had. Natal could treat and mistreat its Indians in its own way and, uniquely, maintain a powerful black monarchy in its midst. The OFS and Transvaal could compost themselves as Le-fitted two former Boer republics.

In some ways this implicit contract was actually strengthened by the National Party after 1948. White supremacy was reinforced and the State patronage of Afrikaners gave Boer-Brit equality a social and economic as well as a legal dimension.

But in other ways the contract was subverted. In essence, the Transvaal was our Prussia, Verwoerd our Bismarck, and apartheid the Prussian blueprint on which the State had to be made anew. Gradually the country was Transvaalised. We became wear-ily familiar with the notion that the country's leader was almost invariably the Transvaal leader of the NP. The power of the provinces was cut back and back, al-ways to the benefit of Pretoria, until, infamously, the provincial

councils were abolished.

Worst of all, race relations were recast along Transvaal lines. Some of the worst traumas of apartheid occurred when this simple Transvaal model of setting boundaries between races was applied to already densely integrated urban communities elsewhere.

Verwoerd and his successors got away with such atrocities partly because they strengthened white supremacy, but mainly because under their rule South Africans, especially white South Africans, felt they were getting richer and stronger. Under P W Botha this gradually ceased to be true: although the Prussianisation of the State reached unexampled heights, the State itself was shaken as never before.

Now President de Klerk has reneged on the implicit contract even further. Far from getting richer, per capita incomes have seen negative growth for three years; far from getting stronger, the armed forces are being cut to the bone. Most of all, of course,

the end of white supremacy is in sight.

Not surprisingly, the unity of the old Union has started to unravel. A clamant white Right demands wholesale secession into a Boerestaat, the threat of a Kwa Natal UDI exists at one remove, Bophuthatswana dreams of uniting with Botswana, and the non-African majority of the western Cape has begun to remember what good sense the old Cape Colony made as a separate country.

Not surprisingly, the NP too has had a death-bed conversion to federalism. But we have seen nothing yet: an end to white supremacy may be promised, but it has yet to occur. When it finally does the most fundamental part of the old contract will disappear and there will be a quantum leap in secessionist tendencies on every side. Those who want to hold South Africa together as a State at all — never mind a unitary State — must abandon the bogus debate over federalism and begin the real one now. □

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Boerestaat Party to put case at indaba

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

The Boerestaat Party (BP) has accepted President FW de Klerk's invitation to Monday's conference on regionalism and will use the opportunity to put its views across, party leader Robert van Tonder said yesterday.

In a statement, Mr van Tonder said he would lead a five-man BP delegation to the conference "on regionalism/federal-

ism for a new South Africa", where he would strongly argue that South Africa was "a sub-continent of at least 14 different nations" and not one country.

The BP, he said, would call for the dissolution of the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) and its replacement with a council based on ethnicity.

This could then result in South Africa being divided into 14 "nations" which were culturally and politically independent but voluntarily co-operated in economic matters, like the European Community, Mr

van Tonder said.

His delegation will include organising secretary Deon Rautenbach and management committee members Jan Smith, Coen Vermaak and Anton Terblanche.

The new Afrikaner Volksunie, which is expected to be registered as a political party today, has also given notice that it will attend the regional conference.

The ANC has rejected the Government's invitation to the conference — originally meant for only those parties in Codesa in favour of federalism — and has also called on its allies not to attend it.

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Goldstone to investigate Alex taxi wars

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Goldstone Commission is to hold an inquiry into the taxi wars in Alexandra at the end of this month, following a request from the township's peace committee.

Taxi feuds have claimed dozens of lives in Alexandra and townships on the East Rand in recent months.

Goldstone Commission vice-chairman Neil Rossouw, SC, who has been investigating violence in the western Cape taxi industry, is to chair the Alexandra taxi wars inquiry on September 30 at 2 pm.

The inquiry will focus on establishing the nature and causes of the violence and intimidation, whether it aims at the achievement of any political goal, what persons are involved

and what steps should be taken to curb or prevent it.

The Southern African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) said it welcomed the inquiry, as the organisation itself was "too close to the situation to find solutions to problems".

Sabta spokesman Mike Ntlatleng said the problem areas also included the northern Transvaal, eastern Transvaal and East Rand.

"The taxi violence in Alexandra is very complex, not only because of fighting over ranking facilities, but because of political tensions.

"Taxis seen going in and out of hostels, for instance, become targets," Mr Ntlatleng said.

Anyone who has information which could help the inquiry is requested to furnish it in writing to the Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag X853, Pretoria 0001.

The information should arrive before September 25.

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ANC plans Bisho march

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu in the Border region are organising a second march on Bisho — coinciding with the Government-organised federalism conference — to call for the "downgrading" of Ciskei's independence status.

Announcing plans for the march, the tripartite alliance in the region said last night that confrontation was not being sought with the Ciskei security forces and the protest would be peaceful.

Last month 50 000 ANC dem-

onstrators marched on Bisho. After a stand-off with security forces lasting several hours, the ANC entered the Bisho stadium.

The alliance planned "to gather in Bisho for some time" to demand the immediate restoration of South African citizenship to Ciskeian citizens.

It noted that the march would take place on Monday, the same day Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would be attending the conference on federalism in Pretoria, where he would "once again attempt to speak for the people who continue to say that he has no mandate to speak on their behalf".

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ANC to 'evaluate progress'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) is still locked in a three-day meeting discussing the progress in one-on-one talks between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

ANC sources have indicated it was unlikely that the NEC — the body which decided to break off constitutional talks on June 23 — would discuss the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Instead, the meeting will evaluate what progress, if any, has been made in the three one-on-one talks. At most, the NEC could decide on the upgrading of the one-on-one discussions to full-scale bilateral talks.

It is understood the basis of discussion will be a report on the one-on-one talks by the ANC negotiations commission.

The ANC has repeatedly said the Government had to make "satisfactory" progress in meeting its 14 demands on violence and transitional arrangements.

Senior ANC sources have denied reports that the meeting was a crucial test of strength between "pragmatists" and "militants", pointing out that the so-called hardliners were not opposed to negotiations.

In another development President de Klerk yesterday met Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

20 killed in countrywide violence

Staff Reporters

At least 20 people have been killed in violence around the country since Sunday.

Among those injured was Constable Helmut Schubert (22) who lost an eye when wounded in the head by an unknown gunman in Meadowlands, Soweto, on Sunday. His condition is described as critical.

In the worst attack on Sunday night, four people were hacked to death and set alight in Inanda, Natal.

Also in Natal, the ANC and the IFP are at loggerheads over the killing of two IFP-aligned

traditional headmen in the past two weeks. The latest killing was that of Washington Duke Sosibo, who was shot in Richmond on Friday.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet yesterday said Mr Sosibo's killing was "part of an assassination programme activated in the Natal Midlands by MK — the military wing of the ANC".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "This is an unsubstantiated allegation. The ANC is against the use of violence because we're in favour of a negotiated settlement."

At least five people were killed and three injured on the

Reef on Sunday. Two of the attacks involved train commuters. The body of an unidentified man, apparently thrown from a train, was found at Johannesburg's Jeppe Station with a bullet wound in the back.

At the same station, a seriously injured Elias Marao of Orlando East, Soweto, was found after he was thrown from a train. He was taken to the Hillbrow Hospital.

In Alexandra yesterday, an unidentified man was stabbed and hacked to death in 17th Avenue, and another, also unidentified, was found with knife wounds in 8th Avenue.

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ANC report on torture to be given to Mandela

By Patrick Laurence

The report of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC camps has been completed and is due to be handed to Nelson Mandela, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Completion of the report comes as the ANC leadership deliberates on whether to resume negotiations with the De Klerk administration after breaking off discussions in the wake of the Boipatong massacre of June 17.

President de Klerk has served notice that his administration will raise the treatment of detainees when negotiations are resumed.

The ANC has undertaken to publish the report. The three members of the commission, all lawyers, are Louis Skweyiya, Brigit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus.

The commission has been viewed with scepticism by some of the rebels who were detained, mainly because Mr Skweyiya and Ms Mabandla are ANC members.



Nelson Mandela ... will be given report.

Mr Mandela has admitted that torture did take place in the camps but denied that it was official ANC policy. So too has Chris Hani, former chief of staff of the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He attributes the abuses to "paranoia and hysteria" caused by the infiltration of spies into ANC ranks.

In view of these admissions by senior ANC men it will be unsurprising if the report finds some dissidents were maltreated and ANC security personnel were guilty of abusing power.

Earlier unofficial reports have named Mzwai Piliso, a former head of security in the ANC, as one who allegedly abused power.

The commission is required to make recommendations. These may include the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged detention and torture.

The commission is reported to have heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses, made up of both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

The detainees are understood to have included ANC information chief, Pallo Jordan. Mr Hani and Jacob Zuma are known to have testified.

The present commission is the second appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions at its camps. It differs from the first, known as the Stuart Commission, in two important respects: its members include a respected lawyer, Mr Marcus, who is not an ANC member; and the ANC has pledged to publish its report.

The Citizen 1/9/92

ANC demands kill goodwill: KwaZulu

ULUNDI. — The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at its caucus meeting yesterday claimed the African National Congress' political demands would destroy the emerging goodwill after the signing of the National Peace Accord and the establishment of Codesa.

The ANC demands for all-or-nothing politics in winner-takes-all constitutional arrangements would lead to a unitary state model which would replace the present authoritarian government with another government with equal powers, the caucus said.

"We also state our total rejection of the ANC's stated reasons for abandoning Codesa and the negotiation process," the caucus said.

The body voiced its growing concern about the escalating violence, which was "negating the peace process and militating against progress in negotiations" — Sapa.

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Election may be 'last-ditch option' if talks fail

CAPE TOWN. — The government is not yet preparing legislation for State President De Klerk to unilaterally call the first open general election next year, but it may become a last-ditch option if negotiations break down.

This was the view of government and National Party negotiating sources yesterday.

The election question was raised by British Sunday newspapers at the weekend claiming Mr De Klerk was readying to call a general election next year and that legislation would be passed during the special short session of Parliament in October.

Senior government sources said yesterday that such an election would require specific legislation. However, no legislation was in readiness for the coming session of Parliament. There was only draft legislation in place for transitional councils as agreed to at Codesa earlier this year.

Constitutional negotiators in the National Party have also rejected the

idea of such unilateral lawmaking for the present saying any move to call an election without the agreement of the African National Congress and other negotiating parties would be sheer folly.

"If there's something on paper somewhere, the President would have told us," one senior party man said.

The government would however have to consider

such action if there was a total breakdown in the negotiations.

most agreed. Then it would perhaps serve as a prod and as a statement of intent recording the government's bona fide commitment to change and an elected constituent assembly.

"For the moment however things are very fluid and there is no certainty on which to base such de-

cisions. It resides in the realm of alternatives far down the line ... plan four five or six ..." a senior strategist said.

• Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer cautioned a National Party youth congress at Naboomspruit on August 22 that a general election for all South Africans could be held within 12 to 18 months.

— Sapa.

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Goldstone to probe Alexandra taxis

CAPE TOWN. — A Goldstone Commission committee chaired by Mr D J Rossouw, SC, who has been conducting an inquiry into violence in the taxi industry, will investigate the taxi industry in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced in a statement yesterday.

The investigation resulted from a request from the Peace Committee in Alexandra to inquire into violence involv-

ing the township's taxi industry.

"The Commission has also taken note of statements from various quarters and newspaper reports concerning the violence," the statement said.

"The terms of reference will be the same as those of the committee already inquiring into violence in the taxi industry, namely: To establish the nature and causes of the violence and intimidation, whether it aims at the achievement of any political goal, what per-

sons are involved and what steps should be taken to curb or prevent it as these circumstances pertain to Alexandra."

The inquiry will commence on September 30 at a venue to be announced, the statement said.

Anyone wanting to submit information may do so in writing to the Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag X858, Pretoria, 0001, on or before September 25 or telephone the secretary at (012) 320-4640. — Sapa.

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Politicians, builders set to agree on housing

THE National Housing Forum was launched in Johannesburg yesterday to address South Africa's housing crisis, currently facing a backlog of some 1,2 million units and set to increase with burgeoning urbanisation and population growth.

A wide range of organisations including political parties, construction and building interests and non-governmental agencies signed the founding agreement yesterday with the brief to develop and agree upon a national housing plan.

"We will have participation from both sides of the line ... the providers and those who are provided for," forum chairman Eric Molobi, also head of the Kagiso Trust, said.

"It is only since the process of political liberalisation started that it has been possible to involve those organisations which represent constituencies of needy communities," he added.

The plan provides for the implementation of strategies in the interim as well as developing a broad policy for future action.

The government pulled out of negotiations on the

forum earlier this year but inaugural chairman of the Forum's secretariat Matthew Nel expressed the hope a bi-lateral relationship with government would be set up.

The urgency of dealing with the country's housing crisis was recently illustrated in a government initiated report by Dr Joop de Loor which recommended the doubling of state expenditure in this field from R1,6 billion to R3,5 billion.

Mr Molobi said this report would form part of the input in discussions "to devise and define a strategy" to tackle housing issues.

"We are looking at the building of 200 000 units per annum to begin to

nibble away at the problem," he said.

A researcher at the Development Bank of South Africa recently estimated at least 275 000 houses would have to be built every single year for the next decade to meet the country's demand.

The forum's first phase of 16 weeks involves discussion in six working groups in the areas of lands and services, end-user finance, housing options, institutional structures, integration of cities and hostels on appropriate policy.

Thereafter detailed planning committees will work out action over the next four months. — Sapa.

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Goldstone: IFP concern at 'unilateral' decision

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday his party was concerned that far-reaching proposals to quell violence had been made by Mr Justice Goldstone without consultation with parties in-

involved or affected by the violence.

"The IFP as a victim of violence is concerned that its views were not sought prior to the decisions announced by Mr Justice Goldstone," he said in a statement.

The judge announced on Saturday that a task force comprising police officers and lawyers would investigate political violence and intimidation. United Nations observers would monitor the force.

"The IFP is concerned that the proposals made without due consultation with the parties most concerned were possibly made without due consideration being given to them as proposals among alternatives," Mr Buthelezi said.

"One naturally asks the question whether police officers reporting to Mr Goldstone, and presumably being directed by him, would be more effective than the same officers pursuing their objectives in the normal manner.

"One is concerned that

officers thus separated from the SAP are separated because Mr Goldstone has no faith in the command structures of the SAP or because he has more faith in his commission's ability to direct their investigations than in the ability of the higher command of the SAP."

Mr Buthelezi said the IFP was also concerned that the decision to employ attorneys and advocates had been made without "reference to the main political players".

"More importantly perhaps without setting up procedures for the proper multi-party selection process," he said.

On international observers, Mr Buthelezi said there must be co-ordination and order "in what would otherwise be a babble of voices". — Sapa.

Pragmatists vs militants in ANC test of strength

CAPE TOWN. — Sources within the ANC have indicated that this week's meeting of the National Executive Committee of 86 members is a crucial test of strength between the pragmatists, who are alarmed at the lack of

progress towards an interim government, and militants who still believe the government can be forced into retreating on a number of key constitutional issues.

The meeting which began yesterday, will

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decide whether to resume the constitutional talks, from which the ANC withdrew after the Boipatong massacre.

Those favouring rapid progress towards interim government and constituent assembly elections have expressed concern over loss of voter sympathy, particularly among the Cape's Coloureds and Natal's Indian community.

They have also expressed concern over the loss of White and international support for the ANC cause over its perceived obduracy.

It is known that ANC president Nelson Mandela is among the moderates whose concern for support outside the ANC's traditional Black powerbase has recently been publically expressed with increased frequency.

He has set himself directly against sectional Black interests, a fundamental characteristic of the support base from which the militants are arguing against a resumption of talks with the government.

The likelihood of the Pan Africanist Congress

joining negotiations shortly and the looming deadline for shaping a legislative package for the October session of Parliament, are regarded as another argument to get the ANC back to the talks.

If the militants do manage to sway the NEC in favour of further abstention, the expectation on the government side is that very little progress towards a constitutional settlement will be made for the remainder of this year.

It would also mean that the first multi-racial elections could be set back to 1994 rather than next year as preferred.

The key to a final decision is generally regarded as being in the hands of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, who is respected for his considerable skills as a negotiator and whose own assessment of the progress made and likely to be made, with further talks will largely determine the outcome of the NEC debate.

If Mr Ramaphosa is able to report progress, or likely progress, on

the key issues of interim government structures, an elected and unfettered constitution making body and, as seems likely with the latest Goldstone task force, a curb on violence, the NEC is likely to back more talks.

If progress is also likely on the release of remaining political prisoners, ANC agreement to full constitutional talks with the government and other parties is more than likely.

• Brian Stuart reports that the national conference called by State President De Klerk to discuss a federal system for the new South Africa is scheduled to be held in Pretoria next week.

The opening day is expected to be Monday.

The announcement is likely to be made when Mr De Klerk addresses the Free State congress of the National Party in Bloemfontein tomorrow.

After the address, full details of the conference are expected to be made known by Mr Roel Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development.

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BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, September 1 1992

COMMENT

New season

THE first week of spring could be a crucial one in the negotiation process, although it may be a misnomer to talk about the current ANC national executive committee meeting focusing on the "resumption" of negotiations. In an unorthodox way, those negotiations have been going on for weeks — and, it seems, they have been remarkably fruitful.

But it would be unwise to build up unrealistic hopes of a return to the old style of negotiations — with rapid progress on constitutional issues while the personal chemistry between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela oils the wheels. The pain of Codesa II and Boipatong, and the virulence these events caused, will not be forgotten in a hurry.

The negotiations have effectively returned to a "talks about talks" phase. It began with the exchange of memorandums in which the parties debated the ANC's so-called 14 demands. After the intervention of Cyrus Vance and Herman Cohen, levels of communication were upgraded to ad hoc face-to-face meetings on particular issues — like political prisoners and the amnesty. And since early last month, senior negotiators Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer have met regularly, if secretly, to address remaining "obstacles to negotiations".

Further bilateral talks on the subject between enlarged teams are probably necessary before the full-scale resumption of constitu-

tional negotiations. If plans along these lines are in place by the end of the week, it will be a sign of progress.

The ANC's post-Boipatong withdrawal from formal negotiations has brought significant movement from government, which has been forced to hand over to mutually trusted third parties part of the responsibility for policing the country. Government has extended the Goldstone commission's powers, including its investigating powers; accepted a UN presence; announced the restructuring of the SAP in terms of personnel and attitudes — including the retirement of Gen Lothar Neethling; facilitated a new witness protection programme; introduced new regulations on the carrying of weapons; and demobilised Koevoet and Battalion 32. National Party negotiators have also hinted at a new flexibility on some of their more controversial constitutional proposals.

Taken together, these steps represent a point-by-point response, if only a partial one, to the ANC demands. Quite unintentionally, government has given credence to the ANC's tactic of abstaining. But while the tactic may have borne fruit from an ANC perspective — and maybe even a national one — it has also further dampened business confidence and increased tensions between political groupings. It is time to change tack and to return, openly, to the table.

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Goldstone to meet ANC, PAC armies

RAY HARTLEY

THE Goldstone commission would meet Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's military wing Apla soon to discuss how they could contribute to the peace process, a commission source said yesterday.

The talks follow an ANC offer at the weekend to help the commission, but the source said it was highly unlikely the two guerrilla forces would be co-opted onto the envisaged special investigative unit.

The source said Judge Richard Goldstone was likely to release details of the composition and structure of the unit by the end of the week.

It is believed the unit will be headed by a senior police official and be directly accountable to the judge.

Earlier, Goldstone had suggested an investigation into the role Umkhonto and Apla could play "in reducing the level of political violence and intimidation".

Centre for Applied Legal Studies lawyer Fink Haysom, an advocate of the need for an independent investigative team, said the unit would probably be made up of policemen who had proved their investigative abilities.

"The generals who have been appointed to head such teams up to now have appeared to be pretty ineffective. One hopes they won't simply appoint a tired general."

ANC spokesman Carl Nienhaus said his organisation would not try to dictate the composition of the unit because it had to be

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Goldstone

independent of all parties.

Our political staff reports from Durban that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed concern last night that proposals for the Goldstone task force had been made without "proper consultation".

Stressing that Inkatha's comments were made "constructively", he said Inkatha, "as a victim of violence, is concerned that its views were not sought prior to the decisions" being announced. Inkatha would

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have preferred the commission to debate its proposals with all concerned.

Buthelezi rejected "any role that Umkhonto or Apla should wish to play in the elimination of violence before their possible use has been discussed at a representative multiparty conference of political parties or organisations". Making such a decision before an inquiry into their role in violence "would be premature", he said.

B/Day 1/9/92

Council to decide whether to resume train boycott

A MEETING of the ANC-aligned PWV Regional Action Council will decide tomorrow whether or not to resume a boycott of commuter trains in the region, says ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

Mamoepa said yesterday the committee, on which the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP and the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) serve with several other organisations, would draft an "elaborate plan" to counter train violence.

A meeting with the SA Rail Commuter Corporation and the ANC was being planned to discuss the matter. This follows a low-key meeting last week.

Mamoepa described a heightened police presence at the station on Friday as a

RAY HARTLEY

token show of force.

"If you go to Johannesburg station now, you won't see them there," he said.

Meanwhile, two more people were killed in train attacks at the weekend — one at Johannesburg's Jeppe Station — according to police.

Police reported yesterday the deaths of seven more people in other incidents of violence, Sapa reports.

Four people were hacked to death and then burned at Inanda near Durban in a revenge attack after a man was killed on Saturday. No arrests were made.

Sapa reports that a young police constable is in a critical condition in hos-

pital after being shot in the head at Meadowlands, Soweto, on Sunday night.

Police said Const Helmut Schubert, 22, had lost an eye and was in a critical condition in the Garden City Clinic. His attacker had not been arrested.

And police found the body of a man killed by the "necklace" method at Sharpeville, near Vereeniging. Another man was shot dead at Bekkersdal on the West Rand, the police report said.

Two men appeared in the Maritzburg Regional Court yesterday on several charges of attempted murder and public violence, including the petrol-bombing of the house of Greytown ANC leader Solomon Mzolo.

B/Day

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Hostel men face massacre charges

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE trial of eight hostel residents who allegedly murdered 28 people during a dawn raid on the Swanieville squatter camp in Krugersdorp last year is due to begin this week.

Vumisani Majola, 37, Sizwe Majola, 21, Joseph Mphiwa Khanyile, 51, Bakers Dlamini, 32, Mzanywa Flash Sithole, 44, Bhekowakhe Moffat Mdlatose, 41, Bega-bantu Jali, 23 and Pheyi Mlango, 54, all appeared briefly in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

They were not asked to plead and the trial was postponed until this morning.

Seven of them lived at the Kagiso hostel in Kagiso at the time of the raid, while the eighth man lived at the Wattville hostel, Benoni.

The State alleges the eight were part of the armed group that raided the squatter camp during the early hours of Sunday May 12 last year.

Armed with firearms, spears, pangas, axes, knobkerries and other dangerous weapons, the group attacked squatter camp residents in their homes.

The group, which the State alleged included the eight accused, also set fire to homes, looted and robbed residents.

Many of the Swanieville residents fled during the attack. The 28 people allegedly murdered by the eight accused died at the scene.

Another 37 were injured.

B/Day 1/9/92

Do not undermine police, says judge

CAPE TOWN — SA had only one police force and there would be anarchy without it, Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

He said it was "premature" to disclose details of how the commission's new task force would operate, but he would be issuing a statement on the matter within the next 10 days.

Goldstone said in an interview that the police had implemented immoral laws for so many years, they had been alienated from black people.

The police definitely had to free themselves from this.

"They must become a more democratic organisation and a less arrogant organisation," Goldstone said. "And I am talking here of structural arrogance."

"Naturally, the ANC's attitude must also change, so that the ANC says to its own people they should become policemen."

"Before that occurs, the police's image will not improve. And this will not change until a political agreement is reached."

Goldstone said the criticism directed at the police was dangerous, because their self-confidence was being undermined. "And we need them. There is no other police. Without them we will become a second Lebanon."

It was important that the Goldstone commission retained its credibility, because without it the commission might as well pack up and leave.

He was grateful for international involvement, and found UN envoy Cyrus Vance "brilliant".

"He saw through everything and followed right through with the core problems. And Judge Bhagwati was top of my

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list," he added.

"It is a pleasure to work with people of such stature. And it increases our credibility here and overseas."

Meanwhile Goldstone, in the introduction to a book, *Towards Peaceful Protest in South Africa*, said a second panel of international experts on mass demonstrations was being considered because of the success of the first panel.

The first panel of experts, who came from SA, the US, Canada, Belgium and the Netherlands, benefited all parties and especially the police, he said.

Towards Peaceful Protest in SA, released yesterday by the Human Sciences Research Council, tells of the first panel and its recommendations, and the interim agreement between the police, ANC, Cosatu, the SACP and Inkatha.

The panel proposed a different role for the police as well as a "safety triangle" to ensure peaceful and effective management of demonstrations.

This "safety triangle" should comprise members of the three main parties involved in managing demonstrations — the organisers, local or state authorities, and the police.

In his introduction, Goldstone expressed delight at the panel's "resounding and unqualified success".

The panel agreed the right to demonstrate was as fundamental as the right to take part in political campaigns, and one of the central responsibilities of the police was to facilitate the right to demonstrate. At the same time, a democratic public could insist demonstrations and protests should be conducted peacefully.

B/Day 1/9/92

DP to decide on federalism indaba

INDICATIONS yesterday were that the DP was not likely to attend government's federalism conference.

DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday said he was having discussions with members of the party to decide if they were going to attend.

"But I have not received any invitation or details about where, when, or the agenda. All we know is what we have read in the Press — that the meeting will be in Pretoria on September 7," he said.

However, no invitations were being sent to particular parties and De Klerk's announcement was being regarded as the formal invitation. De Beer said many senior DP members were uncertain about attending, and some were against going. He was also concerned about the perception of the

BILLY PADDOCK

DP attending a gathering of NP alliance partners.

"I have been publicly wedded to the policy of federalism for 30 years and I sent a letter to De Klerk following his announcement to say that the DP is interested in discussing federalism with all parties, not just those supporting the NP's interpretation of federalism," he said.

The DP is expected to declare its position today.

No parties had been told to prepare position papers, and the organisation of the summit appeared more on "chat show" lines than a serious examination of the options or forms of federalism, a source opposed to the summit said.

Another critic said the recent

Idasa federalism conferences were better organised.

A senior government negotiator said this conference, set to last only an afternoon on September 7, would be the start of several

The ANC has criticised the conference.

Parties likely to attend seem to be those that broadly sided with government during the Codesa deliberations. They include Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Solidarity, the National People's Party, Inyandza, Venda and Lebowa.

Others planning to attend are the newly formed Afrikaner Volkssunne comprising the five break-away CP MPs, and the Boerestaats Party of Robert van Tonder. Both will be arguing for a federalism that will ensure an Afrikaner homeland.

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ANC seeks economists to draft policy

THE ANC has embarked on a major recruitment drive to appoint eight economists to the organisation's department of economic planning.

Spokesman Carl Niehaus said the drive was aimed at developing the ANC's economic policy guidelines and co-ordinating its network of researchers and allied organisations.

Two of the organisation's economists, Max Sisulu and Viv McMenamin, have left to study abroad on scholarships.

A third, Bongiwe Njobe, has joined a private research foundation. Economist Tito Mboweni said they would be replaced and five other economists were to be appointed.

The new posts to be filled include a mining and energy economist, a financial

HILARY GUSH

economist and a contact economist to monitor the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. An economist to develop the organisation's science and technology policy would also be recruited.

Mboweni said new staff would work closely with existing research groups and "throw their weight behind the development of the ANC's economic policy".

In the department's service division a data processor, land issues co-ordinator and an official to deal with documentation were needed.

Mboweni said so far applications for the positions had been keen and at least five of the eight posts would be filled soon.

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NEC in meeting to decide on talks

THE ANC's national executive committee (NEC) yesterday began a three-day meeting to decide on a possible return to constitutional negotiations.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the meeting would examine what moves government had made to address the 14 demands the ANC made when it broke off talks in June. It is the first NEC meeting since the ANC pulled out of Codesa.

Government is watching the meeting with apprehension, despite believing in a positive outcome by Thursday.

The NEC meeting will look at two broad areas of disagreement — constitutional arrangements and violence.

The meeting takes place against the background of at least three meetings between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Although details have been scant, they are said to have included discussions on a deadlock-breaking mechanism in the event of disagreement in a constitution-making body. This was the most fundamental dispute arising from the Codesa negotiations.

According to a senior government source, last week's meeting between Meyer and Ramaphosa ran into some very sensitive problems but these were resolved over the weekend.

Niehaus said the fact that Ramaphosa and Meyer had continued to meet indicated that there was a basis for further talks.

On the question of violence — which together with a constitution-making body and an interim government formed the three parts of the broad thrust of the ANC demands — the NEC meets against a background of changes to SA's security structure in the past few weeks.

PATRICK BULGER
and BILLY PADDOCK

In his letter to President FW de Klerk on July 9, ANC president Nelson Mandela criticised De Klerk for not initiating a programme "to retrain the security forces to serve a democratic society", for not allowing "independent investigations into the conduct of the police", for failing to protect witnesses, for failing to act against security force members implicated in violence and for failing to demobilise special forces like 32 Battalion and Koevoet.

Since the letter was written, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has announced changes to the SAP which include retiring senior officers and reorienting the SAP. Judge Richard Goldstone has announced — with the backing of all key players, including the ANC — a "super force" to investigate violence and he has also announced his witness protection programme. Earlier De Klerk announced the disbanding of Koevoet and 32 Battalion.

The ANC has indicated that it has no intention of reopening talks without an agenda that would lead to elections for a democratic constitution-making body. The ANC has also come out strongly against an interim constitution which would run for at least three years and which would give disproportionate powers to homeland leaders.

The government source said that the Meyer-Ramaphosa discussions were in a sense a form of negotiation already, but the hope was that these would be broadened to bilateral meetings where delegations from both sides were involved and they could discuss ways of resolving the remaining obstacles.

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