

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1992 - APRIL

Patrick Laurence ponders opposite imperatives for ending the violence wracking SA

'Catch-22' trap stalls progress

STAR 2/4/92

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SOUTH Africa's negotiating process has entered a "catch-22" situation which tempers the underlying optimism that a transitional government can be established within three months.

The De Klerk administration has set major reduction of the violence plaguing the black townships as a firm pre-condition to progress towards a transitional government.

It insists that the problem of political violence must be "solved decisively" before a transitional constitution — which will grant blacks representation in parliament for the first time in South African history — can be implemented.

But against that, as ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma has noted, installation of an interim government of national unity in place of the present minority government is necessary to bring the violence to an end.

It is a situation calculated to delight Joseph Heller, there cannot be a transitional government without a marked reduction in violence but without a transitional government violence will not abate significantly. It is unfair, however, to see the

De Klerk administration's insistence on a reduction in violence as a cynical manoeuvre to delay the introduction of a more representative provisional government while pretending to be in favour of it.

As a preliminary report by a team of lawyers from the International Commission of Jurists notes: "It is clear that it would not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one person, one vote basis today in the parts of South Africa we visited ... violence is the most pressing problem which South Africa faces."

It is clearly not enough for representatives of major political forces to reach agreements on a new political dispensation in the closed atmosphere at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

There has to be a diminution of political violence on the ground from its horrifyingly high present level of more than 10 deaths a day before the agreements can be implemented.

That almost self-evident observation, however, raises a critically important question by how much must the violence be reduced before free and fair elections become feasible? There is no simple answer.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and one of President de Klerk's closest advisers, Gerrit Viljoen, has referred vaguely to the need to establish a "satisfactory situation of order and stability".

Another answer has been offered by Mr de Klerk's senior advisers: all political organisations should be free to organise politically — hold public meetings and canvass on a door-to-door basis for support — anywhere in South Africa without fear of violent opposition.

Translated into practical terms that means that the National Party should be free to hold a meeting in, say, Soweto, and the ANC free to hire the town hall in Ventersdorp, the stronghold of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

These criteria suggest that the "satisfactory" situation of order and stability" is still a long way off and the prospect of a transitional government a distant speck on the horizon.

Government spokesmen have not helped by adopting a holier-than-thou attitude, implying that primary responsibility for the continuing violence rests with black leaders.

Typical of their attitude is a recent statement by Law and Order

Minister Hennis Kriel: "It is time black leaders stopped using violence to position themselves politically." Mr Kriel's statement is repudiated by the ANC and its allies.

As the ANC's Gill Marcus notes, it conveniently forgets the sinister role of State agencies — notably the secret Civil Co-operation Bureau and the police "death squads" — against "enemies of the State" and the damning judgments against the security forces in judicial inquiries into the killing of civilians by police and soldiers in Sebokeng in 1990.

Nor does it take account, Ms Marcus adds, of the way in which violence intensifies every time there is a development that could augur well for a peaceful settlement.

Thus, to cite the most recent example, the run-up to the whites-only referendum on March 17 on whether to give Mr de Klerk a new mandate to negotiate a new constitution was characterised by a marked upsurge in township violence, suggesting that it was being orchestrated to stampede voters into the "no" camp.

The De Klerk administration seems to attach too much importance to securing the dissolution of the ANC's underground army,

Umkhonto we Sizwe. Judging from official statements, Umkhonto is seen in one-dimensional terms as a cause but not a symptom of the violence.

The ANC does not see Umkhonto as a "private army" and a generator of violence; it views Umkhonto as a shield to protect "the people" from violence which it believes the De Klerk administration is either unable or unwilling to stop.

Mr Mandela's angry response at the first plenary session of Codesa to Mr de Klerk's insistence that Umkhonto dissolve and surrender its arms caches is still pertinent.

"You are asking us to commit suicide . . . the perception (in the townships) is that elements in the security forces are killing our people . . . what political organisation would hand over its weapons to the same man who is regarded by (its followers) as killing innocent people?"

The dissolution of Umkhonto, along with rival political armies and, according to the International Commission of Jurists, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Kwazulu Police, may be a necessary condition for the restoration of peace. It is, however, not a sufficient condition.

The causes of the violence are more complex and deep-rooted. In its latest meticulously researched annual survey of South Africa, the Institute of Race Relations highlights the manifold causes — and therefore remedies — of the violence.

It contrasts two reports on the violence:

- The Community Agency for Social Enquiry blamed the Inkatha Freedom Party for 51 percent, and the ANC for only 4 percent, of the acts of violence on the Reef over a 12-month period.
- Against that the police held the ANC responsible for a clear majority of attacks in the same area over an 18-month period (86 percent of the attacks where only aggressors were identified and 56 percent where both aggressors and victims were identified).

The survey records that the institute itself analysed nearly 1 240 incidents of violence over an eight-month period last year, concluding that the aggressors could not be clearly be identified in 85 percent of the cases.

* All of which leads back to catch-22: South Africa's problems require swift and urgent action but they are so deep-rooted and complex that there is no quick fix. □

Culprits 'will be exposed'

Stop war talk, peace forum warns leaders

CAPE TOWN — The national peace secretariat yesterday flexed its muscles for the first time by issuing a warning to political leaders indulging in war talk.

The secretariat, which met in Cape Town yesterday, gave vent to its frustration in trying to implement the national peace accord at local and regional levels and having its efforts undermined by political outbursts.

The secretariat's statement coincided with a church-arranged summit at which 19 political organisations, including homeland governments, committed themselves to new initiatives aimed at ending unrest.

The secretariat's strongly worded statement made it clear it had reached the end of its patience with political intolerance, war talk and incitement to violence.

Signatories to the peace accord — including President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — would be called to explain themselves if they were guilty of war talk. Their actions would be made public, the statement indicated.

"The national peace secretariat, with great concern, took note of public utterances, couched in highly emotional and inflammatory language, being made by some political speakers at mass rallies and gatherings and directed at political oppo-

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BILLY PADDOCK
and WILSON ZWANE

nents which exacerbate violence, intimidation and political intolerance," secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said.

He said that in some instances, rhetoric had reached levels "rare even in the worst periods of political upheaval".

"Calls suggesting and even lauding violent action and showing political intolerance at its worst, have increasingly bedevilled attempts to create structures aimed at achieving stability and consolidating the quest for peace," he said.

The behaviour of these leaders "has resulted in a position where the daily operation of existing regional and local dispute resolution committees and the establishment of new committees have been frustrated or effectively nullified.

"In the meantime, violence continues unabated and people are dying. All progress made, slowly and painstakingly, to create peace and stability stands at risk."

The political leaders who met yesterday committed themselves to finding mechanisms for bringing peace to unrest flash-points — hostels and squatter camps.

In a statement the leaders, who met in Johannesburg under the auspices of the SA Council of Churches, said while they held government responsible for the violence,

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War talk

they agreed they also were to blame for its continuance. They had agreed to take steps to address the violence since it was posing the "greatest impediment to the process of democratising SA".

They undertook to:

- Organise joint rallies;
- Call for an international mechanism to monitor violence; and
- Develop mechanisms to filter the spirit of reconciliation prevalent at the summit to their grassroots members.

Sapa reports the PAC undertook to present argument for an international monitoring group at an OAU meeting in Tan-

zania on Tuesday.

However, the Rev Blessing Finca, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of SA, said the nature of such an exercise had not been worked out.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said the church leaders would seek a meeting with government to discuss the violence.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the leaders also agreed that a follow-up summit should be convened so that the momentum was not dissipated.

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Cops' attitude is holding up aims of Accord

Sowetan 22/4/92

THE Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression is hampered in implementing the aims of the National Peace Accord by the negative attitude of some policemen to "outsiders" assisting them.

In its March report, the IBIR says: "One of the essential elements of the National Peace Accord is the impartiality of the police and their willingness to accept help from organisations and individuals working in various communities.

"Our experience is that we have been unable to assist members of the SAP to the best of our abilities due to their negative attitude towards 'outsiders' assisting them."

The board says police repeatedly used the media to encourage witnesses to come forward and assist with investigations, but "when attempts are made to facilitate this, we often find ourselves arrested or accused of tampering with or changing statements."

Police spokesman Captain Steve van Rooyen reserved comment on the allegations, saying he would like to see the full IBIR report before responding to its claims.

The following examples of friction between board members and the SAP are cited in the report:

- An IBIR researcher involved in investigating the shooting of an ANC member in Sharpeville was allegedly "accused by a member of the SAP, right in front of an Inkatha Freedom Party hostel, of being involved in the burning down of IFP houses in the area."

- During the course of the Goldstone Commission hearing on Tokoza violence, an IBIR researcher was accused by counsel for the SAP of telling witnesses not to co-operate with the police.

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Sowetan Correspondent

The report says this researcher was persistently followed by two white men in a minibus while she was taking statements from potential witnesses.

"Whenever the researcher entered a house the kombi parked a few doors away. When the researcher left the house, the kombi then parked outside the house where the researcher had just been."

In Carletonville, where the IBIR has assisted a police investigation of alleged torture and extra-judicial executions by the Welverdiend unrest unit, no fewer than nine people who participated in the investigation or laid a complaint against local policemen were arrested and/or charged in a court of law.

"To date two people have had their charges withdrawn following a recommendation by the Attorney-General, two were acquitted and one was discharged following the presentation of the State's case."

The IBIR report says Carletonville residents were beginning to ask what is the price of co-operating with the investigation.

"Witnesses have been threatened and warned that they are 'not far off from the mortuary'. The board's researcher and the local ANC chairman were told that a certain suspended policeman had plans to eliminate them as they were the cause of the suspensions of members of the force."

The IBIR concludes in relation to Carletonville that "despite the best intentions by senior police officers to investigate police irregularities, the attitude of their more junior colleagues often leaves much to be desired."

The economy will grow if there is peace

Sowetan 22/4/92

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THE continuing political violence in the country is a threat to the economy.

It has caused hardship, disruption and loss of life and property.

It jeopardises the process of peaceful political transformation and threatens to leave a legacy of insurmountable division and deep bitterness.

To give a perspective to the problem of violence and its potential for destruction, it should be noted that, while 60 people were killed in the notorious Sharpeville massacre in 1960, several thousands have been killed in political violence over the past two years.

Even if we accept a degree of uncertainty and upheaval as necessary when rapid change is taking place, it does not mean complacency about the current level of violence.

Implications

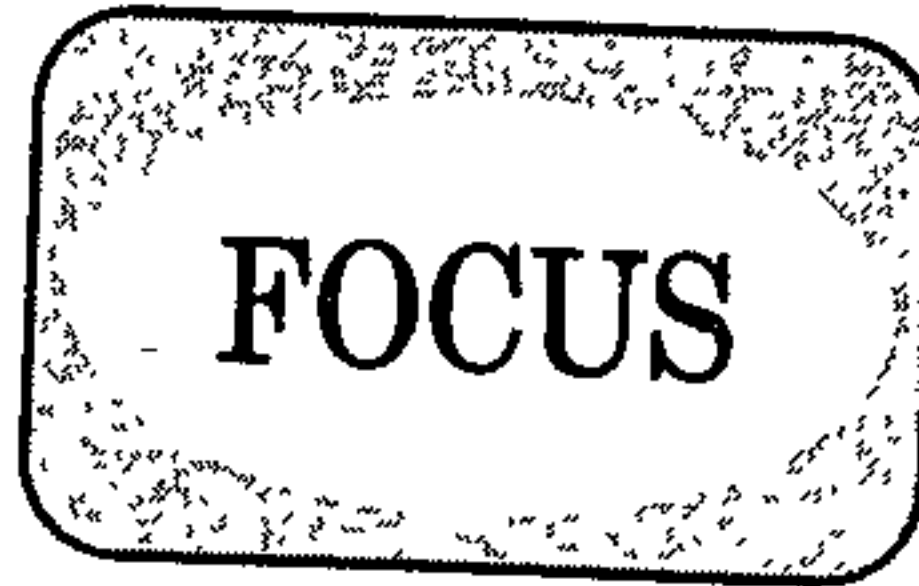
Although the violence is confined to certain areas, it has national and international implications.

The endemic violence, from whatever quarter it comes, is undermining confidence in the prospects of peaceful change. It can eventually lead South Africa on a downward path to poverty and despair, unless it is reversed soon.

The potential for further conflict is high and the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, has warned that the country could slip into civil war.

We want to minimise the human costs of change in South Africa. The violence is simply unacceptably high in terms of human costs, as well as having a damaging impact on investors' confidence - both here and abroad.

South Africa needs peace and political stability more than ever before if economic growth and job creation are to be achieved on a large scale.



SOUTH African Chamber of Business director-general Mr RAYMOND PARSONS last week called for the end to violence so that the economy can grow. This is an edited version of his address to the National African Federated Taxi Organisation conference last week.

Continued violence is destroying productivity, discouraging investment by both small and large business, and causing despair among all population groups.

Business is being forced to relocate or close. And it does not stop there - the trauma of violence is also brought into the workplace.

What South Africa must guard against is to replace external sanctions with an internal sanction - violence. This would equally place a ceiling on our economic performance in the years ahead.

Negotiate

It was deep concern about violence that led business and church leaders last year to act as facilitators to encourage the political leadership to negotiate a National Peace Accord.

In fact, as you know, the major political players in the form of the National Party, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party eventually came together to sign the Accord.

The aim was to signify their common purpose in bringing an end to political violence and also to

set out codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal.

An important arm of the Peace Accord is the National Peace Secretariat, which was established to deal effectively with intimidation and violence at grassroots level.

Its function is to establish and coordinate dispute resolution committees at both regional and local level. These committees gain their legitimacy by representing the people and communities they are designed to serve.

They are made up of representatives from relevant political organisations, churches, trade unions, business, local and tribal authorities, the police and defence force.

Poverty and unemployment must be seen as one of the main contributory factors - among several others - to the repeated cycles of violence in South Africa.

If we look back over the past forty years the evidence suggests a close correlation between economic conditions and political unrest. Violence is also bound up with the rapid process of urbanisation and demographic transformation which South Africa has experienced in recent years.

The role of the sub-committees is therefore seen as identifying areas at community level where they could begin to facilitate the co-ordination of issues as:

- Reconstruction of damaged property;
- Reintegration of displaced persons into the community,
- Expansion of infrastructure to assist in consolidating the peace process; and
- Community involvement in the maintenance and improvement of existing community facilities and the environment.

In addressing these issues, as well as giving assistance in situations where infrastructure is itself a

cause of violence, for example, water, electricity, transportation and schools.

Apart from its other merits, the emphasis on socio-economic development also gives local communities something constructive to focus their minds and energies on as an alternative.

What is the overall economic environment needed to achieve prosperity and peace, and what do the International Monetary Fund and other world bodies expect in economic development?

If economic growth in South Africa is to be raised to 3,5 percent a year - or to the minimum rate required to reduce the level of unemployment given the rapid prospective growth of labour - investment will have to be substantially increased.

Unemployment

There is no other way to soak up unemployment and raise standards of living. It will not be possible to achieve much higher growth rates without significant foreign investment.

To achieve the levels of domestic and overseas investment which South Africa requires for economic growth, needs business confidence.

If economic growth and development are to be achieved in South Africa, we will have to win the confidence of the international business community.

The Peace Accord is one of the confidence-building routes to peace and prosperity in the "new South Africa".

We must not, and cannot, give up on the National Peace Accord. Let us urge the major political leaders to renew their commitment to the provisions and implementation of the accord.

Let us be united against violence.

Affirmative action vital for peace, says judge

STAR 24/4/92

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By Michael Sparks

Affirmative action was needed — even at great financial cost — to ensure lasting peace in South Africa, Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, vice-chairman of the SA Law Commission, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

“Affirmative action may be discriminatory, but it is in a sense healthy, because the elimination of inequality will bring peace . . . which makes these sacrifices a small price to pay,” he said.

“If we have respect for human rights, it must not just be those rights which suit our pockets.”

The judge, who headed the Law Commission's report on a Bill of Rights, was the

main speaker at a Bill of Rights seminar, organised by the Department of Justice, at Goudstad Teachers' Training College.

He said that if South Africa was earnest about the need for a Bill of Rights to protect all its people, then the “haves” would need to make great sacrifices for the benefit of the “have nots”.

Since groups competed for political dominance as a means of protecting themselves, they needed to be given the assurance that their rights would be protected in the form of a Bill of Rights.

It was necessary to educate and prepare all citizens to understand their rights and obligations in terms of such a Bill.



Leaders incite violence - Accord

Sowefan 23/4/92

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THE National Peace Committee yesterday expressed its concern at the constant transgressions of the National Peace Accord by public utterances of certain political leaders.

In a statement the NPC said the highly inflammatory statements made by these leaders, who are signatories of the document, constituted a blatant breaking of Chapter Two of the Accord.

This lays down a code of conduct for political parties and organisations

which states that all political parties and organisations should refrain from incitement to violence or hatred.

The code added further that no language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred should be used at any public meeting. Nor should pamphlets, posters or other written material, containing such language, be prepared or circulated.

According to the statement, a decision was taken at a meeting this week of the National Peace Executive to address such breaches more vigor-

ously in future. It was decided that in future:

- Every transgression of the Peace Accord would be brought to the attention of political parties by the administrative arm of the National Peace Committee which would also check the accuracy of the statements;

- Transgressions would be made public; and

- In the absence of a satisfactory explanation, leaders would be summoned before the National Peace Executive. - *Sapa*

FW's package to curb violence

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Private armies are to be effectively banned and the law is to be changed to enable the police to arrest intimidators and perpetrators of political violence before they commit their crimes.

These were among a package of urgent legislative and other measures to combat political violence announced by President de Klerk in Parliament during debate on his budget vote last night.

He said the mere possession of certain weapons — such as automatic guns — would be outlawed.

He had appointed a Government task force to liaise with the National Peace

Committee and the Peace Secretariat to try to bring relief to communities in which under-development was a principal cause of violence.

Mr de Klerk said the Criminal Procedure Act would be amended to provide for special criminal procedures and bail systems to deal with political violence and intimidation.

Assurance

These procedures would accelerate the processing of these cases and ensure that perpetrators of violence and intimidation were quickly removed from the community.

He said the intention was to make it easier for the police to deal with those who were on the point of committing crimes.

He gave the assurance that the rights of accused would still be honoured, but said the time for more drastic action had arrived.

Urgent legislation would be introduced to ban the organisation, training and equipping of private armies

It would be aimed at not only leaders of, but participants in, private armies.

The mere possession of certain weapons would become a crime and there would be a presumption that such possession was coupled with common-law crimes.

Incidents of indirect intimidation would also be dealt with. The maintenance and organisation of private armies was itself a form of indirect intimidation.

The aim would be to widen the impact of the Intimidation Act.

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Tough new laws to quell violence

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

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FAR-REACHING legislation on private armies, weapons and intimidation due today heads the list of fresh initiatives here and abroad to quell the grim violence wracking South Africa.

As Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee prepared announcements on details of legislation to ban private armies, crack down on the possession of firearms and curb intimidation during the justice vote debate in parliament, an Organisation of African Unity summit meeting in Arusha yesterday called for international intervention to end violence.

"The OAU committee stressed the need to ensure active international involvement in stopping the killings in

the black community," chairman and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida announced.

This was in line with a request from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela who told the Arusha meeting. "The ANC is asking for international support to end, or at least bring under control, the violence.

"We are convinced that international monitoring and a role in securing a peacekeeping force will bring under the spotlight all those in our country who are determined to plunge us into the abyss.

"As long as the South African Police and the South African Defence Force continue to be the private armed forces of the National Party, so long will the slaughter of our people continue," he said.

The ANC leader, Pan African Congress leader Clarence Makwetu and heads of nine African nations were attending the OAU's eighth ad hoc committee meeting in Tanzania's northern town of Arusha to discuss ways of accelerating reforms in South Africa.

And, in Johannesburg, the SA Rail Commuter Corporation has undertaken not to allow armed commuters entry to stations and trains, according to a joint statement by railways authorities, representatives of political and community groups and the Ministry of Law and Order last night.

The statement marked the end of a seven-day sit-in by nine community leaders led by Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa. The community leaders staged the sit-in to protest at the lack of security on trains. See page 3



President Ibrahim Babangida

OAU urges blacks to end violence

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ARG 29/4/92

ARUSHA. — An Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting has urged South Africa's blacks to end violence to speed reforms towards creating a non-racial democracy.

"Incessant violence will not only mar quick reform but will deflate the current efforts in the ongoing negotiations in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa)," said OAU chairman and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

But African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela said a "huge, nationwide network by elements within the security forces" was behind the country's unrest.

"The situation in South Africa is increasingly comparable with that of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews. In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa our people are massacred simply because they are black," he told the summit.

Mr Mandela, Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu and heads of nine African nations were attending the OAU's eighth ad hoc committee meeting in Tanzania's northern town Arusha.

The summit — attended by presidents of Nigeria, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Cape Verde, Ethiopia and Tanzania — urged the PAC to join the Codesa talks. — Sapa-Reuter.

State moves on violence, private armies

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

IN a dramatic new bid to quell violence, the government is to ban the establishment and training of private armies, and crack down harder on intimidation and the possession of firearms. New legislation is to be introduced soon.

Existing legislation is also to be amended to speed up the process of trying and sentencing perpetrators of violence and intimidation.

But negotiations with the ANC over the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the status of the armed struggle are continuing. Resolving these issues would help clear the path to a transitional government.

Announcing the fresh measures, President De Klerk warned: "The incidence of political and criminal violence, of unrest-related violence and intimidation, is seen by the government as the most serious single obstacle to achieving a fully democratic and peaceful dispensation."

He told parliament that Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee would next week spell out more details of tougher measures to clamp down on violence.

The government had decided to ban the establishment, training and arming of private armies. Measures would be aimed both at organisers and participants.

The legislation would also deal with the possession of certain firearms, and would include a presumptive clause to couple possession with criminal culpability.

Incidents of indirect intimidation would be dealt with in amendments to the Intimidation Act to give it greater effect.

The Criminal Procedure Act would be amended to give cases involving violence or intimidation priority, and to speed up the trial and sentencing process to ensure that perpetrators were "removed quickly and effectively from the community".

Mr De Klerk said: "The rights of accused will be respected but the time for drastic steps has arrived."

Acknowledging socio-economic factors behind the violence, Mr De Klerk also announced he had appointed a task force to work with the Peace Committee and the Peace Secretariat to bring relief to under-developed communities.

He said a "fundamental discussion", begun in the Cabinet last week on strategies to combat crime more effectively, would resume at a Cabinet committee meeting today.

"It is bothering me that we are not getting a sufficient percentage of murderers before the courts. We are not catching enough of them."

Hitting out at people who constantly blamed the government for the violence, Mr De Klerk said all leaders ought to commit themselves to using every opportunity to bring home to their supporters the need to end the violence.

Leaders should also exert discipline and control.

Progress towards a full democracy was simply not possible in a climate of violence and disorder.

But he said significant progress had been made in discussions with the ANC on terminating the movement's armed struggle.

National Peace Accord: A Summary

MAJOR political parties and organisations on September 14 last year signed the National Peace Accord in which they pledged themselves to a multi-party democracy and an end to violence which has cost thousands of lives in the past five years.

The agreement sets out codes of conduct for its signatories and established structures at all levels of society to deal with violence. Following is a brief outline of the document:

Basic principles

Freedom of conscience and belief; freedom of speech and expression; freedom of association with others; freedom of movement; peaceful assembly; peaceful political activity.

Code of Conduct: Political parties

All shall:

- * Publicly and repeatedly condemn political violence and encourage among their followers political tolerance;
- * Actively discourage and seek to prevent their members from carrying weapons of any description to any political meeting;
- * Inform authorities of political events;
- * Immediately establish effective lines of communication between one another
- * Not apply violence to intimidate or threaten other people;
- * Not use language calculated or likely to incite violence.

Provisions for security forces

The police shall:

- * Endeavour to protect the people of South Africa in a rigorously non-partisan fashion;
- * Endeavour to prevent crimes and attempt to arrest and investigate all those reasonably suspected;
- * Be guided by a belief that they are accountable to society and conduct themselves so as to secure and retain the respect and approval of the public;
- * Expect a higher standard of conduct from themselves than from others;
- * Exercise restraint and use the minimum force that is appropriate;
- * Establish a Police Board comprising

members of the public and SAP (South African Police) in equal numbers;

- * Not allow any operation which undermines, promotes or influences any political party at the expense of another;
- * Endeavour to see that no dangerous weapons or firearms are possessed, carried or displayed by members of the public at any political gathering, procession or meeting;
- * Allow the formation of self-protection units, but not private armies;
- * Co-operate with an official police ombudsman.

Code of Conduct: Police

All police officials accept that:

- * Their authority and powers are dependent upon and subject to public approval;
- * Any offence or alleged offence by any member of the SAP shall be thoroughly investigated and appropriate measures shall be taken;
- * Public favour and approval shall be sought by enforcing the law firmly, sensitively and with constant and absolute impartiality, giving effective and friendly service, reacting as quickly as possible to requests making personal sacrifices in order to save lives, and encourage police community relationships;
- * The least possible degree of force shall be used, and then only when persuasion, advice and warnings have failed to secure co-operation;
- * The integrity of policing is reflected by the degree of personal moral responsibility and professional altruism evident in the behaviour and action of every individual member of the police.

Socio-economic reconstruction

All projects must have the approval of local communities. Permanent committees will be established. Committees will co-ordinate:

- * Reconstruction of damaged property;
- * Reintegration of displaced persons;
- * Dealing with immediate effect of violence;
- * The addressing of infrastructural problems which may spark violence;
- * The identification of potential flashpoints, eg. squatter settlements and hostels.

Commission on public violence and intimidation

The commission will function on a permanent basis. It shall:

- * Investigate incidents and inquire into steps that should be taken;
- * Advise the State President on these matters;
- * Enjoy the confidence of the South African community;
- * Accept approaches from any individual;
- * Be paid for by the State;
- * Have the power to require any person to give evidence;
- * Sit in public, save for exceptional cases;
- * Be appointed only after all major parties have been consulted.

National Peace Secretariat

A National Peace Secretariat (NPS) shall be established and will co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees and Local Dispute Resolution Committees. The NPS will:

- * Comprise nominees by the signatories of the Accord, a representative from the Department of Justice and up to four further members;
- * Take decisions on the basis of consensus;
- * Be financed by the State;
- * Decide on areas of jurisdiction for the regional and local committees to request the presence of persons with knowledge of acts of violence or intimidation to give evidence.

National Peace Committee

The existing Preparatory Committee will become the National Peace Commission (NPC), under a neutral chair. Its objective is to monitor and make recommendations on the implementation of the Peace Accord and ensure compliance with the code of conduct. The NPC will have the power to convene meetings of the signatories when necessary. Decisions will be taken by consensus; failing this, an arbitrator will be appointed.

Special criminal courts

The special courts will be established to deal exclusively with unrest-related cases. Cases will be disposed of without delay. There will be a mechanism for witness protection.

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Individuals afraid to complain, say police

wj mail 24/4-29/4/92

By GAYE DAVIS Cape Town
POLICE were aware that taxi operators used violence and intimidation to secure routes and ranks, but because individuals were not prepared to come forward and lay complaints, the allegations were seldom investigated, a committee of the Goldstone Commission heard this week

For the same reason, taxi operators' allegations that their complaints to police "fell on deaf ears" were also not investigated, said Lieutenant-Colonel Philippus Nel, head of the Stability Unit (formerly the riot squad)

Asked why he did not mention, in a report he submitted to the committee, occasions when police were accused of inaction, Nel said these grievances "did not exist" as no one was prepared to come forward. He also had no specific instructions to deal with allegations against police in his submission.

Nel was under cross-examination by John van der Berg, counsel for the African National Congress, Black Sash, Unrest Monitoring Awareness Committee (UMAC) and the Cape Town Peace Committee.

Earlier the committee heard that since 1986, police had repeatedly brought warring taxi factions together for talks. Hands would be shaken and violence would abate — but because police were powerless to do anything about the system of routes and permits lying at the heart of the conflict, peace agreements were always temporary.

After a complaint that members of the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) were preventing drivers from a rival organisation from exercising their legal right of ranking at certain places, police gave Webta two weeks to inform its members that on a certain day the police would ensure all legally licenced drivers could use the facilities.

The plan did not go through. Webta members failed to turn up at a subsequent meeting and police could not establish that all its members knew of the ultimatum, Nel said.

He denied it was a case of the police giving Webta "a chance to get its house in order so the police would not have to act against them", saying it was an attempt "to prevent bloodshed". In the event, rival members did not attempt using the ranks — for fear of intimidation, he said.

Asked why they should fear intimidation in the presence of the police, Nel said attacks could take place anywhere along a driver's route.

He was not aware of the success rate of police investigations into taxi-related violence as these were dealt with by another unit, he said.

Counsel for the Department of Transport, G Le Roux, told the committee he would bring evidence which would prove wrong "wild" allegations made by Helen Zille, a consultant for the Cape Town City Council who investigated the conflict and gave evidence earlier of "chaos and criminal negligence" in the offices of the Local Road Transportation Board.

The committee, chaired by Cape attorney general Nel Rossouw, also heard a police estimate that up to 75 percent of mini-bus taxis operating in Cape Town did so illegally — and that while 26 percent of black commuters used taxis in 1989, by November last year this had dropped to six percent. The fall-off could clearly be attributed to the taxi war, said transport analyst Paul Mann.

Fiddling while townships burn

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Top black leaders and church men met this week to discuss the violence raging across the country — and while they talked, more died. By PAT SIDLEY

WHILE leaders of black political groups and prominent churchmen sat in a plush Johannesburg hotel talking about violence, and the National Peace Committee and Secretariat threatened to bare thus-far mythical teeth if politicians wag their tongues too much, train massacres and hostel violence continued unabated as if cocking a snoot at the multitude of words.

While the now-daily train massacre was in progress, at least one clergyman decided to protest against the train vio-

lence at slightly closer range — Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa of the Institute of Contextual Theology joined a group of protesters who sat-in at the Spoomet offices.

Tragically, the fine words seemed only to highlight the absolute impotence of political and spiritual leaders to stem the dreadful tide of cadavers

washed up on the shores of political reform.

From September 14 last year, the day the National Peace Accord (NPA) was signed until the end of March this year, 1 533 people were killed in political violence with 2 756 injured. By Tuesday this week a further 223 bodies had been added to the list with 443

injured, says the Human Rights Commission.

To deal with this, the church leaders of the South African Council of Churches called an "emergency summit on violence" to which they invited the leaders of political groups whose followers are the victims of the violence. That naturally meant black groups and mainly black leaders. The government, military and police were left out of the meeting but a further meeting has been sought with them.

Less understandable was the almost complete absence of representatives of the mothers, wives and sisters who have lost their nearest and dearest — only three women among 76 delegates were present — and no women's interest groups were invited.

Also missing were representatives of those whites who while not immediate victims of the violence, may want to contribute to its solutions. At the end of the summit, political and church leaders had produced a statement with few new insights or commitments.

They blamed the violence primarily on the government, the National Party, the legacy of apartheid and its agents. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu however, was careful to note to both journalists and to the summit earlier that the victims of the violence themselves ought to be more introspective and question why "it is that black people do kill black people, given all the manifold causes that have been identified, we still want to have to ask ourselves what has happened to the humanity of our people that they may be ready to be bribed into killing their fellow blacks".

They called for joint political rallies — a call made several times before and not yet acted upon.

They called for an "international mechanism to monitor violence" but differed over who this should be.

They committed themselves to "create mechanisms for peace-creation at the 'hotspots' of violence", such as hostels and informal settlements — but formulated no concrete plans as they sat far from the hotspots.

They called upon the media to realise that they have an important role to play in creating a climate of peace — but excluded the media from the entire proceedings.

Sam Buti, moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa and resident of Alexandra, whose small church is in the centre of the bloodied battle zone found the experience "very frustrating".

The level of agreement among the delegates, said Buti, meant that discussion was in very general terms about violence. It was as though some may be frightened to anger others by being more specific.

What went missing, said Buti, was any reference to existing real trouble-spots, like his own Alex, or Meadowlands hostel (which suffered a hand-grenade attack that evening shortly after reporters had asked why leaders were in the hotel and not in the hostel), or Phola Park.

Buti said he had eventually suggested, and it was agreed, that the follow-up meeting would deal with specifics.

At the end of the day, the leaders slapped each others' backs happily, with National Peace Committee vice-chairman and Methodist presiding bishop Stanley Mogoba remarking to journalists that the experience was how he imagined "a real South African parliament" would be (with no women or whites, one imagined). The National Peace Committee said it would call to account any politician who said bad things. The press lauded the moves in both areas as tough-talking and new initiatives.

And a score more black lives were lost while the talk-shop continued.

Natal's rocky road to peace

wj mail 24/4-29/4/92

By LENA SLACHMULDER
AS a working document, the National Peace Accord looks impressive. In 10 chapters it addresses general principles of peace-making, as well as specific guidelines for establishing structures to implement peace. Almost all controversial elements are addressed, including perceived bias in policing and judicial inefficiency, and there is even a programme for the socio-economic backup needed for peace through reconstruction.

But serious problems have arisen in implementing the accord in Natal.

Delays in settling up key structures to deal with police accountability and the courts are a major shortcoming. Other neglected issues — the continued vagueness of the law relating to dangerous weapons, a non-existent code of conduct for the South African Defence Force, ongoing silence over the setting up of self-defence units — only aggravate the situation.

The structures stipulated in the accord to ensure police accountability — a Police Board comprising police and civilian members which would make recommendations to the minister of law and order, and reporting officers who would address complaints of police bias and criminal activity — are still not in place.

"The lack of these structures is the main obstacle to bringing peace to our areas," says Felix Dlamini, the African National Congress' representative on the Umlazi local Dispute Resolution Committee (DRC).

But these and other aspects of the accord's implementation have "picked up momentum" since a March 21 meeting between the National Peace Secretariat and the chairmen of the 11 regional DRCs, according to Natal-kwaZulu regional DRC chairman MC Pretorius. He says law societies and bar councils are nominating Police Board members, and that reporting officers are already in place — in the form of the South African Police and kwaZulu Police liaison officers who sit on the regional and local DRCs.

However, Pretorius is the only DRC member holding this view. His colleagues have called for a specific structure to address only problems of police bias and criminality.

"The failure to implement these structures tends to aggravate the perception that the police are not independent," comments Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights.

A second major criticism of the accord's implementation has been its inability to bring known perpetrators of violence to book. Many people believed that the accord would ensure their prompt arrest and prosecution through the establishment of special criminal courts — aimed at



The talks proceed ... But is he listening? Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

speeding up and prioritising politically-related cases — and by ensuring witness protection.

But, according to Pretorius and National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys, these courts are no longer on the cards. "We've instead increased the efficiency of the local courts by increasing the sitting time. There is now no delay in bringing prosecutions to court," says Pretorius.

Human-rights lawyers disagree. They say they have noticed no change in the court system, and that cases continue to be ignored and inadequately investigated by the police.

"Most people in our areas are afraid to come forward with information in fear of their lives," says Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Thomas Shabalala, who sits on the Natal-kwaZulu regional DRC.

The handful of local DRCs which have been set up lack the power to enforce peace measures because of a delay in appointing justices of the peace, as required by the accord. The justices cannot be appointed until legislation defining their mandate is passed, and in the meantime the local DRCs are constrained in their negotiation and mediation roles.

The silence over the SADF code of conduct and the setting up of self-defence units has added to the difficulties. The highly charged issue of kwaZulu Police jurisdiction has been referred to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), leaving peacemakers in Natal with their hands tied over allegations of KZP misconduct.

Despite these shortcomings of the accord, however, many believe there is much to be achieved through continuing to work with local DRCs, provided communication with communities is improved.

"At least now you have ANC and IFP leaders in Umlazi meeting at least once a week," says Currin. "They phone each other directly and several problems have been averted."

Local attempts at peace-making are under national scrutiny, and the success or failure of the regional and local DRCs will instill confidence — or despair — in the process.

Their efforts have been encouraged by the fact that more money has recently been made available to reimburse local leaders attending peace meetings, and by the fact that a regionally based advertising campaign will be under way soon.



Nelson Mandela . . .
white indifference is
appalling.

Mandela: violence

the chief problem

The major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa was violence, ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

In a speech released in Johannesburg Mr Mandela said the situation in SA compared with that of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling — the death and destruction, the refugees, homelessness and scale of the terror could be happening halfway across the world, not just a few kilometres away.

"Pretoria's propaganda machine has effectively put across the image that this violence is a result of a political power struggle between various black organisations.

"When the ANC first spoke of a 'third force', it was laughed out of court. Yet today, with over 13 000 lives lost, this 'third force' concept has been recognised by most commentators and organisations within South Africa."

Clear patterns had emerged within the violence, Mr Mandela said. "It mirrors political developments almost exactly. Media reports talk of ethnic antagonisms, or black-on-black violence, portraying a racial stereotype as the cause of violence.

"The different types of violence, be they attacks on train or taxi commuters, on mourners at vigils, attacks involving hostel dwellers, squatter communities are taking a heavy toll with hundreds of people murdered every month.

"The partiality of the police, the lack of arrests or convictions confirm mounting evidence that the violence erupts at points which most weaken the ANC." — Sapa.

Leaders 'not working for peace'

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Sowetan 30/4/92

INFLAMMATORY statements by certain political leaders were a major stumbling block to peace, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said in a report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

"It is the duty of each political leader to ensure that his public appearances do not give rise to political violence," Gildenhuys said in a summary of the activities of the secretariat.

The secretariat was established in November last year after the signing of the National Peace Accord.

He said it had become necessary for the secretariat to express itself publicly against such incitement.

"We are of the opinion that peace can and should be obtained through the co-operation of all interested parties," Gildenhuys said.

The fact that people from opposing sides of the political spectrum were talking to each other had, to a certain extent, the effect of reducing violence.

The report also said various groups in certain regions did not recognise the right of others to exist.

The effectiveness of some dispute resolution committees was hampered by constant political profiteering during debates and through differences of opinion as to who should serve on the various committees.

During the recent wave of violence in Natal and the Transvaal "these factors placed considerable constraints on the effectiveness of the committees".

"This phenomenon can be partly attributed to a lack of communication between the leaders of certain political parties and the ordinary members of those parties," he said.

It was essential that the leaders of political parties regularly commit themselves in public to the peace process.

All political groups in South Africa had a right to promote their political aims peacefully.

Gildenhuys said the composition of certain peace committees presented problems.

Under the NPA, a committee should comprise representatives of political organisations, churches, unions, business organisations, local and tribal authorities and of the police and the defence force.

But "in certain regions it was difficult to reach consensus about which organisations were "relevant" and which were not.

Certain political groupings "went out of their way to try to include friendly organisations and exclude opposition organisations".

The progress of the dispute resolution committees in Natal was being hampered by political in-fighting.

In the Eastern Cape, the Ciskei government had withdrawn from the committees in March following a dispute between itself and the ANC. - Sapa.

Violence will delay elections govt

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TIM COHEN

NEW government structures would not be installed while the existing "undemocratic" culture prevailed, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Delport — who is also government's spokesman on Codesa — told an Institute of Directors conference in Johannesburg that free and fair elections could not take place in a culture of violence, intimidation, private armies and intolerance.

"At present, the degree of violence and level of political intolerance are not reflecting a democratic culture," he said.

SA's unique circumstances required that major political players all have representation in the executive. The negotiating process, he said, had to be protected from left- and right-wing radicalism.

Government had advocated a political power-sharing model at Codesa. "In practical terms this means that the major players should share executive power, it means that the major political parties shall have representation in the presidency and the Cabinet."

SA's special circumstances required innovative concepts and a constitution that provided more than mere representation for all major parties. Effective participation required that special features be built into the constitution.

"We simply cannot run the risk of the major political forces in our country not being reconciled," he said.

While progress in negotiations might appear to be slow, it would be unwise to risk jeopardising the talks to produce quick results. Codesa was still dealing with very fundamental issues and immediate results

To Page 2

Elections

could not be expected, he said.

Delport urged a process of nation-building which included redistribution through growth. "To adopt in an unqualified way the concept of growth through redistribution is to our mind suicidal," he said.

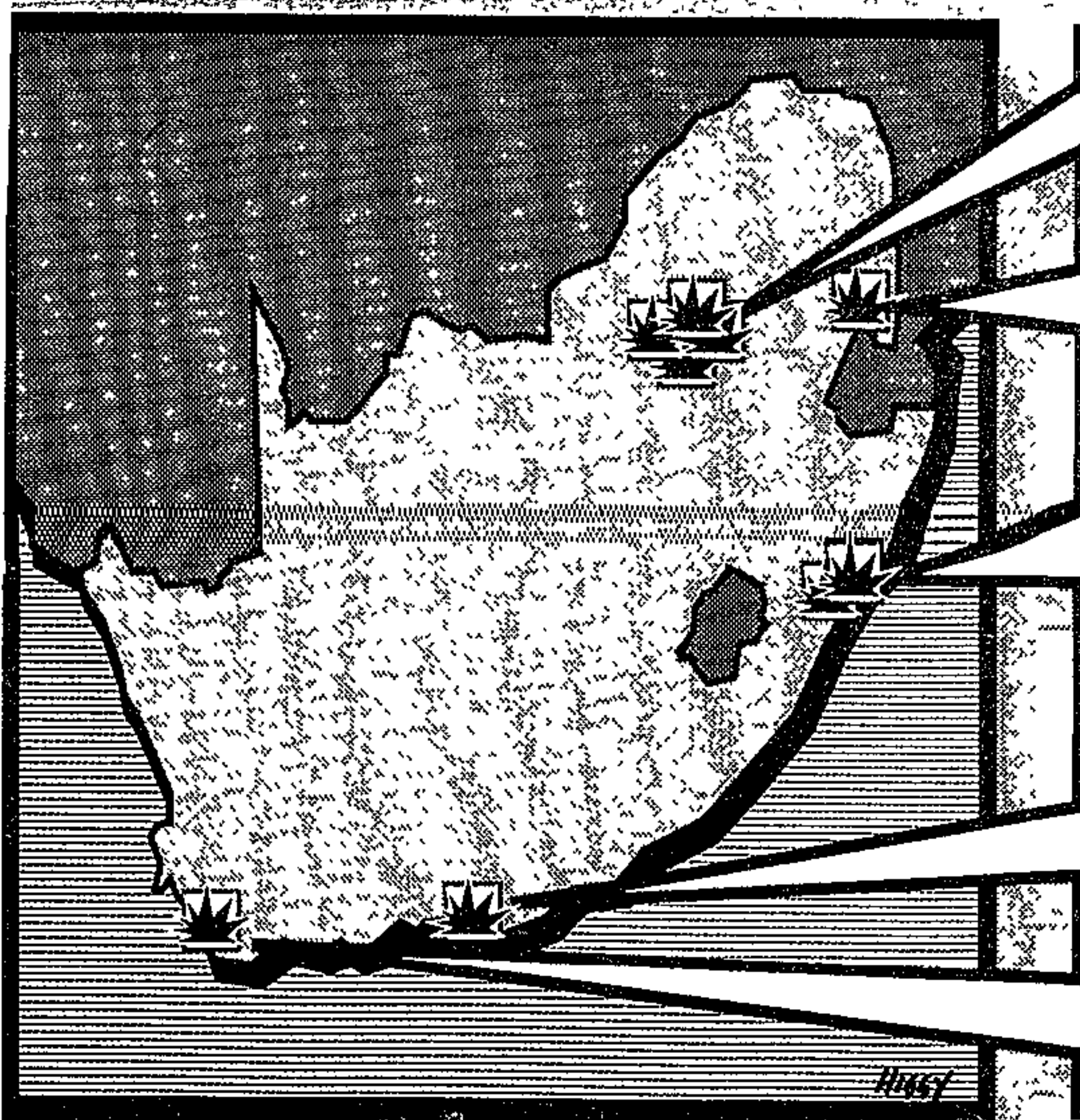
Government believed the new constitution should entrench an economic system characterised by a balance between a market-related, free enterprise system and social responsibility "We believe in

redistribution through growth, while accepting that development programmes and empowerment are prerequisites for unlocking our full economic potential."

While disparities between whites and blacks were large, it would serve no logical purpose either to attempt to retain affluence for whites only or to spread such wealth as there was over the whole population

● See Page 5

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- March 2: Two killed and 10 wounded in a train attack.
* A handgrenade exploded in Crossroads, outside Cape Town. One killed.
- March 3: Gunmen open fire on shacks in Jabulani, Soweto. One killed, three injured.
- March 7: Three stabbed to death in Sharpeville.
* In Alexandra, near Sandton, at least two died and 12 were injured when an Inkatha procession was ambushed by gunmen.
- March 8: Two explosions damaged a SABC broadcast tower in Port Elizabeth.
* Seven killed and four injured in an attack on Malukwazi, Natal.
* A municipal policeman and three others were shot dead in Katilehong.
- March 9: A Sharpeville ANC activist is shot dead, bringing to four the number of ANC activists killed in the township since March 1.
* Snipers, firing from hostel windows in Alexandra, kill four.
- March 10: Gunmen kill a policeman, near Vereeniging.
* Three stabbed to death and 16 injured during attacks on commuters in Soweto trains.
- March 11: At the Snakepark squatter camp, Soweto, four armed men kill three. An hour later 20 men attacked the shacks, destroying five.
- March 13: Eighteen killed in an attack on the Uganda squatter settlement, Natal.
- March 14: A furious firefight broke out between Inkatha snipers and police at Madala hostel, Alexandra. Three killed, 28 injured.
* Five men, shot dead with their hands tied behind their backs, found in Katilehong.
- March 15: Bomb blast in Nelspruit at the home of the principal of a multi-racial school.
- * Two killed, seven injured, in Sharpeville, by gunmen.
- March 16: Five injured in a handgrenade explosion in Meadowlands, Soweto.
- March 18: Five hundred Alexandra families fled their homes in fear of an attack from Madala hostel.
- March 17: An explosion in the carport of an Afrikaans high school principal in Nelspruit kills the gardener and injures a woman.
* Four killed by gunmen in separate incidents in Natal.
- March 19: Grenade attack on a taxi rank in Meadowlands, Soweto. Six injured.
* Two killed, nine injured, when they were thrown off moving trains, near Johannesburg.
- March 22: Three killed in grenade blast in Sebokeng.
- March 23: Police in Natal report seven people killed in political violence over the weekend. Witwatersrand police report 12 killed, 14 injured in violence over the weekend.
- March 26: Seven policemen injured while trying to disarm passengers in a Soweto train. One killed by police.
- March 25: Gunmen kill two wound six in Kwa-Ndingezi, Natal.
- March 26: 79 Alexandra residents shot by police.
- March 28: One killed, three policemen injured, in Soweto train attack.
- March 29: Three gunned down in Alexandra.
- March 30: According to police and medical reports 14 people were killed countrywide over the weekend.
* Policeman shot dead in Phola Park, Thokozo.

War zones ... The Human Rights Commission reports that 374 people were killed and 794 injured in March alone

By PAUL STOBBER

THE reports of gun battles, civilian evacuations and rising death tolls which appear daily in our newspapers are no longer about distant war-torn countries — they come from South African townships.

These reports — usually isolated and without any explanation of the context of the incidents — are only the surface symptoms of the war wracking the country.

The reality of it all has been brought home by the tally of 374 people killed and 794 injured in March alone, according to figures released by the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

Similarities with conventional warfare end with the statistics. In the South African war, while some battles are fought between political parties for territory, with participants flaunting their membership of organisations, there are no clear dividing lines. Some participants hide their allegiances and many of their attacks have no obvious objectives — other than to inspire fear.

Most of those killed in March fell victim to brutal attacks on homes and trains by groups of faceless men whose commanders have yet to be identified.

The latest attempt to explain the spiralling violence has come in an even-handed preliminary report by

The invisible war criss-crosses our land

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the International Commission of Jurists, which recently completed an independent investigation into violence in Natal and Transvaal.

Quoting a survey the commission had conducted in Natal in August 1990, the jurists said: "The strain on police resources is compounded by serious police misconduct. There is no confidence in the police force, which is seen as partisan. There is a lack of determination among senior police officers to put matters right." According to the jurists, this still applies in parts of the Transvaal and Natal.

Although the deputy minister of law and order had assured the commission that every officer in the South African Police had signed the Code of Conduct for security forces contained in the National Peace Accord, the commission concluded that "there is a yawning gap between the code and the way policemen actually behave".

The jurists said they were impressed by the latest measures adopted by the SAP to prevent

train attacks, but that the government should have taken these steps months ago.

While commuters have responded positively to the March 22 ban on weapons on trains and the increased police patrols, there was no significant drop in attacks on passengers in the first week that the new measures were applied.

Although the commission expressed some reservations, it said "the government now appears to be committed to playing its full role in bringing violence to an end".

The jurists placed "heavy responsibility" on Inkatha leader and kwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the escalation of the violence. They said he had not controlled the excesses of his supporters, particularly the so-called "warlords".

Their report described the kwaZulu Police as a private army and said there was "overwhelming evidence that they are one-sided and openly join attacks by members of Inkatha". The jurists rec-

ommended the KZP be brought under the control of the SAP.

The jurists also noted an increase in the amount of violence caused by the African National Congress. "In the absence of effective enforcement of the law, this is perhaps inevitable," they said.

The commission urged political leaders, particularly of the ANC and Inkatha, to spend more time with their grassroots supporters to promote local peace accords.

While the preliminary report dealt with the role of the major political parties, it did not comment on the role of vigilantes or allegations of a "third force" instigating violence in the townships.

The majority of deaths reported in March were the result of what the HRC terms "informal repression" — actions taken by security forces acting outside the law, by vigilantes, hit squads and rightwing groups.

According to a researcher for the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, a pattern has emerged over the past few months involving small groups of armed men who randomly attack trains and communities.

"They show signs of having received at least basic training and make much more use of firearms," he said.

station. He had been hacked to death. First and Roosevelt avenues, Alexandria.

'Interim rule will stop the killing'

The Argus Correspondent (274)
DURBAN. — The government has failed to stop the political violence and must be replaced by an interim authority, according to African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

Speaking in Empangeni at the weekend, he said this was one of the reasons why the ANC wanted an interim government as quickly as possible.

"It will put to an end the rampant violence around the country which can be quickly brought under control," said Mr Mandela.

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Once the interim government was in place, it would be in charge of law and order.

"The interim government will make the police, army and the intelligence service carry out their duties impartially," said Mr Mandela.

He said that an international monitoring force would also have to be brought in because the Defence Force did not have the capacity to end the violence.

"It is not a national defence force, it is a private one which works in the interest of the regime presently in power," said Mr Mandela.

Violence: Mandela, Kriel clash

CT 4/4/92
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By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela and Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel yesterday clashed publicly about the violence in conflict-ridden Alexandra.

After a one-day visit to the township, Mr Mandela said an independent international monitoring group was needed in South Africa to halt continued political violence.

"That is the only way we can stop this violence," he said after his tour of Alexandra.

Mr Kriel said an international monitoring group would not stop the violence.

"What will stop the violence is a meeting of the major black political leaders to genuinely make peace and to convince their followers at grass-roots level to end their political rivalry."

Mr Mandela told reporters after his visit to Alexandra that an independent international monitoring group was "one of the strategies we are going to use".

Answering questions, he said the Organisation of African Unity would be contacted regarding the monitoring group.

"If we want to implement this reso-

lution, we will have to go through the secretary-general of the OAU."

At least 11 people have been killed and more than 30 wounded since Tuesday in pitched battles in Alexandra.

Mr Mandela said an independent international monitoring group was needed "because the government and security (forces) have abdicated from their duties".

Mr Mandela also said the government was unable to stem the violence.

"We want an international independent monitoring group because the government is unable to use . . . power which it has."

He blamed the violence on the government and "a black political organisation", but did not name the organisation.

In his reaction, Mr Kriel said Mr Mandela had conducted a whirlwind tour through Alexandra and had raced through the township led by wailing traffic vehicles and followed by a contingent of journalists.

"It is a pity that Mr Mandela did not stay for longer to convince his followers to stop their own involvement in the violence. It is an old ANC strategy to blame others in an attempt to deflect attention for their own participation in violence."

DESPIITE about 440 violent deaths last month, with hundreds more seriously injured, almost all spokesmen for the local and regional dispute resolution committees set up in terms of the national peace accord are tireless in their efforts to convince that the accord is not only on track, but making good progress.

But optimism wanes at violence-torn community level, where dreams of peace hide behind fears of death. A deep cynicism pervades.

When the accord was signed at the Carlton Hotel last year, the proceedings were overshadowed by the presence of several thousand armed Inkatha supporters in the streets outside. It was an ominous birth.

Nearly seven months later, only the white businessmen and professionals — who chair almost all peace structures — and the leaders of parties to the accord still champion it as the panacea to the seemingly endemic violence gripping so many areas. Committee spokesmen complain that expectations are unrealistic. They say that since the signing of the accord real gains have been made. These include a slight decline in the overall death rate, the establishment of 10 out of 11 regional peace committees, a range of local committees coming on stream and increased mutual understanding between the police, IFP and ANC.

Wall and good. But the violence is now as bad as it has ever been. Whole communities — from Soweto, Katlehong and Alexandra to Ekurhuleni, Maritzburg and Umlazi — have been torn apart, leaving thousands homeless and community infrastructures destroyed. In dozens of areas countrywide, violence, or the threat of it, is ever present.

In Natal, where more than 6 000 people have died and 4 000 homes destroyed since 1987, the violence is most marked. Funding "reasons" for the violence is the job of dozens of lawyers, researchers, journalists, and agencies and academics. Most admit to doing little more than scratching the surface.

But the essential ingredients of the violence are enormous social and economic problems. Millions are caught in a spiral of landlessness, homelessness, unemployment and poverty. Add to that a clash between modern political structures and traditional tribal ones. Mix in a struggle for hegemony in the region between the IFP and the ANC. Stir in the

Peace accord has brought scant relief for ordinary folk

By Guy [unclear]

DIRK HARTFORD

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security forces in all their guises — SAP, SADF and the KwaZulu Police — and sprinkle with ancient and recent grudges, organised crime and "third force", faceless, apparently trained killers. It is a deadly brew.

Natal's regional dispute resolution committee was the first to be established in December last year. Sixteen areas were identified as actual or potential flashpoints where local committees needed to be set up. To date, only three have been established and all are on shaky ground.

Amid the accusations and counter-accusations about who is killing whom and who is really undermining the peace process, the following stand out:

□ The peace accord is a fragile pact among leaders — some of whose commitment to carrying it out is questionable.

The IFP, for example, has been unable or unwilling to provide the names of local leaders in almost all the flashpoint areas where committees need to be established. In areas where there are committees, or where committees are being established the IFP regularly replaces its delegates. Even at the level of the regional committee the IFP, until recently, forced the agenda back to basics by sending people who had no mandate and little knowledge of what had gone on previously.

In addition, both the IFP and ANC accuse each other's local leaders of being actively involved in the violence. Arrests, and in some cases convictions, appear to confirm this — particularly on the IFP's side.

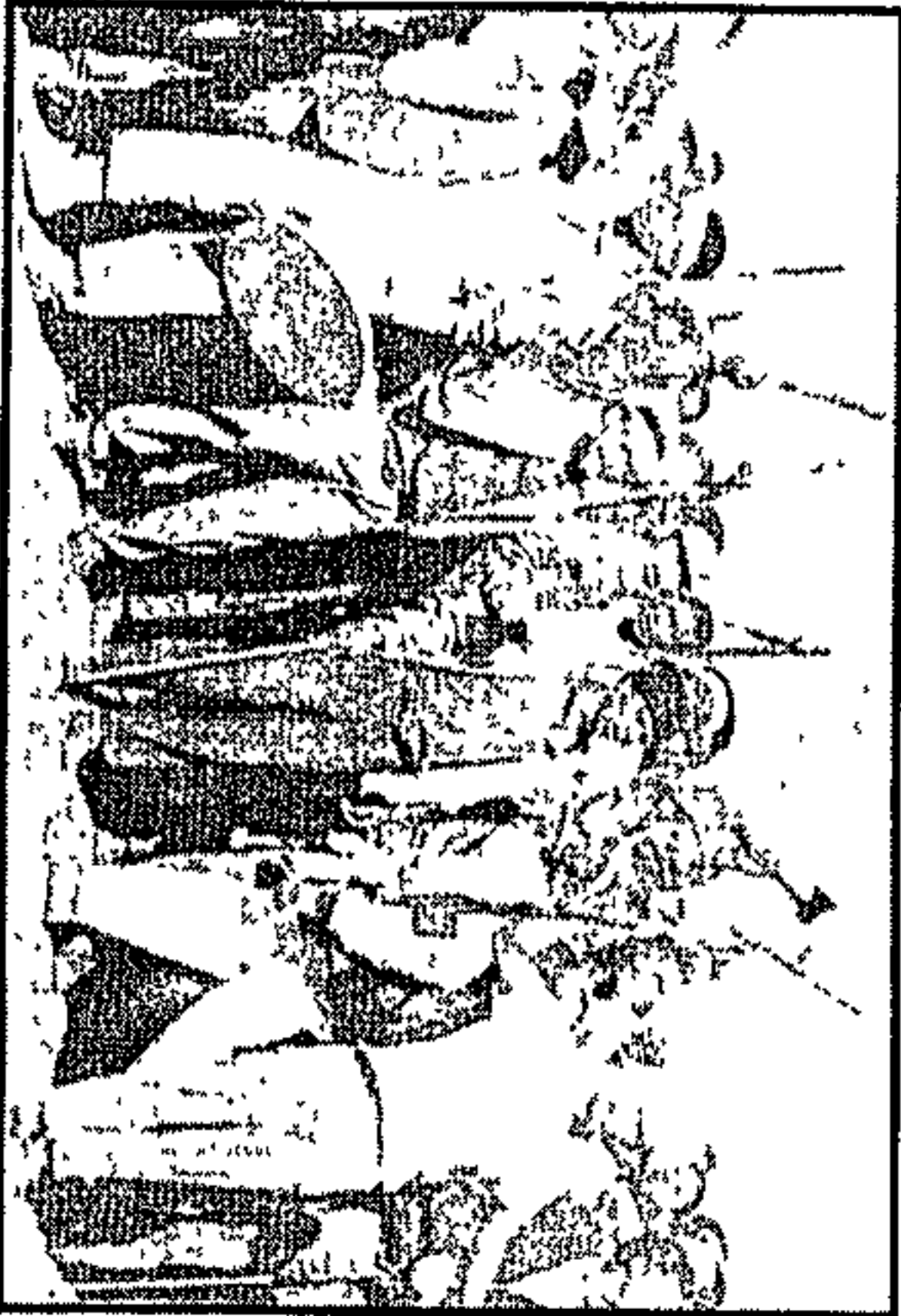
□ The infrastructure and work of the committees are not geared to people on the ground. There are endless meetings and committees, involving

at best a couple of hundred people, trying to work out how to establish the structures needed to build peace. Rivalry, suspicion and mistrust are so deeply rooted that progress is extremely slow. The Natal regional executive committee, for example, decided at its most recent meeting to hold an internal two-day mediation workshop to try to facilitate more constructive discussion.

The national peace committee has spent millions of rands recently on newspaper advertisements promoting the accord. But the vast majority of the people affected do not read newspapers — especially not English-language newspapers. Furthermore, the accord itself has still not been translated into Zulu.

□ The financing of the peace accord is inadequate. The state has provided very little money to implement the accord. All the main actors in the regional local committees are supported by their organisations.

They use their own limited funds to administer peace initiatives. What state funding has been made available mainly went on lavish advertising and high-profile peace meetings. More than R6m given by the state in December for reconstruction in areas like Mzimba — the one success story in Natal (which was already off the ground before the signing of the accord) — is only slowly beginning to trickle down. ANC sources complain that Robert Conway, who operates from Cape



Violence rages in many townships in defiance of the peace accord.

Town through his company Safcon and is central in administering this money as well as setting up some local committees, is stalling things. Conway says decisions on how the money is spent are taken at national level where agreement is needed between the IFP and ANC. Meanwhile, there are bottlenecks while urgent reconstruction work waits.

□ The local traditional chiefs were not involved in the peace accord. Now it appears that even when decisions have been reached at local committee level, they can easily be sabotaged by the chiefs because they have not been consulted. Although many fall under the IFP's influence the IFP insists no decision taken can work without their blessing. This is often not forthcoming.

□ Two recent moves by government — the Prohibition of Dangerous Weapons Act and the Police Amendment Bill — are adding fuel to the flames. The legislation leaves discretion in the hands of the police to decide whether weapons are dangerous or cultural. But tens of thousands of Inkatha supporters armed with spears, knobkerries and shields recently marched through central Johannesburg randomly assaulting people. The police did not intervene. Such incidents occur frequently in Natal — apparently with the full sanction of the law and the police. During the IFP march in Durban last month, where marchers brazenly displayed thousands of "traditional weapons", the police present said they were powerless to intervene.

The Police Amendment Bill seeks to grant the KwaZulu Police extra-territorial powers throughout Natal. There are numerous documented examples, affidavits and court cases pointing fingers at the KZP for grossly abusing their powers, and always against alleged ANC supporters. To extend their power and influence is seen by ANC supporters as a declaration of war on them; and

□ Subsidies on bus transport within a 20km area of industrial centres are being removed throughout Natal. In most areas, ANC-supporting townships tend to be closer to the industrial areas than the more rural based Inkatha supporting communities. ANC areas perceive the withdrawal of the subsidy as discriminating against them.

These are just some practical problems confronting the accord in Natal. Many are reproduced nationally. It might be unpalatable to those active in peace structures, but those who daily face the danger of death have the right to ask: is the accord working?

AFRESH approach is needed to deal with rising levels of violence. We have had ostentatious summits where leaders have stood together and issued pleas for tolerance. We have elaborate peace committees dotted around the country, bringing together local leaders of the warring parties. Neither of these have delivered much progress. Well over 400 people died last month alone.

The body count is only part of the problem. The current levels of conflict make it difficult to see how a free and fair election could be held.

One could spend one's time apportioning blame for this — but that is unlikely to achieve anything. We already have a stand-off: the African National Congress blames the government and Inkatha, Inkatha blames the ANC and the government blames both of them.

Even where there has been clear evidence of guilt, little has been done to bring the accused to book.

For example, this newspaper has published strong evidence that the South African Defence Force secretly trained and armed 200 men in techniques of abduction, attack and interrogation. They remain at large.

Most of this information has gone before the Goldstone Standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation. This structure has acted as an information sponge, sucking it all in and storing it indefinitely. It is a judicial process, slow, ponderous and weighed down by due process

What is not needed is more intense judicial scrutiny, more high-flown pronouncements or extra committees and structures. What is needed is a decisive political intervention, something that can be swift, strong and effective — and can command the support of all parties.

The most valuable recent suggestion is to invite the participation of the international community. The United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth or a combination of the three could send a team of monitors or peacekeepers with sufficient powers to oversee the behaviour of all parties and command the security forces to take whatever action is necessary.

It is a solution that has worked in other parts of the world.

South Africans like to believe they are unique, but international peacekeeping and monitoring bodies have played a decisive role in many transitional societies.

This can take many forms, ranging from a large contingent of "blue berets", UN peace-

Bring in impartial groups to stop the violence

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W/Mail 16/4-23/4/92

There is only one way now to deal with violence: bring in international monitors and peacekeepers, argues

ANTON HARBER

keeping troops, to a small but high-powered group of observers. South Africa probably needs something in between: a sufficiently large group of monitors which can spread throughout the country and work with the security forces and the courts to prevent violence and to punish culprits.

We have the forces to do the job, they simply lack the leadership, credibility and authority to carry it out neutrally. An independent command and monitoring structure could do this.

South Africa has an enormous advantage over many other conflict situations: a number of organisations are keen to become involved. Providing they are invited in with the consensus of the major political players, this involves no loss of sovereignty. On the contrary, apart from helping to make an election possible, it is likely to have the positive effect of ensuring that our first democratic election has international credibility, giving any new government that all-important factor that our previous administrations have lacked: unquestionable legitimacy.

The idea is not a new one. The Pan Africanist Congress has always insisted that the participation of the international community is essential to ensure democratic transition. The ANC's Harare Declaration of 1988 outlined a role for world bodies.

What is new is that the idea — which has

lain dormant — is rapidly being moved up the political agenda in response to the recent upsurge in political violence.

The International Commission of Jurists concluded its recent visit with a strong recommendation that "South Africans consider inviting an international election monitoring team to supervise the run-up to elections".

"Such a monitoring team, reporting to a provisional government, could have a stabilising effect out of all proportion to its numbers. We believe that the international community would be eager to provide their help," the group said.

After the recent bloodshed in Alexandra township, Nelson Mandela called for the involvement of an international monitoring group. The ANC is canvassing the idea with other governments and international bodies with the intention of formulating a definite and clear proposal. It was recently discussed with the visiting Canadian foreign minister and Mandela has put it on the agenda for his forthcoming visit to the Organisation of African Unity.

"You can't stabilise the violence situation without the international community," the ANC's Gill Marcus said this week. Discussions, she said, are at an early stage, "but we believe it needs to be looked at swiftly and dealt with quickly. Our view is that it is very important".

The matter is due to be discussed at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Working group one has as part of its mandate the issue of international involvement in transition. It has not yet dealt with this issue, but is certain to have proposals from the ANC soon.

Others at Codesa are beginning to take the suggestion seriously. Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said this week that the idea, which no one would have countenanced just two or three years ago, now had to be taken seriously. The situation is so serious that a wider range of possible solutions had to be considered, he said.

The government has so far given the idea curt treatment. "It would not halt the violence," Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in response to Mandela's proposal a fortnight ago.

But then the government also held out against UN involvement in the repatriation of exiles — until it became clear that the international body had the experience, expertise and finance to do it more efficiently than anyone inside the country.

Battle of the peacemakers

Sowetan 3/4/92

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THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD, given a chance, can work. This is the optimistic view of mediator Charles Nupen, chairman of the Wits/Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

The accord, which was signed on September 14 last year at an historic gathering at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, has been likened to a sapling continuously buffeted by violent storms and unable to take root.

Nupen conceded his committee faced an unenviable and difficult task.

"Each time there's an outbreak of violence, the Peace Accord gets knocked.

"Another problem is people's perception that the accord is able to deliver peace immediately."

Nupen said this was unrealistic against a background of political intolerance, a lack of free debate and deep-seated mistrust.

"Scepticism also creeps in because of the inevitable media focus on violence while the efforts of people who are implementing the accord are starved of publicity."

Obligations

He said the accord placed "heavy" obligations on the signatories, particularly at a local level.

"To make the various structures work requires a disciplined approach by the various political organisations.

"Despite an assiduous attention to detail, organisations display a disheartening inability to get members to meetings."

He said, however, most organisations were saddled with their own problems.

"Apart from the fact that we operate under circumstances of considerable tension, most organisations have a range of commitments and are stretched fairly thin.

"It's therefore difficult to focus on the development of the structures of the accord," Nupen said.

A key objective still to be achieved was the setting aside of sectional political interests, he said.

Nupen said, however, significant progress was being made with the implementation of the accord.



Charles Nupen

The structures of National Peace Accord can become important agents of democracy.

A collective investment in its structures now could reap major longterm benefits, Charles Nupen, chairman of the Wits/Vaal Dispute Resolution Committee, told

MOEGSIEN WILLIAMS:

"Nationally, 11 Regional Dispute Resolution Committees have been established. In most of these areas a range of Local Dispute Resolution Committees have been or are in the process of being launched."

Divisions

He said a significant gain was "seating around the same table" parties and groups with "deep" ideological divisions.

"These committees represent the broadest possible base in the various communities. An example is the Greater Soweto committee which comprises the ANC, IFP, Sofasonke Party, Soweto Civic Association, Cosatu, Uwusa, church bodies and several other organisations.

"To have them all working together to promote peace is a significant step that should not be underestimated."

But why are these committees unable to address the violence?

Discipline

"Reasons that could be advanced include the inability of organisations to discipline their members, that the police bear the responsibility to counter violence and is not doing so and that

Fatalities by month since the Signing of Peace Accord

MONTH TOTAL	Comparative month previous year
September	417
October	162
November	316
December	162
January	110
February	234
March	351
TOTAL	1 827

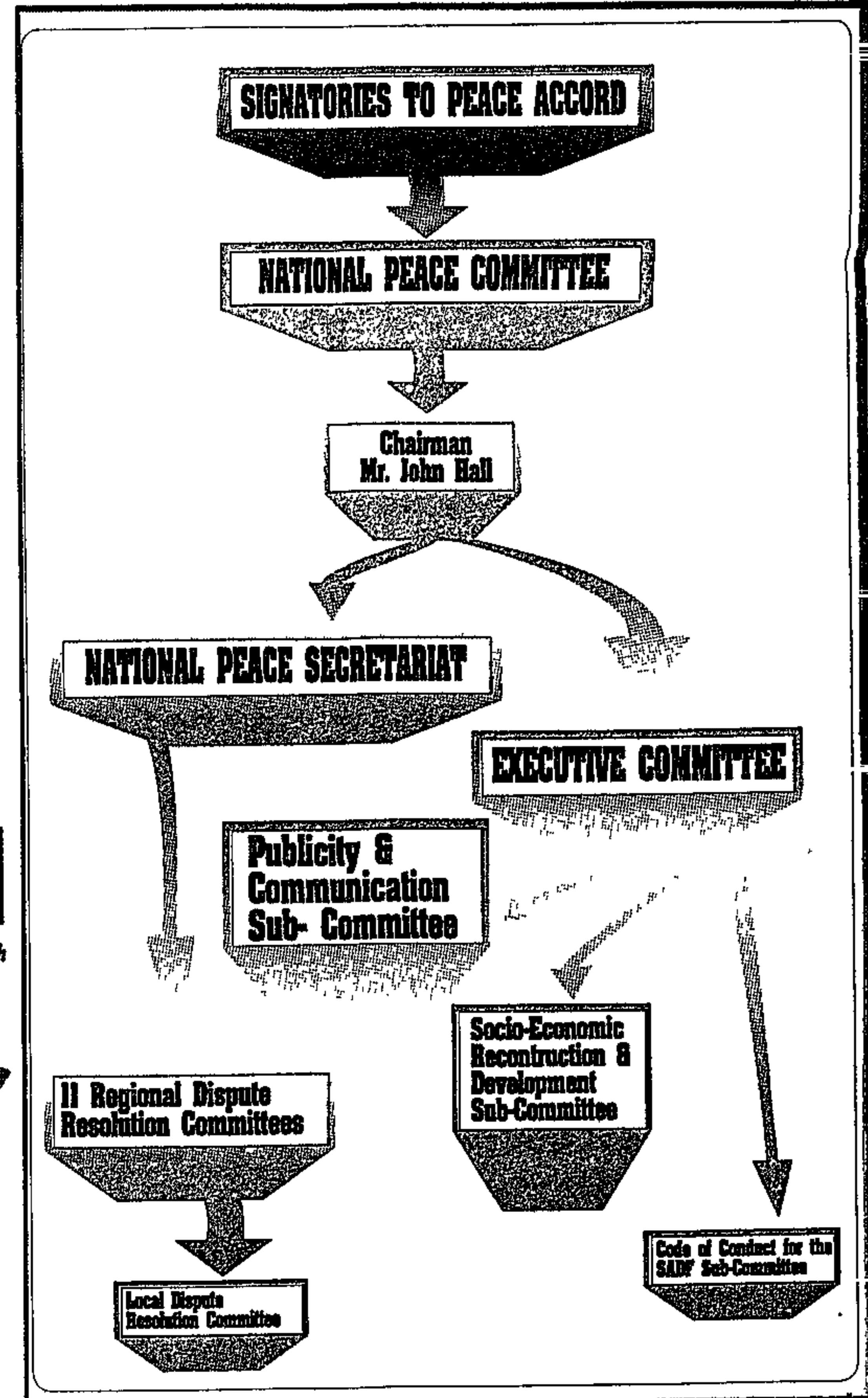
much of the violence can be sourced to unexplained acts.

"There are groups dedicated to the promotion of violence and who have eluded detection by the security forces.

"The dispute resolution committees are not geared, for instance, to deal with the so-called 'third force'."

A visible change was occurring in the pattern of violence with less confrontation between large groups of people.

"This more dangerous trend is guerrilla-like attacks by small groups on people at taxi ranks or homes. A sign of their work is the necklacing of people whose bodies are found at the first light of day.



A "grave situation would arise if this trend continued, he said."

The real value of the dispute resolution committees was their ability to act to prevent an escalation of violence.

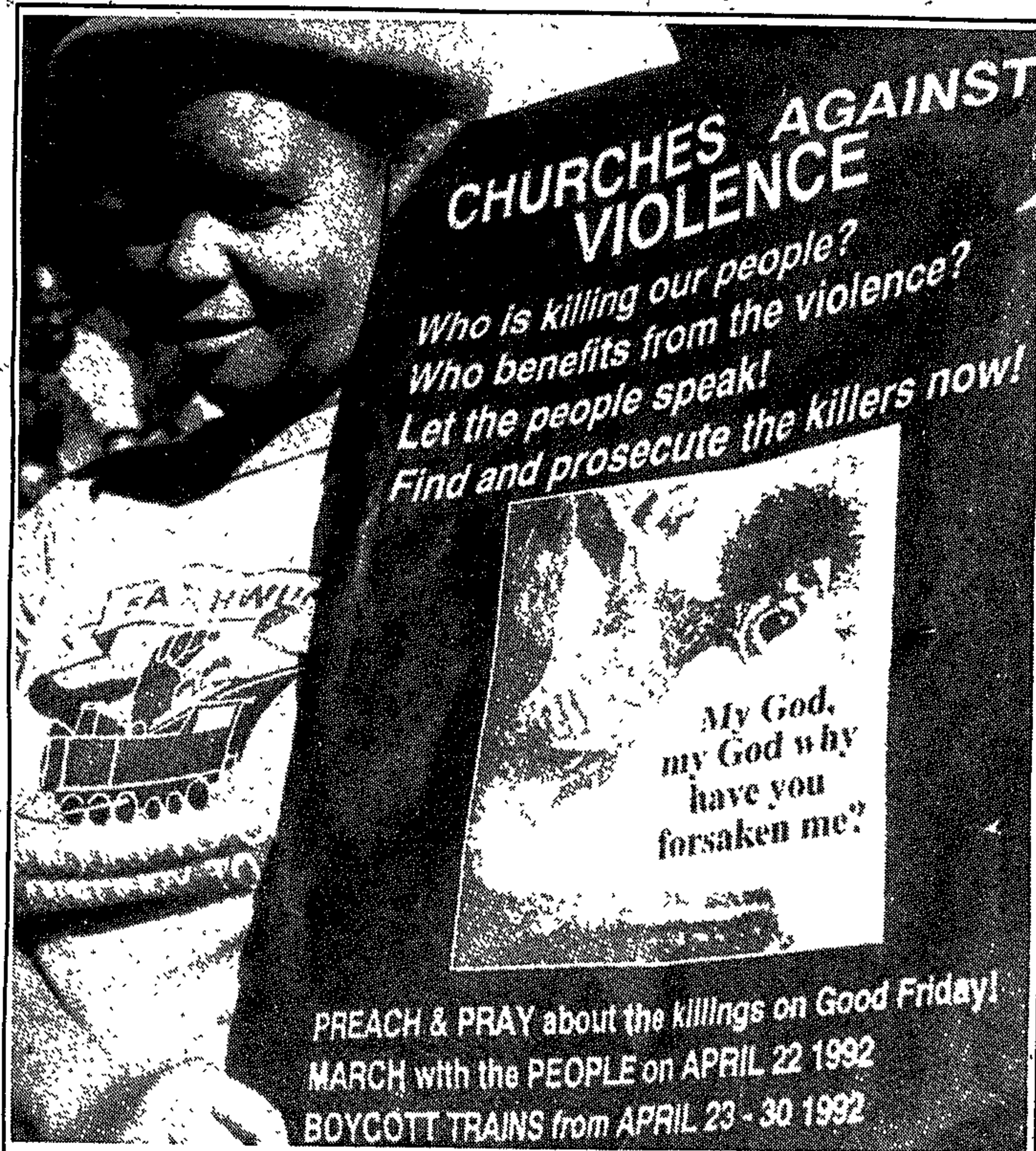
"I see the strength of these committees in preventing acts of revenge or counter revenge, getting to the scene of violence and being able to restrain their members."

Nupen said a collective investment in the structures of the Peace Accord

by all concerned could reap major long-term benefits.

"The violence is obviously the immediate concern but these committees could be used to reach consensus on the reconstruction of communities and thereby attract resources like development aid.

"More importantly, they could become important agents of democracy and reinforce, at grassroots level, principles like free speech, multi-partyism and political tolerance."



One of about 2 500 anti-violence demonstrators, Ms Maria Khumalo, displays a poster. They marched in Johannesburg yesterday to protest against violence in trains on the Reef. The protesters marched to John Vorster Square to present a petition to a senior police official and later to the headquarters of Spoornet in Braamfontein. (274) Pic: VELI NHLAPO

Sowing the seeds of peace

South 18/4 - 23/4/92

(274)



DR SESHU CHONCO believes he knows why the Peace Accord is failing. As a "ceremonial paper signed by leaders" it did not draw enough on the troubled communities themselves, says this representative from the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

"It is disturbing that the accord is failing. We need to go back and look at why it did not deliver," said Chonco.

"For me, the main problem was that it did not involve the rank and file of participating parties. Instead, it was a ceremonial paper signed by leaders.

"It has not trickled down; it should have been a bottom-up process."

For Chonco, the accord signed last September by South Africa's political leaders was "a perfect opportunity to involve more people in negotiations".

"We should have drawn ideas from the troubled communities themselves. They should have been allowed to launch a people's peace movement," he says.

With over 1 300 people killed in political violence since the Peace Accord was signed, the National Peace Committee is having a difficult time meeting its objectives.

For them the agreement was not just a flash in the pan. It heralded the start of a treacherous journey with the end-point resembling some sort of peaceful nation.

Belated efforts are being made to ensure the agreement does "trickle down": a simplified version of the accord is being mass-produced in seven languages, and 11 Regional Dispute Resolution Committees (RDRCs) have been established countrywide.

The brief of these RDRCs is to identify conflict areas in their specific regions and set up Local Dispute Resolution Committees (LDRCs) to deal with problems through mediation.

The Western Cape RDRC has been operating since February 16. It consists of 32 regional organisations and has an executive of 15 members. Political parties, church groups and a range of community organisations are represented.

Regional chairperson Mr Graham Higgo says the taxi war and community disputes with local government are the two troubling issues in the Cape. The committee is focusing on these.

So far no LDRCs have come off the ground but this is the immediate priority — especially in Nyanga, Crossroads, Guguletu, Khayelitsha, Grabouw, Villiersdorp and

Peace has not taken root despite the signing of an accord last September.

Quentin Wilson

examines why the bloodletting continues:



Dr Seshu Chonco

Wolseley, which have been defined as "tension towns".

Progress has been slow in the Cape and a number of reasons have been cited by those involved.

The size of the region, a lack of commitment from participants, a shortage of money and the practical task of getting dozens of busy people in one place at one time have proved to be stumbling blocks.

The RDRC is expected to set up LDRCs in a region spanning the Orange River to George — and not one full-time person is operating for it.

RDRC executive member Mr Jan van Eck said: "Our biggest problem is that we do not have the financial resources for full-time staff.

We need a lot more money.

"Another stumbling block is that the violence here is seen as less important than the violence elsewhere."

There was a desire to work on the problem but no sense of urgency, he added.

On a national level the peace process is driven by three vehicles — the National Peace Committee, the Peace Secretariat and the Goldstone Commission.

The National Peace Committee, chaired by Mr John Hall, sees to the overall implementation of the Peace Accord, publicity for peace and the drawing up of codes of conduct for all signatories.

The Peace Secretariat, headed by Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, has set up regional committees and handles mediation.

The Goldstone Commission, meanwhile, is expected to come up with judicial findings that point to the causes of our war-torn society.

Socio-economic restructuring committees are also planned. These will assess the needs of different communities and look for ways in which these can be met.

All funds for the project come from the coffers of the Department of Justice, but Gildenhuys feels a lot more financial assistance is needed.

"We need a much greater infrastructure. The secretariat will visit each region within the next two weeks to discuss the needs of each," he said.

But in spite of all the problems, Gildenhuys believes progress has been made.

"It has been a huge task getting all 11 regional committees up and running.

"Just getting people together who have been fighting for so long is a significant achievement. I think we are happy," he said.

Seminars have been held for regional chairpersons on skills such as negotiation communication, preparation for facilitation, techniques for reducing listener resistance, emphatic listening, political posturing, dealing with cultural differences, dealing with violence; dealing constructively with anger and bringing parties to settlement.

A workshop last Friday drew up plans for the way forward.

There is still much work to be done and if the National Peace Accord is going to have the "same magnitude as the Magna Charta" — as chairperson John Hall claims — the sooner noble gestures at the top are mirrored at a grassroots level, the better.

Inquisition of peace & truth

Goldstone 16/4/92

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THE Goldstone Commission of Inquiry has become known as the "Inquisition".

It is a reputation built on an uncanny ability to cut through dense political rhetoric and downright lies to extract the truth.

It is also the success story of the National Peace Accord signed on September 14 last year.

The commission, chaired by Judge Richard Goldstone, is unusual if compared to previous commissions of inquiry.

Its strength lies in its broad terms of reference and its "teeth" - powers to compel witnesses to answer questions and to "search and seize".

The commission has been set the daunting task by the Peace Accord to "Inquire into the phenomenon of public violence and intimidation in the Republic, the nature and the causes thereof and what persons are involved therein".

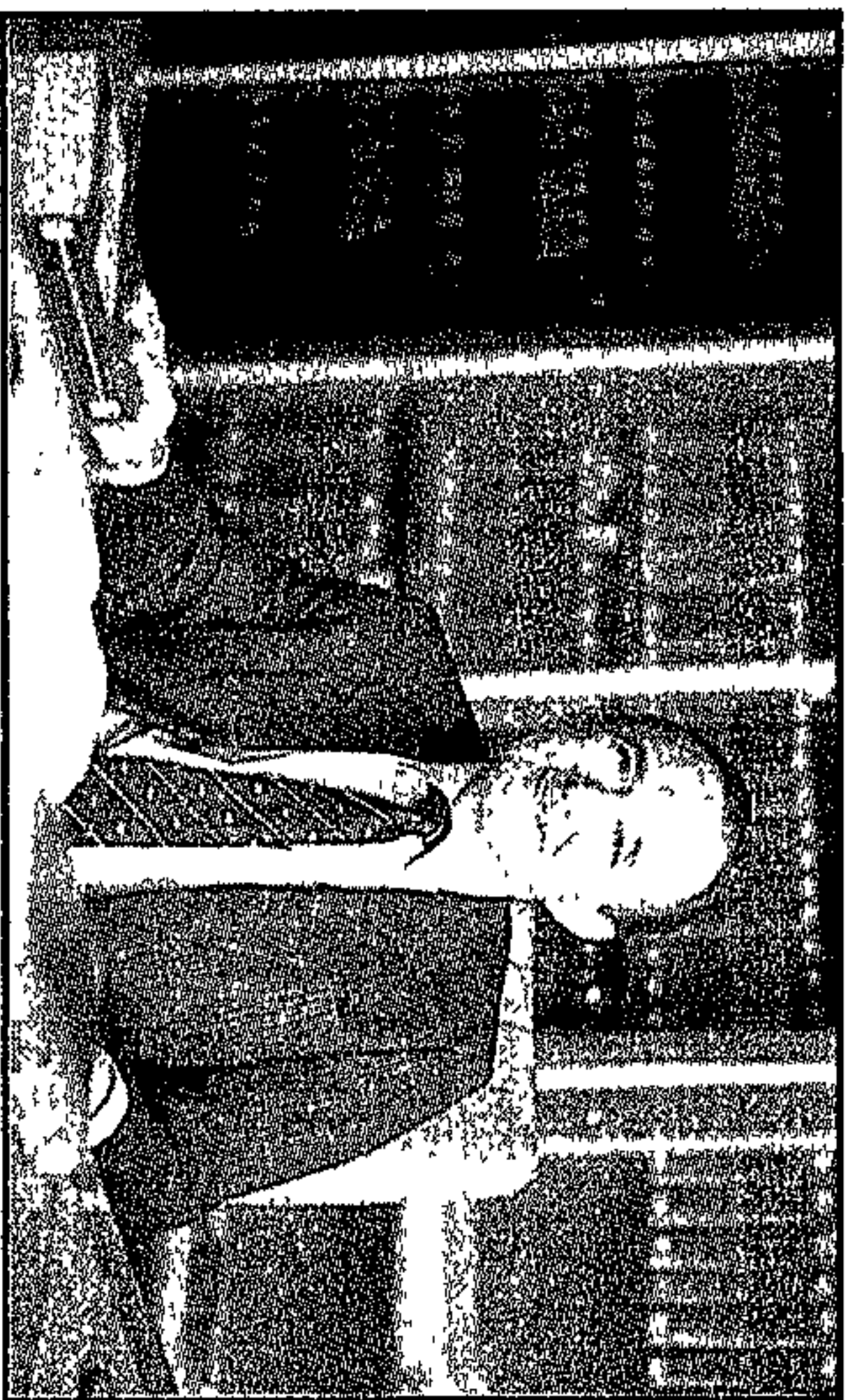
"It is acknowledged that it is desirable that the Commission should be able to be seen to independent and non-partisan," says the accord.

The commission's work since has covered three broad areas.

It has investigated specific areas of violence as in Thokoza and at the President Steyn Mine.

The commission has set up inquir-

The Goldstone Commission has become the "success story" of the Peace Accord. It has established a superb track record in its inquiries into violence, cutting through dense political rhetoric and lies to get to the truth, reports **MOEGSIEN WILLIAMS:**



Judge Richard Goldstone

ies into mass demonstrations respecting the fundamental democratic right of freedom of assembly.

It has also played a "fire brigade" role in defusing explosive situations like the violence in Mooi River, Natal, and the IFP's "alarmist" allegations of a campaign of terror being planned by the ANC on the Reef over Easter.

The commission has a superb track record to date and enjoys exceptional credibility among all political groups, the security forces and the various

communities in which it had conducted inquiries.

There is a general consensus that the success of the commission can be attributed to the qualities of Judge Goldstone himself.

He appears to have impeccable credentials with the Government, State agencies and black political groups like the ANC.

He is widely respected in legal circles as "a very able lawyer", "a careful man" and "passionate

about his work"

He is also extremely careful about the commission's work and in the nicest way refused to grant *Sowetan* an attributable interview this week.

Judge Goldstone was born in Boksburg and was admitted to the Johannesburg bar in 1963.

He was appointed a judge to the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court in 1980 and Justice of Appeal last year.

He has a reputation on the bench



How YOU get a chance to say your peace...

Sowetan is inviting its readers to use this page every Friday to talk peace, to suggest solutions and to celebrate peace efforts across the land. The focus of this page will be on peace. Write to the editor and talk peace. Our blood-soaked land needs your voice, your effort.

as a crusader. His rapier-like inquiry and "non-nonsense" approach have been felt by black political movements and the Government.

Judge Goldstone is ably assisted by Cape Attorney-General Niel Rossouw, a law graduate of Stellenbosch University.

He joined the Department of Justice in 1959 and served as prosecutor and later as State Advocate in Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Maritzburg, Johannesburg and Kimberley.

He was behind the probe into the activities of the sinister Civil Co-operation Bureau of the SADF.

The other members of the commission are attorney Lilian Bagwa, Advocate Msakazi "Solly" Sithole and former magistrate Gert Steyn.

Newcastle based, Bagwa was the first black woman to be admitted as an attorney by the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court.

Sithole, based in Pretoria, joined the Pretoria Bar in 1988. He was a lecturer at the University of the North from 1973 to 1987.

Steyn served as Regional Court President of the Eastern Cape until the end of last year.

He joined the Department of Justice in 1949 and served in a number of areas including Johannesburg, Pretoria, Benoni and Thaba Nchu.

'Four Inkatha members slain'

CT.16/4/92 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — An Inkatha member who gave evidence before the Goldstone Commission on the alleged activities of the Black Cat gang is one of four IFP members who have been murdered since Sunday.

The party claimed yesterday that two other IFP supporters were injured in four separate attacks.

IFP spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos said IFP Youth Brigade Chairman Mr. Chris Mgwanya was shot and killed in Wesselton near Ermelo in the south-eastern Transvaal on Sunday.

She said Mr Mgwanya appeared before the Goldstone Commission last Thursday.

Mr Mgwanya's wife, who was with him at the time of the attack, collapsed and died, possibly of a heart attack. Another woman who was with the Mgwanya couple was shot.

Later on Sunday another IFP member, Mrs Christina Khabe, was attacked and killed at her home in Wesselton.

On Monday IFP member Mrs Makhozana Lethuli was shot dead by an unidentified gang at the Sonkoba reserve in Ndedwe near Verulam. Her 15-year-old daughter was injured in the attack.

On Tuesday night another IFP branch chairman, Mr Tobias Mdlalose, of Nyaninga near Maritzburg, and his daughter Thembisile, 21, were shot dead at point-blank range at their home.

Police have arrested one person in connection with the killings and are still investigating.

With the country's unrest statistics for this month climbing, 11

Peace Accord 'only way', says Parsons

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Accord is all that prevents anarchy and despair and must be supported at every level, SA Chamber of Business director-general Mr Raymond Parsons said here yesterday.

Speaking at a conference of the National African Federated Transport Organisation, he said violence had already caused untold hardship, disruption and loss of life and property.

It jeopardised the process of political transformation and threatened to create a legacy of division and bitterness.

"It should be noted that while 60 people were killed in the notorious

Sharpsville massacre in 1960, several thousand have been killed in political violence over the past two years."

Without peace and stability South Africa had no hope of attracting foreign investment and achieving the minimum growth rate of 3,5% a year to reduce unemployment.

"There is no other way to soak up unemployment and raise standards of living. And it will not be possible to achieve much higher growth rates without foreign investment."

Mr Parsons said regional and local conflict resolution committees were the "engine room" of peace, filling the vacuum left by the breakdown of community structures. — Sapa

more people were yesterday reported killed. Eighteen were injured.

In an incident on Tuesday, Maritzburg police spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said a road worker was killed at Imbali's Stage Two when he was shot by unidentified gunmen.

Two people were killed and 72-year-old Mr Sabilon Dladla was shot in the head when unidentified gunmen opened fire on a crowd at a Dube hostel in Soweto on Tuesday night. Mr Dladla's daughter was shot in the stomach.

In other attacks in Soweto, a 30-year-old man was shot dead in Meadowlands and two other men were killed when gunmen opened fire in a hostel.

On the Witwatersrand one person died and 15 were injured when they either jumped or were hurled from moving trains.

Violence continued to wrack the East Rand according to yesterday's reports.

Police picked up three bodies in Katlehong on Tuesday morning after a shooting spree at the township's Kwesini Hostel on Monday.

On Tuesday, at Thokoza near Alberton, police found a wounded man who had been shot.

Also on the East Rand five men in a bakkie used AK-47 rifles to gun down a traffic policeman as they sped through a roadblock. Alberton Traffic Department assistant superintendent Mr Koos van der Merwe died in hospital yesterday morning.

Traffic officers chased the bakkie into the Phola Park squatter camp where they wounded and arrested two suspects, now under guard in hospital. Police have opened a murder docket and are looking for three other suspects. — Sapa

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Dane urged to support monitoring body for SA

Staff Reporter 274 (18)

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed to visiting Danish foreign minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen to support the ANC's recent call for an international body to monitor township violence.

At a press conference with Mr Ellemann-Jensen at the ANC's Johannesburg head office, Mr Mandela said it was obvious that the South African security forces could not contain the violence which had reached alarming proportions.

Mr Mandela said an international monitoring force, to be deployed in affected areas, was one of the ANC's main demands from foreign countries at this stage.

He urged Mr Ellemann-Jensen — the first Danish cabinet minister to visit South Africa — to support the ANC's call for an interim government which he hoped would be established "within the next few months".

The Danish Government has pledged \$100 million (about R270 million) for the development of social, educational and agricultural projects in South Africa.

The money is to be distributed through an interim government and non-governmental organisations over a five-year period.

Mr Ellemann-Jensen, who is on a five-day visit with Danish businessmen, journalists and other Danish ministers, said further details of the Danish government's financial aid would be announced after examining Denmark's current economic state.

Denmark is the first of the Scandinavian countries to officially renew diplomatic ties.

New police for new SA — bishop

^{STAR 13/4/92}
NELSPRUIT — A new South Africa desperately and urgently needed a new police force, Durban-based Methodist Bishop Dr Mmutlanyane Mogaba said at the weekend. (274) (51)

Speaking at KaNgwane's eighth annual prayer breakfast, Bishop Mogaba said he believed this was the only means of effectively dealing with escalating violence and affording protection to all concerned.

The prospects of the declaration and formation of interim governments, he said, made this even more important. (52)

He warned that the interregnum period could become very dangerous, with a sense of lawlessness and inadequate law enforcement tempting forces of anarchy.

Bishop Mogaba said he could

not understand why, at a time when freedom was supposedly drawing near, the country was going through its gloomiest period yet.

South Africa had two choices — freedom or "free-doom".

"Liberation movements were at their strongest whilst in exile. Once unbanned we saw violence spread from Natal to the Transvaal."

Bishop Mogaba expressed concern that leaders, more concerned with consolidating their positions and growth of their parties, were slow in realising the magnitude of the problem.

"It is questionable whether the leaders can stop this national carnage, this national suicide and this national shame," he said. — Lowveld Bureau.

Global group to monitor violence?

(274) ARG 10/4/92
EMPANGENI. — The ANC has contacted the Organisation for African Unity and discussions are under way with the United Nations for an independent international group to monitor the violence in South Africa.

This was confirmed yesterday by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela while touring northern Natal.

His statement came hours after the OAU announced it was working to set up a peacekeeping branch to deal with conflicts in Africa.

OAU secretary-general Mr Salim A Salim, briefing the Press in Washington about the OAU summit in June, said that items on the agenda included a permanent bureau to resolve conflict and possibly an armed peacekeeping force.

Meanwhile, Mr Mandela hit out yesterday at the South African government, saying any "normal" government would have resigned if it was unable to quell such large-scale violence.

He said Mr De Klerk had lost control of the police or was sanctioning violence.

Mr Mandela also questioned the lull in political unrest whenever Mr De Klerk travelled abroad.

When he comes back, violence will erupt.

Mr Mandela said he was ready to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, but there seemed to be problems from the "king's side" — Sapa.

Churchmen link violence to curbs

Soweto 3/4/92

THE country's church leaders will ask the international community to make the ending of violence a precondition to the scrapping of sanctions, the South African Council of Churches said yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane said church leaders believed the only way violence could end was by placing all armed formations under one command.

Chikane was reporting back on decisions made at a two-day meeting of South African church leaders which ended on Wednesday.

He said the churchment had decided to call an "emergency summit" of community leaders to discuss the violence.

The church leaders felt the Government was relinquishing its responsibility by expecting citizens to

(274) solve the violence, Chikane said.

Non-government political leaders did not have the intelligence units required to act against the "underground covert operations" which were causing the violence, he said.

Chikane said they had decided to phone Law and Order Minister Henus Kriel to demand proper policing of Alexandra.

An "exposure visit" to Alexandra for ambassadors would be arranged as part of the effort to rally international pressure.

The church leaders also decided to press for a national programme with a stated timetable to convert all hostels into normal family flats.

Another decision included pressing the Goldstone Commission to look at the root causes of violence in Meadowlands, Soweto. - SA Press Association.

Minister urges CP to help stop carnage

Sowetan 1/4/92
Sowetan

Correspondent

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, last night urged Conservative Party MPs to use their influence with rightwing militants to stop the violence plaguing South Africa.

Speaking during a debate in Parliament, Kriel said both black and white leaders were using violence to position themselves politically.

He said the time had come for black political leaders to meet and make peace for all their supporters at grassroots to see.

White rightist leaders were doing so as well, preparing themselves for action the moment power-sharing occurred in South Africa.

Citing the AWB's Wenkommando and elite Ystergaarde, he said: "We cannot live with this type of thing. This country will find itself in chaos if everyone continues with this positioning," he said.

Kriel read out news reports quoting CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and others, and appealed to all political leaders: "Watch your words. We are busy marketing a war psychosis in this country."

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SA invited to democracy conference

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

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STAR 211492

WASHINGTON — Senegal's Minister of State, Abdoulaye Wade, announced here yesterday that South Africa would be invited to attend a Pan African Conference on Democracy with 47 other African countries in Dakar from May 25 to 29.

The conference will review the struggle for democracy in Africa, with special reference to sub-Saharan countries.

It will also discuss the setting up of a body to mediate in disputes and to avoid and resolve conflicts, and will invite observers from several countries outside Africa to serve on a body which will act as monitors.

Although Mr Wade did not say so, African diplomats suggested that the conference could play a role in seeking an end to violence in South Africa, and might also monitor progress at Codesa.

There was also a strong possibility, they said, that the observers appointed at the conference would be asked to monitor future elections in South Africa.

Spirit of goodwill amazes observers

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — The overwhelming spirit of goodwill which marked Sunday's "Day of Peace" rally at Morija, where more than 1 million Zion Christian Church members, has amazed foreign media representatives.

Accustomed to the violence frequently associated with large gatherings in urban townships, the sight of masses of people, representing at least nine ethnic groups, kneeling in prayer, and then cheering the messages of peace delivered by President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, prompted an American journalist to describe the scene as "the other face of South Africa."

"This is unreal," said an Associated Press photographer, as he documented the event for international agencies. Certainly, it was interesting to see the enthusiasm with which the arrival of all three leaders was greeted, with Mr Mandela, if anyone, evoking the most tumultuous applause.

Each of the speakers brought their own unique style to the proceedings. Mr de Klerk adopted a logical approach, Chief Buthelezi appealed to the emotions of his audience, while Mr Mandela used the occasion as a political platform. Telling the vast crowd that peace could not be bought over the counter, and would require hard work, Mr de Klerk also suggested a few practical guidelines to promote peace. He encouraged the people to strengthen their family life, to discipline their children not to participate in violence and to become involved in community projects aimed at promoting positive recreation for young people.

Chief Buthelezi used a very self-effacing approach, saying he sometimes felt deeply ashamed of being a black South African when reviewing the various injustices of the past, and committed the ANC to the safeguarding of religious freedom in a future dispensation. When it was all over, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane delivered his traditional Easter message, and the cheer that went up left no doubt as to where the loyalties of this particular audience really lay.

Elections 'could replace violence'

CT 1/4/92

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JOHANNESBURG. — Instead of contributing to violence, the ANC believed that the holding of one-person-one-vote elections for a constitution-making body would serve as an alternative to violence.

The organisation was responding to a spate of claims recently, including from the government, that there was too much violence in the country for free elections to be held, and that elections would only encourage further violence.

"The danger of this argument is that if the existence of violence is accepted as a reason for not holding elections, then those who are fearful of losing an election will have a stake in maintaining the level of violence," according to the ANC.

The comments were contained in

the ANC's most detailed proposals yet on the body and procedures for drafting a new constitution, which were submitted to Codesa yesterday morning.

"We are in fact convinced that far from contributing to violence, the holding of elections will provide an orderly and publicly supervised manner in which the contest for political leadership can be conducted.

"The turning point in Namibia from a state of severe internal conflict to a state of peace was the holding of elections for the constituent assembly.

"The way in which the constituent assembly there conducted its business, based on extensive give-and-take, promoted national unity and has until now virtually eliminated political violence," said the ANC. — Sapa

Kriel: We are marketing war psychosis in SA

274
ARC 1/4/92

ALAN DUNN
Political Correspondent

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has urged Conservative Party MPs to use their influence with rightwing militants to stop the violence plaguing South Africa.

He told parliament that black and white leaders were using violence to position themselves politically.

The time had come for black political leaders to meet and make peace for all their supporters at grassroots to see.

White rightist leaders were doing so as well, preparing themselves for action the moment power-sharing occurred in South Africa.

Citing the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Wenkmando and elite Ystergaarde (Iron Guard), he said: "We cannot live with this type of thing. This country will find itself in chaos if everyone continues with this positioning."

Mr Kriel read out news reports quoting CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and others, and appealed to all political leaders:

"Watch your words. We are busy marketing a war psychosis in this country."

He was speaking during a private member's motion in the House of Assembly thanking the police and correctional services but expressing concern at the unacceptably high crime and violence rates, and heavy life loss.

Mr Kriel's deputy, Mr Johan Scheepers, spoke of police-community "partnership policing".

"Every single community, regardless of race or colour, has the right to participate in the manner in which such a community should be policed, and should be in a position to pass on its sentiments in this regard to the police."

This would result in an extensive decrease in crime and bring about a vast improvement in police-community relations.

Effective channels of communications must exist to achieve this goal. Mr Scheepers announced the establishment of police-community consultation forums in areas where they did not already exist.

This would enable dialogue, and the forums should be accessible to the public.

Eight ANC killed; top talks urged

(274) CT 20/4/92

SHARPEVILLE — The African National Congress is to seek an urgent meeting with Minister of Law and Order Mr Hennis Kriel to discuss the murder of eight ANC members who were shot in their home in Sharpeville early yesterday.

Witnesses said five armed men arrived in a Mazda car and entered the home of the Lefhiedi family at 2.45am after shooting out the windows.

Seven of the eight who were killed, including a six-year-old child, were related. Residents and family said they were well-known ANC members.

There was one survivor, a 19-year-old woman, who was slightly wounded, police said.

Local ANC chairman Mr Siza Rani said the survivor said the attackers claimed they were from the KwaMadala Hostel in Vanderbijlpark, an Inkatha stronghold.

At least one AK-47 rifle and a number of handguns were used in the killing, police said.

As many as four more people, including two members of the ANC Youth League, were killed in separate incidents in Sharpeville and nearby Evaton overnight.

The latest killings brought the East-

ern toll of weekend violence to more than 20 by last night.

Mrs Winnie Mandela led a delegation to the scene of the mass murder in Sharpeville yesterday.

She urged the crowd outside the Lefhiedi home: "Please do not take the law into your hands. Your leaders will attend to this matter. We are going to be with you right through this ordeal."

Local ANC leaders insisted the police had been told on a number of occasions about threats against the Lefhiedi family.

The assistant general secretary of the ANC in the PWV region, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, said the ANC would seek a meeting with Mr Kriel and make submissions to the Goldstone Commission.

When the police left the Lefhiedi home at 7.40am yesterday they were stoned by a mob, police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said.

The police vehicle was damaged, but there were no injuries.

The ANC said that, in a separate incident, the charred bodies of two of its Evaton Youth League members, who were allegedly kidnapped on Friday, were found there yesterday. — Sapa

Peace Plea

CT 20/4/92

Peace plea

"Those forces and their leaders are not interested in reconciliation, justice and peace."

"They want power and they are prepared to do anything to get it. They use the tools of violence and intimidation when it suits them," said Mr De Klerk.

Chief Buthelezi, speaking first, said the IFP would rededicate itself to work against violence and to bring peace to the country.

"On no single occasion have I ever sat down, either by myself or in the company of IFP leaders, to even contemplate the use of violence," he said.

Mr Mandela criticised the government's past failures to accept the ANC's hand of friendship during the ANC's search for peace.

He was concerned about the continuing violence by faceless killers.

The country should move as speedily as possible to an elected Constituent Assembly, Mr Mandela said.

The right to religious freedom was one of the ANC's main principles.

Bishop Lekganyane delivered the closing address before the masses, estimated by some reporters to approach one million, started their homeward trek that will continue today.

The ZCC — estimated to have about four million members throughout the countries of Southern Africa — combines elements of traditional African religion, Islam and Judaism in a Christian religion with strict codes of behaviour, dress and diet.

Moria Zion City on side Pietersburg was abuzz at the weekend with its Easter celebrations, and helicopters dipped in and out to convey the main speaker and other VIPs, including two homeland leaders.

Members of the South African Defence Force stationed at ZCC headquarters at Moria yesterday ordered a helicopter carrying reporters from Radio 702 not to land on church premises.

A reporter covering the event for 702 told Sapa that SADF personnel pointed firearms at the helicopter as it tried to land shortly before the service started.

SADF personnel were providing security for the ZCC gathering, and government officials later said the airspace above Moria was closed to private traffic for the day.

Bishop Lekganyane made an impassioned plea for an end to violence, which he blamed on SA political leaders and their supporters.

He said the church had invited President De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi and "others who failed to attend" to help stem the violence in the country.

Calling for discipline, he said discipline was indivisible and "cannot be divorced from respect for the soul and property, together with the dignity in which God created men". — Sapa and UPI

Rally hears call of Big 3

MORIA. — South Africa's three main political leaders called for peace and an end to violence when they addressed a vast multitude of Christians at Moria, Northern Transvaal, yesterday.

President F W de Klerk, African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — invited to address the annual Zion Christian Church gathering by the ZCC's leader, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane — had the unusual experience of seeing a million people gathered peacefully in one hot, dusty valley.

The largest audience of devout Christians was the largest any of the three political leaders had addressed in South Africa and it was their first appearance together since they signed a National Peace Accord on September 14 last year, aimed at ending violent conflict between political groups.

Hundreds of thousands of people sat on the slopes of the natural amphitheatre to listen to



... Pondering ... President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pk Botha look thoughtful at the Zion Christian Church rally of over one million people at Moria in the Northern Transvaal yesterday.

speech, amplified by stacks of loudspeakers. Mr De Klerk spoke about unmanaged "cunning and violent forces" and Mr Mandela criticised the government's past misdeeds.

Speaking last, Mr De Klerk said South Africans should work for peace as never before. Speeches and peace accords alone cannot make peace happen where violence rules at the moment.

"No, we will have to work for it, plagar for it, live it," Mr Mandela evoked cheers when he waved to the crowd from the stage, and he was soon joined by Chief Buthelezi.

Mr De Klerk arrived in a Defence Force helicopter, accompanied by his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pk Botha and Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela exchanged

pleasantries on the stage, but the three leaders and their parties sat separated by empty chairs.

Mr De Klerk warned that there were cunning and violent forces at work, trying to prevent those working for real and lasting peace from succeeding.

Top page 3

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Photo: AP

Sinister forces are at work, huge crowd at Moria warned

Big 3 in strong peace plea

SM 20/4/92
 By Dirk Nel and Sappi (274)

PIETERSBURG — F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi speaking to Zion Christian Church members in Moria yesterday, unconditionally committed themselves to doing everything in their power to end violence and to moving speedily towards a widely acceptable political settlement.

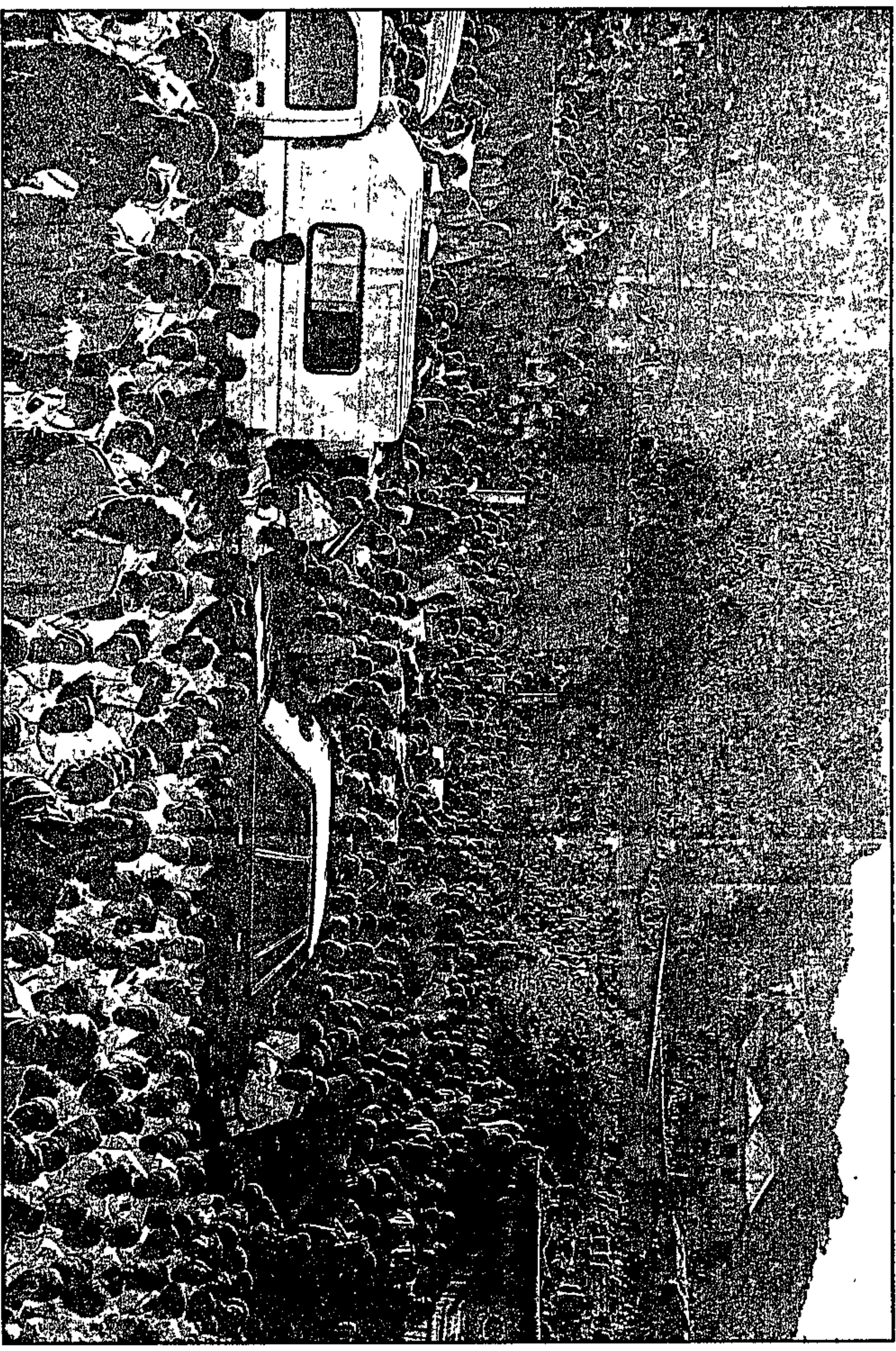
ZCC leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane also made an impassioned plea for an end to violence, which he blamed on political leaders and their supporters.

"If angels could descend at this juncture and record statistics, everybody would discern the fact that carnage, riots and instability in South Africa are caused by the leaders, as well as their followers allowing their emotions to control them instead of them controlling their emotions," Bishop Lekganyane said.

President de Klerk, and the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders were enthusiastically welcomed by a crowd estimated at more than a million members of the ZCC at a huge peace rally at the hillside headquarters of the church, 40 km east of Pietersburg.

The rally was the first occasion on which the three have appeared together since the signing of the National Accord.

Mr de Klerk arrived in a Defence Force helicopter, accompanied by his wife Marke and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha. There was a roar of approval when Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi em-



Multitudes... the ZCC faithful who flocked to Moria at the weekend line the hills to hear their leader's Easter message
 Picture: Air Khumalo

braced one another, and when Mr de Klerk joined them in waving to the vast audience which stretched down the hillside as far as the eye could see.

Both Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi referred, during their speeches, to sinister forces they believed were intent on wrecking peace initiatives.

"We must realise there are cunning and violent forces at work, trying to prevent those working for real and lasting peace from succeeding. Those forces and their leaders are not interested in reconciliation, justice and peace — they want power and they are prepared to do anything to get it", said Mr de Klerk.

Real peace was built on the love of which the Bible spoke, and each man and woman could make a contribution by speaking out and convincing others of this truth.

Dr Buthelezi addressed the audience as "brothers and sisters in Christ". He suggested the first step towards solving the country's problems was for believers to proclaim the greatness of God, and to give Him His rightful place.

The next step was for everyone to confess their sins and seek forgiveness from those who had been wronged. He said he had learned at his mother's knee that prayer really worked, and that was why he was prepared to pray with other believers for peace.

"Violence is not only killing people — it is spreading fear and hatred at the same time. It is as though Satan himself is there next to all those pulling the triggers of AK-47s, pulling the pins out of hand grenades and striking matches to set people alight," Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr Mandela made the most overt effort to win the support of the congregation.

He referred to various similarities between the ANC and the ZCC, saying both stood for freedom, tolerance and democracy.

"I come here today as a

● To Page 3 ●

Big 3 in peace plea

● From Page 1

"pillage, like many of you, and bring to your church the greetings of the ANC — peace be with you," he said to loud applause.

He referred to the injustices of the past, and said the establishing of a constituent assembly had now become a top priority in order to bring about true democracy.

He said the bond between the ANC and the ZCC was great when one realised that many leaders of the organisation he led were also members of the ZCC.

Bishop Lekganyane received the greatest ovation of all. Speaking immediately after the three political leaders, he said the church had invited them and "others who failed to attend" to help stem the violence.

"Our mobilisation is a call to fight against, and to stop the spilling of blood and tormentation, and also to pray for peace." 20/4/92

Bishop Lekganyane, who rarely comments on political issues, told the three leaders: "We have invited you here today to join in prayer and pray for you that when you address (supporters), God may penetrate their hearts so that they show respect and obedience which enhance discipline which is one of the ways to end carnage."

Members of the SADF yesterday ordered a helicopter carrying Radio 702 reporters not to land on church premises. Government officials said the air space above Moria was closed to private traffic for the day.

Peace force possible for SA if parties agree UN

STAR 20/4/92

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By Mike Littlejohn

NEW YORK — The deployment of United Nations peacekeepers in South Africa during a post-apartheid transition would pose few problems for the world body as long as there was general agreement on the project — and the needed cash.

But in expressing that view, Marrack Goulding, head of the UN department dealing with peacekeeping, emphasised that the question had not yet been discussed with him.

He was responding in a televised interview to reports that Nelson Mandela wanted UN "Blue Helmets" dispatched to South Africa.

"He has not been in touch with me, so I am not sure what the request would be," Mr Goulding said.

But he added that "one of the good things about" UN peacekeeping operations was that they were "infinitely flexible".

The only limits were that the parties involved must approve

the deployment of UN troops and that the General Assembly agree on financing.

All of the 13 current UN operations are mired in debt and one of the oldest — the Cyprus force established in 1964 — is to be withdrawn at the end of the year if there are no signs of progress towards a solution of the bitter dispute between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Professing ignorance of Mr Mandela's proposals, Mr Goulding would say only that he assumed the ANC leader sought a UN role in the implementation of a political settlement in South Africa.

"If I say anything more, I am sure I am going to be breaking somebody's eggs," he added cryptically — having already declined to disclose what contingency plans for future peacekeeping his department has under review.

Mr Goulding is a former British ambassador to Angola who knows southern Africa well. He is one of only a few under secretaries-general to have survived a recent restructuring of the secretariat by the new UN Chief, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

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Christians to pray for peace in June

By THEMBA KHUMALO

CHURCHES throughout the country have declared June 5, the Friday before pentecost Sunday, as a national day of prayer and healing.

On that day it is hoped the whole country will come to a standstill while Christians pray for an end to the current township violence.

SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Louw Alberts, co-chairmen of the Rustenburg committee, announced at a press conference that the prayer day came out of a decision taken at the signing of the "Rustenburg Declaration" last November.

A joint statement by the two clerics said the prayer day was supported by participants at Codesa.

They appealed to political, business and industry leaders to allow their employees to attend prayers between 11 am and 2 pm on that Friday.

"While recognising that not all churches and groupings have been fully supportive of the Rustenburg Conference and its declaration, it's the considered opinion of our committee that on the basis of unity in Christ and Christian obligation to the country, churches and organisations should set aside differences in order to unite in a national day of prayer and healing," said their statement.

The prayers would focus on peace, repentance, a quest for forgiveness, God's blessing on negotiations leading to a just society, and a cessation of violence in the country.

BA MMITSA
OMIYAHLABA

**YOU TOO CAN BE A
GUIDED TADU**



SACC calls leaders to violence talks

Political Staff

The South African Council of Churches has invited the leaders of the country's major black political formations — including those in the "homelands" — to an "Emergency Summit on Violence" in a bid to find a decisive end to the bloody violence in black townships.

The summit is due to be held in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

A weekend statement by the church body said the meeting was being called in response to "the alarming proportion, as well as the persistence, at which political violence is growing in our country, and the potential for it to spread to hitherto unaffected areas".

Invitations have already been sent to the ANC, IFP, Azapo, PAC, SACP and Cosatu, Nactu and homeland leaders.

The meeting will be co-chaired by SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo, Methodist Church president and National Peace Committee deputy chairman Dr Stanley Mogoba and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Sapa reports that Dr Mogoba has appealed for a national week of prayer from June 1 to June 7. In a statement, he said: "Without peace we can forget about Codesa or any other initiative for bringing about a new South Africa or even a new southern Africa."

Church leaders around the country have been requested to set aside June 5 — the day before Pentecost Sunday — as a national day of prayer and healing when all activity will halt between 11 am and 2 pm.

MORRIA, here we come

CLP/19/14/92

2714

By ZB MOLEFE

TODAY more than three million black Christians will hear President FW de Klerk, ANC President Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi undertake one of the most pressing challenges in their political careers when they address the annual Easter gathering of the Zion Christian Church.

The address by the three leaders comes on the third day - designated "a day of peace" - of this year's ZCC gathering at Morria near Pietersburg in the northern Transvaal.

Their appearance at Morria will be keenly watched in SA and many parts of the world as the three address one of the most troubling problems facing this country - violence.



MANDELA ... Bid to widen ANC support.



DE KLERK ... Following in PW's footsteps.

Now's the chance for 'Big Three' to woo Zion's millions

The ZCC's "Day of Peace" comes in the wake of this week's declaration in Johannesburg that June 5 will be a "National Day of Prayer and Healing".

The appearance of the "Big Three" at this year's ZCC Easter gathering comes a year after Lekganyane voiced his church's concern at the violence which is tearing black communities apart. In Easter prayer last year, Lekganyane said, "When you scrutinise the



BUTHELEZI ... Wants more traditional cloth.

problem of the killing of people, it is crystal clear that it goes together with the ill-advice within the opposing organisations and factions.

"This advice is related to the power struggle in the organisations. This advice goes hand in hand with the greed of those people who want to satisfy only their specific needs."

Today's address by De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi seems to underline the church's stance that it will never enter the

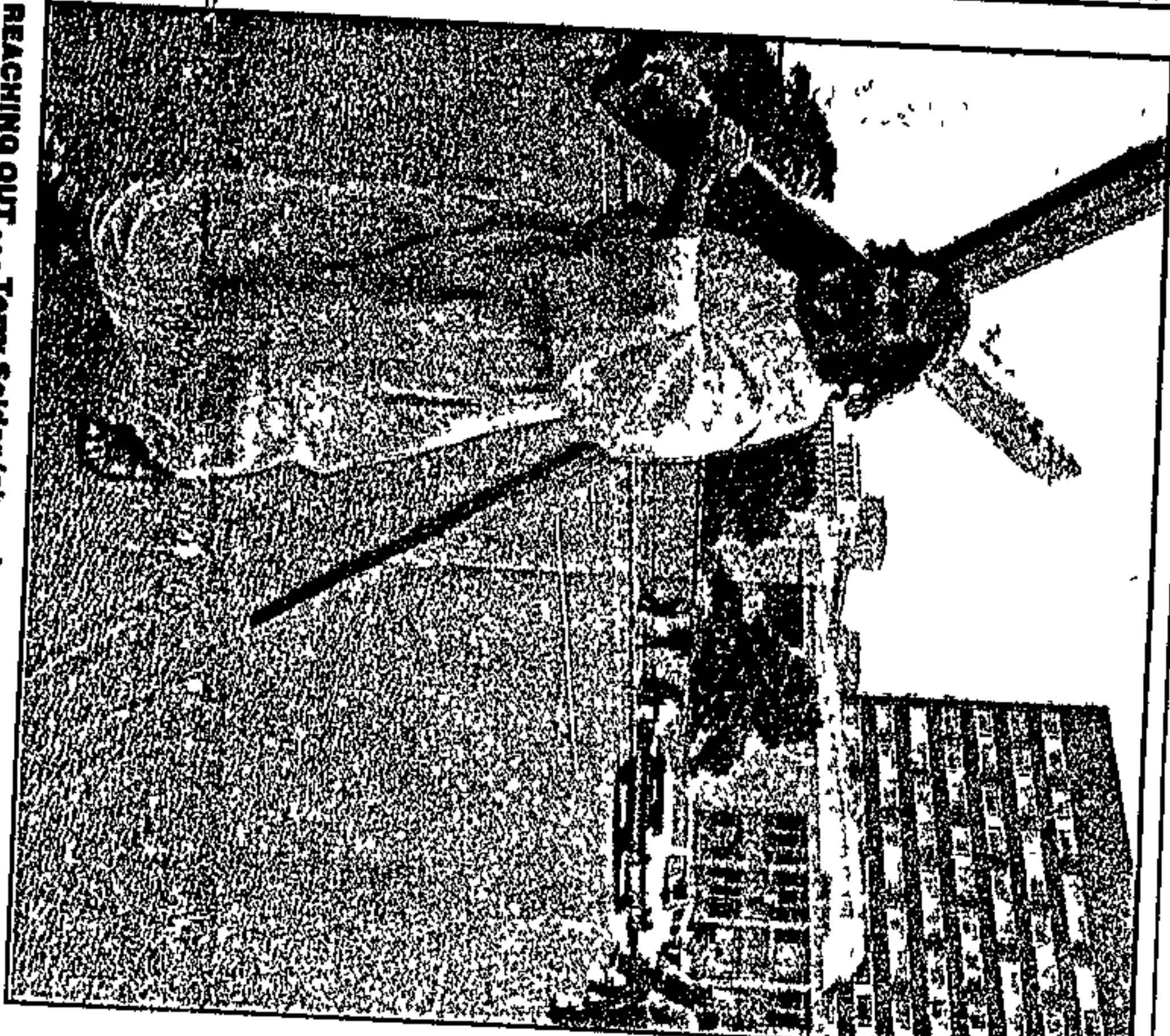
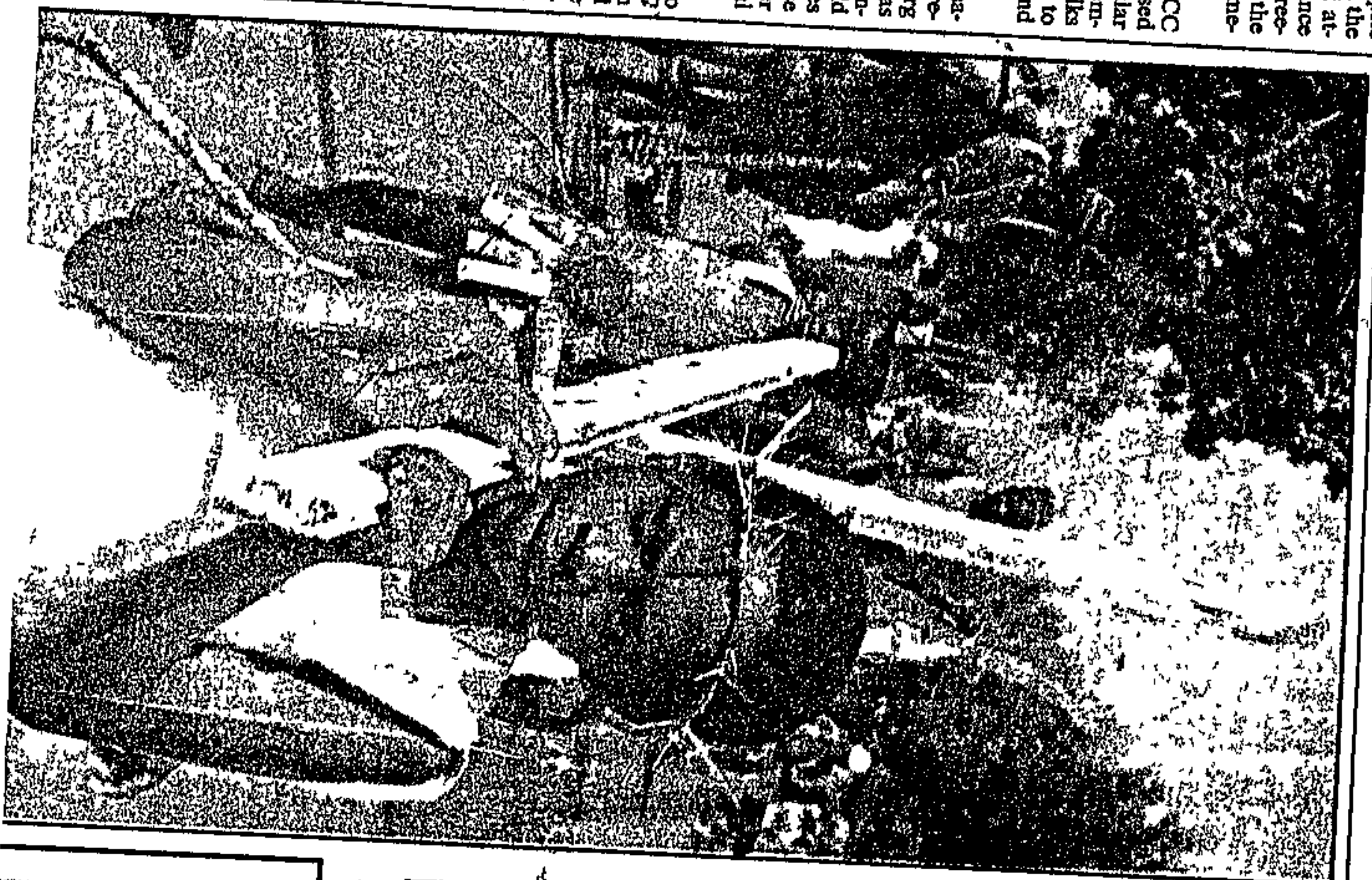
arena of politics despite rumours last year that the National Party would attempt to form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, Solidarity, the ZCC and various homeland leaders.

At the time the ZCC said it had always refused to endorse any particular political party. Its members come from all walks of life and belonged to different political and trade union groups.

However, political analyst Alf Stadler was reported in a Johannesburg newspaper yesterday as saying De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi would be "flirting" for votes with the ZCC, whose membership is larger than that of any political party in SA.

The newspaper also pointed out that the ANC has been trying to widen its influence in traditional African society, while the IFP advocates giving traditional leaders a political role.

Former State President PW Botha addressed the ZCC Easter gathering in April 1985 when he became the first and only recipient of the Freedom of Morria. Botha's address came at a time when black violence was intense. This bloodshed was highlighted by the shootings on March 21 1985 in which more than 35 blacks were killed by police in Langa near Uitenhage.



REACHING OUT ... Terry Solder (above) strolled around Hillbrow this week bearing a cross to signify love for mankind. ■ Pic: MAC MOOROSI

Each Cigarette
a Masterpiece

12 South living

April 18 to April 23 1992

religion

Tutu calls on Kriel to probe church violence

South 12/14 - 23/4/92

2714

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THE ANGLICAN Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, has called on the Minister of Law and Order to investigate violence in the Order of Ethiopia church.

The church's media liaison officer, Mr John Allen, said Tutu had written a letter to Mr Hernus Kriel voicing concern at the "failure of members of the South African Police to protect some members of the church" from being harassed and assaulted by a dissident group.

Tutu had been asked by the Bishop of the Order of Ethiopia, the Right Reve-

rend Sigibo Dwane, to intervene in the violence-wracked church.

Dwane also wrote to Kriel, urging him to investigate the behaviour of some police members he claimed were involved with the dissident group in instigating violence.

In his letter, Dwane claimed there had been no outcome in cases reported to police as early as August 1991.

Among other things, he claimed police had denied knowledge of cases involving members of the dissident group reported to them and that no action had been taken

against the members.

"The police are finding it difficult to take action against this group and this raises the question as to whether they are not in fact behind this group," he said.

"The failure of the police to take action against the group also raised questions as to whether they could be trusted to maintain peace and enforce law justly and impartially."

Police have not responded to the allegations.

Violence in the church broke out in March and several people were seriously injured in clashes involving the dissident

group and supporters of Bishop Dwane.

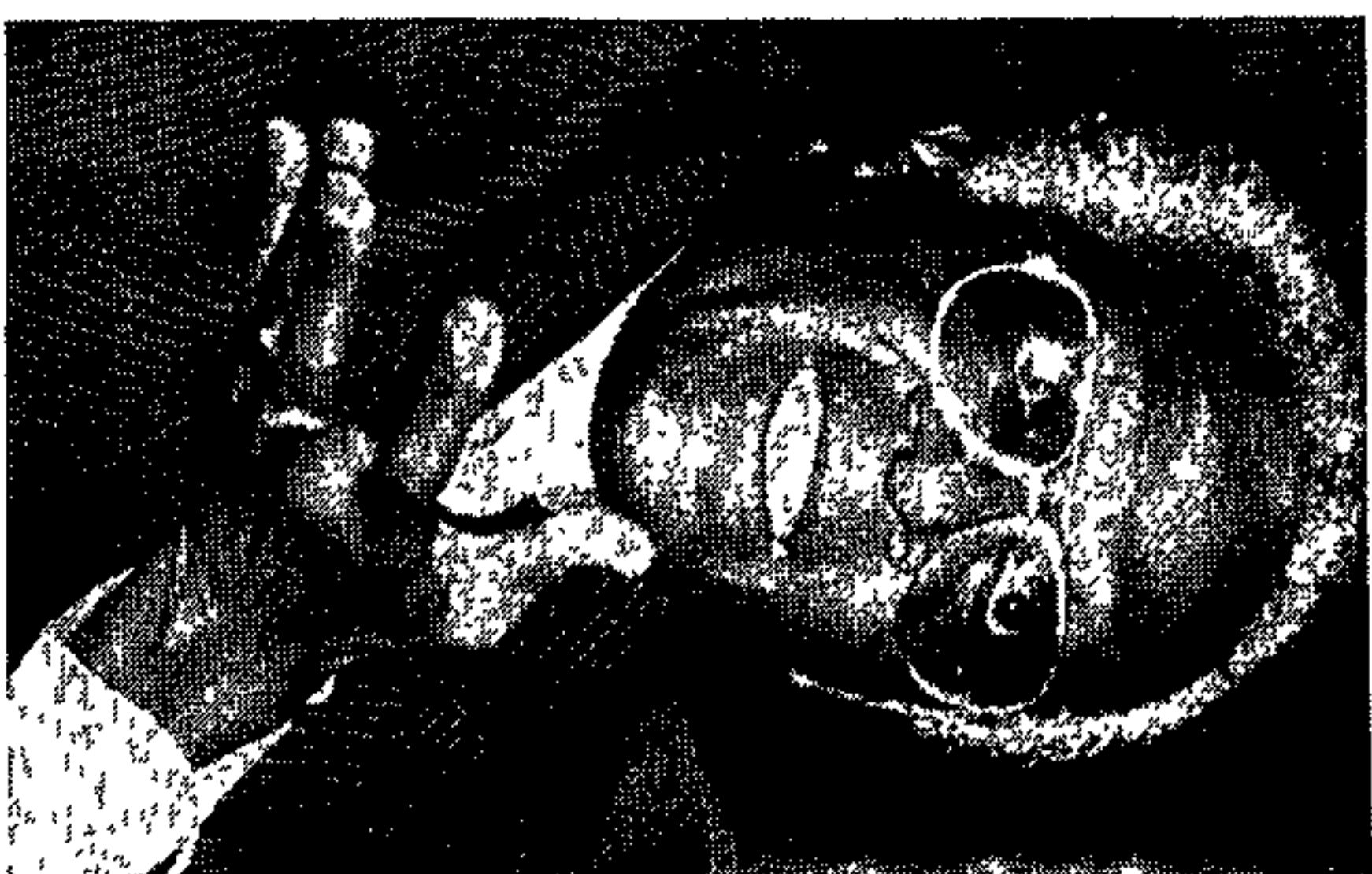
Attempts to solve the feud within the church have so far failed.

Last year, a commission of inquiry was set up by Tutu to investigate claims by some dissident clerics and their supporters that Dwane was mismanaging the church's funds.

The commission cleared him but the dissident group called for his resignation.

Civic organisations and the ANC were also called on to try and defuse tense situations last year.

—Ana



Desmond Tutu

Viking seeks team to end township bloodshed

JOHN VILJOEN

Weekend Argus Reporter
and Sapa

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ARGUS/14/92

THE Danish Foreign Minister, Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, is to ask the European Commission's foreign ministers to send an international monitoring team to help end South Africa's township violence.

The request will be made within a month.

African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu requested the move but the government has apparently condemned it as interference in internal affairs.

Mr Ellemann-Jensen, speaking at the end of his visit to South Africa in Cape Town on Thursday evening, emphasised that he was not talking of a military force, although the team could contain policemen.

The impetus for his proposal was the destructive nature of the violence, especially its potential harm to constitutional talks.

The violence in South Africa was "a bomb" under the further constitutional process, he said.

"My impression would be that we must consider in European Community circles whether we shouldn't make a common initiative as an offer to all

parties in South Africa."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu spent Good Friday in quiet prayer, but his spokesman, Mr John Allen, responded to Mr Ellemann-Jensen's remarks on his behalf.

The archbishop would welcome the step, Mr Allen said. He had been advocating a non-partisan international presence since the Transvaal violence broke out in August 1990.

It had become increasingly clear since then that many of the forces under the government's command had either been unwilling or unable to rise above the level of being partisan combatants in much of the violence, Mr Allen said.

Mr Ellemann-Jensen said the mission would have to be acceptable to all parties in South Africa, including the government. Special efforts would be made to ensure the offer would be beneficial to South Africans.

But the Danish Foreign Minister was warned away from such a mission during a meeting with Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer on Thursday morning.

According to Mr Ellemann-Jensen, Mr Meyer told him that the government would see such international action as interference in South Africa's internal affairs.

Reaching out for peace at Moria

Star 18/4/92

EVERY Easter, close on one million people converge on Zion City, Moria for four days of song, prayer and worship in the largest single gathering of any kind in South Africa. JOHN PERLMAN reports.

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THE taxi ranks that border Joubert Park were — if you could imagine it — even more frantic than at the start of a normal weekend.

By midday on Thursday the lines of commuters were already winding into the distance — people clutching bags and parcels, one moment looking like they did not believe they would ever get a ride, the next quick-stepping forward to the bark of taxi rank managers.

The longest line of all, snaking halfway up King George Street towards Hillbrow, was for the run up to Pietersburg. Most of the people in the line, in one way or another — a silver badge glinting in the sun, or a flat cap with a star, a khaki suit — indicated that they were not commuters but pilgrims.

Every Easter, close on one million people converge on the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) headquarters at Zion City, Moria, for four days of song, prayer and worship. The lines at the taxi ranks represent a mere trickle in comparison with the other streams flowing towards Moria.

The ZCC, which is very strong in the northern Transvaal, has organised about 1 200 buses to transport worshippers. Special trains have also been laid on. Many of the pilgrims will come in their own cars or simply walk.

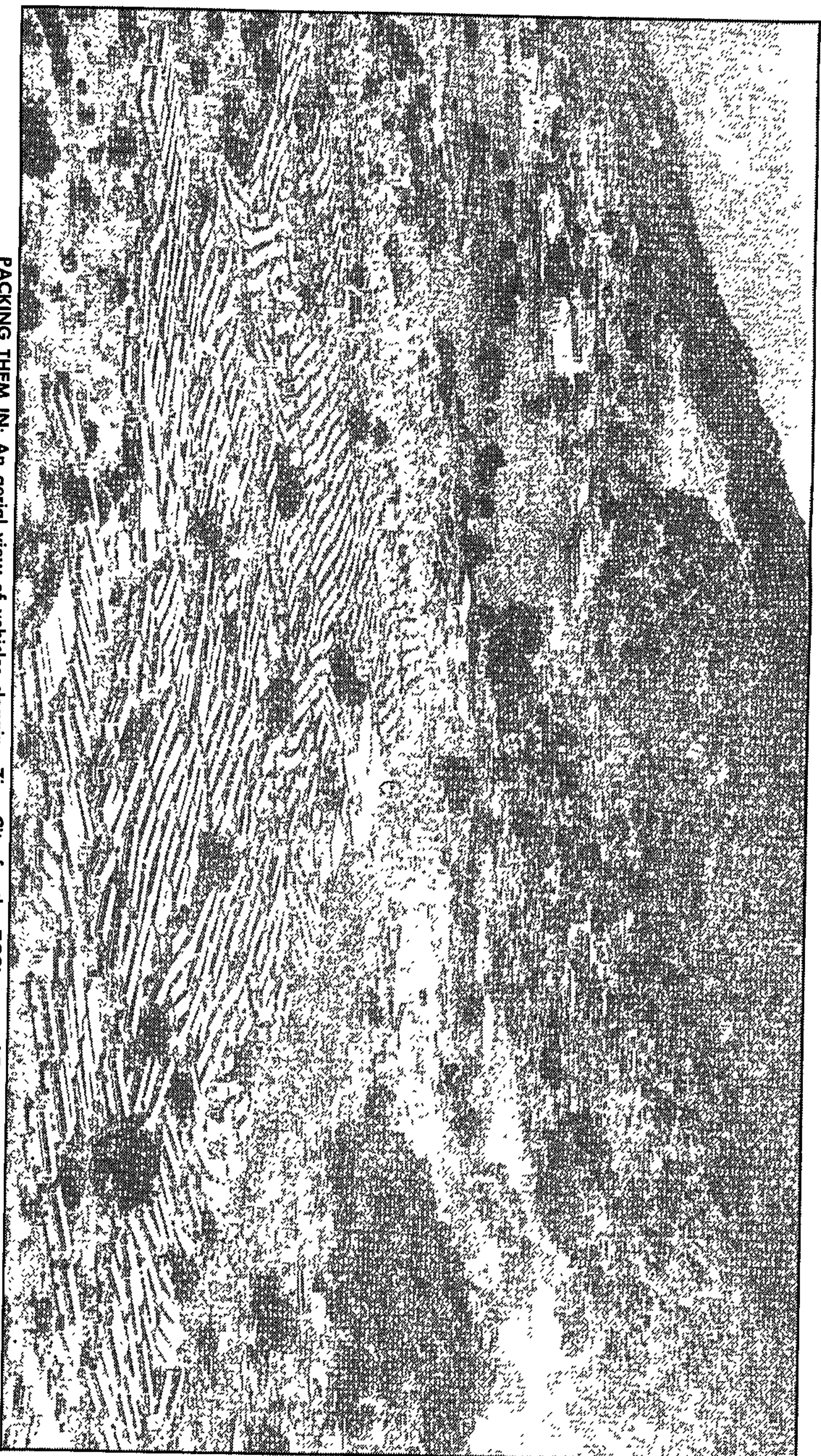
It is the largest single gathering of any kind in South Africa, yet it is usually noted in the media largely in terms of traffic and accidents, partly because the ZCC has always been intensely private and has by and large barred the press from Moria — except in 1986, when former president P W Botha was guest speaker.

This year is different. Tomorrow afternoon at 3pm, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk — in that order — will address the assembly on the subject of peace.

It is without doubt the largest audience that each of them will have faced. It will also be the first time since the signing of the Peace Accord that the three men have appeared on the same platform.

The circumstances at Moria will make some taxing personal demands on them. The ZCC expressly forbids smoking, which means De Klerk — a chain smoker — will have to thrust his pack of John Rolfe deep into the pockets of the dark suit he will doubtless wear for the occasion, and keep it there.

But all three men also face a significant political test. Graham Mdluli (60), shuffling forward in the taxi queue to make his tenth pilgrimage to Moria, said Buthelezi, Mandela and De Klerk would realise on arrival that "this whole thing is not a play. They must tell the truth, we will know if they are



PACKING THEM IN: An aerial view of vehicles clogging Zion City for the ZCC's annual Easter service.

not being honest. They must not defile themselves."

"We want to see if they stand for reason," Mdluli said. "And when they return we want to see that all this nonsense has stopped. In Moria they will see that all different people are united — Zulus, Pedis, Xhosas, even people from outside South Africa.

"And if our bishop can do it, why can't they?"

Each of the leaders will have 20 minutes to make his point. All three will speak in English, without translation, which will certainly limit their impact.

It will also leave them heavily dependent on ZCC leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane to set the final tone. Lekganyane will speak immediately after them for 50 minutes in Pedi, thus allowing translation into seven other

languages, including Herero and Damara for the Nambians.

While the ZCC leadership has been perceived in some circles as conservative — largely because of the invitation extended to Botha — the sheer scale of its membership makes the church as a whole politically inscrutable. "We are against all politics," says Mdluli.

An official document from the church says "Current poli-

cy in the ZCC is that each and every member has the right to exercise his individual choice of political activity, and to engage in it. There is, however, only one way of ensuring that the contributions its members make will evolve into a more democratic society."

On relations with church bodies like the South African Council of Churches, the document says "The ZCC has no ob-

jection to working with other churches on religious objectives of mutual interest, but it reserves the right not to lean over and or espouse the policies of any one political party. Thereby it safeguards the right of self-determination of its members and their political affiliations."

It is a mark of the ZCC's potential clout that it could, at less than two weeks' notice, se-

cure the presence of the country's three pre-eminent political figures.

A ZCC representative said "After the extreme violence recently, our bishop asked what he could do and came up with this idea."

But for all that, the presence of Buthelezi, Mandela and De Klerk will, by all accounts, probably be overshadowed by that of the bishop, who will herald the start of the Sunday service tomorrow by arriving at the head of a large brass band.

Lekganyane took over the church, founded in 1910 by his grandfather Engenas Lekganyane, in 1967. He was 15.

According to ZCC documents the church has never "demanded of its members that they jettison African culture in favour of Western culture as a precondition of acceptance into the church... This has had the effect of giving them a strong sense of direction and purpose in their lives, because there is no dichotomy in their lives as church members and members of society."

Most of the preaching is done by the 14 diocesan ministers of the ZCC and the evangelists, deacons and lay preachers under them. There are also hundreds of choirs present.

Mdluli says: "When we sleep, we sleep on the ground, but it is only for 10 minutes or so. We don't want to miss anything."

One regular pilgrim says Lekganyane, who makes about three appearances a year, is seen only briefly at the gathering except for when he makes his Sunday speech.

"We say the less we see our bishop talk, the more we listen when he talks."

That, if nothing else, might give the three invited speakers some food for thought.

WITCHDOCTORS and colonels are unlikely conspirators but there are bizarre indications that officers from Pretoria's special forces are obsessed with the idea of using practitioners of magic to undermine radical black political movements.

One academic source said some echelons of the military are fascinated by using traditional figures capable of manipulating the spiritual and superstitious values of black communities and had established what amounted to a "department of military anthropology" to carry out their mission.

This strand of thinking is so deeply rooted in Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) strategy that a network of university researchers has been recruited to identify witchdoctors, diviners and *inyangas* (traditional healers), the source says.

The Weekly Mail has documentary evidence that the South African Traditional Healers Council, which claims to have 300 000 members, was a creation of military intelligence — and the council's secretary, an agent called "Pip" Erasmus, is still running one faction of the group.

Top secret documents leaked to the paper by an intelligence source make it

Dance macabre of colonels

clear that Erasmus, former head of intelligence in the Rhodesian army, was and may still be on the SADF's payroll. The organisation was founded with a loan of R300 000 — almost certainly military money — provided by Erasmus.

Dr André du Pisani, from Wits University's Institute for International Affairs, describes how South African intelligence personnel operating in Namibia, before it became independent, commissioned an Afrikaans anthropologist to conduct a survey in northern Owamboland as part of their efforts in the run up to the elections to undermine the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

The consultant's advice to the army was to import a *sangoma* — a Zimbabwean in the hope that this spiritual figure would be able to persuade the local populace that Swapo was evil incarnate. They promptly recruited a Zimbabwean, paid him a large salary, and got him to predict that victory for the nationalist movement would bring

MUTI & WAR

How traditional beliefs are turned into brutal weapons

drought and other cosmological malaises to Owambo society.

This report is confirmed by Nicco Basson, a military intelligence major who worked in Namibia at the time. "They would bring in *muti* men from all over the place — Zaire, Mozambique and Zimbabwe — pay them fat salaries and get them to try and win the hearts of the local people."

This manipulation of spiritual traditions — part of the army's "total strategy" in the sub-region — often took on even more bizarre, and gruesome, forms.

Mozambican journalist Carlos Cardoso, in an account of his travels around the battlefields of Angola before the South African troop with-

The magic of ancient Africa fascinates the military. Pretoria's security forces have enlisted the help of witchdoctors in 'total strategy', reports EDDIE KOCH

drawal, describes how Angolan troops were terrified when they discovered bodies of pregnant women with their stomachs ripped open and the foetuses of baby baboons in them — after an attack by South Africa's special units on a village.

"These people had an anthropological approach to their operations," says Cardoso. "They were using traditional beliefs and superstitions to spread panic and fear among the local populace."

Felix Ndimene, a Mozambican citizen who was kidnapped and dragged into the army's Fifth Reconnaissance Commando in Phalaborwa, told reporters after he had defected and fled to his home country

that members of this unit participated in some "third force" train attacks. They consulted a *sangoma*, brought in from Mozambique and stationed near their base, for *muti* that would give them courage before going on these raids.

The authoritative Swiss journal, *Journal de Geneve*, last year reported that a dissident member of the army's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) was lured into doing clandestine work for the unit, an offshoot of military intelligence, by potents and *muti* rites administered by a *sangoma* imported into Namibia from Zaire.

"I was doing my military service when I was approached by people from military intelligence who first

Harry Gwala, ANC 'warlord'

(274) STAR 18/4/92

ON FIRST inspection Harry Gwala, a senior member of the ANC's national executive committee, is a most unsavoury character: he is a self-confessed killer, a man whom people in his own organisation fear to cross, and a hard-line Marxist who applauded the Soviet coup attempt last year.

But if he is unsavoury, so are the hundreds of thousands —

JOHN CARLIN of The Independent

if not millions — of blacks whose language he speaks, to whose thoughts he gives expression.

If Gwala were younger than his 72 years and if he were healthier — he suffers from a progressive motor neurone disease which has deprived him of the use of both arms — he would stand alongside Nelson Mandela as one of the most powerful leaders in black politics.

He could even come to rival Mandela. For when Mandela speaks, the ANC faithful fidget. When Gwala speaks, he sets them on fire.

Mandela talks of peace and give-and-take, instructing his audiences in the realpolitik of De Klerk times. Gwala preaches an older message, simpler, more familiar and more stirring. He preaches war, no compromise and seizure of power.

Contained here is the ANC's biggest dilemma. For the closer the ANC and the Government come to agreement on interim government and a new constitution, the wider the gap between ANC leadership and a rank-and-file whose vision has remained fundamentally unchanged since the P W Botha era.

But Gwala, viewed as

an aged *enfant terrible* by the ANC mainstream in Johannesburg, elicits as much awe and reverence in Maritzburg as the Zulu warrior chiefs of old.

From his fortress home in Edendale township — set in the "Valley of the Widows", as the locals call it — he presides as chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region: Zulu country and the scene of relentless bloodshed since 1986.

He has little time for the "peace accords" and "peace forums" which have sprouted up, largely at the behest of the ANC leadership, in the last year.

"Chamberlain tried it, but it was only when people like Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt came together that peace was imposed."

Intelligence

A tiny man with shining eyes, Gwala's hands rest lifeless on his desk as he speaks. His conversation — peppered with references to Dickens, Shakespeare, the Bible, Zulu and world history — reveals how abundantly he read during his 20 years in prison for terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC.

It is his intelligence that sets him apart from the Inkatha "warlords" with whom he has engaged in battle since his release in 1988, but otherwise, according to peace monitors in Natal, he and they are two sides of the same coin.

It is on record that Gwala has dispatched his well-armed "boys" — an ANC official in Johannesburg likened them to Winnie Mandela's notorious "football club" — to attack Inkatha warriors in neighbouring towns.

Gwala himself quite cheerfully admits his role in a conflict which, according to Inkatha, has seen more than 200 of their supporters assassinated in the last four years.

"Make no mistake," says Gwala, "we kill Inkatha warlords."

So, do all the peace efforts with which the ANC leadership has been so obsessed serve any useful purpose?

"They simply suit people's consciences. Remember all the fuss throughout 1990 about getting Mandela and Buthelezi to meet?"

"Since they shook hands on January 29 last year we've had more than a thousand dead in Natal alone," says Gwala.

"As the violence spreads, more and more ANC regions around the country are approaching us, eager to learn from our experience. Particularly now that they see how hard it is to believe the struggle will be won through negotiations and peace accords alone."

"We must also defend the people. And yes, very apologetically the big boys in Johannesburg are coming around to our point of view."

12 more die in national unrest

GT 15/4/92 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — Political violence continued to grip townships countrywide on Monday and yesterday with police reporting at least 12 more deaths.

Maritzburg police spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said a man and two women died of gunshot wounds following an attack at the Sappi compound in the Hopewell area of Ixopo by unknown people on Monday.

On the Reef, at least nine more people died in politically motivated violence on Monday, following a death-count of 25 from weekend unrest countrywide.

Violence continued to wrack the northern Natal region, with police reporting one injury at Esikhwini after a group of protesting students were shot at by unknown gunmen.

Violence also continued in the Wartburg district in the Natal Midlands with eight huts destroyed by fire there on Monday.

Capt. Budhram said the huts were set alight in the region in an apparent retaliatory attack following the burning of 17 huts in Nyanninga on Sunday.

Amen's hostel in Umlazi, north

Violence probe to split

THE Goldstone Commission of Inquiry is to split its committees dealing with train and taxi violence, commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

The split came after it was established the volume of evidence concerning taxi violence would take weeks of the committee's time. The investigations into Cape Town's taxi war are to con-

tinue on April 21 under the chairmanship of commission vice-chairman Mr Niel Rossouw SC, and Cape Town attorney Mr Louis van Zyl.

Meanwhile, the ANC PWV region is to ask the commission to investigate the activities in Tembisa of a gang they allege to be responsible for Sunday's gun attack in which seven people died and six were wounded.

of Durban, was petrol-bombed by a group of attackers on Monday night. No one was injured in the attack.

On the Reef, police said the body of an unidentified man who had been severely assaulted was found next to a railway line in Katlehong on Monday night.

The man had been thrown off a moving train.

A taxi driver and a woman passenger were shot dead on Monday when four men, believed to be whites, opened fire with an AK-47 rifle on a minibus taxi near Nigel on the East Rand, police said.

Three other passengers, includ-

ing a 12-year-old boy, were injured.

Police on Monday reported the discovery of the bodies of five men with hack and burn wounds at the M1 Hostel in Alexandra township.

Another man was seriously wounded in Alexandra on Monday when he was attacked by a panga-wielding gang.

A man was found burned to death in Meadowlands, Soweto.

At Sebokeng near Vereeniging, unidentified gunmen armed with an AK-47 rifle opened fire on a taxi, wounding a policeman. — Sapa

Recruit tells of 'bus to death'

PRETORIA — KwaZulu police recruits who underwent training in the Caprivi Strip were warned they would "catch the first bus" if they divulged details of their training, a sitting of the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

Mr Vitalis Vela Mncunu, a former special constable attached to the KZP, told the commission

the warning was issued by a Captain Langeni and a senior Inkatha Freedom Party official known to him as "Mashwabane".

Asked what Capt Langeni and Mashwabane meant when they issued the warning, Mr Mncunu said this meant that whoever divulged information concerning the Caprivi Strip training would be killed.

Mr Mncunu — who is in custody after being arrested for the murder of two men in Pinetown last month — said he was afraid of the two men, especially Capt Langeni.

He was recruited by them after he was charged with the murder of another man, Mr Itoto Dlamini, in 1987.

He was taken to Mkuze and lat-

er to the Caprivi Strip, where he underwent training together with other recruits, he said.

Mr Mncunu said that after his training he was appointed as Chief DJ Ndlovu's guard in the Ixopo district. His services were terminated after the shooting of the two men in Pinetown.

The hearing continues. — Sapa

and inyangas

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recruited me into Comops (Communications Operations), then the CCB," said former operative Jacques van der Merwe.

"We were led to believe that with the blacks in power there would be massacres — the end of everything and the end of civilisation — and we had to do everything to stop Swapo from coming to power." And the instrument used to turn Van der Merwe into an anti-communist crusader was magic.

"One day my colonel took me by the arm and said that he was going to introduce me to someone who could protect me," said Van der Merwe. This turned out to be a Zairean *sangoma*.

The CCB man actually fell under the spell of the Zairean and received amulets and special oils before going on covert missions — "whether it was to distribute tracts or kill someone". The agent added that other members of the unit frequently visited the spiritual leader and, as a result, "felt them-

selves invested with a special mission".

There is also the testimony of graduates from the notorious training camp at Mkuze in northern Natal — an operation set up by a military intelligence front company to train an elite unit of paramilitary fighters for Inkatha — that the base had a resident *inyanga* who would administer *muti* to provide the trainees with a spirit of valour.

Why is there this fascination with world of spirits and the occult in the ranks of the military? One answer lies in the legacy left by the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe, a war in which many of the military men now in South Africa's special forces fought for the white Rhodesians.

Guerrillas from the Zimbabwean African National Union (Zanu) won the active support of the civilian population in Mashonaland by working closely with Shona spirit mediums, political figures who have a powerful influence over citizens of a region through their ability to communicate

with the ancestors and transmit their messages to the people.

"When the Rhodesian security police and intelligence units began to understand how important the spirit mediums were for Zanu's ability to wage a guerrilla war that depended on the support of villagers, they became driven by a desire to co-opt these figures," says Stephen Ellis, director of the African Studies Centre at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands.

Thus it comes as no surprise that Erasmus also produces a newsletter for the council which explains how healers "have the confidence of the population" and urges them "to go from tribe to tribe and talk to the people".

The journal — which is entitled *Siyavuma* (We Agree) — states that the traditional health provided by the healers means there must be "total stability ... there must not be disruptive elements like revolution".

Professor David Hammond-Tooke, from Wits University's Department of Anthropology, says: "There is a lot of mystique about sacred Africa and its ancient lore. It's an idea that appeals to fascists who have a penchant for romantic philosophies."

Muti's magic works on the shopfloor and the battlefield

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BEFORE the attacks which contribute to the country's widespread violence even occur, factions on either side of the political divide religiously consult their *inyangas* for *muti* in preparation for battle.

These attacks — if they are not completely suicidal — frequently invite retaliation and result in more deaths than victories for either side.

The bloody civil wars in Natal bear testimony that it is not only on the strength of their numbers that factions go into battle but more often by that of their *inyanga's muti*. It is important that the men who go into battle are collectively strengthened and protected by the *inyanga*, to ensure there are no weak links.

To foot the bill for his services, communities are taxed up to R30 a household, according to residents of pro-African National Congress areas in Natal townships.

Leaders on either side, particularly Inkatha, are said to be more powerful because of the particularly strong *muti* they are given.

Many *inyangas* have been killed after battles when it was thought they had "gone too far" and were using witchcraft to enhance their skills — often in favour of the other side.

"I believe *inyangas* are positive forces and give herbal medicines to cure and these medicines work," says a young activist from kwaMashu near Durban. "In these parts anyone who is a 'comrade' is treated by our own *inyanga*."

On his upper arm the young man wears a cloth belt containing the *muti* "to frighten off or confuse the enemy in an attack. You must wear it every day before you go into battle to increase its strength".

Scratch-like incisions on his throat and wrists are the places where blood was drawn and mixed with *muti*. This is placed in a cloth and discarded "in a place where you do not go regularly, but your enemy may well". Whoever first lays eyes on the cloth will be overcome.

"When we feel weak and think that Inkatha may have 'bewitched' us, we burn *impepo* — an aromatic incense — to enliven the comrades. After this we want to *toyi-toyi* and be active."

On March 24 last year, 13 people —

A blinding belief in the power of muti before battle has powerered both 'comrades', and Inkatha followers.

By **BEATHUR BAKER**



Sangomas ... Can muti stop the bullets? Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

including a policeman — were killed in Daveyton when a Xhosa-speaking *ibutho* (regiment) launched a fierce counter-attack after a police patrol fired teargas at them.

During the inquest, allegations that residents used *muti* in preparation for the attack on the police was made by advocate Hattingh, representing the South African Police and the minister of law and order.

He alleged that "a group of people got together and they called themselves the *amabuthos*, a vigilante group of people. This group decided to call in the help of a witchdoctor to make them immune against police bullets and attacks". He added that they all agreed to contribute R20 towards the fee of a witchdoctor who would treat them with the *muti*.

Hattingh based these allegations on what constables emerging from a Casspir say they witnessed. The constables said they saw people sitting on

the ground and a man dipped a branch into a bucket and "appeared to sprinkle some liquid over the people as they were sitting there".

Hattingh makes a further allegation that the people in the veld "observed that the birdshot fired at them had no real effect. You were fortified in the belief that you were in fact immune against bullets".

He subpoenaed a professor of anthropology, Petrus Jacobus Jonas from the University of South Africa, who explained the traditional use of war *muti*. Jonas told the court that traditionally, no battle was fought without the *tola* (a special war diviner) having treated the warriors and their weapons. Nowadays, *inyangas* and *sangomas* perform a modified, shorter version of this once important task.

The use of *muti* in resolving labour disputes is firmly believed by many workers and union leaders. The fierce battles between workers and the police during the 1987 railway strike illustrates the confidence workers placed in *muti*.

They consulted a *sangoma* from Swaziland who gave medicine that would make them invulnerable to police bullets. In the belief of the protection of the *muti* on their foreheads, workers brazenly fought police in the confrontation which ensued outside Cosatu House in Johannesburg.

"Cleansing medicine" is also used before wage negotiations, labour-related court cases and even to protect workers from retrenchments.

Union members of shaft 6 at the Western Holdings gold mine fetched a *sangoma* from Transkei to protect them from retrenchments taking place at the mine. After consulting the *sangoma*, a heated confrontation with management ensued in which six miners and a mine engineer were killed.

The medicine is said to have the power to "tie up" the enemy or render them impotent. What makes them fierce is *ukuhlupeza*, the medicine derived from animals such as the poison of a snake or the gall of a bull — the power of the animal is passed on to the man who killed it.

On occasions when this deep-rooted belief in *muti* has been fatal, it is put down to the inexperience of the *inyanga*.

Recruit tells of 'bus to death'

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the warning was issued by a Captain Langeni and a senior Inkatha Freedom Party official known to him as "Mashwabane".

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Mr Mncunu said that after his training he was appointed as Chief DJ Ndlovu's guard in the Ixopo district. His services were terminated after the shooting of the two men in Pinetown.

The hearing continues. — Sapa

Buthlezi, FW to talk to Zionists

Staff Reporter

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President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will address more than a million Zionist-Christian Church followers on Sunday during the annual Easter gathering at Moria, near Pietersburg.

A church spokesman said yesterday that an invitation had also been extended to ANC president Nelson Mandela and a reply was awaited.

Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi would join Bishop Barabas Lekganyane, head of the ZCC, one of the biggest religious groups in southern Africa, in a mass appeal for peace and an end to violence in the townships, said the spokesman.

The event attracts more than one million people by bus, mini-bus, car and train from within South Africa's borders and from neighbouring states every Easter weekend.

Former State President P W Botha addressed the ZCC in April 1985 when he became the first and only recipient of the Freedom of Moria.

lack, possibly carried out during the course of Sunday night, was an empty 9 mm shell on the scene.

In another horrific attack on

Humphrey Ndlovu has strongly rejected the ANC's recent demand for the closure of Alexandra's Madala hostel and the eviction of "Beirut" squatter fa-

were killed when a group of mourners attending a funeral hurled petrol bombs at a house in the Mtunzini district of Nkatseni, in Zululand.

HRC calls for code of conduct for SADF

Staff Reporters

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STAR 14/4/92

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) yesterday called on the National Peace Accord to speedily conclude a specific code of conduct for members of the Defence Force, following the Phola Park furore.

The HRC said in a statement it was concerned that while the National Peace Accord made general provisions for the behaviour of security forces, and incorporated a specific code of conduct for the police, it had not done so for the Defence Force.

"This was to be negotiated under the auspices of the National Peace Committee (NPC).

Nearly seven months after the signing of the accord, no word has been heard in this regard.

"The HRC urges the NPC to give its urgent attention to this pressing matter," the statement added.

Members of the NPC were not available for comment yesterday.

The ANC last week alleged that soldiers of 32 Battalion went on a rape and assault rampage at the East Rand Phola Park informal settlement.

It also alleged other brutal attacks on residents in Bekkersdal on the West Rand.

● A lawyer gathering affidavits in Phola Park was yesterday

harassed by units of the SADF, the ANC PWV region said in a statement last night.

The ANC said lawyer Vusi Sithole intervened when he found soldiers taking a statement "in English and Afrikaans" from a Mr Msimang whose wife was allegedly raped and killed by soldiers of 32 Battalion on April 8.

"The response of the soldiers was to threaten Mr Sithole with violence."

SADF spokesman Major Andreas Jordaan replied to the statement by requesting Mr Sithole to lay charges with the police over the incident. "I cannot respond to these allegations."

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STAR 14/4/92

'End this raging violence'

By SOPHIE TEMA (274)

AN INTERDENOMI-
NATIONAL church
group of about 200 wom-
en marched on John Vor-
ster Square this week to
protest the violence rag-
ing across the country.

Women from the In-
katha Women's brigade
were among the group
which was led by Mary
MaSechaba Mabaso.

The group marched

from the St Mary's Ca-
thedral and were met at
the station by District
Commissioner Brigadier
AJ Strauss.

After a lengthy discus-
sion with Strauss, the
women threatened to hold
a sit-in at the square, until
they got a "positive re-
ply" from the govern-
ment.

A message was faxed to
Law and Order Minister

Hernus Kriel, but he was
not available.

Mabaso said: "The vio-
lence that has claimed so
many innocent lives has
been of no benefit to any-
one.

"Today we have come
together as women and
mothers, to take the bull
by the horns.

"We are demanding an
end to the violence - not
tomorrow, not the day
after but now!"

myself. I am so upset I could commit murder.

Africa, Hudson

To page 2

dents were burnt by lightning

IFP foiling talks with king, claims Mandela

CT 13/4/92

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DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party was preventing a meeting between Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mr Nelson Mandela as this would reveal the untruth that the ANC was anti-Zulu, the ANC leader said in KwaMashu yesterday.

Addressing about 3 000 supporters in the township near here Mr Mandela said the IFP realised that a meeting between Mr Mandela and King Goodwill would help end the propaganda that the ANC were anti-Zulu and were therefore opposed to the meeting.

The ANC had instructed deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma to

make a last attempt to arrange a meeting with the Zulu monarch.

Mr Mandela had been touring the troubled northern Natal and Durban regions since Thursday to discuss the violence plaguing the province.

The ANC has lost some 13 000 supporters to political violence since 1984, Mr Mandela told residents at the settlement of Uganda in Umlazi.

Those responsible were members of Inkatha, the KwaZulu Police and "certain elements" in the SADF's Military Intelligence and the South African Police, he added. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

rain not to be

C

NEW evidence of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's links to men who were being trained by South African security forces at secret camps was led before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation in Pretoria this week.

Two former "Black Cats" — once members of a pro-Inkatha gang still operating in the eastern Transvaal township of Wesselton, near Ermelo — faced a barrage of questions about their training and acts of terror.

Reference was often made to a *Weekly Mail* article in which "Mr A" and "Mr C" told of the gang's reign of terror and how they were encouraged, equipped and trained to carry out violence against African National Congress-linked targets by the security forces.

Giving evidence behind closed doors, Mr C said he was recruited to undergo extensive military training in the Caprivi after being recruited to join the kwaZulu police force.

He said his group had been told that they would be working for the chief minister and that Buthelezi himself had been introduced to the trainees on their return from the Caprivi.

Mr C said in his evidence this week that he was approached by two Inkatha organisers in January or February 1986. One of them, Thomson Xesibe, was at that stage a member of the kwaZulu police while the other, Mtwe Mofolo, was an Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade organiser.

"They asked me if I would be interested in joining the kwaZulu police. They told me they were looking for people whom they knew and trusted and who had worked for Inkatha. They did not tell me where I would be trained. They told me I would be trained as a policeman."

The next morning he went to the Inkatha offices in Ulundi, as instructed, where he met Xesibe and Mofolo.

The same day they were taken to Nhlungwane, which is a camp site used by Inkatha members when they have rallies.

"Xesibe told the assembled youths that we were to be trained as kwaZulu policemen. Mofolo and a Mr Sibanda would talk to us about the IFP and the importance of Inkatha as an organisation. They also talked to us about the IFP constitution."

One evening the trainees were told they would be leaving the camp the next day but were not told where they were going to.

The next day they flew out in a green coloured plane to a camp in the Caprivi. There were approximately 100 trainees under the leadership of Daluxolo Luthuli, who was known as "the Commissar" and people with problems could go to him.

"He also participated in instructing us on the use of firearms, explosives and he lectured to us on the Inkatha constitution."

Mr C added: "He would also talk about the ANC when giving lectures on the Inkatha constitution. He used to say that when he was with the ANC he was

'sold out' by members of the ANC."

"Right from the beginning we were divided into four platoons. Each platoon had its own instructor ... All our instructors wore camouflage uniforms. At no stage did any of them give us any details about their real identities or who they worked for." The uniforms had no insignias or badges.

"The main part of our training involved instruction in the use of weapons which included the AK-47, the Uzzi, the G-3 and hand weapons such as the Browning pistol and Tokarev."

When they returned from the camp they carried on with part of their training and one day were told they were going to be working for the chief minister by a Mr Swart from Pretoria.

Approximately four days later Buthelezi came to the farm with Makhele Khumalo — his former personal aide.

"We were introduced to Chief Buthelezi as a group. He said to us that he was grateful to meet us. We were allowed to go home for two weeks and instructed not to tell our families where we had been."

Mr A told the commission the Black Cats had been instructed by a senior police officer, a Warrant Officer Van Zwiell to set alight the offices of Steve Ngwenya, an ANC attorney, during August 1990.

At the time the gang was sheltering in the offices of the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) — Inkatha's trade union wing — after being chased out of the township.

Three members of the gang volunteered to do the job.

Mr A said Van Zwiell later gave them money for petrol and offered liquor and cigarettes.

He said he was not aware of any white policeman that had helped orchestrate a string of murders in the township, as mentioned in a *Weekly Mail* article in January, but that a number of acts — assaults, attacks, arson — "orchestrated by the police were not brought to court".

Gang members were taken from the Uwusa offices to Ulundi in minibuses, one of which was driven by a person Mr A only knew as "Da" or David, whom he believed to be a kwaZulu Police (KZP) member.

The gang stayed in Ulundi for approximately two months, where some Black Cats received weapons training.

Later, the gangsters were transferred to a Mkuze camp where a select group of about 22 were put through an intensive course in how to shoot with AK47s and 9mm handguns.

Mr A said he had received weapons training at Amatigulu camp later. The group returned to the township in March 1991.

Asked why he didn't inform the police about the gang's activities, Mr A alleged the police were working hand-in-hand with the gang.

He said he stopped going around with the Black Cats in January 1992 and then went to *The Weekly Mail* with information that he had about the gang.

The hearing continues on Monday.

Buthelezi

'pleased to meet Caprivi trainees'

Two former members of a pro-Inkatha gang told the Goldstone Commission this week of their training, attacks and meeting Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. By LINDA RULASHE

Violence: Codesa to intervene

Sowetan 10/4/92

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By MOKGADI PELA

AFTER six months of working to end violence countrywide, the National Peace Accord admitted to Codesa that violence continues unabated.

Now Codesa, whose other task is to generate conditions conducive to democracy, is to step in to try to stem the tide and save the ailing Accord.

Sources within Codesa said one of the key figures in the peace secretariat, Mr John Hall, made this admission when he briefed them on the accord.

But they said Hall viewed the accord as an inherently sound document.

One source said: "There is an understanding that violence is not abating and that it is necessary to think of ways of giving the accord more teeth."

Among problems the peace secretariat encountered are lack of staff and finance.

The death toll from the violence, particularly in Reef townships, is a source of deep concern among Codesa participants.

Codesa's Working Group 1 is now to investigate ways to improve the situation.



Theologians and co-ordinators who attended yesterday's meeting are (front row, from left to right) Ms Sherylin Thompson, the Rev Samson Khumalo and the Rev Molise Makhene. (Backrow) the Rev Steve Montjane, the Rev Junior Motsei, the Rev Fred Monareng, Ms Veronique Gossi and the Rev Nicholas Ntuli.

Clergy call for end to violence

By JUNIOR MOTSEI
CLERGYMEN should borrow God's strength to defuse the upheavals plaguing the black townships, a brainstorming session of a committee organising *Sowetan* Nation Building campaign's Prayer Day was told yesterday.

The Rev Fred Monareng told the meeting that the senseless violence sweeping the country could not be tolerated.

The meeting, held at the

newspaper's Johannesburg offices, was attended by church leaders representing various denominations, including the Rev Steve Montjane, the Rev Samson Khumalo, the Rev Nicholas Ntuli and the Rev Molise Makhene.

The meeting was conducted by co-ordinators Ms

Veronique Gossi and Ms Sherylin Thompson.

Thompson is taking over from Gossi, who is leaving for the United States later this month.

The Prayer Day concept is the brainchild of *Sowetan* editor Aggrey Klaaste.

More than 20 ministers, headed by Montjane, have

formed a committee after having been inspired by the concept.

Every year they have been conducting services at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto.

This year's event will take place on September 6.

Montjane suggested that the youth should be involved in this year's programme.

"The youth are tomorrow's leaders and cannot be ignored," he said.

NATION BUILDING

The power is in your hands



Sowetan
19/4/92

274



Peace call
to leaders ²⁷⁴

JOHANNESBURG. — Letters have been drafted to major leaders asking for their help in reaffirming the National Peace Accord.

This was revealed at yesterday's meeting of the National Peace Accord secretariat and the chairmen of all the Regional Dispute Resolution Committees.

There were no solid proposals yesterday to end the violence. Further meetings were being planned. — Sapa

Alarm at increase in use ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ of AK-47s

PRETORIA. — The police yesterday reported an "unacceptable" increase in the number of violent incidents involving AK-47 rifles and handgrenades.

The increase could be directly linked to the large number of weapons that had been smuggled into the country and the creation of caches to which criminal elements had easy access, the SAP said in a statement.

From January to March, there had been 158 incidents involving AK-47 rifles, compared with 39 such incidents during the same period last year. *CT 11/4/92*

Handgrenade attacks for the same period had increased from 21 to 86.

"The police will do everything possible to trace these arms," the statement said.

"We appeal to all law-abiding citizens to help the police in their attempt to remove these weapons of terror from society." — Sapa

Sacob to seek Codesa's support

New summit to bolster peace efforts

B10am 10/4/92

(274)

WILSON ZWANE

A HIGH-LEVEL national peace summit will be held later this month in an attempt to boost the flagging peace process.

A source close to the national peace committee said yesterday the national peace secretariat and the chairmen of all the regional dispute resolution committees would meet in Johannesburg today to discuss violence and set the stage for the meeting of political leaders.

Invitations would be sent to President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others who had signed the initial peace accord in September, the source said. The meeting was expected to be held on April 30.

And Sapa reports that Sacob's peace forum agreed yesterday to ask Codesa to state publicly its full support for the aims and objectives of the peace accord.

It would ask De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi to reaffirm their commitment to the accord, and for church leaders to give it more visible support. It would also recommend that government make available more funds for regional and local dispute resolution committees.

More than 1 300 people have been killed in political violence since the peace accord was signed.

Police said yesterday 105 people had died in unrest in the first eight days of April.

National peace committee chairman John Hall said recently there were obstacles to ensuring peace, not the least being that political leaders had not given the

accord their fullest support. They signed it and attended meetings, but they were "not driving it with enough vigour".

Key players in dispute resolution committees, set up in terms of the accord, have questioned the commitment of Inkatha and the ANC to peace.

Barry Jammy, chairman of the Greater Soweto dispute resolution committee sub-committee on train violence, has said his committee was not making much headway in reducing violence because Inkatha and the ANC were not demonstrating total commitment to peace.

Both organisations have repeatedly stated their commitment to the accord.

Meanwhile, the ANC claimed yesterday that one person had died and at least 100 were injured on Wednesday night when SADF members "ran amok" in the East Rand Phola Park squatter camp.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa claimed in a statement that members of the army's 32 Battalion had also raped several women during their raid.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Lt Wikus Weber said the police had taken note of the allegations and were calling on residents to lay formal charges so that they could be investigated.

An SADF spokesman denied that members of the battalion — formerly based in Namibia — were guilty of rape. "No charges have been made nor have witnesses come forward. However, should witnesses come forward with facts, their

□ To Page 2

Peace summit B10am 10/4/92 (274) □ From Page 1

allegations will be investigated as the SADF will not accept any illegal or bad behaviour by its members."

Of the raid, the spokesman said 32 Battalion members were on their way on Wednesday night to investigate shots fired earlier at the squatter camp when they came under fire. The soldiers returned fire, and, according to the spokesman, no wounded or dead person was found at the camp. But it was accepted that innocent people could have been hurt in the operations, he said.

The spokesman added that Phola Park squatters were known "for their unprovoked attacks and indiscriminate firing of shots at civilians and security forces".

Police spokesman Capt Nina Barkhuizen said most of the 105 unrest-related deaths this month occurred on the Reef and in Natal.

Barkhuizen said four bodies were found in the East Rand township of Katlehong on

Wednesday. Two of the victims had apparently been thrown off a moving train at the township's railway station. A body was found in Vosloorus, also on the East Rand, while two more bodies were found between Booyens and Crown stations (south of Johannesburg) and in Alexandra township.

Yesterday more than 100 women and children marched on Johannesburg's police headquarters, John Vorster Square, to demand an end to violence and the replacement of SAP members by railway security personnel at stations.

The march was organised by an inter-denominational church group under the banner of Women for Peace.

In another development, Soweto police spokesman Capt Joseph Ngobeni said a number of weapons were confiscated and several people arrested when the police conducted a pre-dawn search in Meadowlands Hostel.

Women in march for peace

By Stan Hlophe (274)

About 200 women and youths under the banner of the Interdenominational Women's Prayer League marched through Johannesburg to John Voster Square yesterday to demand an end to countrywide violence.

They also demanded that policemen be replaced by railway officers at stations.

The women, in church uniforms and carrying placards, marched to the police headquarters, singing hymns.

The marchers led by Mary Masechaba Maba-so were received by

Brigadier A J Strauss, District Commissioner, who invited a delegation of eight into his office. He allowed the others to continue praying and singing inside the police headquarters.

He promised to forward the women's memorandum to the Minister of Law and Order, Heunis Kriel.

The memorandum further said: "Each time a person gets killed we as women feel the pain since we are responsible for giving birth to a nation that is continuously maimed and killed. We say enough is enough."

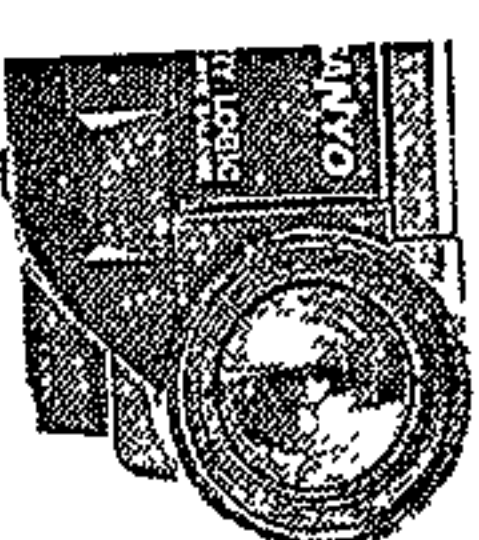
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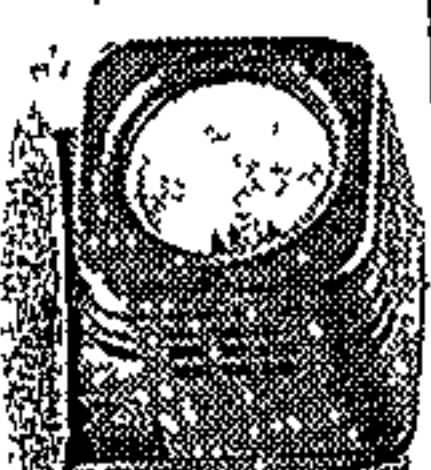


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VIDEO LIGHT



'Kidnap' victim returns

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A key state witness in the 1991 Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial, Mr Gabriel Peloto Mekgwe, who was "kidnapped" the day before he was to testify, is back in South Africa.

Mr Mekgwe was allegedly abducted from the Soweto Methodist Church manse in February last year, resulting in postponement of the trial and the initial refusal to testify of two other key witnesses, Mr Kenneth Kgase and Mr Thabiso Mono.

Police sources confirmed that Mr Mekgwe was in the country, but said they were not investigating because he had not laid a charge.

He was allegedly later traced to an ANC "safe house" in Harare but was moved to Zambia after SA government officials asked for his repatriation.

● Winnie: Police decision in days? — Page 2

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold price falls

Peace summit as 1 300 die

CT 10/4/92

(274)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A high-level national peace summit will be held later this month in an attempt to boost the flagging peace process.

A source close to the national peace committee yesterday said the national peace secretariat and the chairmen of all the regional dispute resolution committees would meet in Johannesburg today to discuss violence and set a stage for the meeting of political leaders.

Invitations would be sent to President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others who had signed the initial peace accord last September, the source said. The meeting was expected to be held on April 30.

More than 1 300 people have been killed in political violence since the peace accord was signed.

Police said yesterday that 105 people had died in unrest in the first eight days of April.

Train violence

National peace committee chairman Mr John Hall recently said there were obstacles to ensuring peace, not the least being that political leaders had not given the accord their fullest support. They signed it and attended meetings, but they were "not driving it with enough vigour".

Key members of dispute resolution committees set up under the accord have questioned the commitment of Inkatha and the ANC to peace.

Mr Barry Jammy, chairman of

the Greater Soweto dispute resolution committee subcommittee on train violence, has said his committee was not making much headway in reducing violence because Inkatha and the ANC were not demonstrating total commitment to peace.

Both organisations have repeatedly stated their commitment to the accord.

The ANC claimed yesterday that one person was killed and at least 100 injured on Wednesday night when SADF members "ran amok" in the East Rand Phola Park squatter camp.

ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepe claimed in a statement that members of the army's 32 Battalion had also raped several women during their raid.

● Rape claims after SADF raid on squatter camp — Page 2

PRC 10/11/92

Goldstone told of rampaging 'Cats' 274

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission has heard how members of the notorious Black Cats gang in Wesselton near Ermelo went on the rampage after training in KwaZulu.

A former member of the gang, referred to as Mr B, told the commission that the Black Cats, backed by "a handful of graduates from the Caprivi Strip", attacked ANC members and petrol-bombed their homes and businesses in 1991.

Mr B said the attacks took place after the gang had training in the use of firearms in KwaZulu.

The commission heard that the Black Cats were still attacking residents in Wesselton and that "comrades" were afraid of them.

Another witness, a former Inkatha member referred to as Mr C, said in a statement read before the commission he trained in Caprivi in 1986.

The man, who has since joined the ANC, said he was approached by two Inkatha men in 1986 and asked if he wanted to join the KwaZulu police.

As it had always been his aim to be a policeman, he said that he was interested.

Mr C told the commission that with other young men, who supported Inkatha, he was flown to the Caprivi Strip for training.

They were supplied with camouflage uniforms and were trained in the use of firearms, explosives and how to stage ambushes and launch attacks in urban areas.

Mr C said the men who carried out the training also wore camouflage and some were known by their nicknames. It was not clear which Defence Force units the men belong to as they did not wear badges or name tags.

Gang 'was trained for attacks'

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence yesterday heard how members of the notorious "Black Cats" gang in Wesselton near Ermelo went on the rampage after undergoing training in KwaZulu.

Details of the "Black Cats" activities were revealed at a commission hearing here by a former member of the gang, who is referred to as Mr B.

Mr B said the "Black Cats", backed by a handful of men trained in warfare in the Caprivi Strip, had attacked ANC members

in Wesselton and had petrol-bombed their homes and businesses in 1991.

The "Caprivi Strip graduates", who were from KwaZulu, had frequently visited the township, he said.

The attacks had taken place after gang members underwent training in the use of firearms in KwaZulu, he said.

Another witness and former Inkatha Freedom Party member, referred to only as Mr C, said he had been trained in warfare in Caprivi in 1986.

The man, who has since joined the ANC,

said he was approached by two IFP members in 1986 and asked if he would like to join the KwaZulu police. (274)

After agreeing to join the force, Mr C and other young IFP-supporting men had been flown to the Caprivi, where they had spent the next few months undergoing training, he said. CT 10/4/92

They had been supplied with camouflage uniforms, had received training in the use of firearms, explosives and how to stage ambushes and launch attacks in urban areas, Mr C said. — Sapa

Codesa bid to give greater effect to the Peace Accord

(274)

MP wants an 'Israel' for Afrikaners

THE MP for Wonderboom, Mr Koos Botha, who was expelled from the Conservative Party, said he wanted an "Israel" for the Afrikaner folk in which there would be no racism or apartheid.

Speaking in the debate on the Free State Provincial Budget, for first time from the cross-benches, he said he had had the most positive conversations with a wide spectrum of Afrikaner leaders in Bloemfontein.

The question dear to everyone was "what is going to happen to our children".

The referendum had shown there were voters who believed in power-sharing, but other views had to be respected.

"At the end of time, no one will be able to deny there were Afrikaners.

"But there are individual thinkers in the CP. We are thrashing out different points of view in depth." — Sapa.

MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent

ALARM at the failure of the National Peace Accord to end violence has prompted Codesa to intervene in trying to find ways to make the accord itself more effective.

Codesa's Working Group 1, given the task of generating conditions conducive to democracy, was briefed on the impact of the peace accord by one of the key figures in the peace secretariat, Mr John Hall.

Sources said Mr Hall acknowledged that the accord had failed to bring violence to an end, but was an inherently sound agreement.

Among problems the peace secretariat has encountered are an insufficiency of staff and finance.

The mounting death toll in violence, particularly in Reef

townships, is the source of deep concern among Codesa participants.

Working Group 1 is now to investigate ways to improve the situation.

A source said: "Codesa has taken this up as a very serious task. There is an understanding that violence is not abating and that it is necessary to think of ways of giving the accord more teeth.

"Clearly, the peace secretariat is happy that we are trying to help."

One of the issues that has caused concern is that the committees appointed in terms of the accord to monitor and investigate allegations against the security forces are chaired mostly by policemen.

Codesa sources said it was vital that structures set up in terms of the accord should have the confidence of the community.

One in 7 passed DET matric maths

FEWER than one in seven DET matric pupils who wrote mathematics last year had passed, said the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer. A total of 24 506 pupils wrote maths in the higher or lower grades, and 3 296 passed. Of the 16 259 matrics who wrote Physical Science 3 205 passed. — Sapa.

Forget peace if black people remain suspicious and angry, says Meiring

PROGRESS and peace could be forgotten if whites clung to their privileges and fears, and black people remained suspicious and angry, the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, said in parliament.

Closing the debate on the Provincial Budget yesterday, he said a winner-take-all type of democracy would not realise the beautiful dreams of South Africans.

"It will frustrate society immeasurably, polarise it and tear it apart irrevocably."

The new South African dispensation would have to be characterised by sound judgment,

based in the emotional maturity of people who really loved the country.

If the tricameral system was deemed to be expensive, the costs of nine or ten autonomous regional governments also had to be considered.

"All of us want to reform the status quo. Not one of us believes that the present constitutional dispensation passes the test of acceptability, affordability, fairness and effectiveness.

"But we will also have to indicate what we want to replace it with. Otherwise, we'll merely be chorus leaders in the chant for change."

(274) ARG 9/4/92
Change included an emotional price because a change in attitude among all citizens was an inescapable condition for the aspired society.

"If whites cling to their cherished privileges and freedoms in the future, we can forget about progress.

"If blacks sustain their ingrained suspicions and anger, we can forget about freedom."

Debate on the Provincial Budget had centred on the tremendous problems associated with devolved government, poverty and insufficient funding. — Sapa.

(274)

Situation 'potentially explosive'

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ARC 9/4/92

VOLATILE conditions in Cape townships had created a "potentially explosive situation", said Mr Jan van Eck (DP Claremont).

Speaking in the Provincial debate in parliament yesterday, he highlighted the "virtual collapse" of local government, traffic control and financial management.

"It should be clear that the picture at black local government level, and therefore in our townships, is indeed not a pretty one.

"If one adds to this the tensions and confusion created by dramatic political changes and the trauma and terror caused by the random and non-spontaneous violence sweeping through so many townships, it should be clear we are sitting on an extremely volatile and potentially explosive situation that needs to be handled with great care and sensitivity."

White local authorities planning to cut off services to people who had been boycotting payments "will have to bear this in mind," he said.

Policeman among 6 killed countrywide

JOHANNESBURG. — Six people, including a policeman, were killed and about 13 others were injured in overnight violence throughout the country, police said yesterday.

Alexandra township remained tense as an uneasy calm returned to the area north of here.

The troubled township has seen pitched battles in the past week between the police and residents over a hostel which is an Inkatha stronghold.

Two people were killed and one person was injured in Alexandra overnight, police said in their daily unrest report. One of those who died was stoned to death.

In another incident in the township, two people were arrested for throwing a petrol bomb at a police patrol.

In Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, two men were wounded when an unknown gunman opened fire from a taxi.

Police were maintaining a strong presence at the IFP-dominated Crossroads squatter settlement in Katlehong, where Friday night's attack took place.

At the Soweto violence flashpoint of Meadowlands, two people, including a



GRENADE VICTIM ... A policeman inspects the body of a man killed by a handgrenade in Soweto at the weekend.

Picture: AP

policeman, were killed in separate incidents.

In another incident, seven passengers were wounded when gunmen opened fire on a bus.

Also in Soweto, at Orlando West, a man was killed when a handgrenade was hurled at his house. — Sapa

● Township violence reached unprecedented levels during March, claiming 437 lives and leaving 898 people injured, according to a Human Rights Commission report.

Attacks on commuter trains claimed 74 deaths and 91 injuries in a record 58 attacks, the highest figures since the first outbreak of "train violence" in August 1990.

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Violent unrest killed 437 in March

TOWNSHIP violence reached unprecedented levels during March 1992, claiming 437 lives and leaving 898 people injured, says a Human Rights Commission report. *(Sapa) 7/14/92 (274)*

"This extreme level of violence was undoubtedly the result of forces working to destabilise the referendum and the peace process," the HRC charged in the report released yesterday.

Attacks on commuter trains claimed the highest casualties with 74 deaths and 91 injuries in a record 58 attacks, the highest figures since the first outbreak of "train violence" in August 1990.

"A feature of attacks in the Witwatersrand region has been the indiscriminate-killing and maiming of train commuters, aimed solely at terrorising and destabilising township residents," the HRC said.

Train attack trends showed a dramatic increase since the beginning of 1992, with, in January, 37 attacks claiming 30 lives with 98 injured; and in February, 35 attacks leaving 22 dead and 46 injured.

Eleven train attacks were recorded for 1990, claiming 59 lives and resulting in 227 injuries. In 1991, 23 train attacks claimed 38 lives and injured 206.

The HRC is now analysing the affiliations of victims and attackers in political violence, where possible. The following trend emerged, according to the commission: ANC supporters and township residents accounted for 76% of the dead and 75,4% of the injured; Inkatha supporters and hostel dwellers accounted for 24% of the dead and 24,6% of the injured. — Sapa.

Reef townships 'relatively calm' after weekend clashes

REEF townships were relatively calm yesterday following a weekend of violence which left at least 30 people dead and scores injured.

Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, remained tense, and according to police, several incidents of stone throwing were reported. Since the weekend, no unrest related deaths or injuries had occurred in the township.

On Sunday, two people were killed — one stoned to death near the Madala hostel and the other found with several bullet wounds. Police yesterday also arrested two men for throwing petrol bombs at police patrolling the township.

On Friday night, a group of "Xhosa-speaking men" carried out a midnight attack on the Crossroads squatter camp near Katlehong on the East Rand. A total of 21 people were killed and 16 were injured seriously.

Police liaison officer Capt Wikus Weber said Katlehong was calm after the weekend attack. In Meadowlands, Soweto, a policeman was killed on Saturday when unknown assailants opened fire on his house. No arrests have been made.

Three policemen were injured at Khaye-

STEPHANE BOTHMA

litsha, near Cape Town, yesterday, when gunmen fired shots at their patrol vehicle.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that in an effort to halt violence on trains, a company is to be formed to enlist more than 2 000 people to police the trains independently of the SAP.

The idea has been accepted in principle by the SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC), which gave its blessing to the steering committee last week. Final consultations with the ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha begin this week. The plan is also waiting for the go-ahead from Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed.

Informed sources who attended a meeting with the SARCC said at the weekend two companies would be formed and later amalgamated. "One wholly black-owned company will be formed with 10 000 shareholders who will pay R100 for each share. Another company will consist of security firms such as Chubb Security and Fidelity Guards. The two companies will then merge with the amalgamated company being 60% owned by the black shareholders."

**Ex-Black Cat
testifies** (27)

PRETORIA — The Goldstone Commission heard testimony from a youth of 18 yesterday on the activities of the Black Cats gang in Wesselton, Ermelo, last year.

The former gang member, referred to only as Mr A, said the Black Cats were responsible for the death of two people with ANC links. CT 8/4/92

He said he hadn't reported this as "police were working hand-in-hand with the gang".

Ministry joins fray over private armies

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Law and Order Ministry has joined the outcry over private armies following yesterday's arrest of an uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) member after the discovery of an arms cache in Guguletu.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze described the incident as "very disturbing" and said it was another illustration of the "undesirability" of private armies.

This comes within days of warnings by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee that the arrest of an MK member at the weekend, in connection with the killing of a Free State policeman, could have serious consequences for Codesa.

The issue has also been highlighted by the government's Codesa negotiators, who have clearly indicated that an interim constitution will not be possible while the private army issue remains unresolved.

However, the ANC says that it is

not the organisation's policy to attack policemen or violate the Pretoria Minute or D F Malan Accord.

Members who did so were not acting under orders and would be investigated, according to Mr Clavin Khan, the personal assistant to MK head Mr Joe Modise.

Captain Kotze said it was clear that members of private armies could not be controlled in the same way as those in the "constitutional security forces" and also became a "wildcat factor in the crime-violence equation".

"When you have a situation where people are running around shooting policemen and caches are uncovered in shanty towns... you wonder what connection there is with the present violence," he added.

He stressed that police were not accusing the ANC of deliberate involvement in the violence.

He added that the police would continue to enforce the law until agreement on the issue was reached at negotiations.

MK arms caches 'mapped'

274

CT 8/4/92

Staff Reporters

POLICE claimed yesterday that uMkhonto weSizwe members are being issued with maps showing where arms caches are buried in the Western Cape — for use if constitutional negotiations go wrong.

This was said when police announced that they had arrested a first-year UWC law student and uMkhonto weSizwe soldier in Guguletu at 4.50am yesterday for being in possession of weapons and explosive devices.

The ANC confirmed afterwards that MK member and first-year UWC law student Mr David Dlali, 32, had been arrested at his Guguletu home early yesterday for possessing unlicensed firearms.

An ANC spokesman said there was nothing to suggest that Mr Dlali had been engaged in activities contrary to the spirit of the D F Malan agreement between the ANC and the government, which recognised that ANC members would retain their arms until final agreement was reached.

Police spokesman Captain Attie Laubscher said police found an AK-47 rifle, two pistols, four handgrenades, two mini-limpet mines and various detonators and rounds of ammunition in the man's backyard home.

The officer in charge of the firearms recovery unit told a press conference that police believed the confiscated weapons made up only half of the cache buried at Strandfontein and that a second MK soldier had the other half.

Captain Laubscher asked that the officer's name not be used "as he is engaged in highly dangerous work".

The officer said: "Maps are made of each arms cache and taken out of the country for safe keeping. Indications are that the man was given a map so that he could collect the weapons and keep them with him in the event of the negotiations going wrong."

He believed the man was "one of two" sharing the arms cache, buried at Strandfontein, in 1987.

He added that he believed that there were still "many arms caches" buried in the Peninsula area.

Four die in political violence

274

PRETORIA. — Four people died in political violence during the past 24 hours, according to yesterday's police unrest report.

U 8/4/92
In the East Rand township of Katlehong, police found the body of a man with bullet wounds.

The bodies of two men, who had been shot with AK-47 rifles, were found in the townships of Daveyton and Soweto respectively.

In Natal, at Malagazi, north of Durban, a black man who fled from the scene of a murder being investigated by the police pointed a firearm at a policeman. The policeman fired a shot, wounding the man fatally. — Sapa



PRETORIA. — The offices of a Wesselton lawyer with ANC links were set alight on the instructions of a senior police officer, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry heard yesterday.

The commission heard how a Warrant Officer Van Zweel instructed members of the Black Cat gang in Wesselton, near Ermelo, to set the offices of lawyer Mr Stephen Ngwenya alight.

The incident happened after members of the gang were chased out of the township and sought refuge at the offices of United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) in 1990.

A former member of the gang — referred to only as Mr A — told

Law office (274) torched 'on cop's orders'

the commission that in 1990 WO Van Zweel gave them money for petrol and also offered them liquor and cigarettes.

Mr A told the commission three members of the gang volunteered to set the offices alight.

The commission also heard Black Cat members were trained by KwaZulu police in firearm handling.

The training was conducted by

an Inkatha member, Mandla Nduna, at Mkhuze in Natal, Mr A said.

CT 9/4/92

Asked why they were trained in firearm handling, Mr A said this was to enable the gang members to defend themselves when they returned to Wesselton.

Mr A denied newspaper reports that the gang was trained by Military Intelligence.

● Meanwhile the Goldstone Standing Commission on Public Violence and Intimidation will probe two East Rand massacres which have left at least 29 people dead and more than 30 injured since last Friday. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

ANC rejects arms caches allegation

CT4/4/92 (274)
Staff Reporter

A POLICE claim that uMkhonto' weSizwe members were being issued with maps so they could dig up arms caches if constitutional negotiations failed was part of a "campaign" to get the military wing disbanded, ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday.

She said it was "totally illogical" for police to make the claim when the negotiating process was firmly on track.

She acknowledged, however, that maps for arms caches did exist and had been drawn up before MK was unbanned.

SACC plea on township carnage

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

STAR 3/4/92

The South African Council of Churches is to ask the international community to pressure the Government into stopping the killings in townships and make such action a precondition to ending sanctions.

The decision, announced by SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane in Johannesburg yesterday, was adopted at a meeting of the SACC leadership on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Recently, the Government made the ending of violence — which it blamed on black politicians jockeying for power — one of its conditions for the establishment of an interim government.

Dr Chikane said the SACC was convinced the country's powerful security apparatus had the capacity to stop the ongoing violence.

The security forces, however, had failed to do so and were instead "perpetuating or permitting" violence.

He added it was unfair to expect black leaders to stop the ongoing violence as they had neither the armed ability nor intelligence service necessary to deal with the armed units which covertly sowed mayhem in the townships.

The church leaders believed the only way peace could be achieved was by putting the SAP, SADF, homeland armies, liberation armies and other armies into a unit force under joint com-

mand "in the spirit of movement to a new society.

"This is an essential element of the interim government arrangements," Dr Chikane said, adding that all relevant parties inside and outside Codesa would be contacted about the SACC decision.

Other decisions were that:

- Urgent meetings be sought with the Government and the National Peace Committee about the ongoing violence.
- The SACC host a summit on violence to which all black leaders would be invited.
- The Goldstone Commission of inquiry into political violence be urged to investigate the causes of violence in Meadowlands.

ANC to 'blame for violence'

THE African National Congress was a common denominator in the continuing township violence, Transvaal youth leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party Mr Themba Khoza said last night.

Speaking during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show, Khoza said it was not true that the IFP was responsible for the violence.

He told the show's host, Mr Tim Modise, that his organisation's had made attempts at restoring peace, but these had been deliberately ignored by the public

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Building the Nation

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TALKBACK

and the Press.

He rejected the findings of the International Commission of Jurists that the IFP was responsible for most of the violence.

Khoza said people chose to forget that it was the ANC which was a common denominator in all inci-

dents of township violence, having been linked to attacks against Azapo, PAC and the IFP members in the past.

On the dispute surrounding King Goodwill Zwelithini's participation at Codesa, Khoza insisted that the Zulu king had to be represented at the forum.

Theo of Meadowlands said IFP's insistence was an attempt to scuttle the negotiations.

Thabo of Soweto said the IFP was being naive in insisting that only the Zulus would be liberated by Codesa.

Forums for trouble spots

Sowetan
11/4/92

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Government would soon establish forums for consultation between police and various communities in troubled spots around the country, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Johan Scheepers said in Parliament yesterday.

Scheepers said the forums would be accessible to every member of the public.

"These forums will be implemented on a countrywide basis in those areas where such measures do not already exist," he said.

Scheepers said the forums would ideally be for the exchange of constructive comments.

Meetings, he said, would take place regularly. Discussions and suggestions would serve to facilitate better police/community relations.

Scheepers said: "This will give the police the opportunity to discuss crime statistics and problems which may arise in that particular community.

"It will create a further opportunity for the police to provide the community with information and hints relating to the prevention of crime," he said.

Scheepers added that it was essential that the community became involved in these forums.

COUNTLESS allegations have been made against ageing Natal Midlands African National Congress leader Harry Gwala to the effect that he rules his area like a despot, is actively pro-violence and is linked to attacks or counter-attacks against Inkatha leaders

Young "comrades" in strife-torn areas of Natal are said to love his hardline political philosophy and "we'll fight like hell" war talk. Like Winnie Mandela, Chris Hani and others, he articulates their anger, militancy and frustration with peace efforts. Yet his fierce and controversial leadership style is being seen more and more as a stumbling block to peace in the area and a headache for the ANC's national executive.

Rumours that hit-squad-type training camps are operating in Gwala's area are gaining momentum. Sources inside the ANC and human rights monitoring groups say they have heard countless allegations of this sort. And the evidence of increasingly professional hits against Inkatha back this up.

For all his 72 years, the elderly, learned leader undoubtedly wields a great deal of power in his region. Some respect and praise him, others blatantly despise him. They also fear him, refusing to go on record with their criticisms. Others say he wouldn't engage in such war talk with the flamboyant humour that he does if he had anything to hide.

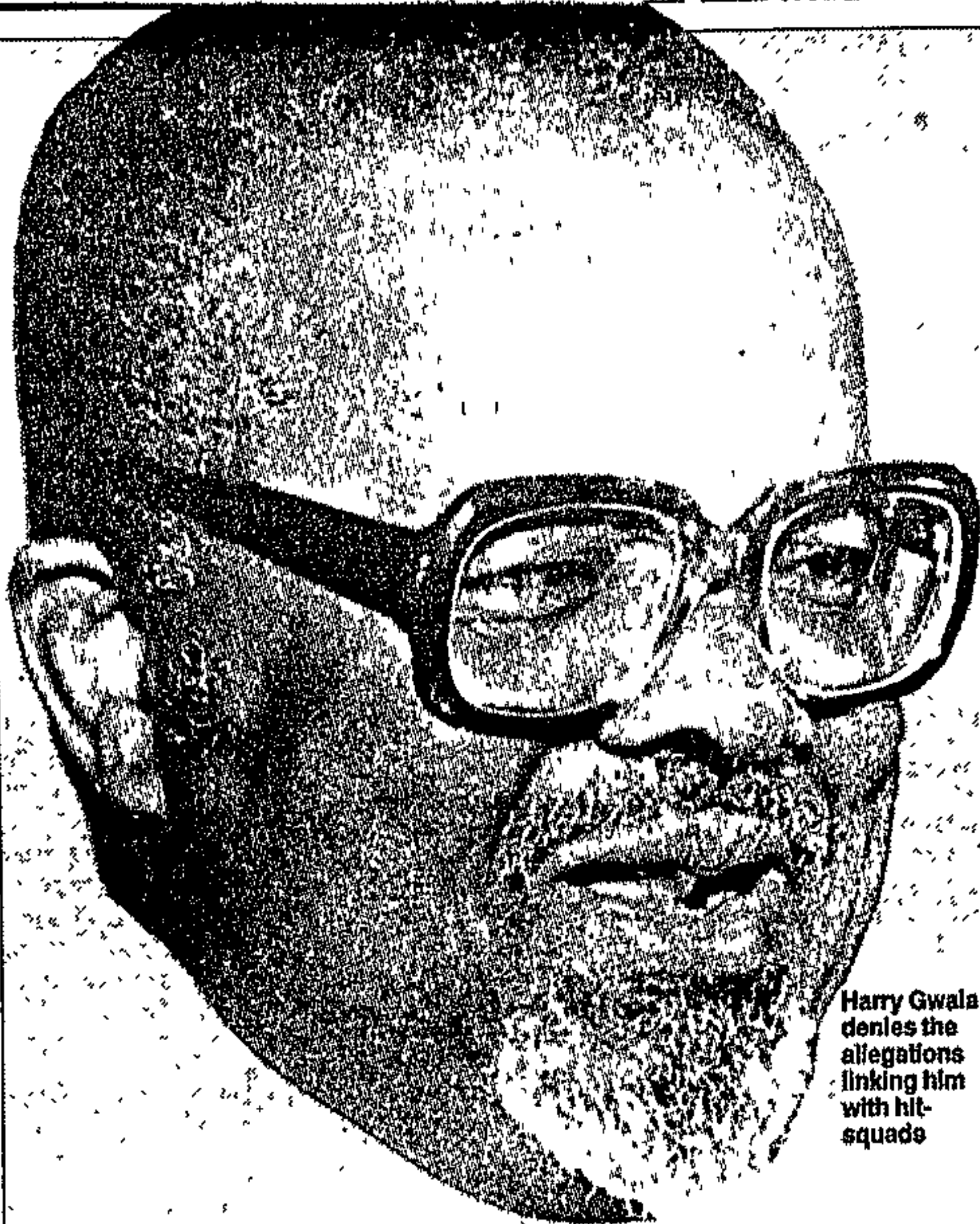
One ANC source describes him as bitter and angry and a stranger to "non-violence". "It's time the executive did something about his leadership," he says, before the ANC is torn apart by conflicting strategies of violence and non-violence.

One peace monitor says despite the fact that people are "crying out for peace" Gwala actively thwarts peace initiatives unless they emanate from his office. He has been known to use people like "political pawns" in the game of violence against Inkatha.

The peace monitor says he has information from impeccable sources that military training of youths took place last year at Kote Store, a refugee centre in Edendale township near Pietermaritzburg. The youths, he said, left the area equipped with weapons.

Sources in the Inkatha Institute claim to have information from sources inside Umkhonto weSizwe that military training by MK operatives, MK-led assassinations and gun-running are taking place. They admit, however, that they lack evidence.

According to the institute's Kim Hodgson, who heads the violence study unit, the ANC is mobilising "mass-combat" units under the guise of defence units.



Harry Gwala denies the allegations linking him with hit-squads

ANC warlord — or just war talk?

Some respect and praise him, others fear and despise him. But whether Harry Gwala is an ANC warlord or merely full of fighting talk, he is seen to be thwarting the peace initiative in Natal. By PHILIPPA GARSON

"We have information that MK people are training youth in Harry Gwala's area. They are being deployed from Dambuzza, near Edendale and Mphohoni to areas such as Bruntville."

Training, he says, is believed to take place in Richmond forest. Hodgson, who claims more

than 200 Inkatha leaders have been assassinated since 1985, has provided *The Weekly Mail* with an extensive list detailing assassinations, ambushes and attacks on Inkatha supporters. He admits however, that the institute lacks evidence, largely due to the "partiality" of violence moni-

tor groups on the side of the ANC, he says. Gwala, afflicted by a debilitating disease brought on by food poisoning during his nine-year stint on Robben Island, scoffs at the allegations linking him with hit-squads. He admits, however, that youths come to him daily asking for military training. "Who wouldn't," he asks. "I think it's a good thing. They must go for training." However he denies that anything of the sort has taken place in his area or under his leadership.

"I hate people who are saying these things. They are dishonest. They go about whispering. If there was such a thing they would come with concrete evidence," he says.

Gwala's charismatic deputy, Reggie Hadebe, described by many as even more militant than his superior, brazenly told *The Weekly Mail* he condoned the elimination of "warlords". Attacks on Inkatha leaders are the work of ordinary people on the ground acting in self-defence, he says. While he claims to know of no instances of MK operatives wiping out Inkatha "warlords", he would nevertheless "commend their initiative" if this was the case.

Hadebe likens the "warlords" to mass murderers. "They must be isolated. We would not discourage people from attacking them. They are legitimate targets. This is not just violence. It's a war against the people." The ANC he says, is not made up of saints, but human beings.

Hadebe claims there is not a single area where ANC members go out to attack people in Inkatha strongholds. He says there are many people on the ground, not necessarily professionally trained, who want the "warlords" dead. "We aren't saying we sanction this but we understand how these things happen and would not discourage people from eliminating these people."

"I'm a Christian person but I have got to the point where I can justify the killing of certain people."

Although he sits on the regional peace committee set up by the National Peace Accord, Hadebe describes the peace initiatives as "a sheer waste of time. It's clear why the NPA is not working. You are dealing here with people who are threatened by peace. Without violence Inkatha would not survive politically."

Meanwhile the attacks on both Inkatha and ANC leaders in Natal continue, particularly in the Midlands area, according to peace monitors.

Radleigh Keys, of Peace in Natal, says: "There is a definite change in the nature of warfare. In 1990/91 the type of war being waged involved lots of frontal attacks with people marching on an area. But through 1991 until now we've seen low intensity warfare where individuals are identified and assassinated."

The International Commission of Jurists visiting trouble spots earlier this year, concluded in a preliminary report that the ANC had stepped up attacks in the Natal region. The assassination of ANC-aligned Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo in February 1991 was seen as blatant proof of the presence of Inkatha hit-squads.

But when Inkatha leader in the Table Mountain area, Thomas Gcabashe, was assassinated in an almost identical manner (both were ambushed by gunmen in their driveways) on December 17 last year, explanations that ANC supporters or "the people" are acting in self-defence, begin to look a bit thin.

Hodgson says, although it's difficult to get conclusive evidence, there is increasing proof of the professional nature of certain attacks.

During the ambush on Midlands "warlord" Abdul Awetu in Imbali in February, where three children were killed when they were shot in the head, armour piercing bullets were used and a hand grenade was thrown under the car, says Hodgson.

He cites an attack on one Vilikazi, IFP chairman in kwaMashu, near Durban, in February this year as "launched by a well-trained team of men with military experience. The use by the attackers of fields of cover, code words... and the use of cross-fire and short bursts of fire at exits after grenade blasts, all indicate a high degree of training".

Hodgson says that in the six months from August 1991 until January 31 1992, at least 10 IFP office bearers have been murdered and a further 92 attempted assassinations have taken place.

'I call on people to defend themselves'

MANY people say you continue to adhere to outdated communist doctrines?

I wouldn't call them old-style. But as for the writings of Marx and Lenin I still adhere to their ideology.

You supported the coup against ex-Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev?

Gorbachev betrayed the working class and the socialist community. They (in eastern Europe) have had their problems. A number of mistakes were committed in the sense that some of the nationalities were not allowed to develop. The economies were strictly centralised, where each republic should have been given the initiative to be creative and not tied to a central administration.

You have been called a "warlord" in your capacity as African National Congress Midlands leader?

Where do I come in as a "warlord"? I have called on people to defend themselves and continue to defend themselves against Inkatha or hit-squads or anyone who attacked us for that matter... there is not a single instance where we have gone out to attack Inkatha. Yet I get called a "warlord" because I call on people to do the defending, to fight like hell, if you like...

(Being called) a warlord doesn't worry me. People can give me any name they like. Once you're a public figure you must expect mud to be flung at you. If I got hysterical I would go mad one day.

What will end the violence?

We may kill all the "warlords" but as long as apartheid is there violence will dog us. The Peace Accord and Codesa must be given a chance. We never thought it (the Congress for a Democratic

What are Harry Gwala's views on the National Peace Accord and how does he respond to allegations that he runs hit-squads? PHILIPPA GARSON

put these questions to him

South Africa) would deliver us into liberation. But it is one of the strands to bring about change in South Africa.

What is your response to allegations that you command hit-squads and have a militant group of bodyguards similar to Winnie Mandela's football club?

These allegations are just vague generalities. If there was such a thing there would be concrete cases... the allegations are made by dishonest people who live in the shadows and are meant to be divisive.

I wish I had them (a football club-type brigade). They would have finished all the "warlords" off.

It has been alleged that guns belonging to Umkhonto weSizwe are dispatched to war zones?

I wish (this happened) then we would have wiped out Inkatha. What I do know is that the guns people use are by and large home-made, though people do get their hands on illicit guns from far away places and inside the country. There is no question of MK supplying them. People have guns — MK or no MK.

Is this kind of talk (about wiping out "warlords") not flouting the National Peace Accord?

Did you hear them (Inkatha) at the rally in

Imbali (this week), saying all sorts of things about me? As long as they do that I'll say anything about them.

What is your opinion of the NPA?

These peace efforts have their place. They help to bring together those who are warring. But I can't say they are a solution to the problem. It's like singing hosannas. They don't necessarily take us to heaven.

It has been alleged that you, Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba represent an increasingly independent militant faction within the ANC.

This is said by people who don't understand the ANC. As with Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party we all pursue the same cause. I have said things that are being said by many other people in the ANC (including Nelson Mandela).

There have been many threats on your life? I don't mind that. Everyone dies one day. If I die in the course of my job in the struggle I'll feel proud.

How is your health, given the motor neuron disease you suffer from?

(According to the latest diagnosis) I have weakening of the spinal muscles due to food or lead poisoning (in prison) and (not motor neuron disease) they haven't found a treatment.

Are you bitter?

My disease is the accident of the struggle. It's something that could have been cured. This is what apartheid can do. But I'm still alive. There are many who are no longer alive or who have lost limbs.

OAU rapports Pretoria

2714
AR 29 30/14/92

DAR ES SALAAM. — The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will send a monitoring team to South Africa to assess the violence in the townships.

A communique issued at the end of a one-day summit meeting of the OAU ad hoc committee on southern Africa held in Arusha this week blamed the government for failing to stop the violence which it said had claimed at least 7 000 lives in the past two years.

The committee appealed to all parties in South Africa to take every possible step to end the carnage in the townships, mainly between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha.

The committee also called for active involvement of the international community by bringing the violence issue before the UN Security Council for a possible solution.

The OAU committee said the ongoing inter-party talks in South Africa were so far encouraging, and urged other interested parties, particularly the PAC which is boycotting the forum, to join the Codesa.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu were both at the Arusha meeting.

The committee also reviewed the drought conditions prevailing in southern Africa and appealed for international assistance.

● Transkei's military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa, has come out in support of international involvement to help stem the violence in South Africa.

The government could not be trusted to arbitrate in a conflict in which their own interests and those of the black majority clashed, he said. — Sapa-AFP-Ecna

Call for grassroots grasp of peace accord

STAR 30/4/92

Political Staff

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CAPE TOWN — Very few people understand the National Peace Accord or its operation, according to National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

More than seven months after being signed by major political parties and governments, the peace accord was still not available in an indigenous language, he said in a report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The accord was endorsed in Johannesburg on September 14 last year, after which the National Peace Secretariat was formed.

In a summary of the activities of the secretariat to date, Dr Gildenhuys said it was essential that the accord be made available in the most important indigenous languages.

"The first proofs of an abbreviated version of the National Peace Accord in indigenous languages have been completed and should be available shortly," he added.

Dr Gildenhuys said that not enough was being done to make known the content of the accord at all levels of society.

The most important task of the secretariat was to establish regional and local dispute resolution committees. The secretariat and committees had attempted though mediation and facilitation to resolve disputes that could or did give rise to political violence.

Regional dispute resolution committees had been established in 11 regions. Each committee comprised between 40 and 60 people from relevant political organisations, churches, unions, industrial and business organisations, local and tribal authorities, and from the police and defence forces.

It was essential that people at grassroots level should be aware of the peace committees, how they operated and how they could help to prevent violence.

"In certain regions it was difficult to reach consensus on which organisations were relevant and which not. Certain political groups went out of their way to try to include friendly organisations and exclude opposition organisations."

Dr Gildenhuys said the effectiveness of some committees was also hampered by constant political profiteering during debates and through differences of opinion as to who should serve

on the various committees "In some regions the various groups do not recognise the right of existence of other groups

Dr Gildenhuys said the progress of the Natal/KwaZulu regional committee was hampered by just this kind of political in-fighting.

But, he said, the mere fact that people from opposing political camps talked to each other at least had the effect of reducing violence to some extent.

One of the tasks the secretariat had set itself was facilitation and mediation training for peacemakers. The training would let peacemakers replace, through peaceful negotiation, a political culture of animosity and intolerance with joint problem-solving and development.

Every effort would be made to establish the necessary secretarial services and infrastructure for regional dispute committees, Dr Gildenhuys said.

In the period under review, the National Peace Secretariat held 58 formal meetings, focusing on the establishment of regional and local committees and the promotion of their activities, the planning of strategies, training programmes, publicity, the identification of interest groups and the general promotion of peace.

SA problem violence Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa was violence, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at an OAU committee meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

In a speech released here Mr Mandela said the situation in South Africa compared with that

of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling — the death and destruction, the refugees, homelessness and scale of the terror,

could be happening halfway across the world, not just a few kilometres away, across the great chasm that separates black and white in South Africa," Mr Mandela said.

He asked the OAU for an international force to end "white-inspired" township carnage. — Sapa

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TV TODAY

- TV
- 05.55: Morning Mess
 - 06.00: GMSA
 - 09.00: CTV
 - 11.30: Santa Barbara
 - 12.00: Larry King
 - 13.00: Headline News
 - 13.30: Business Day
 - 14.00: Young Artist
 - 14.30: Teleschool
 - 15.00: File under "F"
 - 15.30: My Pet Monst
 - 16.00: Bible Story
 - 16.05: Zorro
 - 16.30: Zapmag
 - 17.00: Santa Barbara
 - 17.30: Die Rustelose in English.
 - 17.57: Compass
 - 18.00: 6 on 1
 - 18.30: The Van Dyke
 - 19.00: Business Repo
 - 19.05: Reap the Whir
 - 20.00: Nuus
 - 20.30: Agenda
 - 21.00: St Eligius. Sim
 - 22.00: Nuus
 - 22.05: Arts on One
 - 23.00: Die Maestro
 - 00.35: Dossier
 - 01.05: Gedagte van c

Pik in line for top Nat job

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha last night emerged as the front-runner to take over the key post of leader of the National Party in the Transvaal.

In a surprise development, Mr Botha is believed to have signalled his willingness and now seems likely to succeed outgoing provincial leader Mr Barend du Plessis

However, it is also understood that Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer may throw his hat in the ring — a development that could see Mr Botha dropping out the race.

At time of going to press, a spokesman for Mr Botha could not confirm that he had made himself available.

But it is known that a number of senior Nationalists visited Mr Botha in his office yesterday urging him to take up the challenge

'Old Pik' feels the years now

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday he felt "rather old" since he heard this week that he will become the longest-serving foreign minister in the West when his German counterpart, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, quits in May.

Mr Genscher has held his post for 18 years while Mr Botha recently celebrated 15 years on the job.

Mr Botha said: "I have only pleasant memories of him. But I feel rather old

although I started young and there are a number of foreign ministers older in years than me.

"Mr Genscher made a major contribution to Germany during the period after the Second World War in expanding and constructing the new German foreign relations policy.

"He also worked extremely hard in his country's relations with Central Europe". — Sapa

It was reliably understood last night that the caretaker leader in the Transvaal, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and another serious contender, Correctional Services Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, had indicated that they were no longer in contention.

● Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk is expected to announce a successor to Mr Du Plessis as finance minister today.

Mr De Klerk's decision is expected after today's cabinet meeting, but government sources have indicated that if the Presi-

dent has not reached a decision he may leave the portfolio in the hands of acting minister Dr Dawie de Villiers for some while.

Dr De Villiers, the Minister of Public Enterprises, has been tipped and stands a good chance of winning if Mr De Klerk opts for a purely political choice.

However, there has been growing consensus that the best available man for the post from within the cabinet is Mr Derek Keys, the Minister of Trade and Industry and Economic Co-ordination.

SABC workers on strike

CT 29/4/92 Staff Reporter
MORE than 20 SABC workers based at the Sea Point offices decided yesterday to go on strike

The employees, all members of the Media Workers Association of SA, took the decision as part of a national ballot which followed the collapse of pay talks.

Since the deadline for the ballot was 7pm yesterday the full results would only be made public today

The SABC has offered a 7% increase plus a 4% merit component but this was rejected by the union which went on a one-day wildcat strike on March 17 this year.

Distress at Koos ousting

CT 29/4/92 Political Staff
EXPELLED Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe faced his Overvaal constituency council last night amid signs that grassroots party supporters were distressed at the manner of his dismissal.

A CP source in Mr Van der Merwe's constituency said last night: "I don't think anybody is happy about how it happened".

Mr Van der Merwe's expulsion was announced while he was flying from Cape Town to Johannesburg yesterday and he first heard the news when confronted by newsmen at Jan Smuts Airport

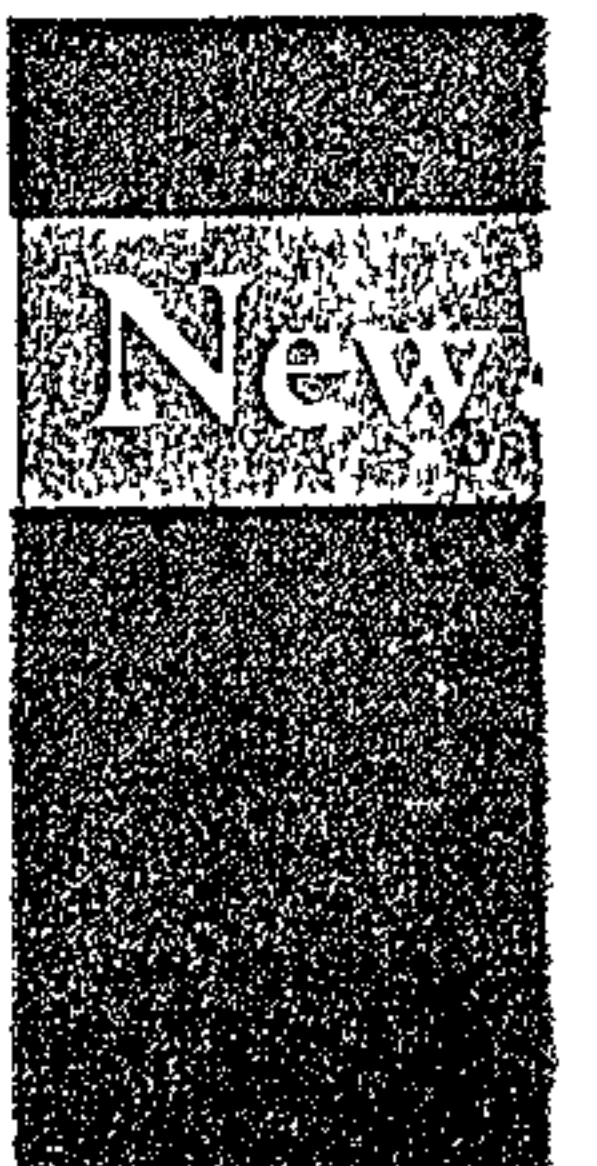
"If they are going to throw somebody out of the party at least they could talk to him about it," said the constituency source.

- 11.00: Kideo
- 12.00: Young Artist
- 12.30: Images of Pro
- 13.00: Ngomqibelo/
- 14.00: 526
- 14.30: The Learning (
- 15.00: Biology and S
- 15.30: Concepts in S
- 15.45: Teacher Traini
- 16.00: Quick Draw Mc English.
- 16.30: Popeye
- 16.40: Days of our Li
- 17.30: The Bold and
- 17.57: Devotion
- 18.00: Spectacular W

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Mandela clarifies anti-FW charge

ANC president Nelson Mandela has amplified a statement he made in an interview with the Sunday Star about President FW de Klerk and violence.

In the interview he said there were "certain facts which suggest that the Government is involved, De Klerk himself".

In a statement released yesterday, Mr Mandela said he did not intend to suggest that Mr de Klerk was directly involved in the violence against black people.

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"The ANC considers that President de Klerk has a responsibility for the violence, through both commission and omission.

"Firstly, President de Klerk, aware that spears, knobkerries etc are weapons of death, issued a proclamation making it legal for Zulu-speaking people only to carry such dangerous weapons. Despite repeated discussions with him on the question, adequate measures to control the public carrying of weap-

ons have not been instituted.

"Secondly, last May discussions were held with President de Klerk on the question of hostels, and agreement was reached to phase them out and make provision for both family and single-person accommodation. It was further agreed that, in the interim, the hostels be surrounded with barbed wire. There has been no action on either measure.

"Thirdly, in a number of areas adjacent to hos-

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tels, residents have been forced out of their homes, leaving their possessions behind. Their homes have then been occupied by those responsible for the violence that forced them to flee. People have identified their homes, their possessions and the illegal occupants, but the authorities have failed to take any action."

●The quotation in question is contained in a verbatim transcript of an interview with Mr Mandela by Jon Quelane.

ANNC lawyers

on police board

Sowetan 28/4/92

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Political Correspondent

THREE prominent human rights lawyers, some closely associated with the ANC and its various affiliates, have been appointed to a police board set up under the National Peace Accord last year.

The three are top ANC lawyer Mr Mathews Phosa, the movement's negotiator Mr Plus Langa and anti-apartheid activist Mr Nicholas "Pink" Haysom.

Phosa is a member of the ANC's legal team and has been involved in talks between the Government and the ANC on the implications of the termination of the armed struggle.

They have been appointed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hermus Kriel to the board along with several members of Parliament, academics and other legal personalities.

The Minister of Law and Order announced the members of the board yesterday. The board's task, as defined by the National Peace Accord, is to review the training and working of the police in a bid to bring communities and police closer together.

The board will also make recommendations to the Minister of Law and Order on policies relating to the

training and efficient functioning of the police.

In terms of the National Peace Accord, the board will research and consider representations from the public on these issues.

The board's recommendations will be made public if this will help reconcile the interests of the community with those of the police.

Senior police staff appointed to the board include lieutenant-generals HPM de Villiers, AB Conradie (Chief of the CID), Basie Smit, Louwylle Malan and J Swart.

The names of the rest of the board members are former Attorney General of the Transvaal Mr Don Brunelle (chairman), Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Gastrow; sociologist Dr Clifford Shearn, Miss Janne Ranch of the University of the Witwatersrand psychology department, Stellenbosch University sociologist Ms Erena van der Spuy; Professor Thomas Coetzee of the Potchefstroom University; and Johannesburg attorney Mr Izak Steyn.

Members of the homelands police appointed to the board are brigadiers KS Zwane (KantNeyane) MI Thubane (KwaNdebele) MA Malete (Lebowa), Colonels MH Kobela (QwaQwa) and PM Mathe (Gazankulu) and Lieutenant-Colonel DJ Muller (KwaZulu)



NICHOLAS HAYSOM

An early warning system may stop, or at least reduce bloodshed, argues Peter Wellman

Needed: 'Good men and true'

If nuclear powers need early warning systems, so does the National Peace Accord.

The damage done by South Africa's endemic violence is not as dramatic as that of a warhead, but it is nonetheless tearing the country apart, and it simply cannot be true that all we can do is talk peace and remove the bodies.

Several local dispute resolution committees (LDRCs) have been set up under the Peace Accord. Some peace efforts are working well, as in Kagiso, near Germiston. It works there because there are enough people on an interim LDRC with the will to make it work: a proper LDRC will be established there next month.

But LDRCs usually come only after the bloodshed, as in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

And they don't always work well. This is not to say the LDRCs are failures in themselves, because they usually inherit a climate of violence, and that's a tough way to start.

Alexandra is an example of how an early warning system (EWS) might have prevented more than a year of strife, because of the

long build-up before the first big clash, in March last year.

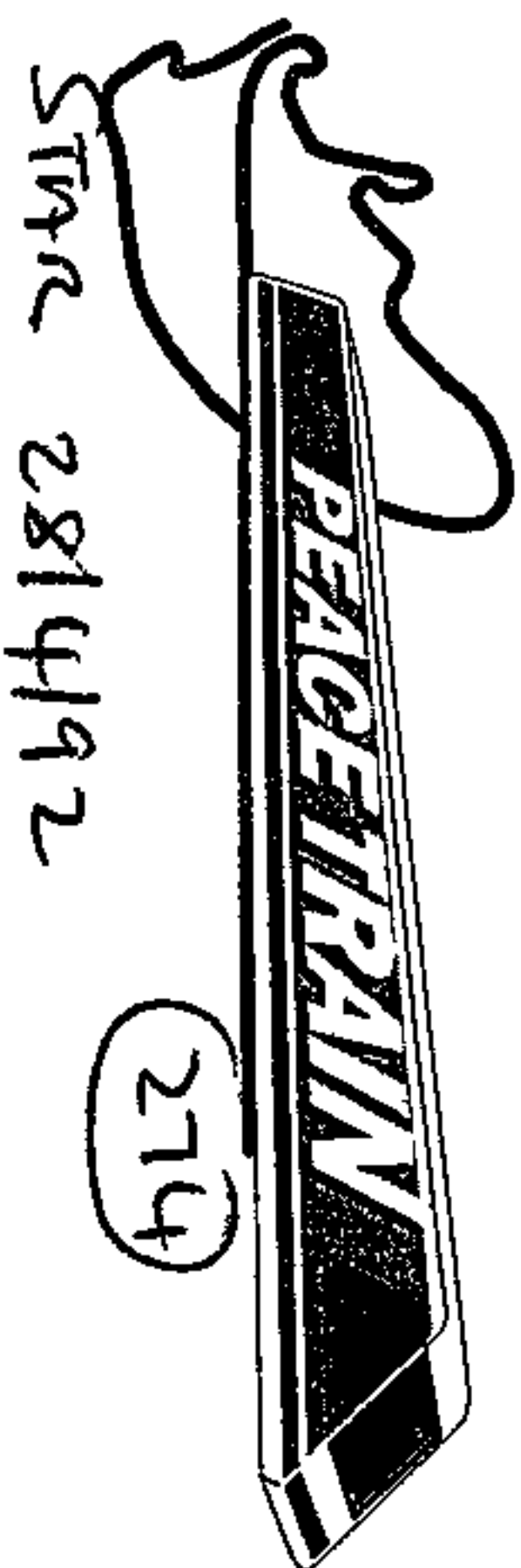
First, there was an influx of new people into the area, which had a proud history of peace between hostel dwellers and township residents.

Some moved into Madala hostel, others into shacks. Depending on who you talk to, the newcomers were either Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, or ANC, or both.

The blood-letting began at the hostel on March 8 last year, with 2 840 people in it. A few days later only about 500 remained: they were all Zulus, according to hostel records, although getting accurate data was difficult in those days of blood and disaster.

The Star has established that an illegal influx into the hostel followed the outbreak of violence — hundreds of young men from Natal with no English to speak of, few skills, less money, and no bed permits.

And, as Alex residents fled homes near the hostel, they were taken over by Inkatha supporters. Inkatha official Peterson Phoswa suggests quaintly that, since homes of some long-time Zulu res-



idents of Alex were also taken when they fled, what happened was "a swap".

It is quite true that some in the hostel today are Zulus, residents who fled to the hostel for protection after March 8, and who were not necessarily Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters. And that they are afraid of both armed men in the hostel, and armed residents outside it.

It is also true that today residents attack hostel dwellers: the most recent violence was sparked by the ambush of an IFP funeral procession.

But it is equally true that the hostel, a high-rise squatter camp feared by township dwellers, is as well defended, and as dirty, as a medieval fortress. And it is IFP all the way Mr Phoswa says

everyone there is a member.

This is disputed by the IFP's Bruce Anderson, who modestly claimed "only 80 percent support", and that the hostel dwellers' committee was "non-aligned".

Whatever, the hostel and the residents of Alex are at war. It never used to be that way, but then Alex will never be the same again, either.

When I drove up the hill on Roosevelt Road towards the hostel the other day an agitated resident shouted: "You can't go up there, those guys will blow you away!" Nothing happened ... but no one else was using that stretch of Roosevelt Road

A source in the Alex peace structures says all sides felt an EWS was implied in the LDRC being established there, simply

because the committee was achieved in such a tense situation. That is no doubt true, but relying on the honour of all LDRC members, in all areas, is not enough when there is proof galore of pre-planned violence all over the place.

There are simply not enough "good men and true" to go around. Neither is there enough commitment to peace from all sides. Ask any one side about this, and they blame the others.

That is why an EWS is needed, as part of Peace Accord structures. It would have to be a three-way thing, made up of the ANC, the IFP, and the security forces.

Few rules would be necessary, but they would have to be binding. **RULE ONE:** All sides must report a tension build-up to the other two, on a 24-hour hot line basis.

RULE TWO: A small LDRC sub-committee must be convened immediately, and the report must be investigated.

RULE THREE: The sub-committee, representing all sides, must go together to the trouble spot, and must be seen to tackling

the threatening situation with equal commitment.

RULE FOUR: The LDRC must issue a statement to the media on how the situation was resolved

RULE FIVE: If there is violence, and any one side clearly knew about it in advance but did nothing, the National Peace Committee must issue a statement of condemnation

It seems to me this is simple and workable. It is also a great

pitly that it should be necessary, but I believe it is.

Finally, and without this the whole EWS falls down, where leaders preach war they must be prosecuted promptly.

There are enough tough laws against inflammatory speeches to constitute a real deterrent to the lunatics who actually want to see people killed.

● If press reports are correct, and prominent western Transvaal ANC member George Mathusa actually said that Bophuthatswana could be made ungovernable through necklace killings and bombs, he should be in the dock right now, as this article is being read. □

Natal, TVL ²⁷⁶ violence probe

PREPARATORY inquiries to determine the terms of reference for Committees of Inquiry into recent violence in Alexandra, the Vaal Triangle, Umlazi and Empangeni, will be held in the following weeks.

This was announced in a statement on Saturday by the chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, Mr Justice RJ Goldstone. *Sowetan 27/4/92*

The inquiries for Alexandra would be held on May 4 at the commission's offices in Pretoria and those for the Vaal Triangle on May 5 at the same venue.

Other venues will be announced later.

Any interested parties may make written submissions to the Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag X 858, Pretoria, 0001. -Sapa.

By ZB MOLEFE

SOUTHERN Africa's Methodist bishop, Stanley Mogoba, was full of hope when he described Wednesday's emergency summit on violence attended by black SA's religious and political leaders.

Said Bishop Mogoba: "Today I was given an idea of what a future parliament in SA will be like."

It was an observation from the heart. Nelson Mandela, Clarence Makwetu, Bennie Alexander, Pandelani Nefolohodwe, Musa Myeni, Khoza Mgojo, Sam Buti, Bantu Holomisa . . . all were there.

The ANC, PAC and the IFP had locked themselves into a conference room in a Johannesburg hotel.

Leaders from the church, labour, black business and homeland parties worked hard to seek a way of ending the political violence wracking SA.

Of course the government and security forces were not invited to the summit. SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, the moving spirit behind the summit, later told journalists that this exclusion was not to mean that the pair were by implication responsible for the violence.

But, pointed out Chikane, the summit had

Black SA: The day the healing began

CP/rev 26/4/92

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SHARING THE BLAME . . . At the summit on violence were SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane (left), Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SACC president Dr Mgojo Khoza.

■ Pic: SIPHERI MHLAMBI

wanted to involve only blacks initially "because we wanted to bring to this particular meeting those who belonged to those communities affected by the violence."

The thorny question of why there were no women at the summit — "an issue that is causing us a fair deal of pain" — was raised. But, said Chikane, the organisers felt they could not prescribe delegation

composition to the attending organisations.

Questioned on why whites were not invited to the summit, Chikane told journalists that the violence affected everybody and that similar events would be held to include white representative bodies.

He added, however, that some whites had attended as part of the delegations.

Chikane told the media that the summit "is one part of an initiative among many".

In his opening statement, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu explained why the summit was organised.

"We wanted to know why blacks kill blacks. What has happened to the humanity of our people?" he said. Tutu made it clear that

the summit, which was closed to the media, had not been a slap-dash, happy-go-lucky affair: "We were frank. We are not trying to paper over things."

The 1984 Nobel Peace Prize laureate said: "I made a presentation (at the summit) and what I said was that political leaders should put a moratorium on violence. Our feeling is that political

leaders, in a way, are also a contributing factor. But we are not involved in a finger-pointing exercise."

Archbishop Tutu was obviously distressed, his word of conciliation a far cry from the fiery activist at the forefront of black resistance in the 80s. A BBC journalist tried hard to pin him to specifics, particularly after Archbishop Tutu said there had been "areas of

disagreement" among the delegates. Could the Archbishop spell them out?

He responded: "We (the church) assume the best about people. You assume that everyone is saint until the contrary is proven. There were quite some issues which cropped up."

Some delegates had expressed a feeling that the violence in black SA was reason enough to suspend negotiations with the nationalist government.

Others expressed discontent at an international monitoring group stepping in to sort out our troubles.

Ultimately, the delegates agreed to accept shared responsibility for the violence and undertook to organise joint political peace rallies, according to a two-page three-point statement.

Did this mean that say Mandela and Buthelezi will share platforms to preach a new-found peace message?

Bishop Mogoba responded: "We realised the urgency of this matter. We want to get our political leaders to certain places. We have urged our leaders to be seen together at joint (peace) rallies. It was our unanimous view that this should happen."

The ANC's Jacob Zuma, asked to sum up his feelings afterwards, simply said: "Tonight I'm going to sleep a hopeful person."

Raymond Parsons warns that endemic violence can lead us all to poverty and despair

In search of a win-win solution

STAR 27/4/92

2714

MANY of us appear to have accepted that the developments of the past couple of years in South Africa, including the high level of violence in certain parts of the country, are all a part of the process of discovering a "new South Africa."

It has an understandably visionary ring about it — and is indeed a worthy focus of our efforts.

But I would like to suggest that over the past two years or so we have also been discovering the real South Africa. The "new South Africa" is still to be negotiated once we have truly grasped the realities of this country.

The current prevalence of political violence has already caused untold hardship, disruption and loss of life and property. It jeopardises the process of peaceful political transformation and threatens to leave a legacy of insurmountable division and deep bitterness.

It poses a threat to the economy. To give a perspective to the problem of violence and its potential for destruction, it should be

noted that while 60 people were killed in the notorious Sharpeville massacre in 1960, several thousands have been killed in political violence over the past two years.

The endemic violence, from whatever quarter it comes, is undermining confidence in the prospects for peaceful change. It can eventually lead us all on a downward path to poverty and despair, unless reversed soon.

Continued violence is destroying productivity, discouraging investment by both small and large business, and causing despair among all population groups.

Business is being forced to relocate or close. And it does not stop there — the trauma of violence is also brought into the workplace.

What South Africa must guard against is replacing external sanctions with an internal sanction — violence. This would equally place a ceiling on our economic performance in the years ahead.

Poverty and unemployment must be seen as one of the main contributory factors — among several others — to the repeated

cycles of violence.

If we look back over the past 40 years we see a close correlation between economic conditions and political unrest. Violence is also bound up with the rapid process of urbanisation experienced in recent years. Hence the Peace Accord has included the vital question of socio-economic development in its objectives.

Apart from its other merits, the emphasis on socio-economic development also gives local communities affected by violence something constructive to focus their minds and energies on as an alternative.

And what about the overall economic environment needed to achieve peace and prosperity? What do the IMF and other world bodies' experts in economic development tell us?

It is a converging economic message. If economic growth in South Africa were to be raised to 3.5 percent a year — or to the minimum rate required to reduce the level of unemployment given the rapid prospective growth of

the labour force — investment must substantially increase.

There is no other way to soak up unemployment and raise standards of living. And it will not be possible to achieve much higher growth rates without significant foreign investment.

Without an inflow of long-term capital the ceiling on South Africa's economic growth rate on the most favourable assumptions is likely to be about 2 percent — far too low to meet the needs of our total population.

To achieve the levels of domestic and overseas investment that South Africa requires for economic growth needs business confidence. Unless there is a congenial and stable environment for foreign investors they will simply not commit themselves on a large scale to this country.

And by a "congenial" environment for investors in South Africa we are talking about:

- Political and social stability.
- A return on capital invested.
- A commitment to the basics of a market economy.

Let us be united against violence. Let us be united against the National Peace Accord as soon as possible.

Let us understand clearly why violence won't destroy us — only the failure to unite against it can do that.

● This is a shortened version of an address by Raymond Parsons on "The Peace Accord and Economic Development" at a recent Nato conference. Mr. Parsons is director-general of the South African Chamber of Business.

Let businessmen be united with other community leaders for peace. Let us urge the major political leaders to renew their commitment to the provisions and implementation of the National Peace Accord as soon as possible.

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This means we must reconcile what is needed to redress past inequalities with the reality of ensuring sustained economic growth.

Most businessmen, and this is certainly the Sacob view, accept that the removal of historical imbalances should be an explicit goal within the context of sound growth.

We want a win-win solution. So what I am saying is that, if we want economic growth and development in South Africa, we will have to win the confidence of the international business community. This is the global reality.

There is enormous goodwill internationally for South Africa, but there will be no blank cheques or miracles for us in a highly competitive world. Investor-friendly policies must be the order of the day. We must act on the premise that we need the world more than the world needs us.

This brings me back to the wider implications of the National Peace Accord. We must give the peace accord — fragile and imperfect though it may be — every

support at national and local levels.

In all its ramifications — both short term and beyond — it stands between us and complete anarchy and despair. When we survive the seemingly intractable nature of violence in South Africa we must remember, as students of history, that others have also faced their moment of despair.

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Violence: 'Is FW really trying?'

Staff Reporter

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ET 21/4/92

A HUMAN Rights Commission report has questioned President F W de Klerk's commitment to end violence in South Africa — and blamed Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his party for the escalation of violence.

The commission said in the

run-up to the referendum "the average daily death toll climbed from the February figure of 8,1 to over 16 in the middle of March".

The report attributed 90,5% of the deaths and 80,3% of the injured to attacks by Inkatha supporters and hostel dwellers, while 9,5% of the deaths and 19,7% of the injuries were attrib-

uted to ANC supporters and township residents

Meanwhile Amnesty International, in a report to the United Nations, said it had received numerous reports of security-force human-rights abuses which had not resulted in the suspension or prosecution of implicated members.

Now NPA will have to prove its worth

Express
By MONWABISI (274)
NOMADLO
26/4/92

THE National Peace Accord (NPA) came under the spotlight when church and black political leaders called an urgent summit this week to discuss the continuing carnage in the country.

The meeting, attended by most black signatories of the peace accord signed less than a year ago at a Johannesburg hotel, gave the implication that the NPA had not achieved its short-term objective, that is, ending the violence.

However, the co-ordinator of the "Emergency Summit on Violence" Rev Frank Chikane was careful to point out that the summit — the initiative of the SACC — was not called because the NPA had failed to end the violence.

"It should rather be seen as another initiative among many to address the violence," he said.

Nevertheless, the irony is that all participants in the summit were also signatories of the accord and that calls the effectiveness of the accord into question — in the short-term.

For the long-term, the structures of the accord were still being set up nationally, Chikane said, and further justified the summit as a matter of urgency to address the violence claiming the lives of people daily.

Held at a Braamfontein hotel, the summit was attended by major black organisations including the ANC, IFP, PAC, Azapo and the SACP.

■ See page 14

ET 28/4/92 (219)
Inquiries into violence planned

JOHANNESBURG — Inquiries to determine the terms of reference for committees of inquiry into recent violence in Alexandra, the Vaal Triangle, Umlazi and Empangeni will be held in the following weeks, it was announced here at the weekend. — Sapa

Preaching peace and pitching for votes

Leaders of the three major political organisations went to Moria last weekend to call for peace — but the huge voting bloc the Zionist Christian Church represents must have been at the back of their minds.

By **PAUL STOBER**

Photographs By **GUY ADAMS**

MORIA was the venue of a passionate play for the sympathy of the Zionist Christian Church by the leaders of South Africa's three most important political parties, but no clear winner emerged

A glimpse into the future was revealed at the Holy City when President FW de Klerk, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi tried to win over members of the ZCC in much the same way they will try to win the support of other sectors in the looming election for a constituent assembly *W/Mand 24/4-29/4/92*

The ZCC is the largest independent African church in southern Africa and with an estimated five million members can be an important support base for any political party.

The voting power of the vast, brightly uniformed crowds at Moria, where a million or more Zionists gather every Easter, and the consequent political influence of the officially apolitical church, was obvious to the politicians last week

The leader of the church, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, had invited the three leaders to the service to speak out against violence. "Your presence at our service will show South Africa that you strive to see the end of politically motivated violence," said the invitation.

Although there was some hesitation, it was never likely the political leaders would refuse the invitation. Lekganyane's followers speak of him with awe and will clearly follow his lead in their political behaviour

Despite the blazing sun and the choking red dust which billowed with every movement, the churchgoers waited patiently in their ranks, many without food or water, from the early morning to the end of the service late in the afternoon, to hear Lekganyane speak. The marshals guarding the boundaries of the stage had no problems controlling the crowds and were obviously proud of their members' behaviour. "Our people are disciplined," said one, referring to the quick obedience with which members responded to their instructions.

This very obedience set the event apart from the kind of political rallies to which the gathering was



Expressing their faith ... Zionists kneel in the dust of Moria City

being likened.

While the presence of the party leaders made the service a highly politicised event, the affiliations of the crowd remained hidden. None of the people *The Weekly Mail* spoke to admitted to being a member of any political party.

While the ZCC recognises the right of its members to engage in political activity, according to a representative of the South African Communications Services — the government information department brought in to handle the media — the church had requested that reporters not speak to members of the congregation.

Marshals who saw members of the church speaking to the press would politely interrupt the conversation and ask the congregant to refer the reporter to the church's own information department.

A common sentiment among those who were prepared to comment on the presence of the political figures was, "these leaders should bring us peace".

Referring to Buthelezi, Tebea Moekeletsi of

Hammanskraal said: "The ZCC is a peaceful nation like brothers and sisters and my advice is that he should take the example of this peaceful nation. I am not ANC or IFP, so why should I be made to suffer?"

Using the welcome the crowds gave the leaders as they arrived as a barometer, Mandela received the most recognition, followed by De Klerk and then Buthelezi (see article alongside).

Seemingly forgetting the harsh words they had exchanged earlier in the week, Mandela and Buthelezi put aside their differences about the Zulu king and embraced each other in front of the cheering crowd.

None of the leaders made overt attempts to sell their parties or their policies, but all appealed to the religious affiliation of the crowd for support.

Mandela drew strongly on the history and symbols of the church, referring to "common objectives" and an overlap in membership with the ANC.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and the ANC's northern Transvaal regional chairman

Ngoako Ramatloholodi were introduced as members of the Zionist church.

Buthelezi and De Klerk addressed their speeches to their "Christian brothers" and "fellow Christians" and ascribed the violence in South Africa to forces of evil and darkness. "It is as though Satan himself is standing next to those pulling the triggers of AK47s," said Buthelezi.

Describing Zionists as hardworking and disciplined, De Klerk said: "There are no policemen here because the people have love in their hearts."

But the crowd's enthusiasm for political pandering paled in comparison to the adulation given to Lekganyane, who spoke immediately after the political leaders

He explained his invitation to the leaders to address the service as an attempt by the church to help stem the violence.

"We pray that when you address your supporters God may penetrate their hearts so that they show respect and discipline, which is one of the ways to end the carnage," he said.



The peace preachers ... Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela

Nelson leaves the others in the dust

By RAY NXUMALO

(274)

W/Mant 24/4-29/4/92

MORIA CITY resembled a beehive last week. This mountainous valley was humming and buzzing as millions of staunch ZCC worshippers gathered to listen to the "big three" — President FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi — preach peace.

It would seem most of the worshippers were expecting the leaders to come by road: the media entourage aroused the kind of energetic cheering usually reserved for heroes as the convoy rolled along the dusty road to the panoramic podium.

Further away from the podium, waves of male worshippers in khaki suits were attempting to out-jump each other while singing rousing spiritual songs. They would sway in their own unique rhythm and suddenly leap into the air. And with each jump clouds of dust billowed into the air.

Of note was the sectarianism of the event: men and women had to stay on either side of an imaginary border. Women were also required to cover their heads at all times. The worst taboo is for women to wear sleeveless dresses or pants.

The arrival of Buthelezi drew few cheers from the superficially non-partisan gathering. Twelve minutes later, the cheering was distinctly louder — Mandela had arrived. He smilingly hugged the dignitaries, the cheering getting louder as he and Buthelezi embraced.

Buthelezi retired to his chair as Mandela continued to wave to the crowd. The cheering

became deafening. Suddenly, Buthelezi must have realised the opportunity he was missing. He leapt up, almost knocking Mandela out of the way, to salute the crowd. He was a fraction too late, the crowd had quickly subsided.

De Klerk's arrival was signalled by the largest cloud of dust of the day, stirred up by his monstrous military helicopter. But then Lebowa is a dusty place. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and the state president's wife completed his entourage.

Members of the ZCC are known for their generosity with applause; few can forget the warm applause that interrupted former state president PW Botha in mid-sentence when he addressed the same gathering in 1985. De Klerk was also treated to some of this courtesy, but not very much more than that accorded to Buthelezi.

Major Othaniel Mazibuko, a township policeman in his daily life, excelled in his dual role as master of ceremonies and interpreter. He introduced the guests, among whom were Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike, Gazankulu's Professor Hudson Ntswanisi and kwaNdebele's Prince James Mahlangu.

But the day was not theirs: the show belonged to the "big three".

Buthelezi was the first to address the gathering. A Norwegian journalist remarked that "it will be a first if he makes his speech in the allotted 20 minutes". True to form, he exceeded the time limit, but only by three minutes.

Mandela's speech was cleverly sprinkled with the ZCC's axiomatic salutation "Khotso", which means "peace unto you". And this drew loud applause.

Through all this, De Klerk's increasing agitation suggested a strong craving for a cigarette.

His turn to address the "peaceful nation of Zion" came. It was a little ironic that he — escorted as he was by plainclothes members of the security police — told the gathering "we don't need police on this peaceful day".

Botha appeared to be engrossed in the sweet melodies churned out by a GaRankuwa male choir, whose Afrikaans lyrics suggested they comprised ex-drinkers who had found solace and sanctuary in the church. Their song: *Brandewyn los my* (Brandy, let me go).

The leader of the ZCC, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, spoke longest, and his lengthy speech was multiplied fourfold, as it had to be translated into four languages.

Heavy smoker that he is, De Klerk was by this time clearly yearning for at least one desperate puff. But, rules are rules around this place and smoking is one of the pleasures one cannot indulge in at Moria.

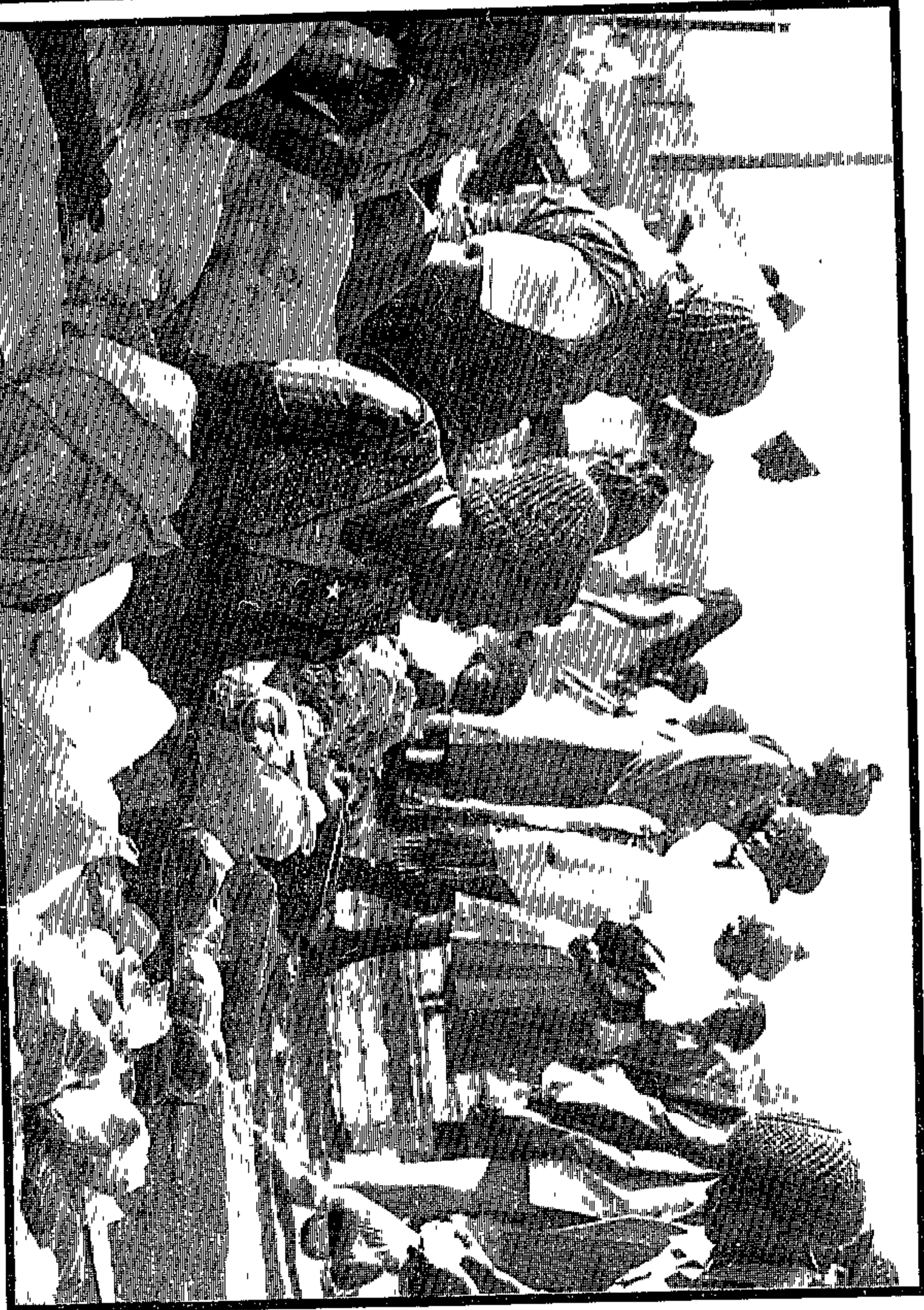
FW did get a smoke of another kind, however: the gathering was a victory for the Zionists, who finally saw the country's most important political figures share the proverbial peace pipe with their leader.

For that, the state president was probably willing to forego his habit for a while.

A MILLION ZIONISTS MASSED AT MORIA TO PRAY ...



In the spirit ... Exuberant dancers perform in front of the podium



Hungry mouths ... It's big business feeding the multitude



Songs of praise ... Worshipers sway to their own unique rhythm

POLITICS HELD SWAY

Tradition of prayer and obedience

By PAUL STÖBER

AN invitation in 1985, at the height of political unrest in South Africa's townships, to then state president PW Botha to address its Easter gathering, led to the Zion Christian Church being labelled conservative.

A similar invitation by the church this year, not only to President FW de Klerk but also to the leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, is forcing a review of this assessment.

In a ZCC journal, contributor Jan Mukhondo provides a key to the lengthening of the ZCC guest list. "Christianity is in one way or the other affected by the change of our times," he writes.

According to Professor Dionne Crafford, of the University of Pretoria's theology faculty, the church has traditionally urged its members to be obedient citizens.

"The church supports orderly government and encourages its members to obey the law. In the past there has been a good relationship between the ZCC and the government," she said.

The freeing of the political process and the legitimacy the government had given the ANC and the IFP by negotiating with them at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa are possibly some of the changes leading to the church inviting the other political leaders to address its members.

Despite these changes, the church remains resolutely apolitical, although its policy recognises the right of individual members to engage in political activity of their choice.

Nevertheless, it does not approve of church figures adopting a political profile. Mukhondo expresses disapproval of "ministers of religion who have shown their real colours and declared themselves members of political organisations they have been promoting within Christ's church".

The church sees itself contributing to the political process through prayer, and providing basic education and training to individuals to enable them to participate in a post-apartheid society. The ZCC has a bursary scheme and is conducting a literacy campaign.

Explaining its relationship with the South African Council of Churches, which has long been part of the anti-apartheid camp, the ZCC said in a gold embossed "overview" brochure released this week that it has always considered the SACC affiliates to be sister churches.

However, an apparent source of tension between the two religious bodies is the SACC's perceived allegiance to the ANC: "The ZCC has no objection to working with other churches on religious objectives but reserves the right not to espouse the policies of any one party."

The social and moral values of the church are undoubtedly conservative and emphasise traditional African values.

Describing itself as distinctly African, the ZCC said: "The church expresses Christianity in an African context. The leadership of the ZCC has continued to be African, entrenching the Africaness of the church. The membership of the ZCC is overwhelmingly African."

According to the brochure, this accommodation of church and tradition has "given its members an identity to which they can relate at all times, because there is no dichotomy in their lives and as church members and members of society". This accommodation partly explains the growth of the church since its founding in 1910.

In line with African traditions, the church is strongly patriarchal. "In keeping with the idea of the man as head of the clan, in its leadership as well as ceremonies and rituals, there is no question of ladies officiating. Marriage and polygamy as of old is permitted," explained the ZCC.

The ZCC is led by the Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, grandson of the charismatic preacher, Engenas (Ignatius) Lekganyane, who founded the church. Very little is known about Barnabas Lekganyane, who has led the church since he was 13 years old. The adoration which the members of the church bestow on him has been described as "cultish".

The church does not allow interviews with him, and requests to do so usually end with a board that runs the church. This level of privacy — if not secrecy — merely enhances the mystique of the leader of southern Africa's largest independent church.

LABOUR BRIEFS

Security board aligned
to Peace Accord

■ THE Transport and General Workers' Union has succeeded in persuading the Security Officers Board — the statutory board governing the industry — to align itself to the National Peace Accord.

Any violation of the accord by a company will be investigated by the Security Board and could result in the deregistration of the company.

In a statement, the union said it saw the agreement as a "break-through in the light of recent allegations that certain companies have been involved in the training of 'third force' elements".

w/m and 24/4 - 29/4/72

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Summit to set up peace committees

A NETWORK of multi-organisational special committees is to be set up throughout the country in an attempt to end political violence and eradicate intimidation.

A source said 19 organisations which attended this week's emergency summit on violence had appointed a seven-member working committee, whose task would be to work out strategies by which to filter the "spirit of reconciliation" down to grassroots level.

The working committee, which is made up of representatives from the ANC, Inkatha, PAC, Azapo, SA Communist Party and homeland parties, will meet within two weeks, probably on May 8.

The source said the committee would determine the nature of an international mechanism to monitor violence. Government and security forces were not invited.

Meanwhile nine community leaders, who had been staging a sit-in at Spoornet's Braamfontein headquarters since Wednesday, yesterday vowed to continue their protest until their demands were met.

The leaders, protesting against high levels of violence on Reef trains, said yesterday evening discussions they had held earlier with representatives from Transnet, Spoornet, the SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC), Law and Order Ministry and Transport Ministry, did not yield much. Discussions continue today.

The protesters are demanding provision of adequate security on trains in consultation with the community, prosecution of perpetrators of violence and compensation of violence victims.

Wilson Zwane

Soweto police spokesman Capt Joseph Ngobeni said yesterday that a the body of a man with stab wounds had been found near a railway line in Soweto at 6.30pm.

But Ngobeni said he could not confirm claims by the ANC that the man had been killed, and two others critically injured, in a train attack yesterday evening.

"We are still investigating the cause of his death, and presently have no reports of other injuries," Ngobeni said.

Earlier, police arrested a 22-year-old man who fired shots at a commuter train at Orlando station, Sapa reports. No one was injured.

Minister

Trade unions, civic bodies and church organisations yesterday joined political organisations in calling for a week-long boycott of trains in protest against the ongoing attacks.

The organisations, which included the ANC, SA Communist Party, Cosatu, Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal and the HRC, called on township residents not to use trains from May 4-9.

In another development, the Alexandra Civic Organisation and local branches of the SA Communist Party, the ANC and the Congress of SA Students will meet Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on Monday.

ANC Alexandra spokesman Obed Bapela said the organisations would ask Kriel to declare a section of the Alexandra township, known as "Beirut", a disaster area.

THE CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE

(274)

Sunday, bloody Sunday ^{FM} 24/4/92

The Easter weekend saw at least 30 people killed in political violence. At least, so it must be described, though the minutiae of the carnage — of which the most salient point is often the randomness of the attacks — indicate a repellent descent into savagery and recrimination with no apparent overarching political motive. Lenin's famous all-purpose question once again recommends itself: *Who, whom?* Who is doing what to whom — and for what purpose?

The National Peace Accord signed in September brought together the major political leaders in a pact which is far-ranging and designed to alleviate terror. Yet 1 400 people have been killed in factional violence since then, and the pact isn't working.

It has to be said that Sunday's broadcast from the Zion City of Moria by President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi smacked of self-interest. Each would like to bring the millions of nonsmoking, nondrinking Zion members into his fold. The rather confused ceremonies at which they made their declarations did not in any sense constitute a rededication to the Accord.

Do the leaders have anything like real control over the forces seething in the townships? It seems not. Indeed, the

tumultuous greetings accorded Winnie Mandela wherever she appears suggest that she, if anyone, is more in touch with the restless poor and feral children who pose the biggest unresolved problem in the land. Her disgrace has made no difference to this acclaim.

If one discounts local revenge, banditry and plain madness, the violence benefits those who have no interest in a peaceful settlement. It would be naive to think that it can all be the product of some third force — usually taken to mean rogue security force terrorists for whom a settlement will expose them to retribution.

Evidence before the Goldstone Commission indicates well enough that there are such people; but the turbulence is too widespread and politically tangled to blame solely one source. People from very different sides of the political spectrum can have a common interest in chaos.

The three wise men of Moria all have a tendency to see no evil, hear no evil and speak no evil — except of each other. They are all overly protective of their own flock, and their grip seems remarkably feeble at times. Just as the Peace Accord has become a joke, Codesa itself will fail if violence continues on this scale. We need more than a rededication to peace from these men: we need statesmanship. ■

'No control' of MK members

(274) CT 24/4/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior members of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), told the Goldstone Commission yesterday they could not guarantee absolute control over cadres.

Testifying about a meeting last month at MK's PWV regional headquarters, at which it was alleged that a plan was hatched to attack Inkatha-occupied hostels, political commissar Mr Oupa Monareng admitted that such a suggestion had been made but denied that any decision had been taken.

"Anybody can do his own thing without the mandate of the MK leadership," Mr Monareng told a hearing chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

Mr Monareng was among those asked to testify about events at the meeting after police supplied

Top ANC members testify to Goldstone

the commission with two written statements made by informants.

The hearing was convened after two police informers said they had attended an MK meeting at Shell House in Johannesburg where a decision had been taken to attack IFP hostels in four Transvaal areas.

The two informants feared for their lives and therefore refused

to disclose their names to the commission, Mr Justice Goldstone said.

Mr Monareng said members at the meeting suggested MK attack the hostels, but the leadership's response was that the armed struggle had been suspended. MK had become more involved in mass action.

MK's PWV regional headquarters were also not empowered to take decisions, as this was a function of MK's national leadership.

Mr Monareng said comrades felt their lives were threatened and that it was losing confidence in MK.

Mr Sidney Mbilo, the regional headquarters' chief of personnel, told the hearing the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and the D F Malan agreement binded the MK to a suspension of action, and that MK had no right to commit soldiers to action that would be detrimental to these accords.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa

Secretan 23/04/92

Mokaba's remarks upset Inkatha

INKATHA has lodged a complaint with the National Peace Secretariat about alleged inflammatory statements by ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba in Richmond at the weekend.

In a statement yesterday, IFP chief executive officer Mr Maurice Mackenzie confirmed that the secretariat had convened an urgent sitting in Cape Town yesterday after the matter was referred to them.

Mackenzie said he hoped the ANC leadership would take disciplinary action against Mokaba.

"It is this sort of irresponsible blabber which undermines the National Peace Accord. Discipline in these times is difficult, but undisciplined leadership is distinctly dangerous," said Mackenzie.

He said it seemed both Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mokaba used the opportunity to act as "crowd pleasers" with their comments. - Sapa.

Leaders in bold move to peace

By MOKGADI PELA

274

LEADERS of black political organisations would soon address joint peace rallies in violence-stricken areas, a church-sponsored summit resolved in Johannesburg yesterday.

Church leaders made an impassioned plea to political organisations to refrain from vitriolic public attacks on one another.

"This we believe, contributes to the ongoing violence in the country," Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu told at a Press conference after the summit.

The church leaders felt that joint peacerallied would help filter reconciliation to grassroots.

While they blamed the Government, the South African Defence Force and police for the violence, the church leaders acknowledged that black political leaders also bore responsibility for the carnage.

The priests also called for the reallocation of the R5 billion for "covert operations" and special forces to peace-creating projects to redress victims of apartheid.

The meeting further called for international intervention to quell the violence, and appointed a sub-committee to facilitate this process.

The meeting was attended by, among others, representatives of the South African Council of Churches, the Azanian Peoples Organisation, the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

Leaders in new drive for peace

ET 23/4/92
(274)

JOHANNESBURG. — Church and black political leaders last night ended a historic summit here with a call for fresh measures to check violence in the townships.

They blamed the violence on "the structural injustices of apartheid" as well as "the agencies of the apartheid regime".

"The meeting maintains that the National Party, as the government of the day, carries immediate responsibility for maintaining law and order, and therefore has a greater responsibility for bringing an end to violence."

Noting that the government had allocated R5 billion for covert operations and special forces, the participants called for the immediate disbanding of these operations and for the funds to be re-allocated for peace-creating projects and redress for victims of apartheid.

The participants admitted that they, as well as the government, shared responsibility for the violence.

All participants undertook:

- To organise joint political rallies.
- To call for an international mechanism to monitor violence.
- To develop mechanisms of filtering the spirit of reconciliation to the grassroots.

Assess

- To commit themselves to the creation of mechanisms for peace at "hot spots" such as hostels and informal settlements, and to facilitate the role of the church in creating peace in these areas.

The leaders also agreed another summit would be held soon to assess moves towards peace-creation.

In the interim, the church

leaders hoped to meet the government to discuss township violence and to brief officials on the meeting.

In another bid to end violence, the National Peace Secretariat yesterday warned political leaders who did not stop their war talk that they would be brought to book.

The secretariat, which met in Cape Town, gave vent to its frustration in trying to implement the National Peace Accord at local and regional levels and then having these undermined by political leaders' outbursts.

Signatories to the National Peace Accord — who include President FW de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — would be called to explain themselves if they were guilty of war talk, the secretariat indicated. — Sapa, Political Correspondent

National Peace Committee set to reprimand politicians

Tough action on war talk

STAR
23/4/92
By Peter Wellmar (274)

A two-pronged initiative by the major structures of the National Peace Accord was revealed last night in a bid to stop inflammatory speeches by leaders across the country's political spectrum.

The National Peace Committee (NPC), with more than 60 members, announced it would order, from today, transgressors of the accord to appear before its executive.

They will have to give an account of what they said, and explain their remarks.

And the National Peace Secretariat urged leaders to "actively combat the phenomena of war talk and incitement."

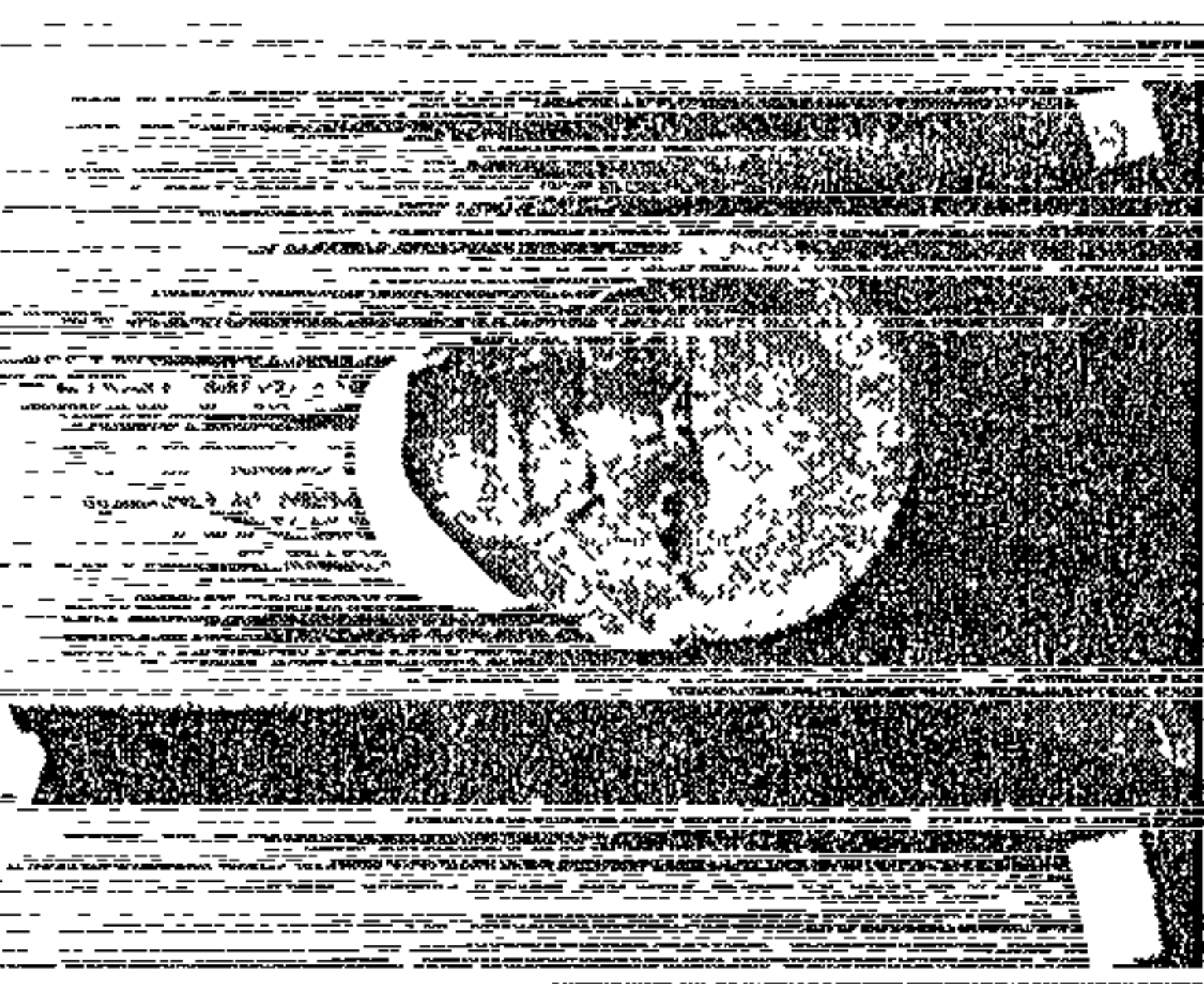
It was obvious from the NPC statement that its executive — made up principally of the Government, the National Party, the ANC and Inkatha — was fed up with recent remarks by leaders on all sides, and was determined to see that the terms of the accord, signed last year, were adhered to.

This means even the State President, Nelson Mandela, or Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lesi, as signatories to the accord, could be carpeted by the NPC.

Neither of the two peace structures mentioned individual leaders or specific statements, but sources told The Star that the NPC executive felt the blame lay on all sides of the table in the



Quest for peace . . . delegates at the SACC emergency summit on violence yesterday included (above, from left) ANC treasurer Thomas Nkobi, ANC president Nelson Mandela, ANC assistant general secretary Jacob Zuma, IFP Transvaal executive leader Musa Kubheka and IFP central committee members Velaphi Ndlovu and Musa Myeni. The meeting was co-chaired by (below, from left) Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo and Methodist Church president Dr Stanley Mogoba.



Picture: Karen Fletcher

The Star that the IFP executive felt the blame lay on all sides of the table in the negotiating process.

Among the high-powered members of the executive who were present when its decision was taken on Tuesday night, were Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Aziz Pahad and Sydney Mafumadi of the ANC, and Inkatha's Sue Voss.

Yesterday's statement issued to The Star said: "The National Peace Committee is greatly concerned, and extremely frustrated, by the constant transgressions of the National Peace Accord in terms of public utterances by certain political leaders who are signatories of the document.

"Highly inflammatory statements which have been made constitute a blatant contravention of chapter two of the accord, which lays down a code of conduct for political parties and organisations."

Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys warned that the work of local dispute resolution committees was being frustrated or even nullified by heated political rhetoric.

He said: "At its meeting in Cape Town today, the National Peace Secretariat, with great concern, took note of public utterances, couched in highly emotional and inflammatory language, being made by some political speakers at mass rallies and gatherings and directed at political opponents which exacerbate violence, intimidation and political intolerance.

"In some instances, rhetoric has reached levels rare even in the worst periods of political upheaval. Calls suggesting and even lauding violent action and showing political intolerance at its worst have increasingly bedevilled attempts aimed at achieving stability and consolidating the quest for peace."

"Violence continues unabated and people are dying. All progress made, slowly and painstakingly, to create peace and stability stands at risk to be jeopardised."

● Inkatha has lodged an official complaint about alleged inflammatory statements made by African National Congress Youth League president Peter Mokaba in Richmond at the weekend.

IFP chief executive officer Maurice Mackenzie confirmed that the matter had been referred to the Peace Secretariat.

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Summit on violence today 274

Sowetan 22/4/92
AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu are among the leaders who are expected to attend an emergency summit on violence in Johannesburg today.

In a statement yesterday, the South African Council of Churches said repre-

sentatives from 19 black political organisations and "independent" homelands were also expected to attend.

The meeting will be chaired by SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo, National Peace Committee executive committee vice-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. - *Sapa*.

Alex civic affairs halted by violence

B10cy 22/4/92

CIVIC affairs in Alexandra township have been brought to a virtual standstill by the ongoing feud between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Alexandra town clerk Willie Khumalo said yesterday most of the town council's offices had been taken over by families displaced by the violence in the township.

Hundreds of families fled their homes last month after fighting between Alexandra residents and Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers. They sought refuge at the council's offices and the local civic centre.

Khumalo said the situation was inconveniencing council staff and was being "taken advantage of by some employees".

He said it was difficult to keep thorough checks on staff attendance in such a situation, and a number of workers had not been reporting for work since.

But the council would not chase the families away as the violence which forced them out of their homes had not been addressed, Khumalo said.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone standing commission of inquiry into public violence and intimidation will question Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) leaders about allegations that the organisation planned to attack four of Inkatha's Transvaal strongholds.

Judge Richard Goldstone said in a statement yesterday a policeman told a Wit-Vaal regional dispute resolution committee on March 26 that police had received information that MK had held a meeting the previous day. The policeman said it was decided at the meeting to attack the Inkatha hostels.

"After inquiry by an ANC member, the ANC informed the regional dispute resolution committee that no such decision had

WILSON ZWANE

been taken. The matter was then referred to the commission, which was informed by police that the information had come from two informants who had been at the MK meeting.

"The informants felt their lives were in jeopardy and on no account would they be prepared to meet, even in camera, with the commission. At the request of the commission, police have furnished it with written statements from both informants without disclosing their identities," Goldstone said.

He said having regarded the seriousness of the allegations, the commission had decided to put the allegations to MK leaders "who are alleged to have been at the meeting in question on Thursday".

Meanwhile Sapa reports three people were reported killed in Natal yesterday, bringing the day's national death toll as a result of political violence to nine.

Earlier, two people were killed and 11 injured when a bus was ambushed in the Table Mountain area, east of Maritzburg.

In the same area three people were shot dead at a bus stop and three were wounded — including a three-month-old baby.

Near Empangeni on the north coast, a member of the KwaZulu Police was shot dead by unidentified men.

In another development, police yesterday held an identification parade in Thokoza, on the East Rand, in connection with alleged misconduct of 32 Battalion soldiers in Phola Park squatter camp on April 8.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe refused to say whether any of the soldiers had been identified as culprits.

Key leaders will attend church talks

B10cy 22/4/92
WILSON ZWANE

LEADERS of key black political organisations will meet church leaders today in an attempt to boost the peace process. (274)

It is expected that the summit — convened under the auspices of the SA Council of Churches (SACC) — will set the stage for a meeting between church leaders and government.

Sapa reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela, PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and SACP chairman Joe Slovo will attend

In a statement, the SACC said representatives from 19 black political organisations would attend. These included Inkatha, Azapo, the TBVC states, Cast, Cosatu, Nactu, Nafcoc, the United People's Front, Ximoko Progressive Party, Dikwankwetla Party, Intando Yesizwe Party and Inyandza National Movement. (274)

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's private secretary, Amos Ngema, said yesterday the Inkatha leader would not attend the summit as he had "other commitments in (KwaZulu capital) Ulundi".

SACC general secretary Frank Chikane had said today's "emergency summit on violence" was in response to alarming levels of political violence.

Church leaders give big boost to peace

ARC 22/4/92 (274)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — South African church leaders' efforts to end the ongoing violence in the country have been given a major boost.

The presidents of the country's three leading liberation movements have accepted an invitation by the South African Council of Churches to attend an "Emergency Summit on Violence" in Johannesburg today.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and PAC president Clarence Makwetu will attend the meeting. The South African Communist Party will be represented by a delegation led by chairman Joe Slovo.

SACC spokesman Carol Fouke said the IFP had also accepted the invitation. It was not yet known who would represent the organisation.

Other parties expected to send

delegates are the governments of the TBVC states, Qwa-Qwa's ruling Dikankwetla Party, Congress of South African Trade Unions, National Council of Trade Unions, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and the "homeland" parties — United People's Front, Ximoko Progressive Party, Inyandza National Movement and In-tando ye Sizwe.

The decision to convene the meeting was taken at the church leaders' Autumn meeting held from March 31 to April 1. It was also agreed to seek a separate meeting with the government concerning spiralling violence.

The SACC secretary general said the meeting was necessary because of "the alarming proportion as well as the persistence at which political violence is growing in our country, and the potential for it to spread to hitherto unaffected areas".

Peace calls 'not enough'

By PHANGISILE
MTSHALI

PEACE calls by State President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Moria would have been effective if they had addressed their supporters.

This was the view of most callers to the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Other callers said the calls were a waste of time as De Klerk's Government had the capacity to stop the carnage.

Tibatso of Soweto said he felt the three leaders wasted time and money in addressing members of the Zion Christian Church.

He said it would have had more positive results if the three had addressed a joint meeting of their members.

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Building the Nation

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Rola of Diepkloof said no human being or organisation would bring peace.

He said: "It is up to individuals to pray and commit themselves to peace.

"After getting together in Moria, it would be advisable for the IFP and ANC leaders to meet again."

Daniel of Hillbrow congratulated the head of the ZCC, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, for showing that he cared.

He said "the Moria experience" had the power to stop violence but ANC and IFP supporters must be called to a joint meeting, where the message of peace could be preached.

Danny of Johannesburg said De Klerk had the power to stop the violence.

Johannes of Meadowlands said people must forget about peace "as long as there are rightwingers in the police force."

Top leaders for summit on violence

JOHANNESBURG — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu and SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo will attend an emergency summit on violence to be convened by church leaders here today.

cf 22/4/92
In a statement yesterday the SA Council of Churches said representatives from 19 black political organisations were expected to attend.

These included the IFP, Azapo, the Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda governments and delegates from other bodies. *(214)*

The summit is being held in response to alarming and growing levels of political violence in South Africa, according to the SACC. — Sapa

It's time for peace - leaders

Sowetan 21/4/92

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By DON SEOKANE

THREE top political leaders appealed for peace during the Zion Christian Church's Easter service in Moria outside Pietersburg at the weekend.

President FW de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were invited by the leader of the church, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, to address the annual congregation on Sunday. The church had declared it a day of peace.

The invitations to the leaders, said the ZCC, was disturbed by violence and intimidation.

"It is our perception that by your presence at our church service you will be showing South Africa that you strive to see the end of politically motivated violence."

Ashamed

Buthelezi was the first to address the more than 2 million people and said he was sometimes ashamed of being a black person.

He said if it was not for God, the country would have witnessed the carnage of a race war such as the world had never seen.

"I today again, in front of this vast congregation, not only declare my faith in God and my commitment as a Christian, but rededicate myself and my party to work against violence and to bring peace to our country."

His speech was full of excerpts from speeches by slain black American leader Dr Martin Luther King and ended with a quote from the Bible.

Welcomed on stage by a thunderous applause from the congregation, Mandela began with the usual ZCC greeting: "Kgotso a e be le lena" (Peace be with you) which he repeated several times dur-

ing his speech.

He praised the ZCC for being an inspiration to black people and providing jobs through successful businesses.

He said being obedient to God, people had the right to worship as they saw fit.

He said Codesa was a great victory for all South Africans and that progress at the talks would depend on the government.

He referred to past injustices and called for progress towards the election of a Constituent Assembly.

Scourge

Mandela said the church could play a role in ending violence, a scourge to be ended quickly.

De Klerk, who was the last to address the congregation, warned that there were cunning and violent forces trying to prevent those working for real and lasting peace from succeeding.

"They want power and they use the tools of violence and intimidation when it suits them.

"For them every faction fight, every house burnt down, every outburst of unrest in our township is a victory."

"Speeches and peace accords alone could not make peace happen. We will have to work for it, plan for it and live it."

De Klerk was accompanied by his wife, Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Pik Botha, Mandela by NEC members Mr. Joe Nhlanhla, Mr. Thomas Nkobi and Mr. Peter Mokaba while Buthelezi's entourage included Dr Frank Mdlalose.

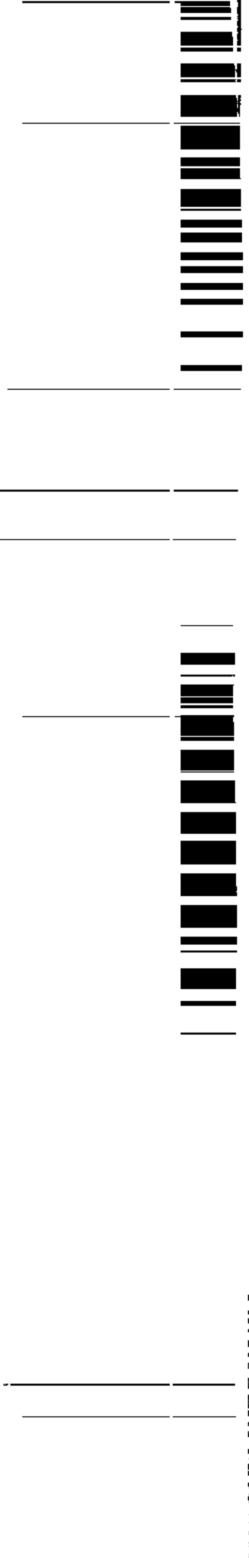
Homeland leaders Mr. Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa and Professor Hudson Ntswanisi of Gazankulu also attended.

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WAITING FOR THE PRESIDENT: A guard keeps watch as excited youngsters look up to the helicopter carrying State President FW de Klerk, one of the politicians who delivered a message of peace to the Zion Christian Church congregation.

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA



Church leaders exclude govt, security forces from peace summit

By *Willy 21/11/92*
WILSON ZWANE

CHURCH leaders will convene a peace summit tomorrow in an attempt to boost the peace process. But only black organisations — and not government or security forces — have been invited.

Summit organiser, the SA Council of Churches (SACC), said while the meeting would seek to determine the causes of the violence, church leaders believed the security forces were primarily responsible. The announcement came as violence claimed more lives. At least 22 people died on the Reef alone at the weekend.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said in a weekend statement the "emergency" summit was in response to alarming levels of political violence.

Invitations had been issued to leaders of 18 political organisations, including the ANC and Inkatha, to encourage them to "deliberate on the causes of this carnage and establish means of stopping it".

Church leaders would also seek a meeting with government as they were convinced that "forces of the state" were primarily responsible for the violence.

Sapa reports that SA's three main political leaders — President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — all called for peace and an end to violence when they addressed the annual Zion Christian Church gathering at Morija, in the northern Transvaal, on Sunday.

Since the peace accord was signed in September, more than 1 400 people have died in political violence.

On Sunday eight people were killed when gunmen attacked a house in Sharpeville — one of several fatal attacks in the Vaal Triangle at the weekend.

Police spokesman Capt Plet van Deventer said yesterday at least one AK-47 assault rifle was used in the attack on the home of well-known ANC members.

ANC PWV publicity secretary Ronnie Marroepa said his organisation would seek an urgent meeting with Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel to discuss the attack. The Goldstone commission would be

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woman wounded when gunmen opened fire on people watching a film show in the Evaton hall near Vereeniging.

At least two people died and four were injured in sporadic clashes in Alexandra.

On Saturday, a policeman was killed when shots were fired at a police patrol in Phola Park, and on Friday, a policeman was killed when he tried to break up a fight between two men in Jouberton near Klerksdorp.

At Magabeni, near Umkommas, three people were killed on Sunday in what was believed to be a revenge attack.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that an armoured vehicle belonging to a private se-

curity firm was petrol-bombed and one man shot and wounded by a rubber bullet yesterday as Johannesburg's Ennerdale township continued to simmer after a number of evictions from city council-owned houses.

Van Deventer said a security guard confronted a group of people trying to erect a tent in the grounds of one of the houses whose occupants had been evicted. A petrol bomb had been thrown at the guard's armoured vehicle. Van Deventer said one man, shot in the face with a rubber bullet by the guard, was taken to hospital.

asked to investigate.

In Sharpeville yesterday, afternoon a man died after being necklaced. Van Deventer said policemen who intervened came under fire from the attackers, and had to use teargas to disperse the crowd.

In Sebokeng, also in the Vaal Triangle, one man was killed and another wounded on Sunday when men armed with AK-47 rifles opened fire on another group.

On Sunday night a man was killed and a

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summit (274)

(274) ARG 21/4/92

SA's 'big three' call for new peace commitment

DIRK NEL

The Argus Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — The overwhelming spirit of goodwill which marked Sunday's "Day Of Peace" rally near Pietersburg, where political leaders addressed more than one million Zion Church members, has amazed foreign media representatives.

Being accustomed to the violence frequently associated with large gatherings in urban townships, the sight of masses of people from at least nine ethnic groups, kneeling in prayer, and then cheering the messages of peace delivered by President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, prompted an American journalist to describe the scene as "the face of South Africa nobody knows about".

"This is unreal" said an Associated Press photographer.

All three leaders were greeted with great enthusiasm.

Mr De Klerk adopted a logical approach, Chief Buthelezi appealed to the emotions of his audience, while Mr Mandela used the occasion as a political platform.

Telling the vast crowd that peace could not be bought over the counter, and would require hard work, Mr De Klerk encouraged the strengthening of family life, disciplining children not to participate in violence and to become involved in community projects to promote positive recreation for young people.

Chief Buthelezi used a self-effacing approach, saying he sometimes felt deeply ashamed of being a black South African.

"I again, in front of this vast congregation, not only declare my faith in God and my commitment as a Christian, but I stand before you and re-dedicate myself and my party to work against violence and to bring peace," he said.

Mr Mandela focused on injustices of the past, and committed the ANC to the safeguarding of religious freedom. But he was careful to point out that the price to be paid for real peace would be the establishment of true democracy.



Pensive . . . Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha (left) and President and Mrs de Klerk watch the crowds. Picture: Alf Kumalo

Rally used 'to drum up support'

STAR 21/4/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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Although peace was a strong theme at the Zion Christian Church Easter gathering at Moria, political leaders used the opportunity to win support, political analysts said yesterday.

President de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressed an estimated 1 million ZCC members on Sunday at the invitation of church leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane.

Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town said the gathering was a potentially significant support base.

"All three leaders were pitching for support as one would expect them to do," he said.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi made "campaigning speeches", while Mr de Klerk "showed more restraint"

Political analyst and Head of the Centre for Social Dynamics at the Human Sciences Research Council, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said the speeches were "very competitive" but the leaders were not necessarily "electioneering".

The speeches were "relatively light on self-congratulation but heavy on warnings".

Professor Robert Shire of the University of Cape Town agreed with Professor Welsh that the three leaders were

campaigning for support.

But he added "The body language was not very collegial and in that sense they did the predictable thing

"The bottom line in a political vacuum with an illegitimate government is that supporters (of political groups) will use violence if they think it will benefit them," said Professor Shire.

The major loser in the violence was Mr de Klerk because he had the most to lose, he added

The analysts, however, disagreed whether Bishop Lekganyane had emerged as a potential broker in the negotiation process after inviting the three leaders

Professor Welsh said that "willy nilly" the bishop had emerged as a significant broker — a position which would be hard to reconcile with the church's traditional avoidance of politics

Professor Shire disagreed, saying the bishop had not emerged as a broker because the bottom line was whether he could deliver the votes.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said before the gathering that it would help to end the violence if the leaders clearly told their followers that each organisation had the right to exist and to promote its aims peacefully.

Inbowed Winnie launches sharp attack on Govt

Star 21/4/92

Winnie Mandela is clearly not prepared to bow out of the political limelight, and has hit back with an attack against the Government over the issue of violence and the future of Codesa.

As allegations against her mounted in the press at the weekend, the estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela visited strife-torn townships.

It was Soweto on Saturday, and then Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, yesterday where eight ANC members were shot dead.

"We are certainly not going to keep on calling on our people to continue talking to a government that is killing our people," Mrs Mandela said in an interview with Sapa.

"How do we continue talking to a government that is not prepared to stop the violence? Either they stop the violence or we stop talking."

After visiting the troubled Vaal Triangle township yesterday, Mrs Mandela gave her first interview since what has been dubbed the "worst

week in her life" — a week in which she and her husband separated and during which one-time friends made a string of serious allegations against her.

Mrs Mandela was in a fighting mood, and — as she reminded an enthusiastic crowd earlier in Sharpeville — she is still an elected member of the ANC's national executive committee, as well as on the executive of both the ANC's Women's League and PWV region.

She struck to her public statement last week — made when she quit as head of the ANC's Social Welfare Department — that the allegations against her were false and were aimed at dividing the ANC. She maintained her innocence and said there was an appeal pending regarding charges of kidnap and access-ory to assault.

Mrs Mandela added that she expected the allegations to continue but was sure they would fail to destroy her or to divide the ANC.

"Unfortunately I'm unable

In her first interview since what has been dubbed the "worst week in her life", Winnie Mandela was in a fighting mood. She said the Government's failure to deal effectively with violence may force the ANC to question involvement in negotiations.

to talk to you outside of that statement," she said.

She accused the Government of shifting the goalposts in the negotiation process when it said recently there could be no interim government while violence continued.

"We are in no position to stop the violence because we are not the perpetrators of this violence.

"The Government says there will be no interim government while there's violence, but in fact it is the Government itself that's fanning the violence in the country," she charged.

"They are forcing us into a position where we will have to rethink continuing with the present talks."

The ongoing violence against ANC members and supporters at grassroots level was aimed at demoralising the organisation's supporters.

"Being associated with the ANC at present spells one's death warrant. How can we enter elections if the people are dying every day?"

"The Government's insincerity and dishonesty in dealing with the issue of the violence is going to have to force us to go back to original positions and question the whole concept again," Mrs Mandela said.

"They (the Government) have threatened the peace process sufficiently for the leadership of the ANC to take a very strong position. The ANC regarded as 'most irresponsible' the Gov-

ernment's demand that the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), be disbanded and hand over its arms caches. Such statements were "totally premature".

"MK will never be disbanded," Mrs Mandela said. "It is the future democratic army of this country."

"By making that call they are simply infuriating people on the ground because the people now feel they are defenceless and that if MK had not been called upon to suspend armed action, then they would have had proper defence."

"The idea is to confuse the masses so as to make the (ANC) leadership appear as if it has compromised the position of MK."

By trying to create a rift within the ANC the Government was attempting to weaken the ANC's position in the negotiation process, Mrs Mandela said.

Its demands concerning MK and an end to violence before interim rule were "stumbling blocks" they're trying to stall the forward

movement of Codesa". Mrs Mandela said she was not in a position as an individual to discuss what action the ANC would take or was contemplating taking in light of her accusations.

"That will be a decision of the national executive. But of course we all have these very very serious concerns."

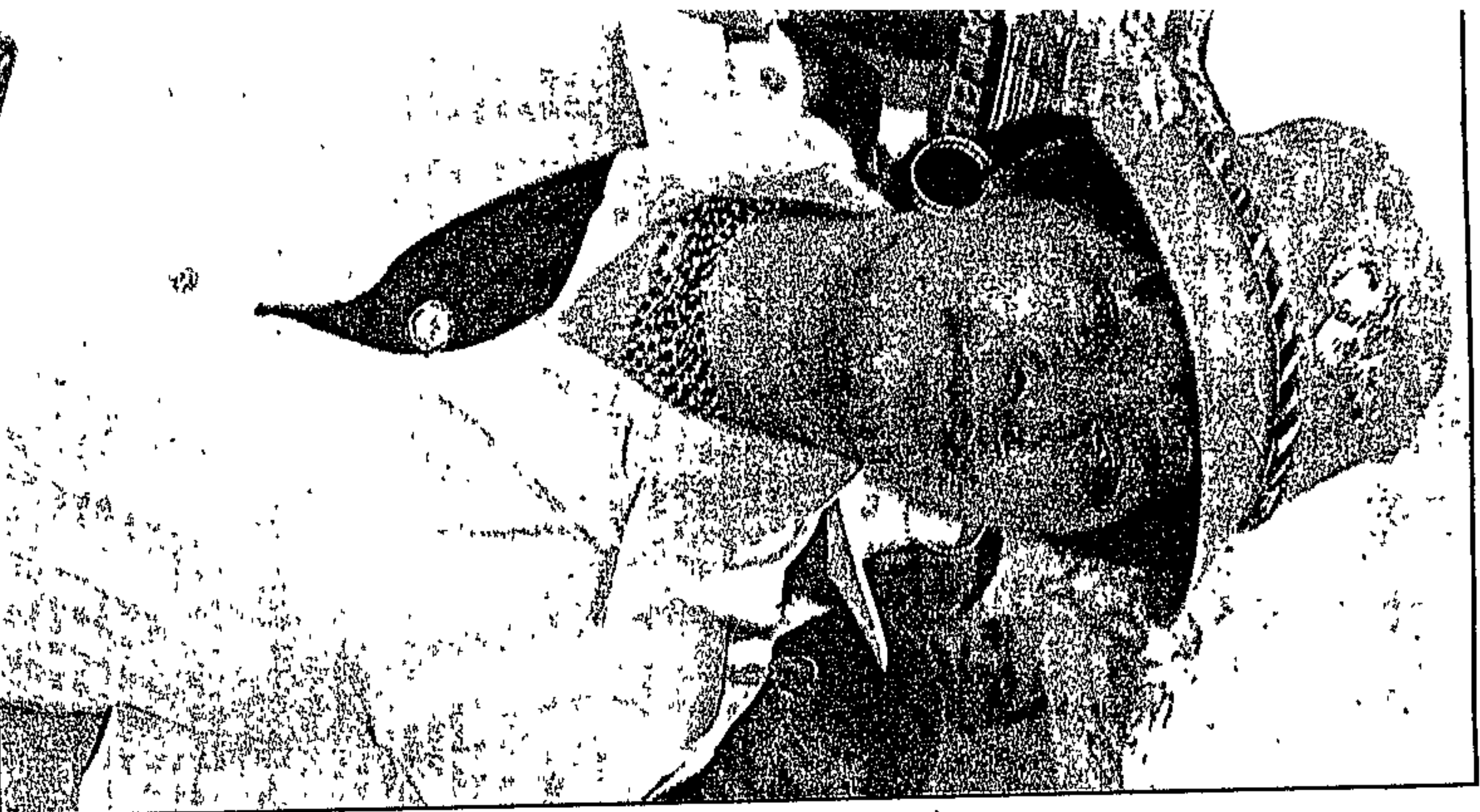
The bottom line was that the Government did not want Codesa 2 to take place as scheduled on May 15 and 16, Mrs Mandela added.

"We are quite aware of the fact that the Government is trying to sabotage Codesa 2, and that it is trying to sabotage us reaching the interim government stage."

"These are attempts to cling to power," Mrs Mandela said.

"The very fact that they should still imagine themselves having sole power to decide who will be partner to a power-sharing arrangement is indicative of a government that is not prepared to relinquish power."

"They don't have that right any more." — Sapa



Winnie Mandela . . . "How do we continue talking to a government that is not prepared to stop the violence?"

'Some SAP members reject outside help'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

274

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIR) says it is hampered in implementing the aims of the National Peace Accord by the negative attitude of some members of the South African Police to "outsiders" assisting them.

"One of the essential elements of the National Peace Accord is the impartiality of the police and their willingness to accept help from organisations and individuals working in various communities," the IBIR report for March records.

"Our experience is that we have been unable to assist members of the SAP to the best of our abilities due to their negative attitude towards 'outsiders' assisting them."

Police repeatedly used the media to encourage witnesses to come forward and assist with investigations, the IBIR report observes. "When attempts are made to facilitate this, we often find ourselves arrested or accused of tampering with or changing statements."

Captain Steve van Rooyen of the police division of public relations reserved comment on the allegations, saying he would like to see the full IBIR report before responding.

The following examples of friction between board members and the SAP are cited in the report. **STA/21/4/92.**

- An IBIR researcher involved in investigating the shooting of an ANC member in Sharpeville was allegedly "accused by a member of the SAP, in front of an Inkatha Freedom Party hos-

tel, of being involved in the burning down of IFP houses in the area".

- During the course of the Goldstone Commission hearing on Tokoza, an IBIR researcher was accused by counsel for the SAP of telling witnesses not to co-operate with the police. The report states that this researcher was persistently followed by two white men in a minibus while she was taking statements from potential witnesses.

- At Carletonville, where the IBIR has assisted a police investigation of alleged torture and extra-judicial executions by the Welverdiend unrest unit, no fewer than nine people who participated in the investigation or who laid a complaint against local policemen were arrested and/or charged in a court of law.

"To date two people have had their charges withdrawn following a recommendation by the Attorney-General, two were acquitted and one was discharged following the presentation of the State's case."

The IBIR report states that Carletonville residents are beginning to ask what is the price of co-operating with the investigation. "Witnesses have been threatened and warned that they are 'not far off from the mortuary'."

The board's researcher and the local ANC chairman were told that a certain suspended policeman had plans to eliminate them as they were the cause of the suspensions of members of the force, the report claims.



Victim . . . pensioner Miriam Rabi, holding the remains of a petrol bomb, looks out of a window at her house in Sharpeville. Picture: George Mashini

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1992

MAY -

Codesa slammed, applauded at rallies



WORKER'S LOT ... A worker is arrested by a policeman at a May Day rally at Dobsonville on Friday. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Politicos unite briefly

CP/MS 3/5/92
SUPPORTERS of the ANC, PAC and Azapo united briefly on Friday to celebrate May Day at rallies across the country.

The rallies were organised jointly by Cosatu and Nactu.

■ In Durban Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa told more than 10 000 people that a strike "never seen before in South Africa" threatened if Codesa II failed to deliver an interim government and constituent assembly by June.

Azapo vice-president Dr Aubrey Mokoape told the crowd that the ANC and SACP should pull out of Codesa in the face of escalating violence unleashed by the government on blacks.

■ In PE, PAC national deputy president Dikgang Moseneke told a cheering 10 000-strong crowd at Zwide's Dan Qeqe Stadium that if there were to be genuine negotiations, Cosatu and Nactu should be part of that process.

It was essential that strong liberation movements united to double their strengths in the fight for genuine liberation.

ANC NEC member Winnie Mandela called on liberation leaders to refuse to fraternise with leaders who carried out violence.

274
■ In Warmbaths, Azapo education secretary Dr Gomoemo Mokae called on Cosatu and Nactu to fight for socialism.

■ Speaking at the George Goch Stadium in Johannesburg, president of the IFP-aligned United Workers Union of South Africa, Jabulani Dlamini, called on union supporters to defy tomorrow's boycott of Reef trains.

■ Addressing a crowd of 10 000 in Alexandra, near Johannesburg, Alex Civic Organisation head Moses Mayekiso called for the isolation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom he blamed for the violence.

■ In Soweto ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu told cheering crowds at the Jabulani Amphitheatre that it was the ANC's "obligation and duty" to celebrate May Day.

However, Azapo national publicity secretary George Ngwenya was shouted down when he said he believed that Codesa was not a vehicle for total liberation. He had to abandon his speech.

■ In Welkom a crowd of 2 000 braved the biting cold to celebrate May Day.

Reports by CP Reporters, CP Correspondents and Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by N Muller, both of 2 Herb St.

ANC's Gwala sticks to hard line on Inkatha

By FRED KHUMALO

WHILE other ANC leaders called for peace, Natal hardliner Harry Gwala branded Inkatha "part of the apartheid regime" at a Lamontville commemoration day for three late ANC leaders.

The Lamontville Heroes' Day was held last Tuesday in memory of murdered civil rights leader Msizi Harrison Dube, ANC stalwart and guerrilla Joseph Masobiya Mdluli and former ANC international affairs department head Johnny Makhathini - all of whom put the township on the political map and saved it from incorporation into KwaZulu.

While most leaders who spoke at the large gathering - including Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa, southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe and Reverend Mcebisi Xundu - appealed for sanity and peace between the warring ANC and Inkatha supporters, Gwala was strident in his belief that those who thought the two organisations could talk peace were misguided. *CIPREN 315192*

"We are not fighting a racial war. We are fighting apartheid, and Inkatha is part of the apartheid regime," he said to tumultuous cheering.

He said Inkatha, together with apartheid, should be eliminated. He hastily added, however, that he was not referring to the rank-and-file membership of Inkatha, but to the "warlords who are feeding the flames of violence as a last attempt to delay the day of the liberation of our people".

He strongly reiterated a message which he gave to John Carlin, a journalist for *The Independent*, in which he had said: "We kill Inkatha warlords."

"I'm saying it again: we will indeed kill our way to liberation if need be. We will demolish the walls of apartheid, be they black or white," he said.

In his speech General Holomisa said Inkatha should be told that the ANC was not their enemy - and the same applied to ANC followers.

"Once the NP government begins to unleash its vast propaganda machine and apportion blame to these two for the lack of peace and security in black areas, it might find it easy to sway the gullible to its camp and effectively appeal to the small political parties to throw in their lot with them," he said.

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Win Ogres Under New Arms

STAR 4/18/92.

WITH South Africa now on course for an all-party interim government by the middle of the year, the two greatest threats to achieving the next goal — democratic elections based on a universal franchise — are violence and intimidation. Unless both can be brought under control there can be no hope of holding free elections.

Violence and intimidation are closely linked, but while the former is most frequently spoken about, intimidation is no less of a danger to the country's first-ever democratic elections.

Intimidation is rampant in all sections of the community — now, mainly in the black townships, but also increasingly within the white community as the right-wing forces seek to impose their will, especially in the rural areas.

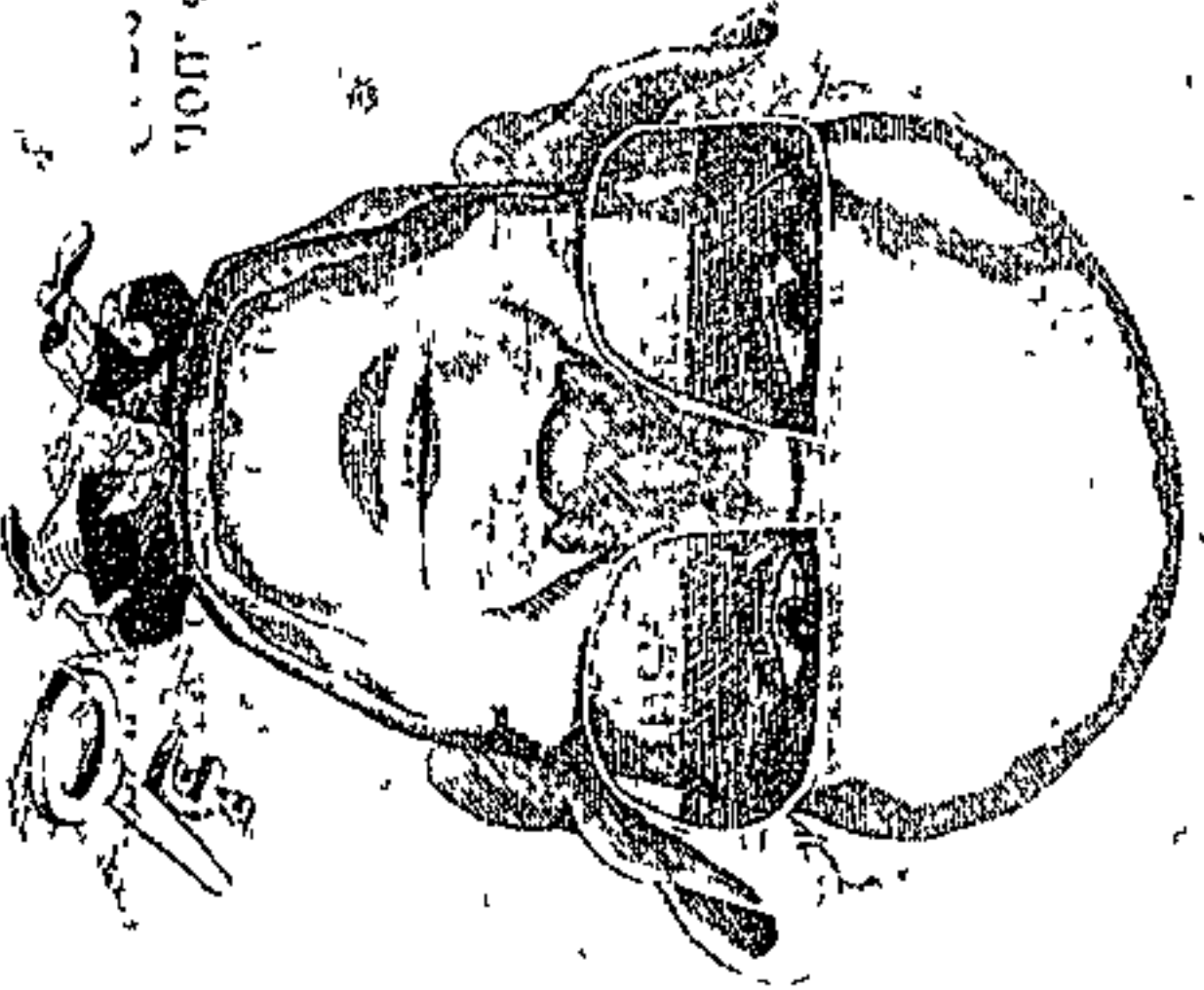
Intimidation is not confined only to the political parties, it is widely practised over a whole range of activities. Like in some black

schools by militant radicals, against township councillors serving in present local authorities, between competing civic groups seeking to establish their authority in townships and squatter camps; between workers when it comes to a question of strike action or competition for membership; on university campuses between rival students; frequently by the police and, notably, in some of the homelands.

It may be easier, in the end, to cope with political violence than with the less controllable forms of intimidation — especially now that it is becoming embedded in daily behaviour.

However, no real progress can be made to counteract intimidation — especially at a time of elections — before political violence has been severely curbed.

One of the difficulties about ending violence is that there is no single cause or explanation for its high incidence. President de Klerk continues to repeat tirelessly that violence is the result of conflict between the predominantly black



F W de Klerk ... should know better.

political parties and over black ethnic conflicts. This is a gross over-simplification. He should, by now, know better.

The reality is that the long years of apartheid have left the country with what can properly be described only as "a culture of violence".

Many even regard De Klerk's commitment to change as the

cause of violent crime. This is unfair, but it is widely believed.

One of the great unsolved mysteries, with no arrests so far, is who is behind the vicious killings on commuter trains. There has been a steady increase of attacks on rail passengers since 1990, rising to 74 people being stabbed or thrown out of moving trains last March alone.

Such indiscriminate killings appear to have no rational explanation; nor is there any explanation why the police have failed to bring to trial any of the assailants. It is only natural, therefore, that suspicion should be voiced about police collusion.

But what motives can there be, other than to promote destabilisation? One recent rumour is that a transport mafia is behind these gruesome attacks to drive passengers off trains in favour of using private transport.

However, the enormity of the problem of violence is to be found in the flood of arms in the country. There are now 3274 335 licensed owners of guns — almost entirely in the hands of whites,

274

the attitudes of police towards black people.

It is a beginning, so is the decision to recruit another 75 000 policemen and to modernise their methods. But important as these changes are, they do not begin to measure up to the size and urgency of the problem of violence.

Is there an answer to this grave problem?

The only immediate answer is that the proposed Interim Government will be entrusted with the function of joint control over the security forces. It is only when the major political leaders are made jointly responsible for the operations and behaviour of the police and security forces that a level of trust can be established and measures agreed to put down violence. There is no other obvious solution

an average of one gun for almost every white person. Last year, alone, 11 577 weapons were stolen. In addition there is the problem of easy access to illegal arms on a flourishing black market, where a modern automatic weapon like the AK-47 can be easily bought. These have been brought into the country from neighbouring countries. A recent development has been the hurrung out of automatic weapons for R50 a night.

The crucial question, then, is how at least the political violence can be stopped. Nelson Mandela recently proposed that the United Nations or some other independent agency should be brought in to supervise the security forces. Thus rather sounds like a counsel of despair since it is impossible to believe that the Government is likely to accept foreign control over its security forces.

The Government has made some important changes in restructuring the police force, establishing a code of conduct, and treating a new attitude among the police. Many senior officers are now visibly engaged in changing the attitudes of police towards black people.

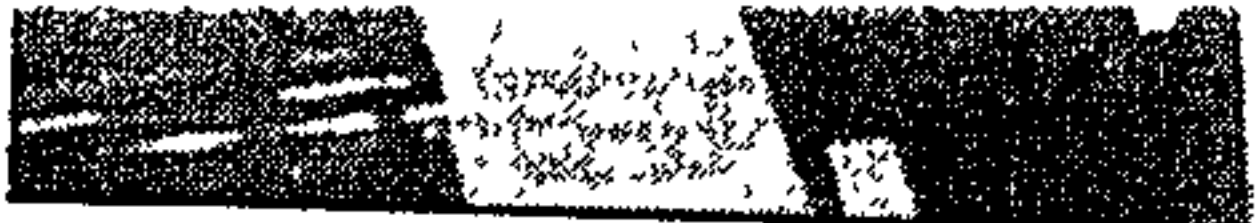
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However, even if it becomes possible to stem the level of political violence, the problem of criminal violence will remain — possibly for decades — until black unemployment can be brought down, the seven million or so squatters are properly housed and living standards raised. □

Tokoza on the East Rand, and another found shot dead at Inkezizwe, in the same area. At Imbali, Maritzburg, the body of a man who had been shot was found slumped in his minibus on Friday.



Crime-busters . . . police reservists David Clark (left) and the haul of computers and printers they recovered after an accomplice allegedly stealing the goods from the First National Bank on Friday morning.

EC wants neutral monitors

STAR 415792

LISBON — The European Community is putting its weight behind proposals for the introduction of international monitors in the South African townships, diplomats said yesterday.

The aim of the mission would be to keep an eye on police in the run-up to elections. This will be on the agenda when a troika of EC Foreign Ministers, the British, Dutch and Portuguese, visit South Africa.

The question was discussed at an informal meeting of EC Foreign Ministers that ended in

Portugal on Saturday.

"All are agreed on the urgency of the problem and the need to do something. What has not been decided are details of an EC role," a diplomat said.

Among the alternatives under scrutiny are an EC mission, a body comprising members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) — perhaps backed by the Commonwealth — and a United Nations group.

The initiative comes from Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the Danish Foreign Minister, who visit-

ed South Africa last month. He concluded that the security forces lacked the popular credibility necessary to supervise a democratic transition.

The Government is understood to be unenthusiastic about an international mission scrutinising the security forces, and has stated that elections are out of the question while the township wars persist. Diplomats, however, hope to find a formula for intervention that will be difficult to resist. — The Independent News Service.

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Over 3 million guns licensed

(274) CT 4/5/92
Political Staff

THERE were 3 274 335 licenced firearms in South Africa at the end of last year, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe, said.

The firearms were held by 1 213 846 licence holders. The general said 179 241 licences were issued last year, while 18 268 applications were refused.

He said 227 AK-47 rifles were handed in by the public, while 854 were recovered by police. A further 497 other rifles were handed in by the police, and 1 276 confiscated.

He said 20 handgrenades had been handed in and 95 confiscated, and 41 explosives were found by the public and 54 were seized.

The general said new provisions of the Arms and Ammunitions Act will apparently come into force this year and tighten control of arms.

Too late for classification DEATHS

ELLIS

Ellen, aged 72, passed away peacefully on May 3rd. Lovingly remembered by her son Trevor, daughter Maureen, in-laws and grandchildren. Service at St Timmony's Church, Vliegstuiglaan, Fackreton on Tuesday 5th at 2.00pm. Thence to Maitland Cemetary, 2 Pinelands Rd. Arrangements Tony Wyllie & Co, ph 593 8820 or 21 5400. Personal and Dignified

GOODSON

Desmond Sadly missed by his sister Daphne, Rex, Michael and Neville and families.

LANDAU

Cyril passed away so suddenly. The perfect gentleman and special friend. Our heartfelt sympathy to Eve, David and family R.I.P Al and Eve

LIGHTFOOT

been shot was found slumped in his minibus on Friday. — Sapa
protest against continuing violence
trains and has been backed by the



Peace conduct code for military

Political Staff

A SUB-COMMITTEE of the National Peace Committee has provisionally agreed on a code of conduct for the South African Defence Force.

National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall said last night that the draft code would soon be put to the NPC itself for ratification.

The code of conduct is based on the principle that normal military professionalism is insufficient for the transition and that soldiers must conduct themselves

as citizens of a democratic society.

This includes the demand that every member of the SADF will accept full responsibility for orders and will refuse to obey unlawful orders.

The sub-committee which accepted the draft code consists of government, ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party representatives.

The IFP, however, has in the past argued that the SADF cannot be subjected to a code of conduct while the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe contin-

ues to exist.

This could still upset full agreement of the code.

Meanwhile, government sources said that reports of an agreement between the government and the ANC on the integration of MK in to the SADF were "premature".

The sources confirmed, however, that any agreement on the integration of the SADF and MK depended upon the ANC abandoning its armed struggle and complying with the Pretoria Minute and the National Peace Accord.

Bid to break Codesa deadlocks

Political Staff

CODESA delegates are expected to resume their last round of meetings before Codesa 2 today with a renewed sense of urgency in the hope of breaking deadlocks in three working groups.

The management committee will also make a final decision this week on the form of participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders. It was agreed in principle last week that the king and the traditional leaders could take part in Codesa 2.

The five working groups have

to wrap up their proceedings this week and hand in their progress reports to the management committee on Thursday.

In two of the working groups fresh sets of proposals were tabled last week in an attempt to break the impasse.

Delegates of the 19 participating parties have since discussed the proposals with their leaders and will make their positions known today.


The steering committee of the working group dealing with con-

stitutional principles last week tabled a proposal stating that Codesa would agree on an interim constitution and an elected one-chamber parliament would then draft the final constitution.

Delegates have been debating for weeks whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed.

The government and the ANC favour an elected body while the IFP wants an appointed multi-party convention to draft a new constitution.

WEEKLY



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Anglican bishops' appeal

JOHANNESBURG. — Southern African Anglican bishops have urged the Codesa to take seriously the feelings of movements that have shunned the forum and to increase its efforts to persuade them to join constitutional talks.

At the end of a five-day synod held at Kempton Park, the bishops in a statement yesterday said preparatory talks between the government and the Pan Africanist Congress in Nigeria were of much value.

"The importance of the achievement of having former enemies sitting down and talking together must not be undervalued."

The bishops also expressed dismay at the continuing civil war in Mozambique. — Sapa.

EC backs township monitors

274
ARCT 4/5/92

LONDON. — The European Community is putting its weight behind proposals for the introduction of international monitors in South African townships, say diplomats.

The aim of the mission will be to keep an eye on police in the run-up to elections.

This will be on the agenda when three EC foreign ministers, the British, Dutch and Portuguese, visit South Africa.

The question was discussed at an informal meeting of EC foreign ministers that ended in Portugal on Saturday.

"All are agreed on the urgency of the problem and the need to do something. What has not been decided yet is the exact EC role," a European diplomat said.

Among the alternatives under scrutiny are an EC mission, a body comprising members of the Organisation of African Unity, perhaps backed by the Commonwealth, and a UN group.

The initiative has come at the instigation of Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the Danish Foreign Minister, who visited South Africa last month. He concluded that the security forces lacked the popular credibility necessary to supervise a democratic transition.

The South African government is understood to be unenthusiastic about an international mission scrutinising the security forces, but both the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have stated that elections are out of the question while the township wars persist.

Diplomats seek ways to end SA violence

Diplomats hope to find a formula for intervention that will be difficult to resist. The support of the African National Congress, whose president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has raised the matter both with Mr Ellemann-Jensen and OAU leaders, is guaranteed.

The South African judiciary has joined the clamour for action against the police. At the end of a trial last week in which a police captain was found guilty of 11 political murders and sentenced to death, the judge urged a public inquiry into the behaviour of the police. A Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice Didcott, also said that the police were guilty of planning and committing murders.

The government said yesterday it would explain on Wednesday why it freed a black policeman who served nine months of a 27-year sentence for murder.

Khethani Shange, a detective from KwaZulu sentenced for brutal murders, was described by the trial judge as a "beast". — The Independent.

● See page 4

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d Kriel sends officers to interview judge

81 Day 4/5/72
Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Senior police officers hope to meet Natal Supreme Court Judge J M Didcott today to investigate allegations that, in his view, SA policemen had "committed murders and crimes of violence" (276)

However, it is believed that the judge, who is on long leave, is in Britain.

In a statement at the weekend Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said Didcott had been quoted in media reports saying. "Enough has emerged from various legal proceedings to establish that some crimes of violence, that some planned murders, have certainly been committed by policemen."

His criticism came in a speech delivered at Wits University last week after he had received an honorary doctorate.

Kriel said: "I have therefore requested the Commissioner of Police to arrange on Monday to obtain the necessary information from the judge"

Meanwhile Didcott has said the Minister should "read the court records" on police behaviour after being told Kriel had ordered police officers to interview him about his comments

The judge said "The Minister appears to have misunderstood my statements which were based on

legal records and not on any private knowledge"

In his speech Didcott said SA was paying the price for legislation which put the police force above the law, equipping it with vast powers and shielding its activities from scrutiny and indemnifying its members against accountability for unlawful behaviour

"We are paying the price for legislation which puts the police force above the law, or at the very least beyond the law's effective reach, equipping it with vast powers, shielding its activities from scrutiny and indemnifying its members against accountability for unlawful behaviour."



Bishops blast 'jockeying for power'

Southern Africa's Anglican bishops yesterday warned of anarchy if violence was allowed to continue in South Africa, and called for the installation of an interim government.

They condemned in a statement what they called the jockeying for power at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

After a five-day synod that ended on Friday in Kempton Park, the bishops said the need for an interim government and elections for a representative constitution-making assembly "is far greater than the sometimes petty jockeying for power that is seen in Codesa".

Referring to the recent sentencing to death of former police captain Brian Mitchell for murdering 11 black people, the bishops said: "The Government's inadequate, half-hearted response to revelations in the trial exposes its incapacity to run a proper police force."

"We call on all parties to move urgently towards the establishment of an interim government."

They called on Codesa to work quickly towards setting up an international monitoring force to be present in situations of conflict.

The bishops, from Lesotho, Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland, warned feuding political parties against placing all the blame for the violence on the Government.

"They have as much of a duty as the Government to look critically at themselves and their followers," the statement said.

They urged people to get involved at grassroots level in working for the implementation of the National Peace Accord, to play an active part in the political process and to promote a culture of tolerance. — Sapa.

Policeman shot dead in Klipspruit

Staff Reporters

After a weekend marked by violent clashes between Reef township residents, hostel inmates and police since Workers' Day on Friday, the death toll stood at 15 this morning.

A policeman — Sergeant Raymond Maritz (24), stabbed in the eye and shot in the chest by a mob in Klipspruit, Soweto, after he shot dead a suspected drug dealer yesterday — was the latest victim of township violence.

Soweto police spokesman, Colonel Fanyana Zwane, said Sergeant Maritz, of the Soweto branch of the Narcotics Bureau, went to the Klipspruit squatter camp at about 11 am to arrest a man allegedly dealing in drugs.

After the suspect sold Sergeant Maritz dagga worth R20, the policeman tried to arrest the man. When the suspect pulled out a knife and stabbed Sergeant Maritz in the eye, the policeman shot the man dead.

A large and aggressive crowd of residents gathered at the scene and Sergeant Maritz jumped in his car and tried to go for help.

Fear and impaired vision caused by blood flowing from his eye wound caused Sergeant Maritz to drive into a boulder.

The mob surrounded the car, pulled him out and a squatter fatally shot him in the chest.

Two policemen who later arrived on the scene were robbed of a shotgun and a pistol.

In other unrest-related inci-

dents, four people were killed at Dube Hostel and Merafe Station in Soweto on Saturday.

On Friday, three men died in Dobsonville, Soweto, in running battles between police, residents and hostel inmates.

Gun battles continued until mid-afternoon as Dobsonville Hostel inmates reportedly took pot shots at taunting youths.

According to the official police unrest report, three people were found dead in Alexandra township on Saturday. Two were shot and the other was stabbed, bringing the death toll in Alexandra to five since Friday.

Action by police in the area prevented what could have been a bloody sequel to an otherwise peaceful May Day rally after an angry mob tried to storm Madala Hostel, an Inkatha Freedom Party stronghold.

Baragwanath Hospital superintendent Dr Annamarie Richter said two people — victims of sharp-pointed ammunition — were certified dead on arrival Thursday morning. Sixteen other gunshot victims were being treated, Dr Richter said.

Three policemen — Lieutenant Andre Steenkamp, Constable Corbnelius Killian and Constable John Cave — were injured and later admitted to the Garden City Clinic.

In other violence on Saturday, a man was hacked to death at Tokoza on the East Rand, and another found shot dead at ZonkeZizwe, in the same area.

At Imbali, Maritzburg, the body of a man who had been shot was found slumped in his minibus on Friday.

EC wan

Bishops warn of anarchy

SOUTHERN Africa's Anglican bishops yesterday warned of anarchy if violence was allowed to continue.

In a statement issued after a five-day synod that ended in Kempton Park on Friday, the bishops condemned what they called the "jockeying for power" seen at Codesa.

Sowetan 4/5/92
They said the need for an interim government and elections for a representative constitution-making assembly "is far greater than the sometimes petty jockeying for power that is seen in Codesa"

Referring to the recent sentencing to death of Captain Brian Mitchell for

(274)
murdering 11 black people, the bishops said: "The Government's inadequate, half-hearted response to revelations in the trial exposes its incapacity to run a proper police force and underscores the urgency of establishing an interim government to take control of the police." - *Sapa*.

ANC is hindering peace, says govt

CT5/5/92 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — The government yesterday accused the ANC and some of its allies of a lack of commitment towards peace.

In a hard-hitting statement submitted to Codesa, the government said it had to register its serious disappointment at the political unrest.

"Incontrovertible evidence has now become available which cannot but lead to the conclusion that there is a lack of commitment to peace and free political participation on the part of certain political leaders of parties; or alternatively, that the said political leaders do not have any control over their members in this regard."

The statement, issued by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, named among others ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala and ANC Western Transvaal leader Mr George Mathusa for recent "inflammatory remarks".

"The mere existence of MK (the ANC's military wing uMkhonto weSizwe) now motivates other parties to consider the establishment of their own military and paramilitary structures as was witnessed in recent news reports," the government charged.

"This is not conducive to the creation of a climate for free political participation."

● Breakthroughs at Codesa — Page 5

Van Eck warns of 'spark'

Political Staff

THE anger of the lost generation of young black people was such that the smallest spark could lead to a racial explosion as in Los Angeles, ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck said yesterday.

This anger and the resentment towards those at present receiving an education had been illustrated by gang attacks in black schools, he said during the debate on the Education and Training Vote

(274) CTS/5/92
Besides taking ad hoc steps to address the most glaring shortcomings, something which the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, was good at, the fundamental character of black education had to be ended.

Mr Van Eck, the MP for Claremont, continued: "This can only be done by immediately abolishing all separate racial education, by having one education department and making it illegal to reserve any school for

the exclusive use by one racial grouping.

"Giving white schools the choice to open up to all races or not was nothing but an attempt by the government to perpetuate white privilege and racism."

If the legacy of apartheid was to be addressed, then a comprehensive programme of affirmative action would have to be embarked on urgently to undo some of the injustices and inequalities.

'Violations of Peace Accord': Report casts shadow over Codesa

(274)

ARG 5/5/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A showdown is looming between the government and the ANC after Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel released a 14-page document detailing alleged transgressions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other bilateral agreements.

With 10 days to go before Codesa 2, delegates said the document, tabled at Codesa yesterday, was certain to "sour relations" and was in "bad faith".

The government said "incontrovertible" evidence existed that there was a lack of commitment to peace and free political participation on the part of some political leaders.

"The situation remains extremely volatile and the slightest spark, such as inflammatory statements by the leaders of political organisations and parties, can turn emotion into a vicious spiral of violence and

bloodshed," the government said.

In the past four months more than 3 000 unrest-related incidents had occurred resulting in 711 deaths. The 475 victims had died as a result of gunshot wounds, 144 had died from hack and stab wounds while 110 had died as a result of necklacing and stone-throwing.

In contradiction of the National Peace Accord, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa had made inflammatory statements showing "remarkable aggression in laying the blame for the current violence at the door of the security forces, the government and even the State President in person".

The government said it was often alleged that the SAP or some of its members were the root cause of violence. The court's findings in the Trust Feed case could not serve as a criterion to judge the SAP.

Battalion 'incapable of rape'

PRETORIA — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence yesterday heard that members of 32 Battalion, accused of having murdered, raped and assaulted residents of the Phola Park squatter settlement on the East Rand, were not barbarians and were not capable of such acts.

One of the officers in command on April 8, when the incidents allegedly took place, Captain Mark Hermansen, said he rather believed the attack was an exaggeration to discredit 32 Battalion.

Residents claimed that on the night of April 8, members of 32 Battalion murdered two people, raped three women, assaulted 47 people and were involved in four cases of malicious damage to property.

Another officer, Lieutenant Frederik Ras, said he saw no violence except for "heavy-handedness" which could be justified since his troops had come under fire and were tense. — Sapa

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IFP 'created violence flashpoints'

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Evidence of violence centred on Inkatha-supporting hostels around Johannesburg dominated yesterday's hearing of the Goldstone commission of inquiry in Pretoria.

Several witnesses said previously peaceful townships became flashpoints after Inkatha amassed supporters at hostels, which virtually amounted to using them as military bases.

The evidence, which is yet to be tested, will be challenged later. What the commission was doing was simply listening.

The purpose was to gain an overview of violence in three areas — Alexandra, Greater Soweto and the Vaal Triangle, and then to decide how best to investigate it.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone explained when proceedings began at 10am that an overview would be provided by "knowl-

edgeable people about violence in any particular area on a report basis. The process is not inquisitorial or adversarial.

"When we have established what the issues are, we frame terms of reference relevant to a particular area".

Yesterday's business was not an inquiry on which the commission would make decisions or a finding, he said.

Mr Obed Bapela, ANC branch secretary in Alexandra, began by describing violence in March, April and August last year and this year. Each of these flare-ups had been preceded by a massing of Inkatha members in the hostels in Alexandra, he said.

Mr Max Mosselman, instructed by the Inkatha Freedom Party on behalf of Alexandra hostel dwellers, did not enter a written submission.

He agreed with a suggestion that the area needed a local

peace accord, but said negotiation and agreement were more important than recrimination.

The Rev Dr Liz Carmichael, of the Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee, did not appear, but wrote in a submission: "It appears to me that the IFP has made an effort to gain an area in and around the M1 (Madala) hostel, where it will be certain of a block of votes, rather than to run a political campaign of a more conventional kind."

A police submission, read by Captain A G Brits of Kew, said the violence was a result of an ANC-IFP power struggle and that the police had been in the forefront of peace moves.

The Rev Peter Moerane of the Vaal Council of Churches, and the ANC's Mr Floyd Mashele, gave overviews of the Vaal Triangle.

They strongly linked hostels to violence and a thread criticising the police was present in both submissions.

ground is Patrick Taylor, leaning over the cemetery

Future looks bleak for graveyard kids

ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporter

ARG 6/5/92

THE graveyard kids, a band of street children who have made a home in an old tomb in the deteriorating cemetery close to Grootte Schuur Hospital, face an uncertain future.

They have been given their marching orders by three men who claim to be hospital security.

But the hospital says that no official ultimatum has been issued and the land belongs to the Cape Provincial Administration Works Department.

The children are also being investigated by the CPA's squatter division after complaints about their presence there.

Most of the children, including three girls, are in their teens. They clamber into the tomb at night through a hole in the roof. Some have been living in the cemetery for six years. They left their homes for a variety of reasons.

Social workers are actively trying to rehabilitate the children who have formed a kind of street family.

Many of them go to Molo Songololo

in Salt River every morning where they get food and attend workshops on subjects such as health, Aids, street law, reading and writing and conflict resolution.

An application has been made for a piece of land in Salt River where a shelter can be built, but permission has not yet been granted and money can't be raised until it is.

In the meantime, winter approaches and the children are hoping they will be allowed to stay because their "home" is warm, dry and secure.

But it does not look as if they will have their wish.

At the weekend, they were visited by three men in plain clothes, one with gun on his hip, who told them they would have to move or their blankets would be burned.

A social worker said the children were ready to move into a more secure home if they were offered one.

He said a street shelter was not necessarily the answer as they had formed themselves into a community.

"A street shelter is really just a doss house. They are ready for much more than that."

'Homicide the leading cause of death in SA'

ANDREA WEISS Health Reporter

HOMICIDE is the leading cause of death from external causes in South Africa, according to a new report by the Department of National Health and Population Development.

Entitled *Health Trends in South Africa* it shows that accidents, poisoning and violence are the leading cause of mortality, overtaking circulatory diseases.

A breakdown of this category shows that homicide is the major problem among all sectors of the population, except whites where traffic accidents take precedence.

Homicide and other forms of violence account for half the accidental deaths, road accidents a quarter and suicide and accidental drowning five percent each.

A population breakdown also shows that homicide is highest among the coloured population group and a "particularly important cause" of death in young males.

Suicide comes third as the leading external cause of death — but here the problem is mainly among Asian and white groups.

Drownings, mostly in fresh water,

are on a par with suicide and account for a high percentage of deaths in children under 10. Fires and accidental falls are also cited as important causes. ~~274~~ 274

Use of alcohol has been linked to all categories. ARG 6/5/92

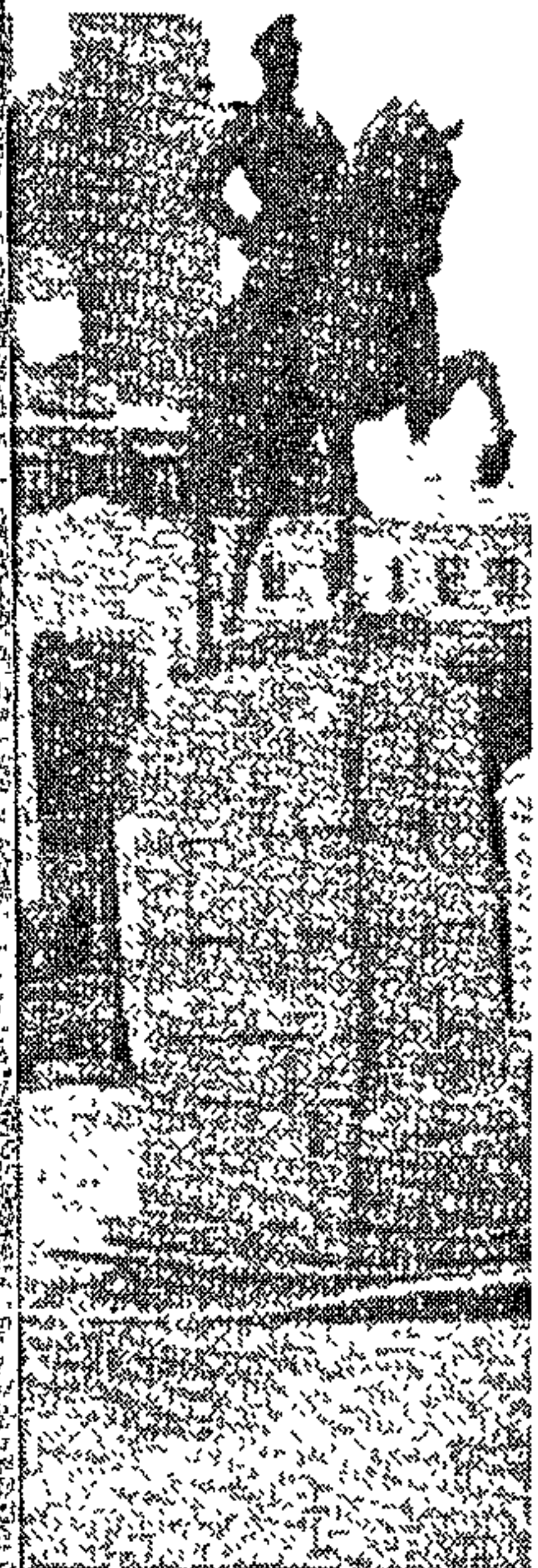
"Based on clinical observation, 35 percent of injuries were noted to be alcohol related in trauma cases attending State and private health services in the Cape Peninsula," the report says.

If the same proportion were applicable to deaths in South Africa, about 10 000 deaths a year would be alcohol related.

Alcohol was the direct cause in up to 50 percent of severe road accidents and road accident fatalities. Injury due to violence also shows a strong association with alcohol.

On the more positive side, the infant mortality rate is now 47 in 1 000, comparing favourably with World Bank estimates of 78 for developing countries and 15 for developed countries.

But the birth rate is still too high at 32 in 1 000 compared with 31 in 1 000 for developing countries.



it yesterday. He has removed
n connection with the bombing
ANC exiles' children. The NP has
in the issue of violence. Picture: AP

ANC alliance slams Kriel and denies his allegations

THE ANC and its allies yesterday struck back at allegations against the ANC made by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel at Codesa on Monday. (274) (100)

"We consider the statement a distorted selection of incidents meant to discredit the ANC and others participating in Codesa," ANC delegate Prof Kader Asmal said at a news conference at Codesa. (292)

Kriel berated the ANC, accusing it of a lack of commitment to peace. He said certain political leaders in the alliance had lost control over their members.

Nine organisations at Codesa yesterday registered their strong disapproval of Kriel's document and called for it to be rejected. *By day 6/5/92*

"The document is an attempt to absolve government of any responsibility for violence in SA and tries to downplay the public outcry against Trust Feed," Asmal said.

He questioned the timing and venue of Kriel's pronouncements, accusing the Minister of trying to divert attention from the Trust Feed judgment and of trying to stall Codesa.

"Government can't be allowed to hold up proceedings by such unilateral acts of bluster. There are other forums to raise these issues; the national peace accord and at bilateral talks. Whatever the motivation on the last day but one of the proceedings of working group one, the ANC's view is that the progress report to go to Codesa II must not be hindered by this step."

Although there were still outstanding issues which still had to be dealt with in the working group, Asmal felt there had been consensus on many of 16 issues on the working group's agenda.

The eight organisations which sided with the ANC on the Kriel document are: Transkei government, Venda government, Inyanza National Movement, Intando Yesizwe, SACP, Labour Party, NIC/TIC, and the United People's Front. — Sapa.

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ANC angry over accusations

Political Staff

(274)

ARG 6/5/92

A FURIOUS clash broke out between the ANC and the government at Codesa over a government document which detailed alleged contraventions by the ANC of the National Peace Accord and other agreements.

The ANC yesterday said the

"offensive" document could impede negotiations.

SACP negotiator Mr Ronnie Kasrils suggested that the government was trying to pin the violence on the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe to distract attention from recent remarks by two judges that the courts had found that "the police had a hand in the violence".

ANC alliance slams Kriel and denies his allegations

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NPC to wait on ANC

NATIONAL Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall yesterday contacted the ANC "regarding statements allegedly made by Mr Harry Gwala". *Sowetan 6/5/92*

Hall's office was reacting to reports yesterday that it was "to publicly reprimand African National Congress' Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala who allegedly made inflammatory statements recently". - *Sapa* (2-74)

57 unrest deaths in week (274)

A total of 57 deaths and 81 injuries were recorded by the Human Rights Commission during the week April 29 to May 5.

The HRC's "weekly repression report", released yesterday, added that of this total, 47 deaths and 62 injuries were recorded nationwide between May Day (May 1) and Tuesday.

In the PWV area, "Alexandra was clearly the flashpoint, accounting for the highest number of casualties — 12 deaths and 19 injuries".

Train attacks claimed five lives and 11 people were in-

jured. In Natal, a train attack was recorded for the first time this year. Five people were injured.

The Natal South Coast was also a flashpoint, accounting for 14 deaths and five injuries.

According to HRC research, security force action accounted for three deaths, 10 injuries and 50 arrests in actions recorded in the PWV area and Natal during the week under review.

"Hit squad" actions accounted for one death and two injuries in the PWV, according to the HRC. — Sapa.

STAR 7/5792

OAU team to monitor SA unrest

Political Correspondent

THE Department of Foreign Affairs last night gave the green light to an Organisation of African Unity observer force to monitor the violence in South Africa.

The OAU team from five countries will arrive in South Africa next week. 274 CT 7/5/92

However, Law and Order Minister Mr Herinus Kriel earlier poured cold water on efforts by the international community to monitor the police role in dealing with the violence.

He said it would be impractical to send an international force to survey the entire country.

The director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Herdeen, said last night in a letter to Nigeria's high commissioner in Botswana, Mr Alaba Ogunsanwo, that the police had nothing to hide.

OAU fact-finding mission welcomed

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

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SOUTH Africa has officially welcomed the visit next week of a five-nation Organisation of African Unity fact-finding mission on violence.

ARG-7/5/92
The group will seek to identify the perpetrators of violence and to investigate the causes.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden promised in a letter sent yesterday to the Nigerian High Commissioner in Botswana, Mr Alaba Ogunsanwo, that the government "was prepared to request the relevant South African authorities to assist the

team in making an objective assessment".

He said the idea of an OAU monitoring team visiting South Africa had first been raised in discussions between President De Klerk and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Windhoek in March 1990, and subsequently during Mr De Klerk's recent talks with Nigerian head of state and OAU president General Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja.

The monitoring group will comprise representatives from Algeria, Congo, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe. It is due in Johannesburg on Wednesday under the leadership of Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu.

De Klerk confident violence can be handled to clear way for foreign investment

TOS WENTZEL
on the Presidency

CONTINUING violence, the last remaining stumbling block in the way of increased foreign investment, could be handled, President De Klerk said.

He was speaking after talks at Tuynhuys with a high-ranking delegation from Czechoslovakia, led by Prime Minister Dr Marian Calfa.

Mr De Klerk said the referendum result had had an effect on the attitudes of potential foreign investors, but this alone did not affect the reservations caused by violence.

The problem was being handled in various ways, among others through the peace accord and the use of security forces and he was confident it could be resolved.

Dr Calfa said both countries were emerging from isolation.

He warned South Africans that there was no future in nationalisation. Czechoslovakia had tried this policy and its people had suffered.

Mr De Klerk also met a large Belgian trade mission led by the Minister of Foreign Trade, Mr Robert Urbain.

Among the 50 members, 40 represented large Belgian companies.

Mr Urbain said the talks during the visit would be about economic co-operation between the two countries as well as co-operation with the European Community.

There would be agreements on investment as well as one to avoid double taxation.

Taxi fares to be cut until boycott ends

By Peter Davies

Soweto taxis have finally decided to cut their fares by 20 percent today — only a day before the end of the six-day boycott to protest against Reef train massacres.

The Train Boycott Steering Committee met the Southern African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) Soweto region representatives yesterday, and it was agreed that fares would be cut by 20 percent from this morning until the boycott ends at midnight tomorrow.

Sabta's Moferefere Simelane said his association would ensure all taxi drivers were notified of the reduction in fares.

Some commuters have accused taxi owners of cashing in on the boycott. Taxi fares rose as much as 70 percent just three days before the protest began.

Mr Simelane said the fare increases had been implemented before the dates of the train boycott were known.

"If we'd known the dates, we could have delayed the increases. I know it looks bad."

Cosatu's Amos Masondo said the boycott may be extended.

"We will evaluate the progress after Saturday, and a decision will be taken then."

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said unless the Government took "decisive action" to address the train violence problem, the community would be forced to adopt further "extreme measures" to ensure its own protection and safety.

A spokesman for the metro division of the South African Rail Commuters Corporation said yesterday: "We can only determine exact figures later, but based on the premise that passengers would have bought weekly tickets, we estimate a daily loss of R130 000 in fares alone."

OAU mission to investigate violence in SA

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

In what is being seen as a breakthrough for foreign involvement in South Africa — although limited — an Organisation of African Unity mission is arriving in the country next week to investigate township violence.

The five-man delegation, which comprises members from Algeria, Congo, Uganda and Zimbabwe, will be led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu.

The ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party have welcomed the announcement that the task group will visit the country, while the Government has said it "was prepared to request the relevant South African authorities to assist the team in making an assessment".

Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Tom Langley, strongly objected to the visit, saying it was "an assault on the sovereign integrity" of South Africa.

"The visit of the OAU is an ANC plan and an invitation to intervention in South Africa's domestic affairs," he said.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said that while the Government was opposed to any form of foreign control of the South African security forces, it was not opposed to bona fide missions visiting the country to inform themselves of the facts.

"Not only has the SAP nothing to hide, but it would welcome an objective assessment

of the facts and realities surrounding the violence," he said.

The matter had been discussed between President de Klerk and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Windhoek on March 20 1990 and was again raised during discussions between the State President and the Nigerian head of state and OAU president, General Ibrahim Babangida, in Nigeria last month.

In its reaction, the ANC noted that an estimated 15 000 people had been killed as a result of violence, but efforts to expose the source of the violence had met with limited success.

The ANC earlier called on the international community to send independent monitoring groups to South Africa with the specific task of observing and investigating the violence.

The OAU group would complement efforts by the National Peace Committee and others to put an end to violence.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has appealed to his party and the KwaZulu legislature to do everything to assist the OAU group.

Chief Buthelezi said: "We are totally opposed to international monitoring teams during the process of negotiations."

But he supported the visit notwithstanding a concern that the OAU regarded the ANC and PAC as representing all black South Africans.

His other concerns were that the ANC and PAC had training camps in some of the member states of the OAU and that the IFP had never been able to give its version of the violence to the OAU.

Creditors 'seeking Chiavelli's fall'

By Susan Smuts

Oil tycoon Marino Chiavelli's creditors were trying to bring about his fall and that of his companies by "keeping up the pressure" with concurrent litigation in Italy and South Africa, the Rand Supreme Court

Mr Levin said if Orconsult had a proper case, it should "marshal its facts" and bring a proper application.

Mr Justice R T van Schalkwyk dismissed the application with costs, and stood the matter down until today.

A Mostert, SC, appear

had numerous assets, he could not find the "small change" to pay Orconsult, Mr Mostert said.

Referring to Dr Chiavelli's affidavit, he said Dr Chiavelli's net assets were R67 million, and those of Marchia Eastates were R65 million.

Dr Chiavelli had taken

Mostert said.

Mr Levin questioned whether the "true son" for the postment had been established. A lot of money was involved, serious allegations of insolvency had been made against "a man of means and public figure," he said.

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**OAU group
welcomed**

CT 8/5/92
JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC yesterday wel-
comed news of the Or-
ganisation of African
Unity (OAU) violence
monitoring group's arri-
val in South Africa.

"No civilised society
can allow this carnage to
continue, and all efforts
to expose and stamp out
the source of the vio-
lence have met with only
limited success," the
ANC said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha
leader Chief Mango-
suthu Buthelezi ap-
pealed to his party and
the KwaZulu legislature
yesterday, to do every-
thing possible to assist
the OAU delegation,
while the Conservative
Party strongly objected
to the OAU mission's
visit. — Sapa

Conservatives slate OAU township probe

Political Staff

(274) AUG 8/5/92

THE Conservative Party has strongly objected to the visit of an Organisation of African Unity mission next week to investigate township violence.

The party's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Tom Langley, said it was "an assault on the sovereign integrity" of South Africa.

"The visit of the OAU is an ANC plan and an invitation to intervention in South Africa's domestic affairs," he said.

But the visit is generally seen as a breakthrough for foreign involvement in South Africa, although limited.

The five-man delegation, which comprises members from Algeria, Congo, Uganda and Zimbabwe, will be led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu.

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have welcomed news of the visit and the government has said it was "prepared to request the relevant South African authorities to assist the team in making an objective assessment".

Buthelezi rejects peace force plan

Sowetan 8/5/92

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THE Inkatha Freedom Party has come out in support of the Government's objections to an international peace-keeping force to monitor the violence in South Africa.

IPF leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also rejected a proposal by the South African Council of Churches for a summit meeting on violence and that an international monitoring team be established in the country.

Buthelezi said South Africans were "quite capable of exposing whatever truth needs to be exposed".

On Wednesday Minister of Law and Order Mr Hennis Kriel said there was no need for a team of international

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

observers to monitor the violence. Kriel said it was up to the political leadership to sort out their differences.

Buthelezi said yesterday that his administration and party were "totally opposed to international monitoring teams during the present process of negotiations".

"We state simply that there is no country in Africa with a Press that is more free than the South African Press. There is no country in Africa in which the churches of the land are more free to conduct inquiries, search for truth and proclaim it."

OAU team faces a difficult task on the question of SA violence

27th 9/5/92 ANC

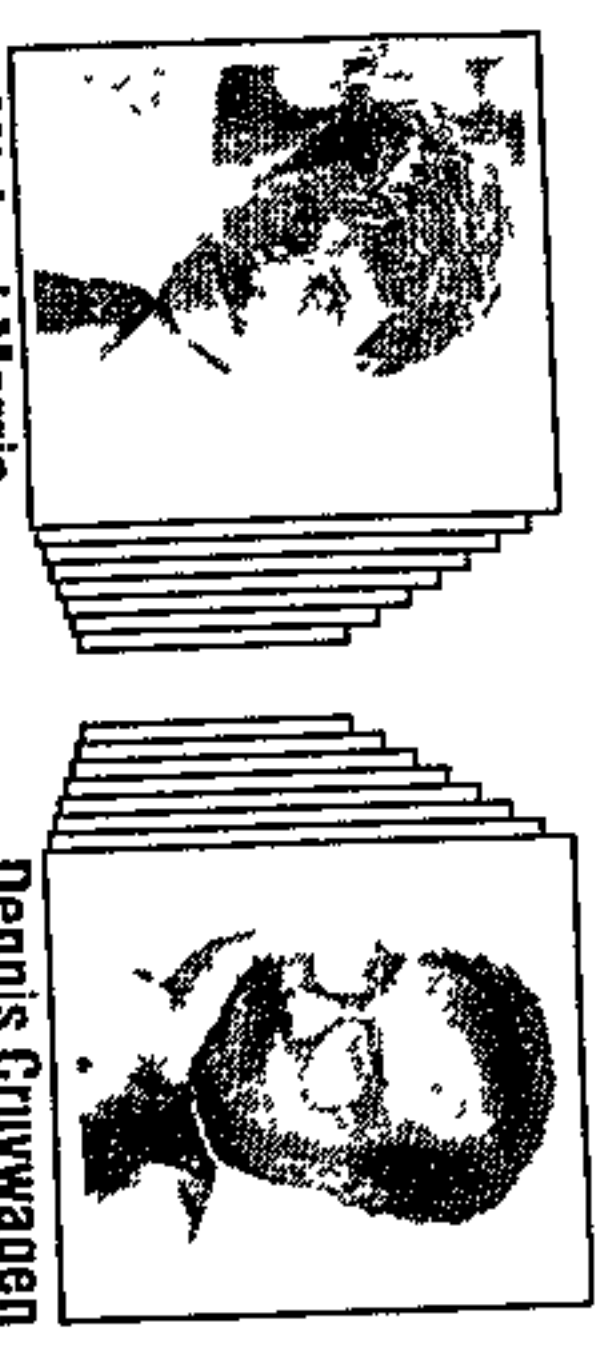
WHO is really responsible for the violence? It's a perplexing question whose answer seems to have evaded most until now. It is almost as perplexing as the rather more desperate question: will the violence ever end?

On the face of it, finding the answer to the first question is the key to the second.

But who is there to find the answer, and how? (It might even be argued that given that the violence is invariably domino-like, self-perpetuating, it is probably not possible, perhaps unreasonable and not even efficacious to work back to a source, but that would seem to be a defeatist attitude).

At a time when virtually all the major groupings in South Africa are blaming each other and getting absolutely nowhere in sorting out the mess, there is a lot to be said for a group of outsiders — particularly Africans — coming in to attempt to find an answer.

It is for this reason that a very important responsibility lies with the Organisation of African Unity team arriving in South Africa next week with the daunting, and more or less self-imposed, task of finding the culprits for the violence. They have been warned by one of the country's most able



Michael Morris
Dennis Cruywagen
A weekly analysis of the emergent new South Africa

monitors, Democratic Party law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow, of the pitfalls of a hasty assessment.

He doubts they will be able to glean much more than a first impression — unless they're prepared to spend months at it. Nigeria's Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, the team leader, for one, will clearly not have time to linger. The others, if they are of similar stature, won't either. But the fact is, they are coming and when the time comes

for them to leave, they will be expected at least to be reasonably conclusive.

Finer details of their programme are still being worked out, but the PAC has given broad definition to their approach.

They will not be coming to hear propaganda, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander has assured, but to test claims against proof, to go to violence-hit areas and speak to witnesses, to quiz whoever they can find.

It is doubtful that even the most astutely objective outsider would emerge from such a process with a clear picture in his head of the cause of violence or the culpability of any single party.

But it is perhaps here that the most potentially positive role lies for the OAU team — and that is precisely in not reaching a neat, conclusive finding, but rather in exploring the extent to which the culpability is shared, and how the solution might be shared too.

South Africa often seems too accepting of a political environment in which simple ideas like peace, justice and freedom have become revered myths, and stated commitments to them are repeated like incantations, rather than actually practised.

The OAU has a delicate opportunity now to make an arresting impression on the way South Africa thinks about making peace.

But incautious certainty will only make it worse.

A BIT of a political conundrum looms for the ANC as it grapples with its inside-outside stance on parliament.

Having willingly taken on parliamentary representation through the defection of the five Democratic Party rebels, how is the movement going to respond to the forthcoming House of Representatives by-election in the Kimberley seat of Diamant, now vacant following the resignation of Nat Leslie Abraham? So far, the Nats and Labour have committed themselves to a fight.

This leaves the ANC with four choices: back one of the two candidates, remain aloof, put up their own candidate, or urge a boycott.

Which will it be? Clearly, the ANC will have to be careful not to contradict itself.

of SA violence

AM quoting one of many letters I receive from friends

here and abroad about the way they see the situation in our country.

In her letter this week, Judith Merrian of San Francisco, California, wrote to me:

"What a joy it was to read on the front page of the March 19, 1992 issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle* that President de Klerk won a mandate to end apartheid.

"It brought tears to my eyes, and my heart was overwhelmed with deep gratitude for the peacemakers of SA who supported De Klerk's reforms.

"It's a shame that people are still being killed almost daily in the townships. Where do the weapons come from that are being used in these attacks that main and kill innocent men, women and children?"

"Peace and blessings to the people of SA". That ended the letter.

You may wonder why I reproduced this letter because you've heard such stories before.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiba

Racists have

no escape

Clip Press 10/5/92

Clip Press 10/5/92



The point is that there are people out there who really care and share our grief. Their hearts and minds are with us.

Last year I read an interesting article in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* about tons of firearms that have been flowing from US arms companies to SA, in violation of US trade sanctions and the arms embargo set up in 1986 to help end apartheid.

The article claimed, authoritatively, that 10 US arms dealers and transporters channelled at least 40 tons of shotguns, rifles, handguns and ammunition to SA. The arrival of these arms coincided with the widespread outbreak of

violence early in 1990 after ANC president Nelson Mandela's release from prison.

Said the authors of the article: "The timing of these events suggests the firearms may be fuelling the explosion of black-against-black violence that's weakening the anti-apartheid movement at a critical time."

This brings me back to the role of the security police during the state of emergency, and right now.

Many highly respected personalities like Matthew Goniwe, Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge, Dr Fabian Robeiro, Dr David Webster - the list is endless - died under mysterious

circumstances and their killers were never found.

What about those activists who simply vanished without trace? Were we expected to say "in a struggle there must be casualties"?

If this was the case, why are Nazis still being rounded up all over the world today, more than 40 years after they murdered millions of Jews?

Is it because we are black and our lives are cheap?

When somebody suggested there should be something similar to the Nuremberg Trials in SA, against those who killed and maimed our people in the name of apartheid,

there was an outcry.

When we at City Press first questioned the authorities about the mysterious killings of Goniwe and others, the then Law and Order Minister, the late Louis Je Grange, threatened to close us down.

The chickens are now coming home to roost. No amount of the law of omega (I have seen nothing, heard nothing and said nothing) will help them escape this one.

The truth is Goniwe and hundreds of others were murdered by those who hated their guts for standing up to apartheid.

Those who enjoyed the fruits of apartheid want us to forget the past. It is easy for them to say so - they were not on the receiving end as we were.

Many more revelations of State violence against the people are still to come. These facts were suppressed during PW Botha's reign of terror against anti-apartheid activists.

My advice to those who were involved in implementing apartheid is to quit now.

Peace first, SA told

APR 11 7 192

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The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — Foreign trade delegations which have visited South Africa are emphasizing that law-and-order must be restored before capital investment flows in.

This was reported back to Brussels by journalists accompanying the Belgian delegation headed by Robert Urbain, Minister for Trade and European Affairs.

Mr Urbain last week had a 40-minute meeting with President De Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

His visit to South Africa had added importance because Belgium will be the EC president for a six-month term starting on June 1.

Mr Urbain promised Belgian and EC businessmen and financiers: "We will be able to play a major role in developing economic co-operation between South Africa and the European market".

He said he was confident South Africa's ethnic and social problems would be solved, "probably in the same way as between the French- and English-speaking communities in Canada, and the French and Flemish peoples in Belgium."

But his optimism has been dampened by Belgian Press reports.

The respected daily La Libre Belgique noted that Nelson Mandela told a visiting Japanese delegation Tokyo should start investing in South Africa only "on condition there was an interim black-white government."

The Japanese replied that they saw vast investment opportunities in South Africa "but only on condition there was political stability and an end to violence."

La Libre Belgique summed up other Belgian media with the comment: "The Japanese expressed the view of many foreign trade delegations which have visited South Africa recently."

OAU delegation arrives in SA

(274) ~~274~~
JOHANNESBURG — An advance party for the OAU violence monitoring group arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday — the most senior OAU delegation yet to visit South Africa

The seven-member delegation is here to prepare for the unrest monitoring group, led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, due in South Africa on Wednesday.

Nigerian ambassador to the

OAU Mr Segun Olusola, spokesman for the advance party, said its aim was to accelerate the democratic process.

He said the group would meet all parties who felt they had a role to play in South Africa's democratisation.

Mr Olusola said the group was coming at the invitation of the ANC and PAC, but noted that the South African government had also pledged its full support.

CT 11/5/92
The monitoring team will investigate causes of unrest, and is expected to report on who it believes is responsible.

Mr Olusola said Major-General Nwachukwu would also head the OAU's guest observer delegation at Codesa II this week

Representatives from the PAC, ANC and the SA Council of Churches are to meet today to discuss a programme for the OAU delegation.

Alternative Dispute Resolution —
ADR, by A T Trollip (Butterworths,
R53,90)

THE "bloodless revolution" in SA, embodied in the somersault of attitudes from terrorism to peaceful negotiation and from counter-terrorism to co-operation, is being reflected in almost every institution. We are seeing the beginning of "revolutions" in our attitudes to labour, education and style of government, health, welfare, land use, business and law.

That is why a book on a new attitude to legal disputes is timely. It explains in detail and in simple terms the concept that keeps a business or an individual out of court.

Tim Trollip says SA is among the last of the sophisticated nations to adopt alternative dispute resolution (ADR), though it needs the process more than most. Western countries and is well suited to its use. He explains that good faith plays a major part in dispute resolution among Eastern and African commu-

BOOKS

Keeping conflicts out of court

By Don Williams

In Western cultures, precision in documentation and the application of "principled legality" apply.

The author, a lawyer with SA's largest legal practice, says that our form of litigation "has a propensity for developing a life of its own, a life out of touch with the real objectives of those involved and not driven or directed by the parties to the dispute. The outcome of any litigation is a great deal more unpredictable than most lawyers will admit."

The advantages of ADR, as recently introduced in the US and Britain, is that the dynamics of resolving legal disputes are switched from a "win-or-lose" adversarial approach to one which seeks the best mutual, material and commercial settlement. Emotions such as revenge, and legal technical points and prece-

dents, are put aside in order to find a solution that benefits as many as possible of the parties affected.

"ADR techniques are not soft options, but involve a change of emphasis and a different challenge: how to get the best possible settlement rather than the best trial result. Parties co-operate in the formulation of a procedure and have greater control over results. ADR offers pragmatic alternatives to the increasingly high cost of litigation," he writes.

He lists some advantages as:

- Greater participation by the parties to the dispute. The problem remains in their hands and is not taken over by the courts and converted into an orthodox legal issue;
- Saving of costs;
- Less formality, more flexibility. The parties, assisted by a neutral,

professional arbitrator, can agree on their own procedure;

- Confidentiality. There need be no washing of dirty linen in public;
- Providers of banking, insurance and other services can attain and maintain a competitive marketing edge by publicly pledging that they will resort to ADR processes as a dispute resolution method, and leave prosecution as "a last resort".

There are, of course, disadvantages in ADR already noted by some of SA's larger corporations.

Their perception is that ADR is automatically a process of compromise, so that the party with a very strong case suffers. But then every litigant believes he must win, and it can be argued that a compromise often works to the benefit of the "big boy" in the long run.

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Other disadvantages are apparent, and Trollip, wisely, lists some of these as limitations on the ADR process. They include:

- A lack of "legitimacy" of authoritative judicial decisions;
- The possibility of participant's being "pressured" into accepting less than they are entitled to;
- Irreconcilable differences, whether of principle or prejudice, belong in the courts, not in any ADR centre;
- There is a danger that ADR processes will reflect existing power imbalances, says the author, although some in the establishment fear the very opposite.

Overall, however, as logic suggests and the track record in America and Europe confirms, ADR has a major role to play, especially in resolving commercial disputes.

Trollip's book sets out, in simple form for the layman, how arbitration and mediation work, and how to go about settling a dispute with the agreement of one's opponent.

HWT

the UK £1 coin and has been tails of a standby offer to buy



Business Day's youngest Blue Chip Challenge winner, Kelly Orme, 6, of Pinetown, scooped the pool on Friday to receive R1 800.

Hall urges business to bring peace

B/Day 11/5/92
ANDREW KRUMM

NATIONAL peace accord chairman John Hall said at the weekend business was uniquely suited to halt SA's slide into anarchy and violence. (274)

Speaking at the final day of the National Association of Homebuilders conference in Sandton, Hall said SA was made up of thousands of mini-economies, many unaware they were "on the endangered species list... Some communities are sinking into anarchy and violence and taking their business communities with them."

Although nurturing the peace accord was everyone's responsibility, the business community possessed the ability to play a major role as facilitator and mediator. He urged individual businesses, as "honest brokers of peace and stability" to become heavily involved through organisations.

"When violence becomes endemic, the downward spiral is hard to reverse — ask Marlborough businessmen," said Hall. He said economic growth could be achieved only through collaborative effort to restore peace.

Housing forum may still see De Loor report

B/Day 11/5/92
ANDREW KRUMM

GOVERNMENT's closely guarded De Loor commission report on housing policy might be made available to the National Housing Forum, its working committee chairman Khehla Shubane told a National Association of Homebuilders' conference in Sandton on Friday.

He said Minister Leon Wessels had indicated he would like to make the report available after local government finished processing it.

The forum was formed by the Indepen-

dent Development Trust and Development Bank last year to provide housing solutions, and includes trade union, business, political and development organisations.

Government withdrew from the forum in January, saying it was an attempt at "interim rule by stealth". Shubane said this sprang from unease over an agreement that decisions be binding on all parties.

Critics

Week

From page 1

resign under this kind of cloud, but things were different and change was taking place anyway, with the government a key player

While pressure is being brought to bear on Mr De Klerk's government by parliamentary groups and others outside, the government is intent on sidestepping and brazening out the crisis over the scandals about corruptions and cover-ups.

The refrain that is heard and will be continued is summed up by Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers, the only cabinet minister available yesterday to comment.

"Apartheid was the problem and we have put it behind our backs irrevocably. It's all in the past and we have come clean and will now try to clean it up further to prove that we run a clean administration," he said.

He said there was no need for ministerial responsibility because the officials had covered things up and hidden the corruption from the ministers concerned. He refused to believe that State Affairs Minister Dr Viljoen and NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe had acknowledged that they knew of the corruption and tried to clean it up.

"That's what you say. You cannot pick on ministers and expect them to know exactly every detail that is going on in their departments. That is why they employ officials," he said.

Asked why he, as the most recent Development Aid Minister, had retained as director-general Mr Leon van Gass, whom Mr Justice Pickard found to be covering up investigations and implicated in corruption, he said he needed someone to wind up the department "It is also unfair to suspend or fire someone without giving them the details of allegations against them."

He said he did not want the report released, even to departmental staff, for fear that it might hamper the legal investigation.

Instead, what happened was that the government abolished the department, without stating the broad findings of the Pickard report, and transferred officials to other departments.

Frustrated ANC negotiators who failed to make progress in recent bilateral talks with the government on a formula for power-sharing, at the weekend accused the government of digging in its heels.

Key ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said: "The next few days will indicate to us whether the government is prepared to cross the Rubicon and make the process irreversible."

Govt faces tough days of questions

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government faces a crisis this week as the growing storm over its alleged role in corruption, violence and foot-dragging in negotiations comes under the spotlight.

A special snap debate in Parliament tonight will challenge a government reeling under a series of alleged scandals and accusations.

President F W de Klerk and senior cabinet members face a credibility problem just days before the Codessa II "negotiation showcase" is launched.

In the crunch week ahead, the government will come under growing pressure to "come clean" in three key areas.

● On the rampant corruption in the recently-closed Department of Development Aid.

● On demands for a political purge of the former political heads of the archetypal grand apartheid department — particularly the government's chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen, — which grew at the weekend amid public outrage at the waste of billions of rands of taxpayers' money.

● On the unfolding catalogue of charges of state-sponsored political killings — most recently the apparent assassination of Mr Mather Goniwe and three other UDF activists — and the attempted official cover-up of the actions of some security force members or their early release when found guilty.

As opposition politicians press with new questions about whether senior



members of the cabinet and security forces on the State Security Council knew about or sanctioned state-sponsored hit squads. Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa is reportedly threatening to release further documentation on the alleged involvement of the state in fomenting "black-on-black" violence.

Top Nationalist sources said at the weekend that the government might try to ride out the latest storm and insist on the offensive at Codessa II. But this strategy would be backfire as the government has lost much of the high moral ground it has painstakingly been trying to build up through Mr De Klerk's reform initiatives in recent months.

As Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer put it last night: "The government will find itself on very weak

ground if and when it tries to take a tough line against the rest of us at Codessa II."

With a number of deadlocked Codessa committees meeting today and tomorrow in a bid to prevent Codessa II ending up as a damp squib, Dr De Beer emphasised that the NP now simply had to show that it was prepared to share power.

"The failure of Codessa II could have 'dreadful international repercussions', said Key DP strategist Mr Co'n Eglin, "and if the whole system was to collapse, it would be a disaster. It would simply disappear as in the past, but now that the negotiation process was so advanced it could not. In normal societies the government would have to

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Hall urges business to bring peace

B/Daw 11/5/92
ANDREW KRUMM

NATIONAL peace accord chairman John Hall said at the weekend business was uniquely suited to halt SA's slide into anarchy and violence. (274) (80) (82)

Speaking at the final day of the National Association of Homebuilders conference in Sandton, Hall said SA was made up of thousands of mini-economies, many unaware they were "on the endangered species list... Some communities are sinking into anarchy and violence and taking their business communities with them."

Although nurturing the peace accord was every one's responsibility, the business community possessed the ability to play a major role as facilitator and mediator. He urged individual businesses, as "honest brokers of peace and stability" to become heavily involved through organisations.

"When violence becomes endemic, the downward spiral is hard to reverse — ask Marlborough businessmen," said Hall. He said economic growth could be achieved only through collaborative effort to restore peace.

OAU in SA to probe violence

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Sowefair
11/5/92

THE Pan Africanist Congress, African National Congress and the South African Council of Churches will meet today to discuss a programme for the visiting Organisation of Africa Unity delegation which arrived in the country yesterday.

The delegation, consisting of five ambassadors based at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was welcomed by senior PAC members and includes Chief Segun Olusola of Nigeria, Mr J Bendjama of Algeria, OAU secretary-general Mr Norbert Ngova, Mr Javan Kulary of Uganda and Mr Tranos Makombe of Zimbabwe.

The PAC's publicity director, Mr Wa-

ters Toboti, said afterwards that the purpose of the delegation's visit was expressly to monitor the ongoing violence in the country - not to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

He said that PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nenzivhanani had impressed on the delegation on arrival that the PAC did not link the role of the OAU in monitoring violence with the OAU in Codesa 2 and that the PAC did not condone participation of the OAU in Codesa.

The PAC would discuss the delegation's programme today with the ANC and the SACC, Toboti said.

However, the OAU delegation's leader, Chief Olusola, hinted shortly after they arrived that they would like to attend Codesa as observers. - *Sapa*.

By Thabo Leshilo ^{STAR}
Political Staff 12/5/92

OAU visitors, ANC meet ²⁷⁴

The Organisation of Africa Unity had in the past endorsed multinational military intervention in national affairs, but it prayed there would be no need for such action in South Africa, the head of the visiting OAU delegation, Chief Olusegun Olu-sola, said yesterday.

Chief Olusola was addressing a press conference at the ANC

head office in Johannesburg after meeting leaders of the organisation.

The delegation, including five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, arrived on Sunday.

It was invited by the ANC and PAC to monitor violence in black townships.

The ambassadors are Mr Olu-

sola, Amar Benjana of Algeria, Tranos Makombe of Zimbabwe, Jovan Kulany of Uganda and Norbert Ngula of Congo.

Chief Olusola, Nigeria's ambassador to Ethiopia and the OAU, said the delegation hoped to establish the truth about township violence, help accelerate the process of democracy and ensure Codesa's success.

The delegation also wanted to see "what influence we can bring to bear" on elements seeking to disrupt the peace process through violence.

The delegation's programme includes paying a visit to Codesa and meeting "all participants in the peace process".

The visitors met officials from the South African Council of Churches and PAC yesterday.

They will also meet members of the Government.

QUIT NOW?

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But Govt ignores call

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government last night summarily rejected opposition demands that heads should roll as a result of the Pickard Commission's corruption scandal in South Africa's history.

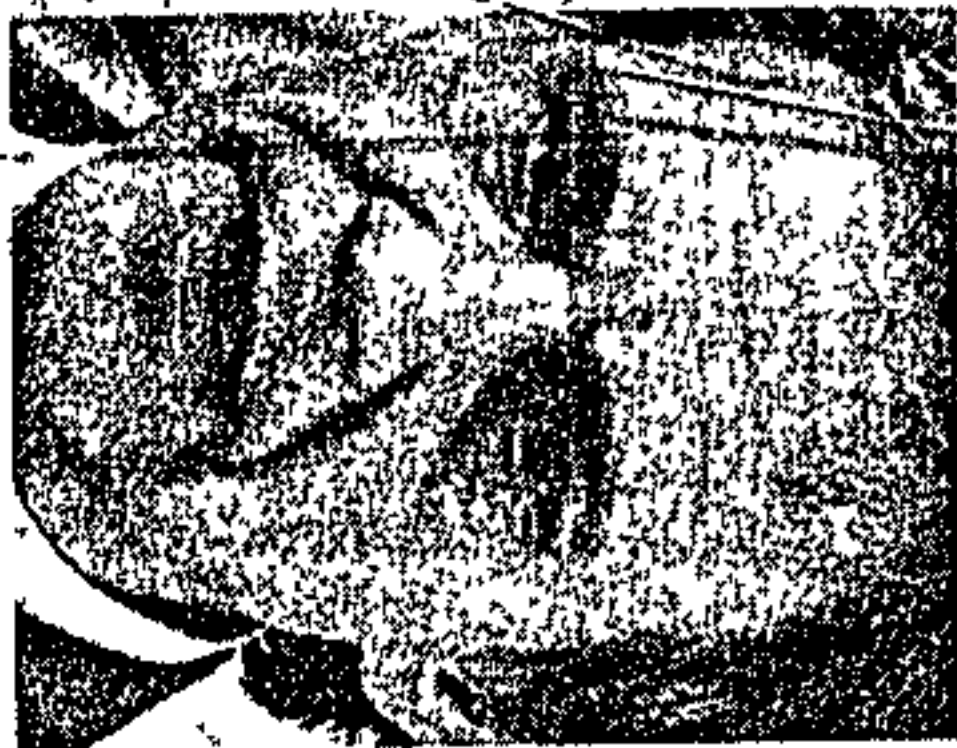
During a rowdy debate in the House of Assembly, government spokesmen dismissed repeated calls for ministers politically responsible for the now-defunct Department of Development Aid to resign.

In a stormy confrontation which saw the Speaker working overtime to keep MPs in order, the packed public gallery was treated to a full-blooded, stinging match between the government and "the rest".

Cancer

As opposition speakers demanded decisive action by the government to "cut out the cancer of corruption", NP speakers accused the Conservative Party, the Democratic Party and the press of "hysterically" exaggerating the problem. President F W de Klerk, who frequently interjected as MPs crossed swords, did not formally enter the fray despite having a prepared text in front of him.

The report by Mr Justice Benjamin Pickard catalogued massive theft, graft and corruption — possi-



STILL IN GOVT ... Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe both headed the Department of Development Aid

bly running into billions of rands there.

Dr Viljoen is resting on doctor's orders, but Dr Van der Merwe, who sat for much of the debate with his head in his hands, made only a cameo appearance during which he said ministers could not be expected to know about every detail of their departments.

Opening the debate, Mr De Villiers admitted that the Pickard report told "a sorry tale of dishonesty and corruption, fraud and

mismanagement, the government had the courage to reveal mismanagement and abuses and take corrective action, he said to jeers of "twak" and howls of disbelief from opposition benches.

In a speech peppered with interjections of "rubbish", Mr De Villiers said the judicial commission had not made any specific accusations against the political heads of the corrupt department.

When he concluded by asserting that the NP stood for clean government, pandemonium broke out in the House.

The Conservative Party's attack in the debate was led by its finance spokesman, Mr Casper Uys, who

charged that "a climate of corruption" had taken grip in the country.

He said that any government with a conscience would resign.

"It does not help that the ministers involved say they were innocent because they did not know," he said. "They were informed and they did not react."

He slammed the government's holding back of the report and pointed out it had been released after Mr De Villiers' Budget vote had been debated in Parliament.

The DP's main speaker, Mr Peter Seel, said the National Party had clearly lost the will to govern.

"After 44 years in office they have become so feeble and stolid that we are left with a gang of wimps," he said. "Despite the fact that 'millions and millions and millions' of rands of taxpayers' money had disappeared, the ministers who had allowed this 'scandalous' situation to unfold were now trying to cling to office like barnacles."

Missing boy's

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From page 1

'Quit'

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the forum on "the immorality of the State President and his cabinet".

The proposed motion states that senior ministers, who had allowed millions of rands of taxpayers' money to be stolen, while demanding financial cutbacks to the President's Council, should resign.

"This type financial corruption cannot be allowed to go unchallenged, particularly in view of the detrimental effect of the resultant lack of funds has had on the activities of the President's Council," the motion concludes.

● The Labour Party last night "severely condemned" a decision by the parliamentary authorities to permit the debate on corruption in the former Department of Development Aid to take place only in the white House of Assembly rather than a joint sitting of Parliament.

The LP's spokesman on Regional and Land Affairs, Mr Tommy Abraham, said the government should resign, adding that the enormity of the scandal showed that the government could not be trusted to run the country during the transition period.

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Goniwe ~~is~~ kill FW ~~is~~ faces ~~is~~ **criticisms**

MICHAEL MORRIS, TOS WENTZEL and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk will face tough questions in an urgent mini debate in parliament tomorrow on allegations that the country's security establishment gave orders to kill Mr Matthew Goniwe and three fellow activists.

As the political climate became steadily more hostile to Mr De Klerk and his embattled government the Democratic Party gave notice that it would challenge the President to say:

- Whether or not the State Security Council, its secretariat or any person serving on it authorised the assassination of the Eastern Cape activists in 1985, or

- Whether or not any member of the security forces ordered the killing of Mr Matthew Goniwe and co-activists.

Furthermore — hot on the heels of last night's special debate on the damning Pickard Report into corruption among Development Aid officials — the DP is asking for a full debate on the Goniwe affair.

In a statement, DP whip Ms Dene Smuts said this "must be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency in the light of allegations that violent destabilisation by agents of the state continues even as Codesa negotiates the terms of the transition to a democratic society".

Meanwhile, Transkeian military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa has been asked to make public his documentation on the government's alleged involvement in violence.

A spokesman for the President's office said the general's alleged hefty file with documentation, said to prove the involvement of South African security forces in violence, would enable the South African authorities to conduct a proper investigation

The spokesman also said it would be a pity if General Holomisa wanted to "play politics" by releasing his documents opportunistically.

If he was serious about promoting peace and bringing criminals to justice he should release his information.

General Holomisa said today that he would be in a position to react formally by Friday, but only if President De Klerk asked him formally to hand over the documentation.

He said: "I will be in a position to react formally to this request on or before Friday. I take it he wants our co-operation and I assume he'll write me a formal note."

Major General Holomisa said he would co-operate with President De Klerk "but he must tell his spokesmen not to say we are "playing politics".

"This is not child's play. It's serious and we must be certain we have done our homework."

General Holomisa said Mr De Klerk must brief parliament fully on the violence and allow it to debate the issue if he wanted his co-operation.

"If he wants to pressure us to release the documents he must be pressured to come clean, because it seems he wants to play this thing down."

'Very wide terms'

In an earlier statement yesterday, DP justice spokesman Mr Tony Leon welcomed what he described as the "Zietsman Commission of Inquiry" into the deaths of the activists.

But he said: "We do not believe the commission will succeed in its task unless it has very wide and far-reaching terms of reference".

He believed the lack of success of the Harms Commission of Inquiry in tracking down the sinister SADF unit, the CCB, was attributable, in part, to its narrow frame of reference.

Mr Leon said the investigation of the Goniwe case would necessarily "touch on the mysterious circumstances" surrounding the deaths of other Eastern Province activists.

For this reason the new investigation should include a re-examination of all murders and deaths in suspicious circumstances on which open verdicts at inquests were returned.

New threats by Holomisa

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PRESSURE on President F W de Klerk over the Goniwe killings continued yesterday with Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa threatening to make new disclosures on state-sponsored violence.

Tomorrow the government will face more questions when the 1985 assassinations are the subject of an urgent debate in Parliament.

General Holomisa, in the city yesterday to address students at UCT, indicated to reporters that the "thick file" he had received contained evidence of the state "trying to kill its nationals".

He has already sent Mr De Klerk a copy of the alleged State Security Council (SSC) document ordering the assassinations of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other activists.

General Holomisa said he was having the new documentation translated from Afrikaans and would make it available once it had been studied. Asked if he would send the file to Mr De Klerk, he said: "It depends how they handle this one (the Goniwe document)."

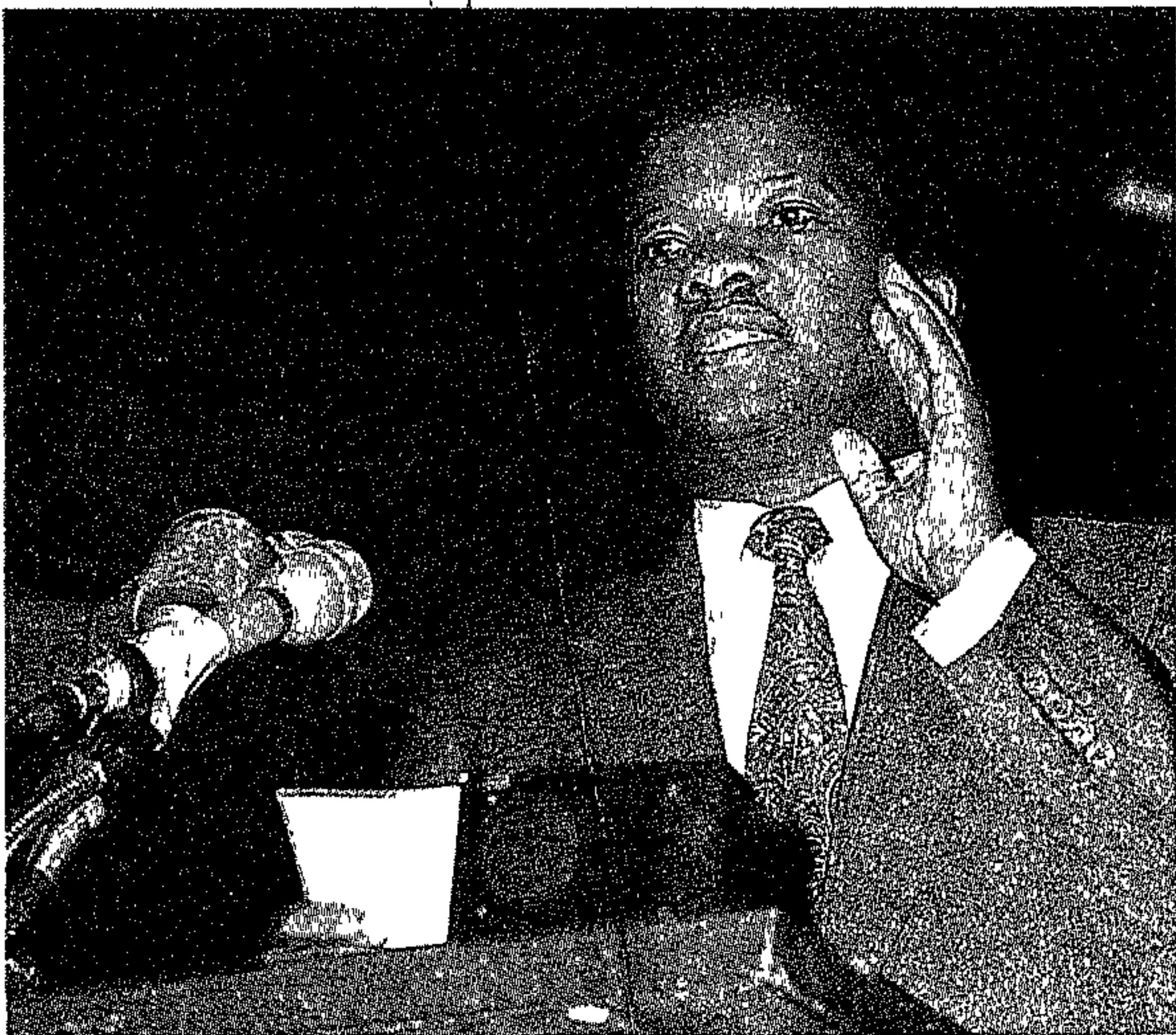
In his speech to a highly receptive audience, General Holomisa said it had become evident that "the practice of eliminating political activists continues unabated today as it did under the reign of Mr P W Botha".

Suspicious

Yesterday Democratic Party whip Ms Dene Smuts said the DP would ask during tomorrow's mini-debate "whether the SSC, its secretariat or any person serving thereon authorised the assassination of Eastern Cape activists in 1985".

DP spokesman on justice Mr Tony Leon yesterday welcomed Mr De Klerk's appointment of a commission of inquiry into the killings but called for its terms of reference to include the "re-examination of all murders and deaths in suspicious circumstances on which open verdicts at inquests were returned".

Mr Eddie Trent, MP for Port Elizabeth Central, yesterday said during



SPEAKS OUT ... Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa addresses a lunchtime meeting at the University of Cape Town yesterday. His topic was Peace Now.

Picture: ANNE LAING

the debate on the own affairs budget that there was incontrovertible evidence that the murder of the Cradock Four had been politically motivated.

● Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) is to ask Mr De Klerk to order an investigation into the deaths of 64 anti-apartheid activists if allegations of state complicity in the death of Mr Goniwe are correct.

LHR national director Mr Brian Currin said his list includes anthropologist Dr David Webster and Mamelodi doctor Fabian Ribeiro.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu, addressing university students in Port Elizabeth, said Mr De Klerk should disclose all covert operations to a panel of Appeal Court judges. — Political Staff, Sapa

Goniwe: Roadblock alleged

Staff Reporter

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SADF vehicles formed a "massive" army roadblock the night Eastern Cape activist Mr Matthew Goniwe and three others died, says a farmer's wife.

During the initial investigation into the deaths, authorities denied there was a roadblock on the Port Elizabeth-Grahamstown road.

Yesterday Grahamstown's act-

ing attorney-general, Mr Michael Hodgen, joined the SADF and the police in a fresh probe into Mr Goniwe's death in 1985.

Mr Hodgen presented evidence during the 1989 inquest.

The investigation has been rekindled after Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa acquired a handwritten document which he passed on to the New Nation newspaper.

Yesterday a Paterson farmer's

wife, Mrs Barbara Butters, said she passed through a "bigger than average" SADF roadblock on the road on June 27.

She was not stopped but waved through, about 6.30pm.

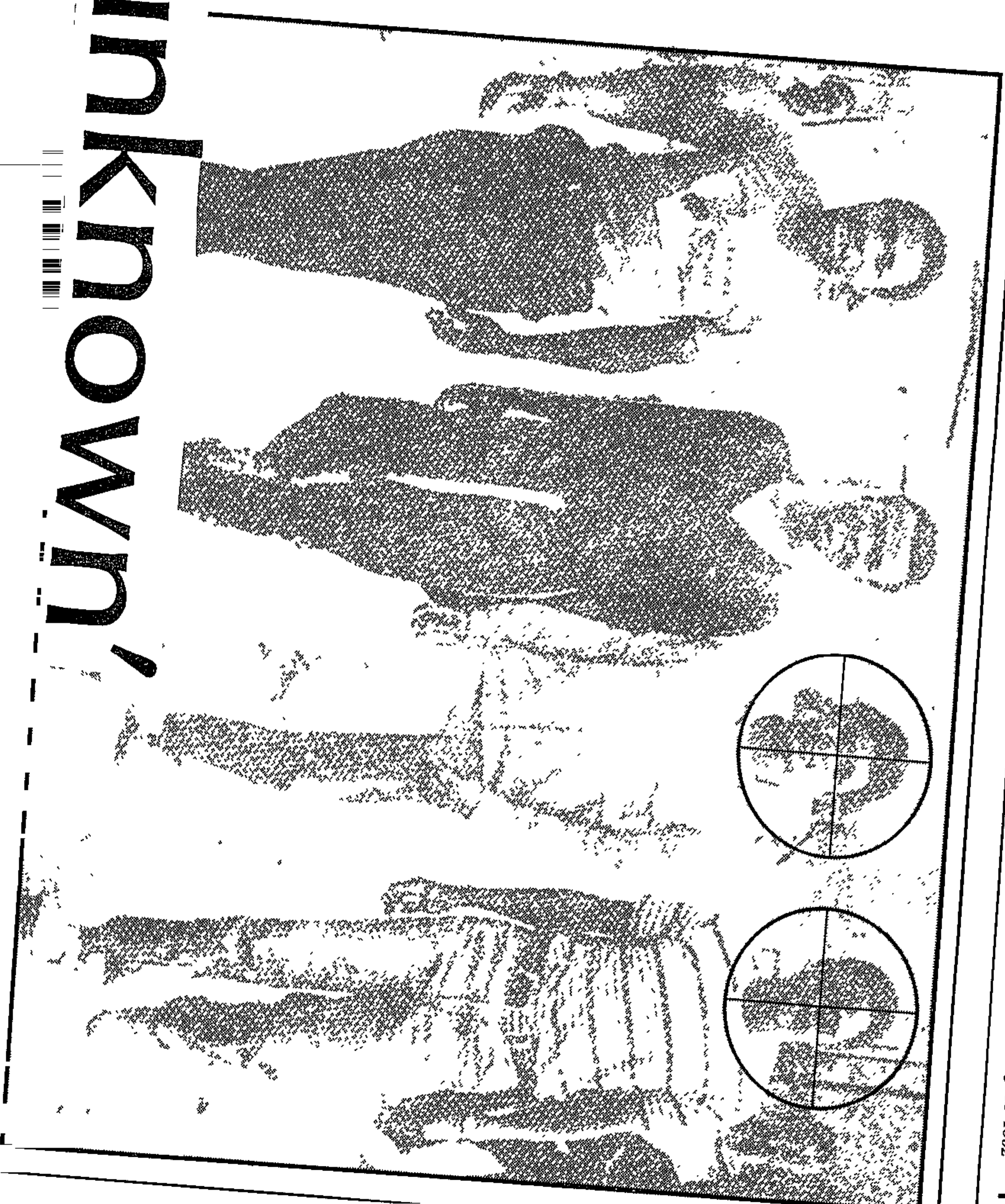
Mrs Butters said she had linked the roadblock with Mr Goniwe following the widespread publicity after his death.

She had not testified at the first inquest in 1989 but is now prepared to testify.



THE HIDDEN HAND

Deaths by 'a person or group of persons unknown'



A WIDOW LEFT BEHIND



Report: JOHN YELD
Staff Reporter

CRADOCK may have the reputation of a platteland backwater, but the towering presence of Matthew Goniwe ensured that the dusty Eastern Cape town was at the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle of the mid-1980s.

That was until his brutal murder in 1985.

Mr Goniwe — Cradock teacher, founder and former chairman of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora), rural regional organiser for the United Democratic Front and an associate member of 'the Black Sash' — set out for home from Port Elizabeth with three companions on Thursday, June 27 after attending an unscheduled UDF meeting.

His fellow travellers were UDF executive member Mr Fort Calata, Mr Thomas "Sparrow" Mkhonto, chairman of Cradora, and Oudtshoorn teacher and UDF member Mr Sicele Mhlawuli.

None of the men was seen alive again.

On Friday, Mr Goniwe's gutted Honda Ballade was discovered near the Aldo Scribante racetrack on the road to Grahamstown and Mr Mhlawuli was found in bushes nearby. Mr Mkhonto's body was found the next day.

Four days later, the charred bodies of Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata were found 1,7km away, in a clearing near the gravel road between St George's Strand and Bluewater Bay on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth.



From the outset, the men's families and anti-apartheid leaders claimed the state was involved in the killings.

The day their bodies were discovered, regional UDF secretary Mr Derrick Swarts was quoted as saying, "The nation and the international community knows full well who is responsible for their deaths."

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF acting publicity secretary, said the police's failure to make any headway with the case left "many questions".

"The popular view has become that there is police complicity in these incidents. The South African Government took "the strongest possible exception" to these allegations.

Mr Louis Nel, then deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, said they had persistently tried to restore law and order in unrest areas — "exactly to prevent such tragic incidents" — and he blamed the conflict on "an internecine power struggle by opposing radical organisations".

By August 1985, police had "absolutely no leads", and academics and administrative staff at the three West-

ern Cape universities were offering a R35 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the killers.

A first inquest on the four men opened in Port Elizabeth in January 1988 but was postponed with the agreement of the families' legal representatives.

The magistrate ordered the documents to remain privileged after hearing a State representative say an investigation was still in progress and a prosecution could result.

In August 1988, the South African Embassy in London lashed out at the BBC over a television programme which examined the murders of opponents of apartheid — including that of Mr Goniwe, Natal academic Rick Turner and ANC Paris representative Mrs Dulcie September.

The embassy accused the BBC of conducting a "propaganda vendetta" against South Africa, and in a question-and-answer session after the film, South African "super-spy" and President's Council member Mr Craig Williamson flatly denied South African involvement in the murders. He said it was easy to make the accusations

without evidence to back them up.

A second inquest started on February 15 1989, and Mrs Goniwe was represented by one of South Africa's best-known advocates, Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC.

The court was told Mr Goniwe died of multiple stab wounds in the neck, chest, stomach and back, Mr Calata had been stabbed in the heart, Mr Mkhonto had a gunshot wound in the brain, a stab wound which had penetrated his heart and three other chest wounds, and Mr Mhlawuli had been shot in the brain and chest and stabbed 32 times with a variety of weapons.

Evidence was led — but mainly rejected — that the men's deaths resulted from conflict between the UDF and the black consciousness organisation Azapo.

In his summing-up, Mr Chaskalson said everything pointed to the murders being politically motivated, and rejected suggestions of conflict between the UDF and Azapo in Cradock.

He described the killings as carefully planned, well coordinated and skilful.

■ Together . . . Mbulele Gondiwe (left), Fort Calata (second from right) and Matthew Gondiwe (far right) and an unidentified friend back home after being released from detention in 1984. Two were marked for death. LEFT: Recovering the bodies

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"We know he (Mr Goniwe) said he would stop only for the police or traffic officers," Mr Chaskalson told the inquest court.

He said petrol had been poured over the men's face and set alight to make it more difficult to identify the bodies.

He referred to evidence that the original number plates on Mr Goniwe's car had been removed and that a false number plate had been found next to the car.

One of Mr Goniwe's original CAT number plates had later been found in the grass near the car.

Magistrate Mr E de Bee said suspects by the men's families that members of the South African Police had been involved in the murder had been extensively investigated, but there had been no evidence before him to suggest any policemen had participated in the killings.

On the evidence, it was impossible to determine the identity of the killers and he ruled that their deaths had been caused by "a person or group of persons unknown". He referred his findings to the Attorney General of the Eastern Cape.

NYAMEKA GONIWE IN CAPE TOWN YESTERDAY

Picture LEON MULLER, The Argus

'You are not reading a story or watching a movie — you are involved'

JOHN VILJOEN, Staff Reporter

Argus

12/5/92

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NYAMEKA GONIWE, widow of slain Cradock activist Mr Matthew Goniwe, hopes the new inquest on her husband will signal a fresh start to life for her.

The anger and bitterness of almost seven lonely years of unanswered questions is barely visible on a face strong with dignity and compassion.

Talking yesterday about what she expected from the new inquiry, Mrs Goniwe, a social worker who has lived and worked in Cape Town for the past two years, hinted at her hopes and doubts.

"I don't expect much. I hope the inquest will be fairly dealt with and lead us to the people who are accountable," she said.

"Because of our past experiences I am a bit sceptical."

She spoke of the "callousness and insensitivity" displayed to the families of her husband and those who died with him during the original inquest. Then the State was more concerned with proving their case than worrying about the relatives, she said.

Mrs Goniwe said the new evidence that the four were assassinated by the State had left her "sad, and angry, but excited and happy because there is at last a lead, something that will lead us to what everyone has been praying for — some light to be shed on what happened to these men".

"All the evidence we produced in the past was crushed. Now we have new hope that this will bring us closer to the truth.

"It is of national importance, but there is also an emotional element. There are widows, children and families. We've lost husbands and fathers to our children."

But she dreads the renewed anguish the investigation will bring:

"Everything that happened is discussed in detail. You are not reading a story or watching a movie — you are involved."

Life since the four were killed in 1985 had been "very painful", she said. As a single parent, she has had to struggle to provide a decent education for her children Nobuzwe, 16, and Nyaniso, nine.

She described her loss as "heavy burden" which had led to traumatic experiences. "Matthew was a dear father and a good husband — good in every way."

After she was widowed the University of the Western Cape asked Mrs Goniwe to run a project in Cradock, which she did until 1990.

It was then that she decided to move to Cape Town. "I felt as though I was leaving my soul behind. But I realised I had to make a fresh start."

The end of the forthcoming inquest would mark another fresh start — emotionally, she said.

"We must not take the baggage of repression into the new South Africa. It is the responsibility of everyone to our children not to carry the baggage of the past.

"It is time that everyone should come clean."

She would like her husband's killers to be punished. If that is done, then Nyameka Goniwe will be at peace.

She is able to salvage some hope from the deaths of the four back in 1985: "What is pleasing is that their death signalled a turn of events. That day of the funeral in Cradock was one of the saddest days, but I was happy because the whole of South Africa and the international community was represented.

"The people seemed to commit themselves to changing things. Now I am happy to see we are moving in that direction."

Holomisa calls for security probe

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ARG 12/5/92

'International jurists needed'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE Court of International Justice has been urged to send a team of jurists to investigate the operations of the State Security Council.

The call was made at the University of Cape Town yesterday by Transkei military ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa.

Referring to the murder of four UDF leaders in 1985, he said it was inconceivable that "generals and brigadiers could formulate the policy of physically eliminating the staunch and unbending opponents of the racist and brutally oppressive government without the knowledge, approval and sanctioning by the State Security Council".

Major General Holomisa added that the scandal about the Department of Development Aid showed that the governing of the country could not be left to the National Party.

It also underscored the need for an immediate installation of an interim government of national unity, he said.

"President F W De Klerk cannot be given another chance to end violence because he has lamentably and dis-

mally failed to discharge this task to the satisfaction of all parties."

He said the Pickard Commission's disclosures about corruption in the Department of Development Aid had compounded the situation.

Major-General Holomisa said the violence would not stop "until an international peace-keeping force is dispatched to the country to restore peace and stability" by monitoring how security forces maintained law and order.

He added that those responsible for the total onslaught and total strategy were still in the commanding heights of political power.

"The public utterances of the National Party leadership are devoid of any traces of shame and repentance for their immorally bankrupt track record.

"The sheer dismissal of these heinous crimes and corruption as things of the past is an unequivocal reflection on its sensitivity to public opinion and it's lost touch with reality."

He said Transkei rejected with contempt insinuations that Cabinet ministers could not be held responsible for the aberrations of their departmental officials.

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Holomisa tells FW to come clean

Sowetan 12/5/92 ~~103~~ 274

TRANSKEI leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday threatened to release more damning information on the Government's role in fermenting violence unless State President Mr FW de Klerk came clean on the matter.

Holomisa said he had a "thick file" of information which could prove that the Government and its security forces were behind the violence in the country.

Speaking in Cape Town, Holomisa said the documents pointed to a "well-oiled fifth column at the highest level of the Government that was cocked and ready to activate at any time."

Holomisa said the Government was using black-on-black violence to convince its allies

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

in the international community that it was an impediment to the speedy democratisation of South Africa.

The unbanning of liberation movements had not been aimed at solving the country's political problem.

"It was a bold premeditated strategy to lure these (movements) into the heart of the country with a view to rounding their members up and finally inflicting severe political defeat on them by systematically embarking on schemes to discredit their leadership with the resultant lowering of morale among their rank and file," he said.

Stayaway ends

Sowetan 12/5/92

THE week-long stayaway in Maritzburg which was marked by daily protests and marches into the city has been temporarily called off.

The announcement was made at the weekend by the African National Congress, the SA Communist Party, Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Imbali Co-ordinating Committee.

The stayaway was ended after the Maritzburg Cham-

ber of Commerce and Industry undertook to recommend not to penalise workers who had stayed away and to urge the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry to investigate the conduct of security forces stationed at Imbali.

The chamber also undertook to use its influence to ensure that 32 Battalion and the riot police are withdrawn from Imbali. - Sowetan Correspondent.

Concern at attacks on journalists

Sowetan 12/5/92

THE Foreign Correspondents' Association, representing about 160 overseas journalists working in South Africa, yesterday expressed concern about the safety of its members in increasingly volatile townships.

In an open letter to the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian Peoples Organisation, Inkatha Freedom Party, National Party and the Committee to Protect Journalists in Washington, the association said its concern arose from several attacks on journalists in recent months by groups across the political spectrum.

The letter further urged political leaders to take immediate action to restrain their supporters. - Sapa.

"YOU KILLED OUR MARRIAGE"

Nhlanhla Mbambo tells his story.



Worth over R26000

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OAU wary of outside intervention

Sowetan
ALTHOUGH the Organisation of African Unity has endorsed multi-national military intervention in national affairs, it "prays" there would be no need for such action in South Africa.

This was said by the head of the visiting OAU delega-

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tion, Chief Olusegun Olusola, yesterday while addressing a Press conference at the African National Congress' head office in Johannesburg.

The delegation, including five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, arrived on

Sunday.

It was invited by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress to monitor the ongoing violence in black townships.

The ambassadors are Olusola, Mr Amar Benjana of Algeria, Mr Tranos Makombe of Zimbabwe,

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Mr Jovan Kulany of Uganda and Mr Norbert Ngula of Congo.

Others are the head of the OAU's inter-Africa co-operation and policy harmonisation division, Mr Mamoudou Kane, OAU liberation committee executive secretary Brigadier Hashim Mbita and Mr JJ Umana, special assistant to Olusola.

Olusola said the delegation hoped to establish the truth about township violence, help accelerate the process of democracy and ensure the success of such processes as Codesa.

Inkatha 'seeks peace'

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha wants to sign a peace treaty with the ANC and its allies to "ensure the cessation of violence, intimidation and other forms of aggression" in troubled Alexandra, it was disclosed yesterday. (274)

ANC Alexandra spokesman Mr Obed Bapela said Inkatha official Mr Bruce Anderson had raised the matter at a recent meeting of a local interim crisis committee. CT 13/5/92

Mr Bapela said: "The feeling is that there is no need for a peace treaty between the ANC, its allies and Inkatha, as these organisations have signed the national peace accord."

Ethnicity used to fan violence

STAR 13/5/92.

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NOT a moment too soon, the National Peace Committee (NPC) is to act against political leaders who make inflammatory statements in contravention of the National Peace Accord.

That matters have come to a stage where the NPC found it necessary to take such a step is a timely reminder of the crucial role that black leaders — whose followers are, after all, the ones being maimed and murdered in political violence — have to play in efforts to stem the carnage.

In particular, black political leaders need to address a phenomenon that is assuming a greater importance in the fighting — the manipulation for political gain of ethnicity to fan violence among blacks.

Recent events suggest that, despite urbanisation and heightened political consciousness among blacks, ethnicity remains a potent force and a useful tool in the hands of those seeking to delay

the advent of democracy, or to build a political base among blacks ahead of elections for the first non-racial government.

Consider the following:

● A mob rampages through a part of Soweto, killing 10 people and injuring an unknown number. Residents blame the bloody mayhem on Xhosa-speaking men from a nearby squatter camp. The attackers, according to press reports, sought out Zulu speakers for attack.

● A public claim, later proved by the Goldstone Commission to be unfounded, by senior Inkatha Freedom Party leadership of arms being stockpiled in their "tens of thousands" for attacks on Zulu-speakers and hostel inmates in the PWV area.

● An IFP ultimatum to Pretoria to, among other things, halt "the killing of Zulus" on trains on the Reef.

● A recent investigation by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression which found

that eyewitnesses and survivors of train violence had consistently described the attackers as Zulu-speaking.

● An elderly preacher is killed after being thrown from a moving train, apparently for no other reason than that he conducted a sermon in Xhosa.

But what do these incidents tell us? That (as some Right-leaning commentators argue) on the eve of transition to democracy Zulu-speaking South Africans have suddenly discovered that they have unique and separate political and cultural interests which can only be advanced through the annihilation of their non-Zulu-speaking black compatriots?

Or that the reading of the funeral rites for apartheid has rekindled in Xhosa speakers some atavistic, anti-Zulu sentiment which drives them to crave for Zulu blood?

Far from it. If either were the case, South Africa's townships, especially in the metropolitan

areas, would long ago have been turned into wastelands.

What the incidents do tell us, though, is that ethnicity is emerging as a factor in the violence, sowing suspicion and hostility.

It is this which recently drove Zulu-speaking journalist Mondli Makhanya to write in the Weekly Mail: "As a non-ethnic-minded Zulu I am often perturbed by (the IFP's) abuse of Zulu-ness to further its narrow political goals.

"Terrified Reef township residents often shout 'the Zulus are coming' as they flee from marauding Inkatha impis. Civic and political activists often refer to hostel dwellers as 'the Zulus', regardless of the fact that a large proportion of their constituency belongs to this tribe."

Mr Makhanya's desperate plea for a more sober analysis of the conflict, and for the de-tribalisation of what is essentially a political feud, will have been received with much sympathy by many with a finger on the townships' po-

litical pulse.

One of them is Institute for Multiparty Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dlomo, who points out that for many years political violence in Natal has been mainly between Zulu-speaking people divided by political alliances.

"Casting the conflict in ethnic or tribal terms is dangerous in that it can actually contribute to the violence. The police are sometimes guilty of this. Also, there is the unfortunate situation where some politicians are casting the violence in ethnic terms. This is poisoning the attitudes of people," said Dr Dlomo.

The director of the Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand, Lloyd Vogelman, thinks that ethnicity is "a major factor, often central to the violence".

"What is happening is that as people become fearful of the violence they withdraw into ethnic nationalism, which is not unique

to the South African situation. Also, in the run-up to elections there is likely to be a greater emphasis on ethnicity, by some groups such as, for instance, the IFP," Mr Vogelman argued.

It is Dr Vogelman's latter point which the NPC, together with all black leaders, should give serious consideration. Granted, many black leaders do not like to be seen to be tribalist for fear of appearing to be doing apartheid's dirty work. But this is no reason for not tackling an issue which cannot be wished away, which will increasingly add fuel to the fire of political violence, especially once electioneering for a new government begins in earnest.

It is only the black leaders who can effectively make a stand against a creed which, handled recklessly, can give rise to tribal chauvinism and a greater polarisation of South Africa's black population — something which will, in the long run, benefit no one. □

Inquiry switches to 'displaced thousands'

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ET 14/5/92

THE Goldstone Commission said yesterday that no good purpose would be served by hearing many weeks of disputed evidence about violence between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It had decided that what did require urgent investigation were the allegations that violence had resulted in the displacement of thousands of people from their homes.

"Some are alleged to have been physically ejected from their homes and others are alleged to have vacated them for reasons of fear and intimidation," the commission said in a statement.

It had held preliminary inquiries into recent violence in Alexandra Township, the greater Soweto area and the Vaal Triangle on May 5.

"Common to most of that violence is that political battle between the ANC and the IFP.

"The commission has decided that no good purpose would be served by the hearing of many weeks of disputed evidence on the issue.

Phola Park probe adjourns

PRETORIA. — The chairman of a Goldstone committee inquiring into 32 Battalion's alleged rampage through Phola Park, Mr Solly Sithole, adjourned the sitting yesterday to allow legal parties time to find common ground on how the investigation should proceed.

This follows a scathing attack by counsel for the battalion, Mr Barry Roux, on the committee for having "accepted 32 Battalion's overstepping its mark by facts outside the forum, probably after being influenced by reports in the media".

Mr Roux said he was warning the committee that an unhealthy situation would develop if counsel were not given the opportunity to cross-examine witnesses thoroughly. — Sapa

"Furthermore it is the same issue on which the Thokoza Committee has been hearing evidence for the past five months

"That committee is considering all of the relevant aspects of violence, including ways of curbing it."

The commission said that because of the eviction of people from their homes, a committee had been set up to establish the circumstances in which people might have been forced by violence or intimidation to vacate homes or hostels in Alexandra, greater Soweto and the Vaal Triangle

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Winnie hits at 'sexism' in SA

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, who has been re-elected chairman of the PWV region of the ANC Women's League, said yesterday that the issue of sex discrimination had to be addressed with the same vigour and intensity as race discrimination.

"Our male comrades must no longer be allowed to go about shouting their belief in a non-sexist South Africa when at their own homes they act as undisputed bosses who expect no opposition.

"I wish that in this region we will be able to pioneer a more aggressive approach to women's liberation."

She was speaking at a news conference here yesterday where the new regional executive was introduced to the press.

She also criticised the press and ANC members who spoke to reporters — Sapa

Six-day death toll 41 — HRC

JOHANNESBURG. — The Human Rights Commission, an independent unrest monitoring group, claimed yesterday that 41 people had died and 44 others were injured in violence throughout the country between May 6 and 12.

Meanwhile, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel told Parliament yesterday that more people had been murdered on trains during the first four months of this year than during the whole of last year.

He said 106 people were murdered on trains between January

1 and April 26 this year. Mr Kriel, replying to a question by Mr Jurg Prinsloo (CP Roodepoort), said 76 people were murdered on the trains in 1991.

In its weekly report the HRC said vigilante-related actions had accounted for 30 deaths and 28 injuries, with incidents reported only in the PWV and Natal.

In the previous week 48 deaths and 60 injuries had been recorded

The HRC said the number of arrests between May 6 and 12 trebled compared with the previous week, with 151 people be-

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It claimed "hit-squad" activity accounted for one injury in Natal.

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CT 14/5/92

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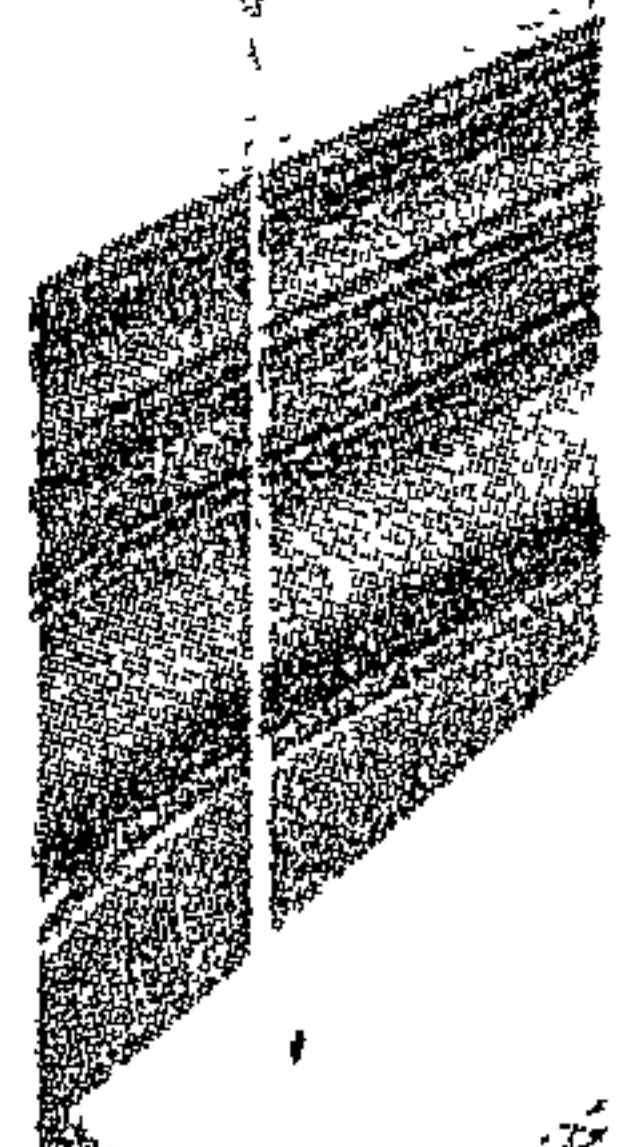
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CT 14/5/92

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Mrs Winnie hits



Church leaders to quiz FW on govt's hand in violence

B/Dang 14/5/92
CHURCH leaders, including SA Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary Frank Chikane, will meet President F W de Klerk next week to discuss political violence and government's alleged involvement in it.

Church leaders requested the meeting with De Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on April 28 — days after they had convened an emergency summit of black political organisations on violence.

An SACC spokesman said yesterday the meeting would be held in Cape Town next Friday.

He said although the meeting was not about recent allegations that government had planned the killings of its opponents, church leaders were expected to raise the matter as "it has something to do with violence".

Meanwhile the Rustenburg committee of the National Conference of Churches in SA has called for prayer on June 5 to end violence.

The committee said it hoped employees and employers would agree on a total work stoppage from 11am to 2pm.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday 41 people had died and 44 were injured in violence countrywide in the week ending on Tuesday.

The commission said the figures were lower than the previous week, when 48

(274)
WILSON ZWANE

deaths and 60 injuries were recorded.

Our own correspondent reports that the eight-member OAU delegation monitoring violence arrived in Durban yesterday and were immediately locked in an hour-long meeting at Louis Botha Airport with regional ANC leaders.

The OAU dignitaries later flew in a helicopter to Ulundi to see Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The delegation, which arrived in SA on Sunday, has had discussions with the ANC, PAC and Azapo, and also with SAP and SADF representatives. It was led by Nigerian ambassador to the OAU and Ethiopia, Chief Segun Olusola.

OAU executive secretary and delegation member Mamodou Kane said the group's main mission was to try help accelerate negotiations and see how best to help arrest the ongoing political violence.

□ The policeman accused of assaulting and raping a 17-year-old girl this week in Katlehong on the East Rand had still not been arrested, police said yesterday.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said it was not necessary to arrest a suspect if he was unlikely to disappear. Full investigations were still being conducted.

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Clash over ANC camps

(274) 14/15/92

Kriel questions black groups' commitment to stopping violence

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CONTROVERSY over the ANC's detention camps in neighbouring countries has been raised in parliamentary debate.

This follows a call to the ANC by the Black Sash to expose the truth about alleged deaths in its camps and to identify and act against the members responsible.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Her-nus Kriel raised the subject in a tough speech last night that questioned the commitment of the ANC and other predominantly black organisations to end the violence and submit themselves to scrutiny.

He referred to reports of executions in the camps and asked: "Who tried these people? Who decided to execute them?"

"We want to know what they are going to do about these allegations.

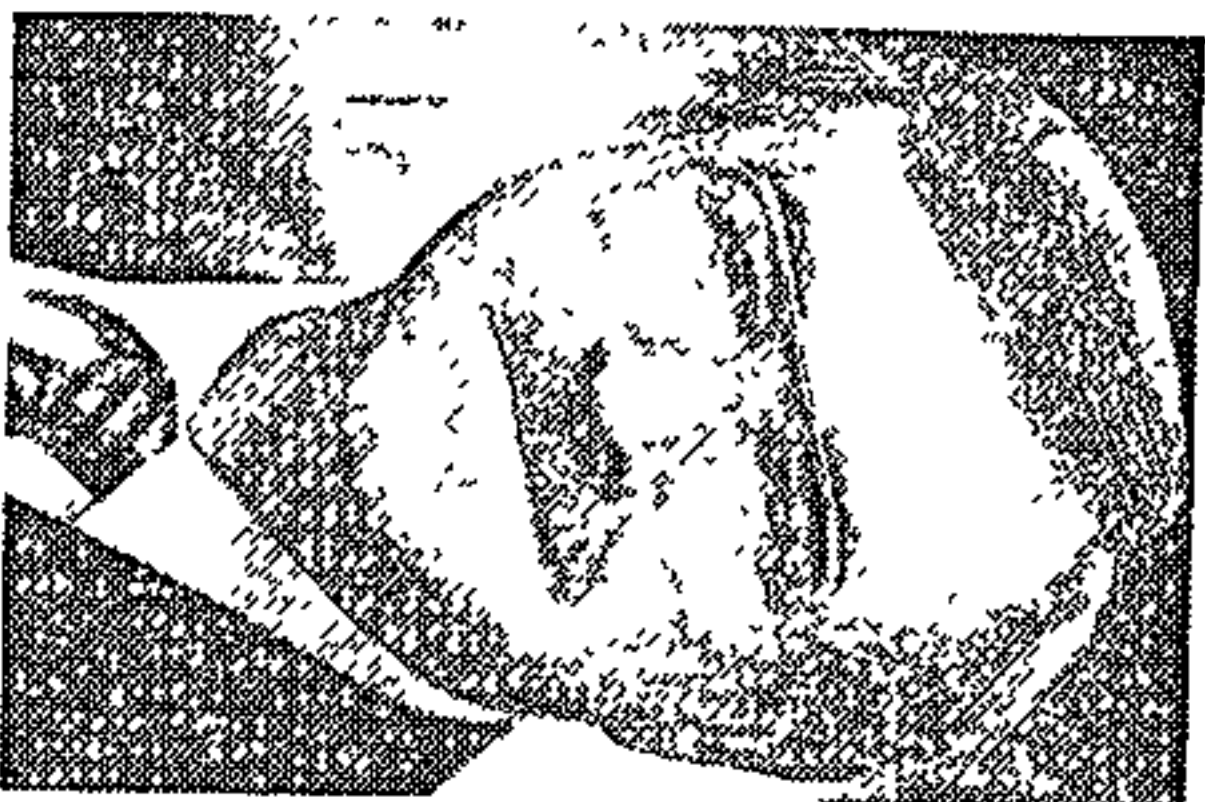
"The police have referred allegations against us to the Goldstone Commission. Will the ANC do the same?"

"I also want to know if there is to be a demand for a debate in parliament," Mr Kriel said.

Responding later in the debate, ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck said the ANC had appointed a commission to investigate the camps and "the truth, whether good or bad for the ANC, will come out".

Reacting to other elements of Mr Kriel's speech, Mr Van Eck said the minister was obviously trying to shift the blame for violence from the security forces to political leaders, particularly ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"The fact is that the NP government actively misused the security forces to beat the hell out of its political opponents and thus destroyed its ability to be impartial," he said.



HERNUS KRIEL:
What will ANC do?



Mr Chris Hani...
unaware of list.

Hani denies knowledge of 'death list'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has denied knowledge of a list purporting to contain the names of people who died in the organisation's camps, which was published in Beeld yesterday.

The newspaper claimed the list of 265 was leaked to them from within the ANC, giving the real names and travelling names of those who died, how they died and where they are buried.

ANC executive member Mr Chris Hani said he was aware that a commission had been appointed to investigate deaths in ANC camps, but added that he was unaware of any list which the newspaper said was called "List of Deceased Comrades".

Mr Hani, who claimed the ANC had been infiltrated by security force members, said: "Although the government is negotiating, it still regards us not only as a political enemy, but some of the old-style people regard us as a real enemy".

He added, "the government is reeling from scandals of corruption and killing. They are trying to say 'it was not only us who did the killing'".

From the very beginning ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had said the organisation would investigate any irregularities, Mr Hani said.

The government, on the other hand, "has been trying to cover up what they did for years, and they are still trying to cover it up".

Witness tells of Phola shots

PRETORIA — A witness who gave evidence in secret before the Goldstone committee inquiring into 32 Battalion's alleged rampage through the Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand said yesterday that shots were fired before the soldiers arrived.

In a report read by committee member Mr Bob Tucker, the witness said a squatter camp self-defence unit (SDU) often went to an area known as A Section to test their firearms. This was done on the night of April 8 before the alleged involvement of the battalion in shootings.

According to Mr Tucker, the witness said that on the night of April 8 he heard shooting and investigated. He met an SDU member who told him to fetch his firearm to fight soldiers.

The witness said he decided against the idea and left for home where he climbed on the roof to see what was happening.

He could not see much, but heard some shootings and later four women arrived to take refuge at his house. He did not see anyone being assaulted. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Six helicopters and a fixed-wing aircraft have been "buzz-

Food costs too big a bite, says watchdog

FOOD will become unaffordable if prices are not monitored continuously, says the Consumer Council.

A survey showed that the price of a sample basket of foodstuffs reflected only slight differences for the first five months of last year.

Prices skyrocketed when the government announced that VAT would be levied on most food and that prices would include VAT.

The result was that a basket costing R78,54 in January 1991 cost R92,34 in October, the council said in its 1991/92 annual review tabled in parliament yesterday.

Although the basket included meat and fresh produce not taxed previously, the tax on all other food had not decreased by three percent as expected.

Private armies may help police

PRIVATE armies could be used for community service in the form of crime prevention, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said in the Police Budget vote debate.

"We must talk of ways of linking up and achieving this goal." - Sapa.

Violent crimes: Low

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Inkatha, ANC 'attacked police'

B1 page 15/5/92 (274)
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Illegal weapons had been found in the possession of Inkatha and ANC members and both groups had used them in attacks on police, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

Illegal explosives had been found among right-wing people but weapons had particularly been found in the possession of IFP and ANC members, who were in conflict with each other in a struggle for power and had used these weapons.

In the first four months of this year, 906 weapons, including 279 AK 47s and 243 home-made weapons, and 791 pistols had been confiscated.

The police did not choose sides in the struggle between the ANC and the IFP and had no interest in promoting that struggle or participating in it. "That the SAP are impartial and objective is illustrated by the fact that these groups have already attacked the police with weapons, and have been accused by both parties as being unjust and partisan."

Law and Order Minister Henus

Kriel said police knew that members of the PAC-aligned Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) were being trained in the Transkei.

"I give the assurance that the government will act against countries which allow political organisations to train people to kill South Africans in this country," he said.

He referred to a politically inspired incident and said: "Our information is that it was Apla, the military wing of the PAC.

"We know that Apla is involved in crime in SA. We know they are being trained, and we also know that they are being trained in the Transkei."

It had been proposed that the PAC and Apla be banned, but banning organisations in the past had not solved the problems, he said. "We must solve the problem, and not try and ban the organisations, and then act as if they do not exist."

Sapa reports that Kriel said an expert on creative thinking had been working with the SAP to "bring home

at ground level to members of the force the new milieu in which we find ourselves".

He said he was aware that, for the SAP, the ANC had been the enemy until February 2 1990.

"Now the ANC is a political role player and we are aware that it is causing problems in the force.

"We have obtained the services of Dr Kobus Neethling, an expert on creative thinking, and he is having great success in bringing home at group level to members of the force the new milieu in which we find ourselves. We are also working with new recruits in the same manner."

He said an announcement a few months ago that police reservists could belong to political parties had resulted in 600 new reservists joining. □ Kriel said the SAP had 55 generals at the beginning of May, but not one was black.

The highest-ranking black officer was a brigadier. There were also three black colonels and 16 black lieutenant-colonels.

ct 16/5/92 (214) (259)

Goldstone probe into Mail claims

Staff-Reporter

THE Goldstone Commission will investigate allegations by the Weekly Mail concerning secret police bases and operations in the southern Transvaal, commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced yesterday.

He said the inquiry had been requested by the South African Police, and a hearing would be held on Friday to decide whether to establish a committee to inquire into the allegations.

In an urgent court application on Thursday the police tried to stop the newspaper from publishing the allegations, but withdrew their application after an agreement was reached that individual policemen or bases would not be identified.

However, the Commissioner of Police succeeded in obtaining a court order blocking the Vrye Weekblad reporting on police activities.

The Weekly Mail yesterday published allegations that police covert operations were linked to violence and the planning of assassinations.

OAU envoys under fire during visit to township

JOE LOUW

Weekend Argus Correspondent

(274) APR 16/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The visiting Organisation of African Unity delegation here to monitor the violence in townships had a close encounter with the real thing near Phola Park this week.

Shots were fired during a massive search for suspects involved in attacks on the police and others, according to police spokesman Eugene Opperman.

Police had cordoned off all roads leading to the squatter camp and apparently warned the convoy of the OAU delegates about the shootings.

In an exclusive interview with Chief Olusegun Olusola who heads the delegation, now in its fifth day of making the rounds, the Nigerian Ambassador to Ethiopia expressed the hope that they would still have a chance to visit trouble spots as well as some hostels.

Chief Olusola's delegation, which consists of five ambassadors based at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, was invited to South Africa by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to monitor township violence.

Chief Olusola said: "After four days of meeting the government, political parties, the liberation movements including Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and, as well as reaching Soweto and visiting various squatter camps, we came to the conclusion that the government must take all parties into its confidence. The participants at Codesa have no faith in the government's action in curbing violence."

"There is a definite need for more African presence in the security agencies and they must do a lot to catch up with the political situation."

Asked how the delegation could reconcile giving South Africa advice on how to conduct its affairs when critics pointed out the abysmal human rights record of many African countries, Chief Olusola replied: "We Africans are only as good as the 32 years' experience we have gathered since independence in Nigeria. We challenge anyone to come from outside and teach us (a better) way of how to run our countries."

"We say to our brothers here: Take the plunge. Let them rule themselves. Let them make their own mistakes."

"In my own country," he said, "we are throwing open the doors to two major parties to contest democratic elections."

"We must admit there have been mistakes, but in Africa anyone who falters in this process will rise and try again."

Dr Jannie Retief, highly-successful

S win n UK

top British wine buyers attended the South Africa tasters' Association's South Africa tasting held at the Hilton Hotel.

a new stage in South Africa's wine industry as the organisers call for a "new opportunity" to South Africa.

ce taboo — are starting to appear on merchants' shelves, at leading restaurants. Dr Jannie Retief said: "Now, wine is on sale in ever more mainstream and independent ... and sales are

Codesa 'must plan strategy to blunt the knife of crime'

South 16/5 - 21/5/92

(274)

Soaring crime rates will scar the new South Africa — unless a national crime-prevention strategy is drawn up, argue **Dr WJ Schurink** and **Ms Evanthe Schurink** of the Human Sciences Research Council.

CRIME CAN strike fear in the heart of even the most zealous supporters of a new dispensation. Crime can thus bring to a standstill the whole process of creating an equal and just society.

High on Codesa's agenda for a new South Africa should be a national crime-prevention policy, together with new economic and social policies.

Crime is increasing sharply and thus diminishes the quality of life of all South Africans by exacting economic, physical and psychological costs.

Between January and November 1991, crimes recorded by police totalled 1 566 392 cases. Some of the most serious categories averaged some 3 900 cases daily.

These figures, when compared to previous years, show a marked increase. (Caution should be exercised in interpreting police compiled crime statistics as, for a variety of reasons, they are not an accurate reflection of the number of crimes committed.)

Certain phenomena give special cause for alarm — killings in hostels and trains on the Reef, public violence in the Natal/Kwazulu townships, taxi war casualties in the Western Cape, attacks on the Free State's farming community since December last year, the killing and wounding of more than two dozen people when a gunman went berserk in Ladysmith on January 20, 1992, and the murders of policemen.

And South Africans are feeling the cost of crime.

Fairly accurate estimations of some economic and physical costs can be made — such as damage to and loss of property, the cost of operating the criminal justice system, and medical costs as a result of injuries suffered. But it is not possible to assess the emotional harm that results.

One dimension of the psychological cost of crime is people's emotional reaction to the threat of victimisation.

A national crime-prevention policy is needed to allay such fears and ease in a new South Africa.

Local crime-prevention strategies have up to now been aimed largely at the potential offender and not the potential victim.

The upsurge in the crime rate suggests that these responses, based largely on the actions of the official criminal justice system, have failed to address the problem effectively.

South Africans are beginning to realise, as do most citizens overseas, that a victim-orientated approach can be more useful in preventing crime.

Crime control should not be regarded as the sole responsibility of the police and the conventional court and penal system.

South Africans are realising that local crime-prevention should no longer be totally dependent on the official criminal justice system.

They are becoming more aware of the necessity of self-protection and the initiation of crime-prevention actions in their immediate communities.

But these actions are not well planned or comprehensive. Rather they resemble strategies based on an animal kind of instinct for self-preservation.

Crime is thus not addressed as a community problem and crime prevention is not seen as part of the fibre of community life.

This closed-mindedness intentionally creates a "fortress society" dominated by self-interest and self-preservation.

Efforts to combat lawlessness and



SHADOWY FIGURE: Fear of crime poses a threat to the new South Africa

curb South Africa's soaring crime rate seem to reflect a loss of faith in the ability of official structures to protect innocent citizens.

These efforts include organised surveillance strategies undertaken in co-operation with the police, city or town councils and civic associations in neighbourhoods and business centres. Or frightened individuals retreat behind barbed-wire fences,

locks, bolts, costly security devices and electronic systems. Then there are the private security companies and vigilante groups which mete out instant justice.

It is clear that these strategies do not present any real solution to South Africa's crime problem. Some of these actions may even intensify it.

Naturally there is no "quick fix"

'If the criminal justice system is to retain some credibility in the eyes of the public, then crime prevention must be added to the list of priorities addressed by Codesa'

solution for a problem created by a complex range of unique social, political and economic circumstances.

It could be regarded as premature to propose a blueprint for crime prevention for the new South Africa. But it is clear that a national crime-prevention policy is urgently needed by the architects of the new dispensation.

If the criminal justice system is to retain some credibility in the eyes of the public, crime prevention should be added to the list of priorities that are to be addressed at Codesa.

Such a strategy should include a national council for crime prevention with the aim of developing co-operation between ministries, local government, police, voluntary organisations and the private sector.

It should also include a national crime-monitoring system. This should be developed through systematic gathering, analysing and interpretation of formal and informal crime data. Also, experts should develop local crime-prevention programmes in collaboration with concerned community members.

Amnesty hits out at the govt

THE government has not taken firm enough action to end security force involvement in killings, torture and other abuses, Amnesty International charged this week. ²⁷⁴ ~~274~~ 17/5/92

The organisation expressed concern that the current climate of fear and high loss of life would continue until the government took steps to demonstrate that security forces members involved in human rights violations were brought to justice.

Goldstone confident of township peace

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone, told parties at the preliminary hearing of the commission in Empangeni at the weekend that he was confident peace would be restored to the region's violence-wracked townships.

At its sitting yesterday, representatives of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, SAP and SADF submitted statements on violence in the Northern Natal region.

After each submission has been studied, the com-

mission will announce the inquiry's terms of reference sometime this week.

In his closing address, Mr. Justice Goldstone thanked IFP and ANC supporters at the hearing for being tolerant throughout the day and showing no animosity.

He said the fact that all parties were able to sit together in the four-hour meeting "gave him hope" that peace would be reached.

In his submission ANC regional executive member Mr. Willis Mchunu called for a full investigation into the cause of political violence in the Northern Natal townships.

He also expressed concern at "police bias and inaction" and at the Kwazulu local authorities preventing the ANC from holding public meetings in the region.

He said an inquiry was "absolutely essential for the attainment of peace in Northern Natal".

Mr. Mchunu disagreed with suggestions by Mr. Justice Goldstone that it was "better for the commission to use its powers to seek peace and not look at the general background which is not in dispute".

He said it was essential for past atrocities, allegedly committed by IFP supporters, and alleged police misconduct to be highlighted to ensure these incidents did not re-occur.

"We believe the situation was so critical that we must be brutally frank about the role of the guilty. Blame must be placed where it belongs."

Referring to violence wracking the region, Mr. Mchunu alleged that all "non-Inkatha persons" had been targeted for attacks by the IFP, often supported by the Kwazulu Police.

He alleged the SAP were reluctant to police townships when asked to do so. By the ANC and claimed there was a conspiracy between the Kwazulu Police and the SAP "to cause grave prejudice to the ANC and benefit Inkatha as much as possible".

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18/5/92

Mopeli blames recession

The economic recession is the biggest cause of violence, QwaQwa chief minister Dr T K Mopeli said at a rally in Senekal yesterday.

"The necessities of life become scarcer by the day and the increased wave of unemployment aggravates the violent situation," he said.

Senekal 18/5/92
"It is time to give deeper consideration to purposeful socio-economic reconstruction."

(258) This could be done if the current economic sanctions were lifted.

Dr Mopeli said the immediate institution of an interim government might improve conditions.

(274)

Idasa says conciliators could 'halt' violence

CT 20/5/92 (274)
THE use of trusted conciliators — available on 24-hour call — could reduce or eliminate violence, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) yesterday said.

Reacting to repeated calls for international peacekeepers to assist in the reduction of violence, Idasa said there was a need for "centrally-controlled people who can move into an area on a short term basis using local contacts and knowledge".

"International forces could find this a difficult role."

Violence could be reduced or eliminated if trusted conciliators were available on 24-hour call who could alert police, convey rumours, act as an early warning system and monitor the responses of political parties and the police.

Idasa said these tasks could be undertaken by South Africans and, if necessary, international volunteers under the supervision of the National Peace Secretariat or, if this was not independent enough, some other agency. — Sapa

Local peacekeepers can curb violence, says Idasa

CAPE TOWN — The use of trusted conciliators, available on 24-hour call, could reduce or eliminate violence in this country, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) said yesterday. (274)

Reacting to calls for international peacekeepers to help curb violence, it said there was a need for "centrally controlled people who can move into an area on a short-term basis using local contacts and knowledge".

Trusted conciliators were needed who could alert police, act as an early warning system and monitor the responses of political parties and the SAP.

"Where violence is caused by local and unknown parties, it is these conciliators who are able to assist in understanding the conflict and determining the best intervention by the national peace accord."

Idasa also suggested bloodshed could be reduced by bringing the perpetrators of violence to justice even in a situation of threat and distrust. "Where victims can bring their complaints to a trusted intermediary agency, this agency can sift information, protect witnesses and assist the police to investigate until action can be taken."

These tasks could be undertaken by South Africans and, if necessary, international volunteers under the supervision of the national peace secretariat. — Sapa.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE PWV regions of the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal are considering pulling out of the national peace accord — claiming that the security forces and government signed the accord in bad faith.

ANC regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that security forces talked peace with the organisations while waging "low intensity warfare" against them.

Sexwale referred to recent reports about covert security force operations to "eliminate anti-apartheid activists and to unleash violence to destabilise communities". For this reason the organisations were compelled to reconsider their par-

ANC alliance may quit peace accord

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ticipation in the peace accord structures.

"We are entitled to a rethink and that is what we are going to do," Cosatu regional general secretary Amos Masondo said.

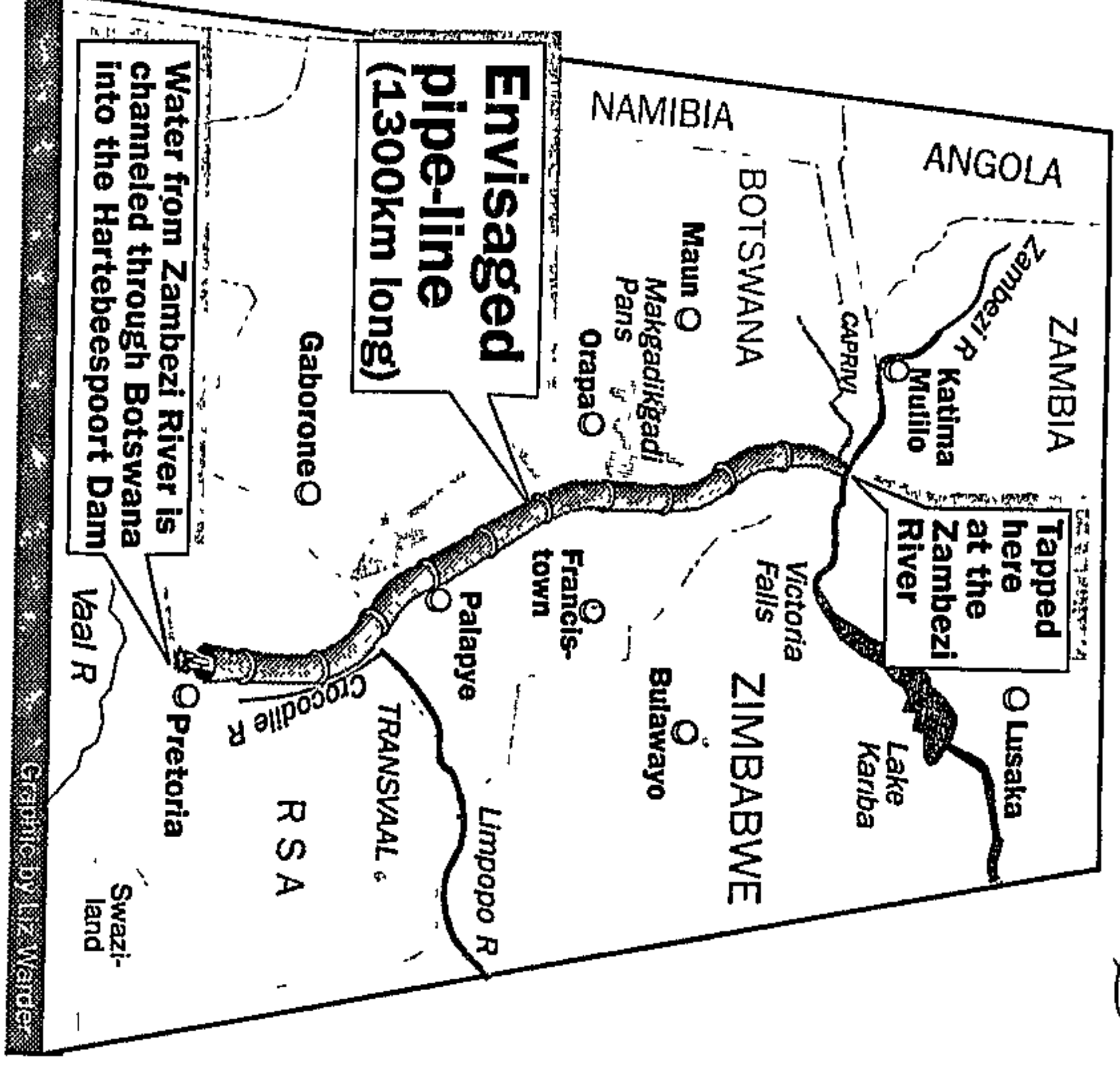
Sexwale said the organisations would consult all their structures, allies and other parties about the wisdom of withdrawal.

A national peace executive spokesman confirmed yesterday that the executive would meet the alliance parties tomorrow to discuss the issue. Some discussions had taken place already between the organisations and national peace committee chairman John Hall.

Mandela touring the ...

Zambezi water could do the trick

Water everywhere — except in South Africa by the year 2025... HELEN GRANGE looks at how much water we have left, and where we'll get it from when the taps run dry.



The water will be conveyed through eastern Botswana — using lowland contours so that gravity can play its role. Some pumping stations will have to be built en route but most pumping will take place in the last section, in the Transvaal. The water will flow into the Hartbeespoort Dam, constantly topping it up, although this is still being debated. Some feel the dam is too polluted and the

Bank and International Monetary Fund for feasibility studies to be conducted. A reply is being awaited.

Hydraulics consultant Professor Des Mudgeley, who wrote a paper on the problem at the University of the Witwatersrand, forecasts that by the year 2025 we will definitely need to import water — sooner if the population grows quickly and industry expands. There is much to be done before the Zambezi project can be transformed from fiction into reality. South Africa's sagging economy is the biggest hindrance, with the Government struggling to cobble together enough funds for immediate social problems, never mind those that remain academic until the year 2025.

South Africa would first have to get permission from the "basin states" (countries in which the Zambezi flows — Angola, Namibia, Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) before it could go ahead with the scheme. Apart from the expense of building the necessary aqueduct and pumping stations, the "basin states" would be receiving royalties and compensation for the use of the river.

Long years of negotiations go into such schemes, and the experts warn "Preparations for our future water needs, even if these needs are realised only half a century from today, can never start early enough. Northern water sources closer to home have been examined in the past, but all proved unviable. Greedy eyes were once on Northern Botswana's Okavango swamps. However, environmental jobs quickly brought home the horror of destroying this beautiful and ecologically sensitive feature.

If and when the Zambezi project comes about, washing away the anxieties of industrialists and residents on the Reef, there is still the question of how to provide fresh water to the western Cape. Although the consumption of water in South Africa has slowed down along with the decreased rate of industrialisation, there is much unnecessary wastage by the farming and mining industries. □

The Peacemakers

Bridge builder to the core

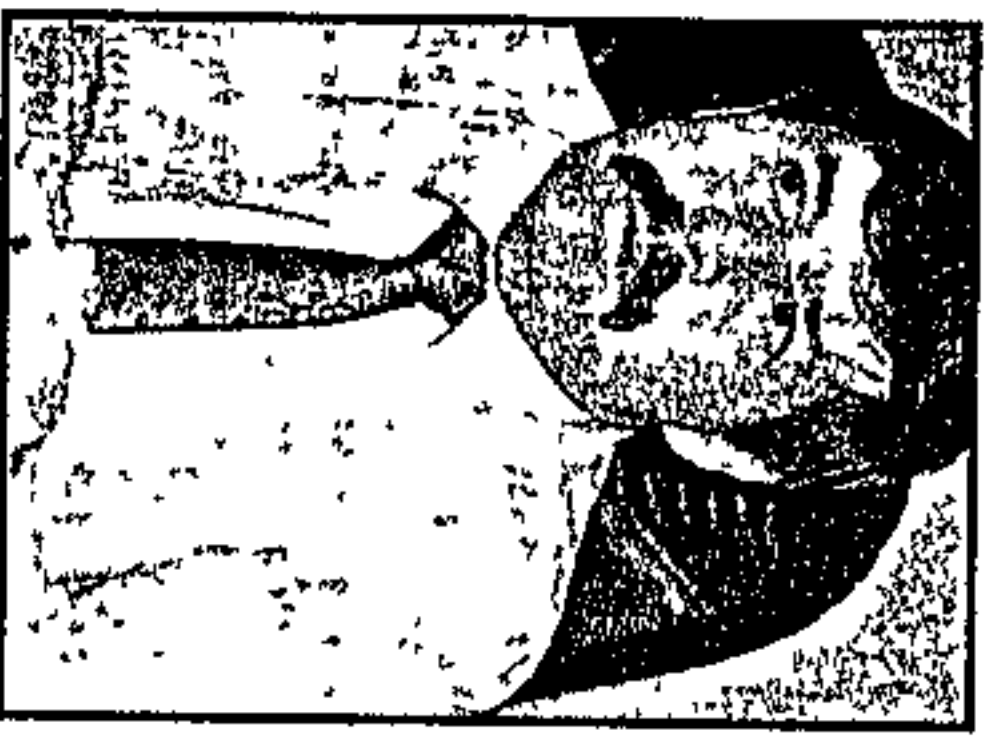
Much grassroots work is needed to set South Africa on the path to peace. MICHAEL SPARKS talks to Con Roux.

A FEW SPENDING much of his working life in construction, building bridges between groups in the community seems to follow on quite naturally for Con Roux. He became involved in working for peace after attending a prayer breakfast addressed by Dr Louw Alberts before the National Peace Accord became a reality.

The two men spoke afterwards about what he could do, something which fits in closely with his philosophy of life as someone who cannot "watch from the sidelines". "All it takes for evil to triumph is for good people to do nothing," Mr Roux said, evoking some of the strong Christian values which play a fundamental role in guiding his life.

Mr Roux is currently chairman of the Boksburg/Benoni Local Dispute Resolution Committee, with final office-bearers to be decided at its next meeting in early June. The LDRC has managed to prevent numerous incidents of violence, but Mr Roux strongly believes there should be a permanent office where people can walk in to discuss problems or incidents of violence. The office would also aim to educate people about the role of the dispute resolution committees. Mr Roux said the communities where the violence took place tended to be unaware of the committees and their role. It was something he hoped to change in the near future.

He added that the business community could fund an administrator who could go to schools and educate the younger generation about the peace process.



Con Roux - quest for peace
Picture: George Mashinini

Mr Roux, a lawyer by training, hopes the committee will create "a climate of honesty and trust to the extent where people from various groups will be prepared to raise the issues which endanger peace." He added "You can sense an enormous amount of hostility between the groups at some of these meetings. If we can provide a bridge to overcome that, then I believe we have been able to play a major role."

For Con Roux, ending the violence is the country's most pressing problem, one that has to be achieved before solutions to other problems can be found. And he believes it can be achieved if groups such as churches and the business community regularly make themselves accountable to a forum where they report back on concrete action they have taken to bring about peace.

"There are so many reasons why I wanted to get involved in bringing peace to this country. Not least of these is my seven-year-old daughter, Kirsten. I want to try to make the world she lives in a little better, he explained. Photographs of Kirsten and examples of her artwork are displayed lovingly in her father's office.

The company is based on the Christian values held by its leader, instilled in him by his father, who retired as head of the company three months ago. The employee participation in the company has helped win it a National Productivity Council Gold Class Award three years ago, as well as maintaining a five-star safety rating for the past three years.

That participation continues to the financial side with 20 percent of the privately owned company's equity owned by its 600-strong workforce. □

STAR 21/5/92. (274)

Grenade allegation 'unfounded'

Political Staff

ALLEGATIONS by the weekly newspaper Vrye Weekblad that state-funded agencies or bodies had been responsible for a grenade attack on the home of Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse were unfounded and slanderous, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

The attack took place in September 1988. No one was injured.

in a reply to Schauderville MP Mr Michael Hendrickse, Mr Kriel said the allegations made by the newspaper's editor, Mr Max du Preez, had been thoroughly investigated by police.

He said that after their investigation, police had sought, and obtained, an interdict in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on May 14 prohibiting publication of the article containing the allegations.

Allegations against the SAP had to be based on fact, and the freedom of the press should not be abused to make allegations against the SAP of which they were innocent.

Replying to a question from Addo MP Mr Peter Hendrickse, on whether in the light of past allegations against the police it was not in the interests of the police and public that allegations, substantiated or unsubstantiated, "be made public and defended in public by him", the minister said he had no problem with the proposition.

MK men can join cops if . . .

Political Staff

UMKHONTO weSizwe members were free to join the police provided they resigned from MK and conformed to the requirements, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

He denied MK may be incorporated into the SAP. This follows a suggestion by the director-general of constitutional development, Dr Niel Barnard, that MK and the police merge.

ANC may pull out of peace accord

(274)

CT 21/5/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The PWV regions of the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal may pull out of the national peace accord — claiming that the security forces and government signed the accord in bad faith.

ANC regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale told a news conference here yesterday that security forces talked peace with the organisations while waging 'low intensity warfare' against them.

Mr Sexwale referred to recent reports about covert security force operations to "eliminate anti-apartheid activists and to unleash violence to destabilise communities". For this reason the organisations were compelled to reconsider their participation in the peace accord structures, he said.

A spokesman for the national peace executive confirmed yesterday that the executives would meet the alliance parties tomorrow to discuss the

issue.

Some discussions had already taken place between the organisations and national peace committee chairman Mr John Hall, the spokesman said.

● The violence-racked East Rand squatter camp community of Phola Park has decided to establish a crisis committee to liaise with police and the security forces and to prevent further conflict in the camp.

A statement from the community

yesterday said the committee would also organise meetings between the political organisations represented in the camp, before elections for a residents' body.

The committee would also contact taxi associations to prevent further violence between squatters and taxi drivers, such as that which occurred last week, said the statement.

Recent Sapa interviews with Phola Park residents showed most supported the African National Congress.

Worrall sees ⁽²¹⁵⁾ a third force ⁽²¹⁴⁾

^{215/192} DR Denis Worrall (DP Berea) ^{Mr. Worrall} says he has become convinced that a third force is involved in causing violence throughout the country.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development Budget vote, he said the country's people had to work harder to strengthen civil society and create a democratic ethic and an all-embracing sense of nationhood.

South Africa had to move as quickly as possible toward the installation of an interim government and the adoption of a democratic constitution. — Sapa.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

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ANC alliance may quit peace accord

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Union leader dies in police custody

Sowetan 21/5/92 274

THE president of the Motor Transport Workers Union of SA, Mr Samuel Seema, has died in police custody barely three hours after being locked up for questioning, *Sowetan* has learnt.

Seema (34), of Moletsane, Soweto, was employed as a driver by security firm Fidelity Guards.

He was last seen alive when two men allegedly dragged him out of his duty vehicle in Doornfontein last Friday.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said yesterday Seema was arrested for questioning in connection with armed robbery.

By ABBEY MAKOE

"During questioning in the charge office he fell on the floor, fainted and died. We called the paramedics to resuscitate him but they were not successful."

Asked whether Seema was being interrogated at the time of his death, Van Deventer said his explanation was sufficient. "That is all I can say at this stage."

● To page 2

Union leader dies

Sowetan 21/5/92 274

● From page 1

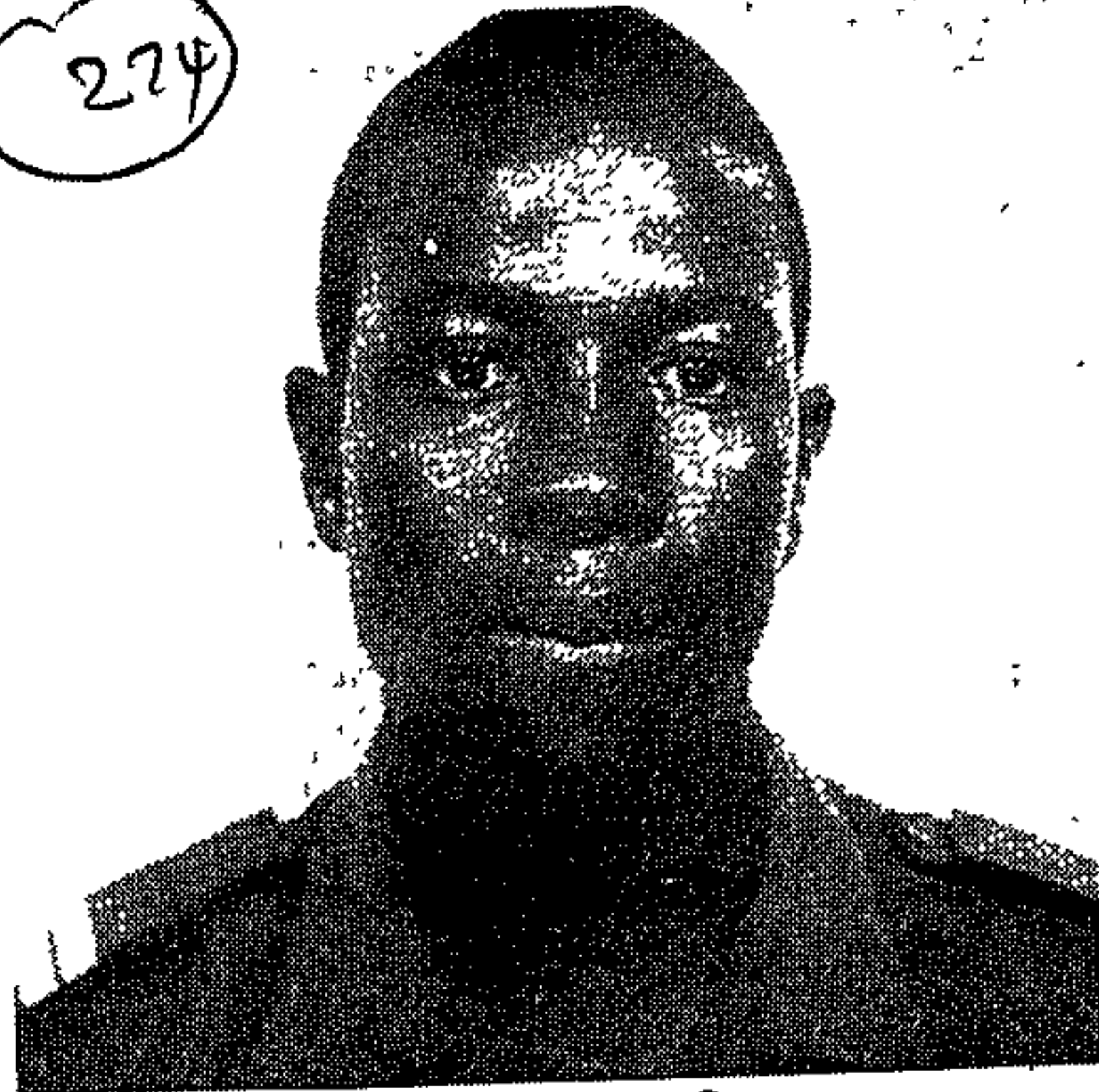
Union officials were furious yesterday that FG were connected to Seema's arrest.

Contacted for comment yesterday, FG's human resources manager, Mr Jimmy Nuns, said it was his company's normal practice to assist police in making arrests.

"We have a close association with the police, just like any other firm in the whole security industry," he said.

Nuns said the police officer in question had asked FG to help in locating Seema and "indicated that he had no transport. There is nothing wrong in helping the police".

Meanwhile, Mrs Maria Seema (69), Seema's mother, said yesterday that she went to look for her son at FG's offices on Saturday morning. A security officer had barred her and other members of her family from entering the premises but relented after appeals from a union official.



Union leader Sam Seema

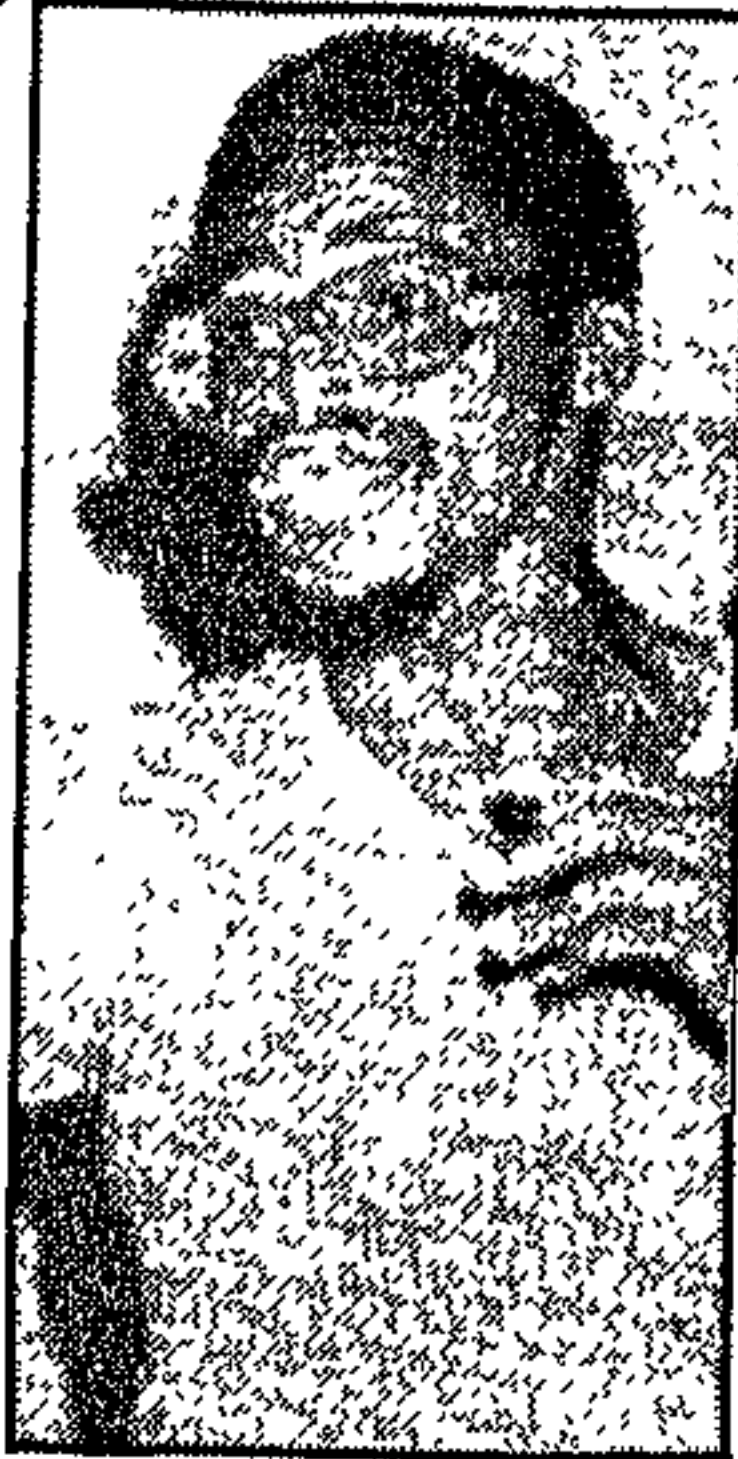
Political killings soar in reform era

Political Staff

The rate of political assassinations in the reform era of the '90s is more than five times that which prevailed during the extremely repressive period of 1985 to 1989, says the Human Rights Commission.

"During the short 28 months from January 1990 to April 1992, HRC records show a total of 119 political assassinations, over five times the rate of such murders during the emergency years," an HRC press statement released yesterday reads.

The organisation argues that the toll "is evidence, if it were needed, that there are elements within State structures who have no interest in a peaceful advance to genuine democracy. There is therefore great urgency about placing them under the control of an interim authority representative of all South Africa's people".



Murdered activist ... Matthew Goniwe.

The HRC's records for 1985-89 indicate there were 45 assassinations, five disappearances and 160 attempted assassinations of anti-apartheid activists.

Activists

In relation to this era, the revelations concerning the assassination of Matthew Goniwe and three other Cradock activists in June 1985 "has

again raised the question of the role of the National Security Management System in the elimination of political opponents during the era of total strategy", comments the HRC.

The organisation argues that there is no reason to believe that a large number of the assassinations in the '90s originate from a different source than those of the '80s.

"Over 100 of these victims are clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid camp, either as officials or members of organisations or as family members, friends and associates caught in the firing line."

Noting that the reform era has also been a time of extreme destabilisation, the HRC states: "This greatly increased tempo of political assassinations is in keeping with the escalation in the use of the method of 'low-intensity conflict' that has been employed to destabilise and frustrate the liberation struggle".

Meyer set to respond on assassinations

CAPE TOWN — The Government will give Parliament a full response next week to allegations that senior security force officers were involved in the assassination of activists.

Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer gave the media this undertaking when answering questions at a weekly briefing on Codesa yesterday.

He said he would raise the matter in the debate on his budget vote next week and answer the allegations as completely as the sub judice rule would permit.

Mr Meyer was asked why the Government had not yet commented on the authenticity of documents alleging the official sanctioning of the assassinations of Matthew Goniwe and others.

He was also asked whether he was able to give assurances that he had full confidence that his senior defence force officers had not been involved in sanctioning the assassinations.

He pointed out that there was a judicial inquiry in progress and "I have not had clear advice on the sub judice rule".

College students defy ultimatum to write test

By Mckeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

Students at the troubled Transvaal College of Education yesterday defied an ultimatum from acting rector Johan du Toit to write a test or face the closure of the college.

A spokesman for the students' representative council said students reported for lectures as usual but did not write the test, scheduled to start at 7.20 am.

"We reported for classes at 8.30 am as

usual and waited for lecturers to come, but they did not," the SRC spokesman said.

She said 15 minutes later, the SRC approached Mr du Toit, who told them that lecturers had been intimidated and as result there would be no lectures for the day.

She said Mr du Toit would not say who had intimidated the lecturers, but said he, too, had been intimidated by the SRC vice-chairman at their Wednesday meeting.

Students were given until noon to submit their proposed timetable to be handed over to the college council.

Chief director of northern Transvaal schools Job Schoeman said the students had submitted the timetable as requested by the executive committee of the college council.

"We have studied it and also looked into a number of alternatives." Mr Schoeman said the recommendations had been sent to the college.

He also confirmed al-

legations of intimidation of lecturers and students who supported the new weekly test system.

● Technikon Northern Transvaal students returned to class yesterday after a sit-in which began on Monday, according to technikon spokesman Willie Meyer.

The students were protesting against the admission of a student who allegedly did not have a matric certificate. Mr Meyer said the matter had been resolved and the student's registration had been suspended.

Supporters' charges provisionally dropped

THE De Klerk government is still smarting under the angry public reaction to disclosures of rampant corruption in at least two civil service departments involving millions if not billions of rands.

Few of the people apparently involved ever seem to be successfully prosecuted. Most of them seem to be able to pursue their careers in other departments or to take early retirement with full benefits, including grossly inflated buy-back pensions.

The public suspects it is not only two government departments which have been infected by the rot in the years of Nationalist hegemony since 1948, but that a plague of corruption has spread its infection across the whole spectrum of public service.

The cult of secrecy and the arrogance of government in the Botha years did a great deal to destroy the parliamentary tradition of ministerial accountability, a tradition which had already been badly undermined in the high days of NP domination under Verwoerd and Vorster. Corruption was the inevitable result.

If the calls to Teleletters are any guide the ordinary men and women in the street have at last had enough.

Elimination

The central government is also under pressure to uncover the truth about the death squads. Yet no one has yet attempted to explain the SADF signal which appears to have recommended the elimination of Matthew Goniwe and his companions in 1985.

It has not been suggested that Goniwe was a member of the military arm of the ANC or that he was involved in armed struggle or terrorism. He was a member of the United Democratic Front, which pursued non-violent methods, and he was a charismatic leader of the Cradock Civic Association.

In an otherwise excellent SABC television report on the Goniwe case this week, not a single spokesman of the security establishment was interviewed to give the State's side of the story. No one could be found to refute the suggestion that Goniwe was a legitimate and effective political opponent of the apartheid system who was killed precisely for that reason. How many more Goniwes have there been?

Death squads: Why is FW still hesitating?

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into the death squads, although he says he might do so eventually. For the moment he is content to re-open the inquest into Goniwe and his companions, this time with a senior judge presiding.

But an inquest remains an inquest, whether conducted by judge or magistrate and is narrowly concerned with establishing the cause of death, and whether it was the result of a criminal act.

A statutory commission of inquiry, on the other hand, can be given wide-ranging terms of reference, and can be vested with all the far-reaching powers of the Commissions Act to call for documents and records and to summon witnesses. It could clear the air.

Clandestine

If Mr De Klerk continues to hesitate, and seems to be condoning the security methods of the Botha era, he will further undermine what is left of respect for the law and he will appear to be condoning the clandestine continuance of such methods. How can a better South Africa be built on such morally rotten foundations?

Most people are aware of the unsolved political killings which took place in the Botha years. Yet the rate of political murders has actually increased since February 1990. There have been 119 such killings since then, says the Human Rights Commission, and more than 100 of the victims are identifiable as anti-apartheid activists or members of their families. Why are the killers so seldom brought to book?

The suspicion thus aroused has intensified ANC fears of a double NP agenda, compounding the historic mistrust between the parties which has already caused Codesa II to run off course. It may yet shipwreck the whole exercise.



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

Mr De Klerk, although yielding to pressure this week for a judicial inquiry into the Masterbond scandal which threatens to wipe out a host of investors, still seems unduly protective towards the security establishment.

Having restricted its terms of reference, he was remarkably philosophical about the failure of the Harms Commission into the political murder of David Webster and all the others. Most of the killings of this kind remain unsolved by a criminal investigation department which is acknowledged to include some of the finest investigators in the world. Why have they made so little headway?

Mr De Klerk took no action against the military hierarchy when they mounted a comprehensive cover-up before the Harms Commission and the relevant documentary records of the CCB were spirited away. And he has now allowed the Minister of Police to set up a low-level inquiry into the attempted SAP cover-up of its involvement in the Trust Feeds massacre, an inquiry which commands no credibility at all in the black community, to whom the whole exercise smacks of a cover-up of a cover-up.

Even now, following the publication of the Goniwe document, Mr De Klerk still declines to appoint a broad-based commission of inquiry



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STAN 22.1592

Killers on the rampage

The reform era has become the bloodiest period of South African history — and 1992 is set to become one of the most violent years on record, unrest monitors warned last night.

The warnings came as brutal attacks continued on the Reef yesterday, with at least five people being killed and many injured as gunmen and roving groups of youths ran amok.

If the violence continues at its present levels, 2 800 people could die in political unrest before the end of the year, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

And the Human Rights Commission said yesterday that the rate of political assassinations in the reform era of the '90s was more than five times that during the repressive period of 1985 to 1989.

John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SAIRR, said that if the violence continued at its present rate, 1992 would be second only to 1990 as the most violent year recorded in SA history.

In the first four months of this year, 923 people had been killed. A total of 12 867 people had been killed for political reasons since September 1984.

The total rose by three in Alexandra yesterday in a typically callous attack.

In a dawn attack in First Avenue, Alexandra, a passing minibus was raked with AK-47 gunfire. The 28-year-old driver and a passenger were killed instantly.

A second passenger later died in the Alexandra Clinic. Two other injured commuters were treated at the clinic and transferred to Hillbrow Hospital. None of the victims had been named by last night.

In Soweto, where tensions have been heightened by a pupil boycott and teachers' protests, an unidentified woman was stoned and then set alight outside house No 1689 in Meadowlands Zone 5 yesterday.

She died on the scene.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said a 16-year-old boy fleeing from attackers in Meadowlands Zone 1 was cut down by gunmen armed with automatic rifles at the entrance to the hostel.

Colonel Halgryn said that at 11 am police dispersed a group of armed youths and seized two shotguns.

By 2 pm youths had set at least three delivery vehicles alight — two in Meadowlands and one in Orlando East, Colonel Halgryn said.

Phola Park on the East Rand was relatively quiet yesterday after heavy exchanges of gunfire between police — using sharp-point ammunition — and gunmen late on Wednesday night.

In its unrest report for Wednesday, the SAP said four men were killed in another spate of attacks on Reef train commuters.

● Political killings soar in reform era — Page 5

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police stations, 400 "contact points" and 50 mobile charge offices.

Logistically, the SAP's capability has been boosted by an additional 1 000 police vehicles and the issuing of 2 400 bullet-proof jackets, 16 000 handguns, 5 000 rifles, 3 200 shotguns and 1 000 UHF two-way radios.

Equipment on order includes 1 000 patrol bicycles, 1 000 motorcycles, 100 armoured vehicles and a further 16 000 handguns, 24 000 rifles and 32 700 shotguns. This year's Law and Order budget also provides for the purchase of another 10 helicopters for the police air wing.

The cost is obviously high — police spending was increased 21% to R5,6bn in this year's Budget — but there is clearly no alternative.

In his report for last year Van der Merwe says that in some categories of serious crime, there was a significant slowdown in the rate of increase compared with 1990 — but that is little consolation when the increase rates are already so high. For example, the number of armed robberies increased by "only" 16% last year (27% in 1990 over 1989).

The rate of housebreakings also "eased." At white residences, it was up 12,5% (22%) and at business premises 13,6% (27%). Vehicle theft increased by only 3,6% (18%).

But coming off the high base established in 1990 (compared with 1989), these figures mean crime is still very much on the increase. In some cases, the rise in the serious crime rate over the past two years has been horrific.

The murder of whites has gone up from 305 in 1989 to 488 last year, an increase of 60%, and of blacks from 11 445 to 14 205 (24%). However, there was a decrease of 3% last year compared with 1990 in the number of blacks murdered.

Housebreakings at white residences was up 38% from 88 890 to 122 487, at black residences 34% from 47 307 to 63 425 and at business premises 44% from 51 749 to 74 749.

Illegal possession of arms and ammunition increased 92% from 5 059 to 9 706, robbery with aggravating circumstances 48% from 30 498 to 45 103 and fraud and related crimes 27% from 43 321 to 55 280.

The number of unrest incidents decreased significantly last year to 8 815, compared with 17 088 in 1990, but the death toll in unrest relative to the number of incidents rocketed. In 1990, there were 2 674 unrest deaths compared with 2 239 last year.

Van der Merwe says most unrest deaths are caused by gunshots or stab and cut wounds. While the media tend to highlight unrest deaths, far more people are murdered. Last year, the unrest toll was only 15% of the figure for murders. He says the murder rate reached the record level last year of 49 victims per 100 000 people. In 1989, the figure was 39 per 100 000.

In spite of Van der Merwe's report, Law and Order Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers claims there are "clear signs" that government and the SAP are winning the war

CRIME

Cold comfort (274)

The rate of increase in most serious crimes slowed down last year compared with 1990, says Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe.

But he concedes in his annual report, tabled in parliament recently, that crime in general reached "alarming proportions" due in part to socio-economic factors such as high unemployment and the "decline of society."

Overall, the number of serious crimes increased by 9,8% compared with an increase of 8,5% in 1990 over 1989. The 1990 figure was the highest in 10 years — which puts last year's increase into perspective.

It shows the extent to which serious crime has rocketed in SA in the past two years and justifies the costly beefing up of the SA Police announced earlier this year by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel (*Current Affairs* March 13).

Kriel told parliament last week that the package was well into implementation and results were positive.

Actions taken so far include the recruitment of 2 500 additional police assistants (previously *kitskonstabels*) and 600 new reservists; the transfer of 800 SAP personnel from administrative duties to active policing; an increase in street patrols and crime prevention operations; and good progress towards the establishment of 80 new satellite

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against crime and unrest.

In a speech prepared for a function in Lydenburg a week before Van der Merwe's report was tabled, Scheepers said reform was reducing the conflict potential in SA.

He acknowledged that the current level of crime and unrest was "unacceptably high," but said the perception was incorrect that unrest was countrywide. It was limited main-

ly to certain regions such as Natal and areas of the Witwatersrand.

And in an attempt to show that crime wasn't as bad as many people believed, Scheepers said:

- The (total) number of murders increased by 8% from 1984 to 1985 while the increase last year over 1990 was only 3,5%;
- Housebreakings increased 18% from

1984 to 1985, but by only 15% from 1990 to 1991 and;

Vehicle theft increased 22% from 1984 to 1985, but by only 4% from 1990 to 1991.

But what he didn't say was that between 1985 and 1991 the number of murders increased by 52%, housebreakings by 32% and vehicle thefts by 20%.

Statistics can be misleading. ■

concern was for Miss Reeves.

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Victim calls for probe into hit squads

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

HIT squad victim the Rev Mike Lapsley wants an international tribunal to investigate the actions of South African death squads as part of an exercise to heal the nation.

Indemnified and back in South Africa since February, Mr Lapsley, an Anglican priest and ANC member, lost his hands and an eye in a parcel-bomb blast in Harare two years ago.

But Father Lapsley is not bitter about the day that changed his life. He said: "I have been fortunate. God and people around the world have saved me from bitterness. I have no motivation or desire for revenge. If I was

bitter it would mean they had won.

"They are living with the guilt. Part of my triumph is that my faith, commitment and passion have grown."

Mr Lapsley said people who had committed crimes against humanity should be brought to book.

He had no doubt the parcel-bomb sent to his private box in Harare came from South Africa.

"It was highly sophisticated, had all the hallmarks of the state apparatus and arrived after a letter, written on forged ANC letter-heads, advised me of its arrival."

He said for many years South Africans hid behind the fact that they did not know what happen-

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ing. But the truth was coming out slowly and the trickle of information would gain momentum if an international tribunal examined the activities of hit squads.

"The tribunal could inform, heal and cleanse the nation. Even today the Japanese are apologising to the Koreans for what they did decades ago. We will be haunted for years if the truth does not come out here."

Mr Lapsley is director of the Theology Exchange Programme.

"I'm TEP's public face and responsible for developing solidarity links nationally and internationally, and for the co-ordination of our fund-raising," he said.

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Sharp rise in killings

Sowetan 22/5/92

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THE number of political assassinations since the start of the reform process in 1990 is five times that of the preceding five years, the Human Rights Commission revealed yesterday.

The HRC said in a report released yesterday that 119 people had been eliminated in "low intensity conflict" methods used "to frustrate and destabilise the liberation struggle".

The report points out that during the five years from 1985 to 1990, which encompass the years of the State of Emergency, 45 political deaths were recorded.

During the same period five people disappeared without trace and 160 attempted murders were recorded.

The figures for the 28 months from February 1990 to April this year were five

By MATHATHA TSEDU
Investigations Editor

times higher with 119 deaths.

Of these, more than 100 were "clearly identifiable as belonging to the anti-apartheid camp", some as officials, members or family members of activists.

The HRC said recent revelations in the media about alleged State involvement in the murders of activists raised questions about the role of the National Security management in the continuing killings.

The increased tempo of politically motivated killings was further evidence, "if it were needed", that elements existed within State structures which had no interest in a peaceful advance to genuine democracy, the HRC said.

Across the

Deep concern, says ANC

By PAT SIDLEY ^{w/m} 22/5-28/5/92 (274)
THE Johannesburg-based Foreign Correspondents Association has written to a wide range of political groups in the country to express concern about the "safety of its members in increasingly volatile township violence".

FCA chair Patti Waldmeir, the *Financial Times* correspondent, said that the concern "arises from a number of attacks on journalists in recent months by groups across the political spectrum and by members of the security forces" and urged the organisations "to take immediate action to restrain those under your authority."

The letter went to the African National Congress, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Azanian People's Organisation, Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, National Party and Pan Africanist Congress.

In response, Nelson Mandela has sent a letter to all regions of the ANC, urging them to convey to members at meetings and workshops "our deep concern about behaviour that in any way hinders a journalist from fulfilling their important task".

The only other party to have replied so far is the PAC, which said its members were not involved in the kind of violence described by the FCA and complained foreign correspondents were not covering its events adequately.

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Mandela swipe at FW

'distorted'

STAFF REPORTER (274)

THE African National Congress has vehemently denied a Finnish press report quoting ANC president Nelson Mandela as saying President F W de Klerk is personally behind political violence and deaths in South Africa. STAR 23/5/92

Contacted late last night in Helsinki, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she felt that difficulty with English had led a local journalist to radically condense Mandela's reply to a question to the point that it distorted his answer.

The report quoted Mandela as saying that "it is a serious responsibility to accuse a head of state of himself fuelling violence, the killing of innocent people, but facts indicate that De Klerk himself is involved in this".

The report went on to say that Mandela had given no specifics of his charge against De Klerk.

Marcus said: "What happened was that Mr Mandela was asked a general question on the ongoing violence in South Africa and what the ANC perception of the causes of the violence were.

"In reply, Mr Mandela gave examples of instances where he had personally spoken to President de Klerk about specific causes of violence, such as the legalisation of dangerous 'traditional' weapons, the question of violence by and against hostel dwellers and the failure of police to act on complaints by township residents about acts by hostel dwellers.

"He made the point that as State President, the responsibility for such acts and omissions that furthered violence should be laid squarely at the State President's feet.

"He meant that it was the office of the State President that was responsible — not the man.

"I think the problem is simply the difficulty the questioner had with the language."

Reacting, chief National Party negotiator at Codesa, Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "If the remarks attributed to Mr Mandela are correct, they are outrageous and are in direct violation of the Peace Accord."

674) MUG 23/5/92

Death toll from SA violence: 500 since mid-March

JOHANNESBURG. — Violence in South Africa has claimed more than 500 lives in 2½ months, said Deputy Minister of Justice Mr Danie Schutte.

He said 73 policemen had been murdered this year and that the violence had been marked by more deliberate attacks on the police.

Mr Schutte said legislation, which would speed up the process of bringing suspects to court, would be tabled before parliament soon. — Sapa.

Joint rallies plan to defuse violence

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CHURCHMEN yesterday moved to bring the country's three most powerful leaders together at joint peace rallies in a desperate bid to curb the violence gripping South Africa.

At a meeting with President F W de Klerk in Cape Town a delegation of church leaders, led by the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, presented a memorandum on the violence

And afterwards delegation member Archbishop Desmond Tutu warned that Soweto was "so volatile" that "almost anything can cause an explosion".

The South African Institute of Race Relations yesterday estimated that 2 800 people could die this year if violence continued at present levels, making 1992 one of the most violent years yet.

The church leaders proposed joint rallies by Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is understood Mr De Klerk was sympathetic to the proposal on condition both other leaders agreed.

The churchmen charged in their memo-

Teeth for peace bodies

JOHANNESBURG. — Parliament would pass legislation within a few weeks to give teeth to the National Peace Accord, Deputy Minister of Justice Mr Danie Schutte said yesterday.

"A number of matters will be implemented with legislation soon," he said at a press briefing here after a meeting with the National Peace Secretariat.

"I refer to the legislative effect which will be given to the National Peace Secretariat, the Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committees and the Justices of the Peace."

He did not wish to comment further on the meeting between the NPS and the government, saying a fuller statement would be released later.

● The Witwatersrand-Vaal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee executive is to refer the possible withdrawal from the Peace Accord by the ANC and its alliance partners to the Goldstone Commission.

Chairman of the committee Mr Charles Nupen said in a statement yesterday that the commission would be urged to investigate and issue its findings as quickly as possible. — Sapa

randum that recent exposures on the involvement of security forces in violence had "led to a loss of confidence in the police by the majority of South Africans".

The churchmen asked Mr De Klerk to disband 32 Battalion and convert men-only hostels into family units.

Mr Chikane said Mr de Klerk had "a different view" about SADF special forces such as 32 Battalion and Koevoet

However, he agreed in principle that the single-sex hostels ought to be converted into family accommodation

The churchmen wanted international monitoring of the violence. They said Mr De Klerk had expressed concern about possible interference with the sovereignty

of the state if such monitoring went further than fact-finding.

A follow-up meeting is scheduled for two weeks' time

Meanwhile Sapa reports that six people were killed in violence in Reef townships on Thursday, according to the police unrest report.

Three people were killed and two wounded in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, when a number of AK-47 rounds were fired at a minibus.

Violence in Soweto, sparked by pupils protesting against the in-

crease in matric examination fees, also continued on Thursday.

In Meadowlands, a youth was killed when gunmen fired a number of rounds at him and members of the SAP

Sporadic attacks in Sebokeng near Vanderbijl Park also continued, resulting in the death of a man who was shot at with an AK-47 rifle in a house

Police also found the body of man with stab and bullet wounds in Westside, Vereeniging.

Train attacks also continued. A woman was injured when she was thrown from a moving train at Grosvenor station, Johannesburg — Political Staff, Staff Reporter, Sapa

Tutu: Act now on violence

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ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

CHURCH leaders have told President de Klerk their continued peace efforts hinge on government action against violence in the next two weeks.

Raising the spectre of mass violence on the scale of the 1976 riots, they said: "We believe the moment of action is now."

Mr De Klerk apparently signalled his readiness to the churchmen to take part in joint peace rallies with African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The church delegation recently elicited similar agreement from black political leaders.

SA Council of Churches leaders tabled 10 proposals in an hour-long meeting with Mr De Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday amid one of the most vicious waves of township killings.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a news conference afterwards that the delegation had told Mr De Klerk many people were questioning the use of such meetings with the government.

"We made it clear this made it urgent. There must be concrete, measurable change."

He said the SACC team had rejected a government proposal for a follow-up meeting in a month, pressing for one within two weeks instead.

"It was important we pointed out that the future of possible meetings depended on what the outcome of this meeting would be."

He said a political culture of violence had taken root in South Africa. "Violence is viewed as a means to achieving political goals," said a SACC memo given to Mr De Klerk.

Violence was being orchestrated and controlled with political skill, it said.

There was a loss of confidence in the police and black political organisations had allowed their differences to be used as a source of conflict by agents of violence.

The memo said the government should:

- Exert more authority over security forces and rebuild public confidence in them;
- Disband 32 Battalion and Koevoet, repatriating members to their countries of origin;
- Recognise the value of international monitoring of violence;
- Strengthen the Goldstone Commission's investigative capacity;
- Create a special detective unit, responsible to a civilian board to probe claims of police and army involvement in violence;
- Devise a timetable for converting single-sex hostels into family units;
- Install an interim government as soon as possible; and
- Stop all covert activities.

On the latest violence in Soweto, Archbishop Tutu said the SACC condemned all violence, "but particularly the gruesome method of people being set alight".

"We have said, some of us, if we go on in this way there is going to be no country for people to inherit."

He was distressed the black education department could raise matriculation examination fees in the way it had. "A matter of about R10 really makes what is already an explosive situation more volatile.

"The thing was triggered off by students feeling a deep sense of being marginalised again, very much in the way of the Afrikaans language issue (which sparked the 1976 uprisings)."

Urgent talks ⁽²⁷⁾ to cope with ^{ARG 23/5/92} growing unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — An urgent meeting of the full National Peace Committee (NPC) is to be called next week because of increasing violence in the PWV region and Natal.

The National Peace Executive said last night that topics would include the restoration of local administration and services in violence-torn communities and the urgent need for better police/community relationships.

Representatives of the Police Board would be invited to attend to make recommendations.

Another urgent matter was the lack of full-time participation, because of other work commitments, in some regional and local dispute resolution committees in flashpoint areas.

"This is severely hampering the efficient functioning of these structures," said the executive.

In conjunction with the National Peace Secretariat, the committee would consider an invitation to political leaders at all levels — both regional and local — to advise on a manner in which security forces collectively could be mobilised to contain the upsurge of violence.

They would be asked to make specific proposals to defuse and eliminate violence.

An invitation to national political leaders would be debated, with a request for advice on how the Peace Accord could be more effective.

It said a complaint received from the African National Congress concerning alleged acts by police in the Witwatersrand/Vaal area had been referred to the government for an urgent response. — Sapa.

Political violence

claims 10

lives daily

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

POLITICAL killings have claimed the lives of almost 10 people a day on average this year.

More than 1 400 people had died in political violence by mid-May, police said this week.

The shock figures were compiled by the police unrest and violence-related crime investigation unit, established last year in terms of the National Peace Accord.

Unit leader Brigadier Neels Langenhoven said: "Our task is to investigate all unrest and violent crimes with a political connotation."

He said this week his unit had noted 3 611 incidents of political violence involving 1 425 killings and injuries to 2 340 people.

Trains

Buildings worth R17,9-million were destroyed.

More than 4 000 people had been arrested.

In incidents on trains alone, 158 people died this year.

The Soweto-Witwatersrand area is by far the most violent, with 1 181 incidents reported, followed by the Western Cape and Natal, where about 700 incidents took place in each area.

Major-General Andre Pruis, in charge of gathering police intelligence on the occurrence of violence, said more than 2 000 weapons had been seized in "intelligence operations" this year.

They offer their lives and then?

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE plight of disillusioned Umkhonto weSizwe cadres who turn to thuggery because of bungling leadership is the theme of a new musical play *Ain't Gonna Be Easy* written by Don Masenya and Ali Segwai.

Playwrights Masenya and Segwai said that although the production was a work of fiction, it was based on the experiences of returned exiles who were confronted with the harsh reality of poverty and unemployment in the country.

However, plans to take the play on a national tour have hit serious financial snags.

Masenya told City Press that many township theatrical productions were facing serious crises because of a lack of resources and were not being taken seriously by black business.

"It is heartbreaking to see our

attempts at making people look at themselves through theatre go up in smoke because of a lack of resources.

"We were very keen to take the play around the country to highlight the seriousness of some of the hardships and problems that face former exiles, but that may not happen because of lack of money," said Masenya.

The play re-lives the 1980 "Silverton Siege" which saw three ANC cadres mercilessly gunned down after holding up a bank in Pretoria and capturing hostages.

At the same time it is a sequel to *We Have Had Enough*, which was an attack on corrupt leadership which thrives on the aspirations of the people without working for the realisation of their hopes.

Segwai said the story revolves around a returned exile who finally resorts to using his AK-47 to

rescue him from the throes of poverty and unemployment by committing a robbery.

"The excitement and hope which marked the unbanning of the liberation movement is slowly but surely giving way to bitter disillusionment and anger.

"Exiles have returned to the same apartheid situation and we want to awaken our people to take their lives into their own hands and channel their anger to more acceptable goals," said Segwai.

He told City Press that he embarked on a tour of the Frontline States to research the play.

"I realised that guerrillas were confronted with the dilemma of continuing with the fight or giving up the armed struggle altogether.

"Quite a number were angry and bitter at the compromise struck by the leadership," said Segwai.

■ See Page 28

Mandela attacks

FW, warns of demos

274
GENEVA — ANC leader Nelson Mandela, in one of his harshest attacks on President de Klerk, yesterday likened the violence in South Africa to the killing of Jews in Nazi Germany.

At a Geneva news conference, the ANC president also threatened new street protests if constitutional talks with the Government failed.

Mr Mandela has stepped up criticism of the Government since the talks on the country's political future stalemated at Codesa on May 16.

Mr Mandela said he had told Mr de Klerk privately that "what is happening now has happened in Nazi Germany when people were killed simply because they were Jews."

Nearly 1 000 people have been killed in violence this year. More than 12 000 have died since the mid-1980s.

Most of the fighting has been between ANC supporters and

STAR 2515792
the Inkatha Freedom Party. The ANC accuses the police and other security forces of inciting the violence and helping Inkatha.

Mr Mandela warned that the ANC may call for "mass action" if the constitutional talks failed. "This means demonstrations, not resumption of the ANC's armed struggle," he said.

Optimism

"If negotiation fails to enable us to chart the way, we have got other alternatives," he said. "We sincerely hope that it will not be necessary for us to use those alternatives."

Mr Mandela said: "De Klerk must carry responsibility for the violence that is raging in our country (and) to arrest the people who commit murder."

He said Mr de Klerk could stop the violence with a strong, well-trained and well-equipped police force and army. "He has failed to use that capacity."

Mr Mandela dismissed suggestions that his statements could breach the National Peace Accord under which major parties agreed to refrain from public accusations.

"I cannot respect any formalities at the expense of allowing the killing of innocent people to continue simply because there is an agreement that no inflammatory language must be used."

Mr Mandela, who is on a European tour, arrived in Switzerland on Saturday for meetings with government officials, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Olympic Committee.

In the constitutional talks, the ANC, Government and 17 other groups had hoped to agree on several key issues, including the guidelines for a multiparty interim government. The major dispute involved how an elected, interim parliament would approve a new constitution. — Sapa-AP.

SA killings 'like nazis'

CT 25/5/9 (274)

GENEVA. — Mr Nelson Mandela, in one of his harshest attacks on President F W de Klerk, yesterday likened violence in South Africa to the killing of Jews in nazi Germany.

At a news conference here, the ANC president also threatened new mass action if constitutional talks with the government failed. He repeated that this meant street demonstrations, not armed struggle.

Mr Mandela has stepped up criticism of the government since Codesa talks deadlocked on May 16.

He said he had told Mr De Klerk privately that "what is happening now has happened in nazi Germany when people were killed simply because they were Jews

"You are allowing in South Africa people to be killed simply because they are blacks, and you don't care"

Nearly 1 000 people have been killed in South African violence this year.

He said Mr De Klerk could stop the violence with a strong, well-trained and well-equipped police force and army

"He has failed to use that capacity"

Mr Mandela dismissed suggestions that his statements could breach a peace accord last year under which the major South African parties agreed to refrain from public accusations

"I cannot respect any formalities at the expense of allowing the killing of innocent people to continue simply because there is an agreement that no inflammatory language must be used," he said.

● 14 killed in Reef unrest at weekend —
Page 2

Crucial meetings for negotiations, peace

TWO high-level meetings will be held today and tomorrow on constitutional negotiations and the search for peace.

Codesa's management committee meets today in an effort to overcome the deadlock in deciding on principles for a constitution.

Tomorrow an urgent meeting of the full national peace committee will be held — a month early because of the escalating township violence.

Codesa's management committee will try to resolve the deadlock in guidelines and principles to be contained in a final constitution — not by discussing substantive issues but by setting up structures to

B/day 25/5/92 (274)
**BILLY PADDOCK and
KATHRYN STRACHAN**

facilitate agreement.

Most of the negotiating will happen in behind-the-scenes discussions between the ANC and government and in technical and sub-committees.

The ANC last week set out four "pre-conditions" for agreeing to a three-stage plan for transition. These were that:

- Decisions by the national assembly on a final constitution be accepted by a two-thirds majority,
- There be rigid timeframes for drafting the final constitution so that the interim

government is in power for only a brief period;

A deadlock-breaking mechanism be put in place should a two-thirds majority not be attainable; and

A proposed senate play no role in drawing up the constitution.

The ANC is threatening mass action to support its demands.

Government is insisting that:

No time-frames be placed on the negotiation phase. Only after agreement had been reached on the constitution should timeframes be placed on its implementation;

To Page 2

Crucial talks

- B/day 25/5/92 (274)* From Page 1
- High majority loading (75%) for agreement on regionalism; and
 - A multiparty executive be entrenched in the constitution

Government is prepared to leave a senate out of the constitution-making stage but insists on a powerful senate that would act as a guardian of the constitution

It also insists that all regions be equally represented in the senate and that the three major parties have equal representation in the senate

The ANC wants the senate to be democratically elected and not appointed

However, there was some scepticism among Codesa participants yesterday over whether these demands were in fact pre-conditions or rhetoric

DP Codesa delegate Ken Andrew said he believed the ANC's preconditions were not all that difficult to meet in order to get talks going again

It was likely that the technical committees would try and get agreement and then

take this to the management committee which would make recommendations to a wider body — possibly a smaller plenary session

Peace accord spokesman Val Pauquet said tomorrow's meeting of signatories would focus on restoring local administration and services in violence-torn communities

The committee would also consider inviting political leaders at regional and local levels to advise on ways of making the accord more effective, and on mobilising the security forces to contain the present upsurge of violence, said Pauquet

Urgent matters to be addressed included the lack of full-time participation of members. This had severely hampered the functioning of regional and local dispute resolution committees in flashpoint areas.

Pauquet said the ANC had undertaken to respond to a complaint raised by Inkatha that arms caches and Inkatha membership cards were allegedly found in ANC offices

By Abdul Milazi
THE culture of violence in South African townships could have dire consequences for peace in the future.

Mothers in strife-torn townships live in constant fear for the survival of their children - and themselves.

A Tokoza mother of three, Mrs Ouma Sechele, said children were exposed to violence at a tender age.

Mothers raise children in a culture of violence, fear

"Nobody has ever thought what it does to a child to see his parents or relatives killed in front of him," said Sechele.

Sechele said it was difficult to cope with their own fears, let alone their chil-

dren's.

She said it was difficult to predict where and when the enemy would strike.

"Sometimes I wonder if my children will make it home from school," said Sechele.

A 65-year-old Tokoza mother, Mrs Janet Ntuli, whose son Sam was gunned down less than 1km from his home last year, said her grandchildren had no future.

"Since Sam was killed

we fear that the same people who killed him might come back for his children," said a tearful Janet.

The death of former Cast general secretary, Mr Sam Ntuli left two children fatherless, the second being

born a week after Sam's burial.

"Their chances of receiving a good education are slim. We cannot manage to pay for their schooling since none of us is employed."

An angry Phola Park mother, Mrs Anna Mkhize, said their children were subjected to violence "left, right and centre".

"Here we are facing political, criminal and police violence," said Mkhize.

Mkhize said children became the victims in the end.

Constant panic, fear and the pain of raising children amidst violence is a reality for mothers in strife-torn townships

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Urgent meeting to bring peace ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ bid back on track

ARG 26/5/92

ANC and NP blame each other for violence

Political Staff

THE National Peace Committee meets today in an urgent attempt to get the foundering peace accord back on track as the ANC and the National Party furiously blame each other's leaders for the escalating violence.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel reacted angrily last night to Mr Mandela's remarks in Geneva at the weekend in which he accused President De Klerk of responsibility for the killing of black people.

"Closer to the truth is that Mandela, by not controlling his followers, is allowing black South Africans to be killed simply because they do not support the ANC," Mr Kriel said in the most personal government attack on Mr Mandela so far.

Statements accusing other parties and leaders of involvement in political violence are expressly forbidden by the National Peace Accord because they are thought to incite followers to violence.

But both sides now seem to have tossed the peace accord aside as the war of words degenerates into a personal mud-slinging match.

Sources close to the National Peace Committee said last night that Mr Mandela's latest remarks would probably be raised at the committee meeting today.

The sources added, though, that these remarks were just the latest in a whole dossier of allegedly inflammatory remarks by leaders on all sides — which could be raised today.

They said it was not clear what action, if any, would be taken against Mr Mandela — although peace committee sources have said in the past that leaders who make inflammatory speeches should be summoned to appear before the committee.

The sources said it was more

important now to bring President De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi together in a meeting to try to put the peace process back on track.

Mr Mandela is scheduled to return to South Africa today.

In Geneva he likened the killing of South African blacks to the killing of Jews in Nazi Germany.

Mr Kriel said Mr Mandela's claim that President De Klerk was allowing the murder of people simply because they were black was "nothing but a racist remark."

Accusing Mr Mandela of allowing his followers to kill people simply because they did not support the ANC, he asked what steps Mr Mandela had taken against the following actions of his followers:

- Since February 2, 1990, several hundred ANC members had been arrested for possession of unlicensed firearms — the most recent case being that of PWV Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Paul Ramahlo.

- More than 3 000 attacks on police were initiated by the ANC during the same period.

- Several hundred ANC members had been connected with violent crimes such as murder, attempted murder, armed robbery and arson — for example the recent killing of three security guards during a hold-up in Nigel in which ANC members escaped with R600 000.

- In Phola Park the police had uncovered a crime network under the banner of the ANC's self-defence unit.

- In recent years 183 Inkatha leaders had been killed and ANC Natal leader Mr Harry Gwala had admitted the ANC was killing Inkatha warlords.

Mr Kriel said it was clear

that Mr Mandela and the ANC had no control over their supporters as MK leader Mr Sydney Mpilo had recently admitted to the Goldstone Commission.

It was ironic that Mr Mandela's solution to violence was joint control of the security forces.

Meanwhile the NP accused the ANC of taking part in negotiations merely as a smokescreen to seize full power.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said this yesterday in reaction to Mr Mandela's remarks.

Dr Van der Merwe said Mr Mandela's attack had come amid weekend reports that 12 members of the ANC's military wing had been arrested for violence in Phola Park.

This, coupled with reports that the ANC and its alliance partner Cosatu were threatening to withdraw from the National Peace Accord, raised serious questions about Mr Mandela and the ANC's motives.

He said it seemed as though Mr Mandela was increasingly becoming the victim of the more radical elements in the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance.

This suggestion was strengthened by reliable evidence that weeks before Codesa 2, ANC members had already begun planning mass action if they did not get their way at Codesa.

This — and the fact that Mr Mandela's formal speech at Codesa had been written three weeks before Codesa 2 — raised serious questions about whether the ANC was taking part in negotiations in good faith.

Dr Van der Merwe accused the ANC of having a hidden agenda of a finely-devised strategy to seize total power behind a smokescreen of negotiations and to force its will on South Africa.

(274) AR 26/5/92

'Private armies usurping powers of security forces'

STELLENBOSCH. — The inherent dangers of private armies to peaceful negotiations have been underlined by Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte at a meeting at the University of Stellenbosch.

Private armies could have the ingredients of a civil war recipe. The government had a clear view on these organisations, irrespective of their political or ideological basis, said Mr Schutte.

"They are hindering permanent peace and are possibly even the ingredients of a recipe for civil war, polarisation and violence."

The government would not allow the statutory powers of the police and the Defence Force to be usurped.

Mr Schutte said private armies had been strongly denounced in both the D F Malan Accord and the National Peace Accord. Legislation declaring private armies illegal had been the result of these two agreements.

"Both these agreements, however, provide for orderly self-protection and neighbourhood watch units. In the peace accord and the report of working group one to Codesa II, it



SCHUTTE ... "recipe for civil war"

was agreed that such units should co-operate with the SAP."

He found it incomprehensible that an African National Congress grouping should now harbour any hesitations about the peace accord while all the other parties had again committed themselves to the agreement — including the the ANC leadership — at Codesa II earlier this month.

Double-talk about peace and political rhetoric would not contribute to peace and would only increase tension at grass-roots level, Mr Schutte said. — Sapa.

Goldstone appoints international panel

Bl Day 26/5/92

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STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE Goldstone Commission has appointed a 10-member international advisory panel — including New York's top policeman — to assist an inquiry into ways of preventing violence and intimidation.

The panel would not make findings on the situation in SA, but would make recommendations to the commission.

The move followed the commission's decision to establish a subcommittee to inquire into the procedures of organising and policing mass demonstrations and marches, commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said in a statement yesterday.

The functions of the international advisory panel would entail advising on experiences elsewhere in the world. Scientific considerations and other interests would also be considered.

International members of the panel are Harvard Law School centre for criminal studies director Justice Heyman, New York Police Department commissioner Lee P Brown, universities of Rotterdam, Holland, Leuven and Belgium, Prof C Fijnhout, P A J Waddington of the universities of London and Reading and University of Toronto's C Shearing.

Reef townships, meanwhile, experienced almost no unrest deaths over the past two days with only one unrest-related death reported in Alexandra.

Soweto, where thousands of school-boycotting youths ran amuck last week,

petrol-bombing and stoning vehicles and homes and killing at least three people, was "back to normal", police liaison officer Capt Joseph Ngobeni said yesterday.

Most Soweto pupils seemed to have resumed classes yesterday, police and DET spokesmen said.

Four men died in unrest-related incidents in Natal at the weekend, police said.

Two policemen were killed in a hand-grenade attack near Umlazi outside Durban on Sunday.

In another incident two people died in a hail of AK-47 bullets fired by unknown gunmen on a farm near Umzinto on the Natal South Coast.

□ The police public relations office in Pretoria yesterday released statistics aimed at refuting allegations of police violence and brutality.

Since 1988, the SAP had increased its members from 60 878 to 84 776 last year, a statement said.

Compared with an increase in the number of members, policemen found guilty of murder, culpable homicide, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and assault, decreased by almost 70% during this period.

Of the 284 members convicted last year, only a few were guilty of murder or culpable homicide. About 80% were convicted of assault.

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ANC-govt row erupts over violence

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A FURIOUS row has erupted between the government and the ANC over claims by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that President F W de Klerk was personally responsible for political violence in South Africa.

In a blistering counter-attack, the government last night charged that the ANC president, "by not controlling his followers, is allowing black South Africans to be killed simply because they do not support the ANC." The National Party described Mr Mandela's

attack as "reckless" and "scandalous".

However, our Johannesburg correspondent reports that government and ANC representatives at Codesa met last night in an effort to patch up their worsening relations. Neither party would discuss the agenda but it is understood that senior negotiators from both sides were present.

Yesterday's war of words, though, is likely to further bedevil the negotiation process as NP and ANC sources have indicated that relations between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela have become increasingly strained recently.

Mr Mandela, speaking in Geneva this week, likened the violence in South Africa to the killing of Jews in Nazi Germany, adding that he had told Mr De Klerk: "You are allowing people in South Africa to be killed simply because they are blacks, and you don't care."

Law and Order Minister Mr Hennus Kriel said last night suggestions that the President was behind the violence in which more than 1 000 people were killed this year were devoid of all truth.

Mr Kriel listed a series of cases in which he

charged ANC members were involved in assassinating political opponents, crime and violence.

These included more than 3 000 attacks against members of the SAP initiated by the ANC since February 2, 1990. Altogether 182 Inkatha leaders had been killed in recent years, he said.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe also slammed Mr Mandela's comments "in the light of the latest evidence about the involvement of certain ANC members in violence on the Reef."

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Private armies 'a danger'

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STELLENBOSCH. — The inherent dangers of private armies to peaceful negotiations in South Africa were underlined by Deputy Justice Minister Mr Danie Schutte at a meeting at the University of Stellenbosch last night.

Private armies could embody the ingredients of a civil-war recipe, and the government had a clear view on these organisations, irrespective of their political or ideological basis, said Mr

Schutte. "They are hindering permanent peace, and are possibly even the ingredients of a recipe for civil war, polarisation and violence."

He stressed that the government would not allow the statutory powers of the police and the Defence Force to be usurped,

Mr Schutte said private armies had been strongly denounced in both the D F Malan Accord and

the National Peace Accord, and that legislation declaring private armies illegal had been the result and implementation of those two agreements.

"Both these agreements, however, provide for orderly self-protection and Neighbourhood Watch Units. In the Peace Accord and the report of working group one to Codesa II it was agreed that such units should co-operate with the SAP." — Sapa

Urgent
CT ~~file~~ 26/5/92
meeting
(271)
on peace

JOHANNESBURG. — The threatened withdrawal from the National Peace Accord by African National Congress and allied groups will be high on the agenda at an urgent closed-door meeting of the full National Peace Committee in Sandton today.

National Peace Secretariat spokesman confirmed that the meeting would appeal to all regions to remain active and committed to the peace process.

PWV heads of the ANC, SA Communist Party, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal last week said they were considering pulling out because of covert security-force involvement in violence. — Sapa

Police set up road blocks at trouble spots in Meadowlands and Mzimhlope, Soweto, yesterday morning. Sporadic incidents of violence took place at the area last week which resulted in a woman being murdered and set alight.

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

Panel's violence advice

Sowetan 26/5/92

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The Goldstone Commission is to receive recommendations from a multinational panel comprising academics and an American police chief on mass action and policing methods.

The panel, which includes local academics and specialists in areas such as violence and psychology, will advise the commission on their experiences on issues elsewhere in the world.

The panel will join South African advisers in recommending to local groups how mass action should be organised and how police should react to it.

The chairman of the panel is Professor Philip Heymann,

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

director of the Harvard Law School Centre for Criminal Justice.

Overseas members of the panel are: New York police commissioner Dr Lee Brown; Prof CFijnaut of the Universities of Rotterdam, (Holland) and Leuven (Belgium); Dr PAJ Waddington of the Universities of London and Reading; and Professor C Shearing of the Universities of Toronto and Western Cape.



Locking horns

outside courts may smooth

STAR 27/5/92.



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Resolving disputes before resorting to court battles is an increasing legal trend, writes JO-ANNE COLLINGE

ALTERNATIVE dispute resolution, which offers routes to resolving serious differences without locking battle in court, is finding increasing favour among lawyers. But will it take off in the world of business?

This question threaded its way through the recent conference on "Streamlined Justice" which was organised by the Alternative Dispute Resolution Association of South Africa (Adrasa) and attended by lawyers and businessmen.

The participation of leading business figures, such as Anglovaal chairman Basil Hersov, the Frane Group's Mervyn King, Basil Read chairman Leon Dison and Sacob's Clive

Morke, was indeed a form of endorsement of alternative dispute resolution — or ADR — to be initiated.

But, with Adrasa formally constituted just a year ago, evidence is that ADR methods have much deeper roots and wider application in South Africa in the field of labour relations than other fields.

The Independent Mediation Service of SA (IMSSA), in existence for more than 10 years, is involved in hundreds of mediations, arbitrations, balloting and relationship-building exercises annually.

According to IMSSA director Charles Nupen, these interventions are mostly but not exclusi-

vely in the labour field; many are institutionalised in employer/union recognition agreements or industrial council procedures; and a single intervention may impact on hundreds of thousands of workers — for instance in the steel and engineering industry.

The construction industry has over the last 20 years evolved mechanisms to deal speedily and expertly with disputes arising from costly variations from construction contracts. Basil Read's Leon Dison — a civil engineer by profession — has

acted in such mediations/arbitrations between contractor and employer. He expressed the view that ADR techniques might add some sophistication to the civil engineering association's time-tested process — but the technical expertise of the arbitrator or mediator remained the critical factor.

The question remains whether ADR will graft readily to the world of commerce, where relationships are generally not as symbiotic as that between management and labour. As often happens, delegates

looked across South Africa's borders for pointers: all the way to the United States where ADR began to be defined systematically about 15 years ago.

Harvard Law School's Professor Frank Sander played no small role in this and he offered the fruits of experience — throwing out more questions than answers.

Like all ADR proponents, he stressed that ADR was an alternative — not a substitute — for the courts. It helps to "preserve the courts for those disputes for which they are uniquely suited

court settlement was not a compulsion to actually settle.

Who pays for ADR, especially if it is a mandatory step to litigation? Professor Sander made the allowance that ADR was cheaper than litigation, and where parties resorted to it voluntarily, there was little doubt they should pay.

But where courts ordered some form of ADR before proceeding to hear a case, there was a contradiction in expecting voluntary community groups or the parties themselves to foot the bill, Professor Sander observed.

In throwing out more questions than answers, Professor

Sander underscored the point made by IMSSA chairman Paul Pretorius at the outset of the conference: that ADR, in its many facets, was a dynamic and partly formed attempt to address longstanding crises in the justice system — overburdened courts, made inaccessible by legal costs and, in South Africa, hamstrung by a lack of legitimacy.

Mr Pretorius argued that the present phase in South Africa was a "window of opportunity" which those concerned with the reform of justice should seize. In this context, he suggested, "the business community may be falling behind in protecting its own interests". □

and needed". As a whole range of private adjudication, mediation and arbitration-type practices have developed, critical issues have emerged. Professor Sander dealt with a handful:

- Should ADR be mandatory in certain types of cases? Should the courts refuse to hear specified civil actions until the parties had tried other means of settling? Professor Sander tendered the opinion that "as a first step it's not a bad thing", but added that an obligation to attempt to reach an out-of-

justice system

A quiet stand for sanity

274

FM 22/5/92

A multinational panel of nine experts has been set up to provide guidance on how to handle political marches and demonstrations.

This is the latest project of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence.

The task is urgent. More than half of 10 000 marches and rallies in the past two years were illegal. Though there was violence at only three of these, all were potentially explosive.

The chairman of the panel is Prof Philip Heymann, director of the Harvard Law School. Other foreign members include Lee Brown, Commissioner of the New York Police Department, and several academics from universities in Holland, England and Canada. Local members include Johan Olivier, senior research specialist at the HSRC's Centre for Conflict Analysis, and Don Foster, professor of psychology at UCT.

The ultimate aim — which has the support of the ANC, Cosatu, the SA Police and others — is to produce agreed rules and procedures for rallies, with specific reference to the role of the police. This will be vital in preparing for the first nonracial (interim government) elections, which could be held next year.

The panel will draft recommendations after a preliminary meeting in London later this month. They will be presented to a Goldstone committee in July and will then be subjected to a seven-day public hearing in Cape Town. It's expected that recommendations will be submitted to government as draft legislation.

Meanwhile, there is no let-up in the commission's primary task: to investigate incidents of violence and intimidation and recommend ways to prevent them.

It's a daunting job. By last Monday, 863 people had died in unrest-related incidents this year, according to police figures. These deaths have occurred since the first Goldstone hearing took place. Yet it could be argued that the commission, headed by Justice Richard Goldstone and four permanent commissioners, is doing more than any other body to stem the bloody tide, simply by coolly studying the causes and symptoms.

The commission was established by President F W de Klerk towards the end of last year. Since then, it has been fine-tuned to include preliminary hearings, which provide

greater spontaneity and the opportunity for the main commission to be more focused in its investigations.

The commission has completed exhaustive investigations on violence at Mooi River and President Steyn Gold Mine. The Mooi River inquiry concentrated on violence which claimed 19 lives at Mooi River and neighbouring Bruntville in December last year. The commission slammed police strong-arm tactics; criticised them for bias in favour of Inkatha; and stressed the importance of confiscating traditional weapons. Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel responded by saying several aspects were being investigated.

A police spokesman in Maritzburg said this week that there has been a substantial decline in violence in Mooi River since the Goldstone report. But he said he did not necessarily attribute this to the commission's findings.

Of the President Steyn violence, owner Anglo American expressed its appreciation for the speed with which the commission dealt with the issue — violence flared on November 1 last year and the report was completed by April 1. Anglo also said the recommendations were constructive and are at various stages of consideration or implementation.

The report recommended measures to alleviate pressures and tensions at the mine; a code of conduct; consensus over political and union activity; training of personnel for disciplinary meetings, and the appointment of an industry disputes ombudsman.

The commission also produced for parliament in February, an interim report on its general observations on public violence. The report found that it was too early to draw conclusions from the information that had been presented to it so far.

Goldstone committees are also investigating the taxi wars, train violence (particularly on the Witwatersrand), mass demonstrations and marches, hostel violence in Greater Soweto, Alexandra and the Vaal Triangle and allegations surrounding an alleged SADF-funded Inkatha training camp in the Caprivi.

The commission has in the last month conducted four preliminary hearings and last week announced it will hold another into claims of secret police training camps in the southern Transvaal — the first request for a

hearing by the SAP.

For the commissioners it is a punishing schedule. Yet Mr Justice Goldstone continues to fulfil his obligations as an Appeal Court judge and as chairman of the Standing Advisory Committee on Companies.

The commission isn't a court that punishes offenders. But it is a neutral but public venue where antagonists meet and express allegations — as well as hear each other's cause for complaint.

Ironically, it is probably the commission's lack of teeth which makes it effective. While there have been suggestions that the commission be empowered to prosecute, this could hobble it. It would mean sitting as a court, aloof and unable to negotiate with the warring factions; Goldstone himself would have to remain detached, like a trial judge. Commissions of inquiry don't work that way.

The commission decided from the outset not to grant press interviews or allow television cameras into the hearings. However, its hearings are conducted in public in all but exceptional circumstances.

This has quelled the tendency among some parties to make allegations that are extravagant and often inflammatory — but groundless. They now know that they will probably be called to account and exposed if they cannot produce facts to back up their claims.

Further impetus was given a month ago when the commission initiated preliminary inquiries into allegations of violence, rather than throwing its full weight into every request for a probe. At these inquiries, aggrieved parties present their case for or against a full-blown inquiry, supported by affidavits and documents, but excluding eyewitness testimony. At this stage, the claims are not put to any exhaustive test through cross-examination.

This process has two benefits. The commission can be more focused when it holds a full inquiry; and it forces the parties to put all their cards on the table immediately, rather than allow those giving evidence later the opportunity to tailor their submissions to counteract evidence already heard.

The bottom line is that the commission isn't there to point fingers but to scrutinise incidents in search of solutions.

It's a tough task with no quick fixes — but the only way is relentlessly to chip away at the problem.

Peace accord group meets

(274)
ARG 27/5/92
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The national peace committee met for more than six hours here yesterday in an attempt to boost the flagging peace process.

Journalists were barred from the meeting — on the instructions of committee chairman Mr John Hall — which was called a month early because of the escalating violence.

It could not be ascertained yesterday whether any decisions were taken at the meeting.

The committee is expected to hold a news conference today

Committed

It is understood that the threatened withdrawal from the national peace accord by the PWV regions of the ANC and its allies was high on yesterday's agenda.

National peace committee spokesman Mr Val Pauquet this week said the meeting would appeal to all regions to remain active and committed to the peace process.

The PWV regions of the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal last week said they were considering pulling out of the national peace accord because the government and security forces had signed it in bad faith.

Peace committee convenes early 274

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee met for more than six hours in Johannesburg yesterday in an attempt to boost the flagging peace process. *B/Daw*

Journalists were barred from the meeting — on the instructions of committee chairman John Hall — which was called a month early because of the escalating violence. *2715792*

It could not be ascertained yesterday whether any decisions on how the faltering national peace accord could be saved were taken at the meeting. The committee was expected to hold a news conference today.

It is understood that the threatened withdrawal from the national peace accord by the PWV regions of the ANC and its allies was high on yesterday's agenda.

ANC NEC member Sydney Mafumadi was one of the ANC representatives at the meeting. The Inkatha delegation was led by its chairman Frank Mdlalose while government's delegation included national peace secretariat member Gert Myburgh.

National peace committee spokesman Val Pauquet this week said the meeting would appeal to all regions to remain active and committed to the peace process.

The PWV regions of the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal last week said they were considering pulling out of the national peace accord because government and the security forces had signed it in bad faith.

STAN 28/5/92
Mr Justice Goldstone has laid the main blame for political violence squarely on the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

After months of inquiry into the violence around the country, Judge Goldstone — chairman of the permanent judicial commission into the prevention of public violence and intimidation — issued an urgent appeal to ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to end the killing.

He said he was issuing an urgent interim report because he could not continue inquiring into violence "with judicial detachment" when urgent steps were needed to stop the violence.

No one other than the ANC and the IFP had the power to curb violence and intimidation effectively.

Mr Justice Goldstone said he could find no evidence of a third force.

He did not exonerate the security forces and identified one of the causes of violence as "a history over some years of State complicity in undercover activities, which include criminal activities".

It had to be accepted that individual policemen as well as ANC and IFP supporters had been guilty of serious criminal conduct.

The Government had failed to take sufficient steps to prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces and the police.

But Mr Justice Goldstone added: "Even if allegations against members of the security forces prove to be justified, such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and IFP."

He said the commission had no doubt that the primary cause of the violence was the political battle between supporters of the ANC and of the IFP in their attempts to gain control over areas.

He called on the ANC and IFP to disarm their supporters — in an implicit reference to both the ANC's armed struggle and the IFP's insistence on carrying traditional weapons.

He called for an immediate ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons at any place.

Mr Justice Goldstone's remarks came in a general interim report on all his investigations to date — and a press statement on the commission's specific inquiries into the violence in Greater Soweto, Alexandra, the Vaal Triangle and in Imbali, Empangeni and Umlazi.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said last night that the commission's finding was "indisputable evidence of what the Government and the SAP have been saying all along".

He said the Government had noted the criticism of the security forces and would pay immediate attention to remedy the situation.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the general causes of the violence included: the socio-economic and political imbalances; a police force and army which had been "the instruments of oppression"; the sudden legalising of black political organisations; the climate of political intolerance; single-sex hos-

Goldstone issues urgent call to end violence

ANC, IFP 'are to blame'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

274

28/5/92

ANC, IFP 'to blame for political violence'

● From Page 1

tels; an inadequately manned police force; and a history of State complicity in violence.

He suggested several steps:

- The deployment of an effective police presence in local communities to work closely with the dispute resolution committees of the National Peace Accord.
- The police's new Internal Stability Unit seemed the only suitable branch for this role, working with justices of the peace when this office had been appointed under the peace accord.
- The investigative functions of his commission on violence and intimidation would continue to be important in curbing violence. But the commission should be granted adequate

means and procedures for offering protection to witnesses.

- The widely held view that the KwaZulu Police was a private army of the IFP was a matter of great concern — as was disturbing evidence of unlawful action by senior members.
- Recent activities by members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe were also a matter for concern — especially the admission of a Transvaal MK leader that MK was unable to control its members.
- The SADF, SAP, ANC and IFP should establish committees to investigate allegations of public violence by members.
- All hostels should be fenced adequately and securely and a strong police presence should ensure that no arms were taken

in or out of hostels.

- The carrying of dangerous weapons should be outlawed everywhere.

The IFP yesterday gave a guarded response to the finding Central committee member John Bhengu said: "I will say 'yes' in the sense that it is the two parties who are embroiled in violence against each other."

But he claimed it was the ANC — through the now-defunct UDF — which had started the fighting in Natal in 1985.

The ANC said the statement "raises a number of critical issues at a time when the peace accord and its instruments face a critical evaluation".

The ANC said it had called an urgent meeting of its allies today to discuss the statement.

ANC, IFP blamed for SA violence

(274)
CT 28/5/92

Political Staff

THE political battle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress was the "primary cause of violence" in Natal and the Transvaal, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone charged yesterday.

In a sweeping indictment of the organisations, the chairman of the Goldstone Commission said even if allegations against the security forces could be proved, "such misconduct would not be possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the IFP".

Tabled in Parliament yesterday, the commission's second report on its investigations nationwide said it "received no evidence which would suggest" a sinister and secret "third force" orchestrating political violence.

The report also pointed to "the well-documented criminal conduct by individual members of the South African Police and the KwaZulu Police" as a reason for the violence.

And it said the country's "recent history was one in which the government has failed to take sufficiently firm steps to

Call to 'monitor police'

JOHANNESBURG. — A lack of trust in the security forces was a major obstacle to achieving peace in South Africa, the National Peace Committee (NPC) said yesterday after meeting late into Tuesday night.

The NPC meeting was called a month earlier than planned because of unabated township violence and the NPC's ineffectiveness in combating it. Fifteen people were killed last weekend.

The NPC said the regional and local dispute resolution committees should be encouraged to form task groups to monitor police activities and police-community relations.

prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces and the police".

Mr Justice Goldstone was reacting to the commission's investigations into violence in Imbali, Empangeni and Umlazi in Natal and Soweto, Alexandra township and the Vaal area in Transvaal.

He said the commission believed the violence could not be stemmed unless the ANC and IFP leaders and supporters agreed to abandon violence and intimidation, remove weapons used for violence and intimidation from their supporters; take "effective disciplinary measures" against supporters who did not abide by these instructions, and recognise the right

"The containment of violence through the normal process of co-operation between the police and community is being denied in the violence-torn areas by the breakdown in normal community structures and the lack of trust in the security forces," the NPC said in a statement.

Members of political parties and the NPC should attend police training courses to understand the nature of the courses.

The NPC also decided that a meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord be called as soon as possible. — Sapa

senior members of the KwaZulu Police

Among the causes of the violence are a history "over some years" of state complicity in undercover activities; the economic, social and political imbalances among the people of South Africa — the consequences of apartheid; a police force and army which for years were the instruments of oppression by successive white governments; the sudden legalising of large and predominantly black political organisations, and the climate of political intolerance, particularly in the black community.

Military link to bomb

JOHANNESBURG. — Military rather than commercial explosives were probably used in the portable cassette player bomb which killed ANC lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni last year, an inquest in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday heard. (274)

Investigating officer Captain Andre Kritzinger told Mr Justice B O'Donovan that further tests would be conducted on the explosives.

Samples taken of the packing in which the machine arrived did not match samples from South Africa and there was a "strong foreign connotation".

The cassette player was apparently intended for Mr Dirk Coetzee, a former captain in the SAP, stationed at Vlakplaas where death-squad activities were allegedly planned. CT 28/5/92

50 unrest deaths recorded in week

^{STAR 29/5/92}
Fifty people were killed and 32 injured in the week from May 20 to 26, compared with the previous week's total of 61 deaths and 59 people injured, according to the latest repression report compiled by the Human Rights Commission.

The report said vigilante actions in the PWV area and Natal accounted for 42 deaths and 24 injured.

Although the PWV

death roll of 38 remained constant (39 died the previous week), the Vaal region — and Sebokeng in particular — continued to be a flashpoint.

In Natal, the deaths dropped from the seven recorded last week to four this week. Four people were injured.

According to the report, action by security forces accounted for five injured and 414 arrests in the PWV, eastern Cape and Ciskei.

During a demonstration at the Department of Education and Training offices in Springs, 372 SA Democratic Teachers Union members were arrested.

The HRC said the SA Defence Force's 21 Battalion had yet again been involved in raids on East Rand townships, which had resulted in injuries to residents in squatter camps at Phola Park and Tamboville, as well as in Ratanda. — Sapa.

Mandela rejects findings

STAR 2915742

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

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

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

On Wednesday, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone released to Parliament a bombshell report which said the primary cause for the ongoing violence was "political rivalry" between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Although he did not specifically exonerate the security forces — consistently accused of fomenting "black on black" violence — Mr Justice Goldstone's report was immediately interpreted by the Government as a vindication of repeated claims that its "hands were clean".

Mr Mandela went out of his way to avoid a personal attack on "the learned judge" but left no doubt that the ANC rejected the commission's conclusions outright.

Delegates told The Star this raised serious questions

"Mass action solution to deadlock" — Page 3

about the future credibility of the Government-appointed commission.

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

Describing the findings as "superficial", Mr Mandela said: "To attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and IFP is to ignore (the fact) that the rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the South African Government and its security forces."

"Secondly, with regard to who holds the key responsibility for bringing the violence to an end — to place this responsibility on the ANC and IFP is to ignore the reality that it is the National Party regime which wields State power."

The ANC leader said the commission was still charged with, among many other things, investigating alleged military training by the SADF of at least 200 IFP members "who are still loose . . . conducting a reign of terror in the townships".

"It is also investigating secret funding by the regime of the IFP over a period of at least four years, and the involvement of the KwaZulu Police and the SA Police in Wesselson. The judgment in the Trust Feed massacre case is unmistakable proof that none of this can be dismissed as irrelevant or imagined."

Explaining his reasons for releasing the commission's findings on the causes of violence this week, Mr Justice Goldstone said the situation had become so serious that he could no longer continue merely to inquire with "judicial detachment".

But ANC delegates said yesterday they thought the judge had made "a fundamental error".

"It appears he doesn't understand that the current violence is all part of a process which began long ago," said a senior ANC member.

Sapa reports the IFP's permanent representative in London, Ben Skosana, said in a statement yesterday that the findings had put in doubt countless media reports blaming the IFP for violence while portraying the ANC as an innocent victim.

He said Inkatha would not have got involved if the ANC had not intimidated its political opponents, made townships ungovernable and killed those it called "sellouts" and "puppets".

Farm killings:

26 this year

Political Staff

ET 29/8/92
TWENTY-SIX people have been murdered on farms in South Africa since January 1, Law and Order Minister Mr Her-nus Kriel said this week. Another 48 had been attacked and 112 robbed. Replying to a question from Mr Rosier de Ville (CP Standerton), Mr Kriel said 66 people had been murdered, 239 robbed and 327 attacked on farms in 1991.

The attack figures included assaults and rapes, and were limited to victims of attacks in or outside their homes.

Stalemate ends talks on armed struggle

CT 29/5/92
THE failure of Codesa II to reach agreement on the principles for a final constitution and the subsequent war of words between the ANC and government have ended all negotiations on the armed struggle.

At a briefing this week Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said the bilateral negotiations between the two parties on ending the armed struggle and identifying arms caches had stopped.

Last week Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the bilateral participants had reached 80% agreement and talks between the Defence Force and uMkhonto we-Sizwe were taking place.

But on Wednesday Mr Kriel said "no further meetings for these bilateral talks have been scheduled".

● Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has suggested that a summit meeting between the government and the ANC be held as a matter of urgency, reports Sapa.

Mixed reaction to Goldstone

CT 29/5/92

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Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mandela rejects Goldstone findings

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ARG 29/5/92

Political Staff

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

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

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

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

claims that its "hands were clean".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Goldstone findings 'superficial'

Mandela hits out at report on violence

B/day 29/5/92

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ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected Judge Richard Goldstone's finding that ANC-Inkatha rivalry was responsible for political violence in the townships.

And in its response to the Goldstone commission of inquiry's second interim report, Inkatha said its members would continue to carry traditional weapons despite the report's recommendation that they should be disarmed.

Mandela told the opening of the ANC's policy conference at Nasrec the report's finding that the ANC and Inkatha were ultimately responsible for township violence was superficial and pre-emptive.

He said Goldstone's statement was superficial because "to attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and IFP is to ignore that the rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the SA government and its security forces".

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

"To place this responsibility (for bringing violence to an end) on the ANC and IFP is to ignore the reality that it is the National Party regime which wields state power," Mandela said.

He further charged that Goldstone's statements pre-empted the commission's continuing work.

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

TIM COHEN

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

The interim report, tabled in Parliament on Wednesday, criticises government for not taking sufficient steps to bring a halt to the violence and for state complicity in undercover operations.

But only Inkatha and the ANC had the power to curb effectively the violence and intimidation perpetrated by their supporters, the report says.

The report does not exclude the possibility that a campaign of violence was being systematically orchestrated, saying only that no evidence to support this claim had been put before commission in the seven months since it began sitting.

WILSON ZWANE reports Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said his organisation would not prevent its supporters from carrying "traditional" weapons.

Mdlalose said he did not know whom Inkatha should disarm as the organisation — unlike the ANC — did not have a trained army.

"On certain occasions" some Inkatha members carried traditional weapons and he saw no reason why members should be prevented from carrying these weapons as they were no more dangerous than a fist, a shoe or a stone.

In an earlier statement Inkatha said it was prepared to do whatever was possible and legal to end violence. "Inkatha has never believed in or advocated violence for

□ To Page 2

Violence B/day 29/5/92 (274) □ From Page 1

political purposes... it is contrary to the policy of our party."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the commission's findings, including a recommendation that closer co-operation between police and communities would help to end violence, were being "looked into".

The national peace committee this week said a lack of trust in the security forces was a major obstacle to achieving peace.

At its meeting on Tuesday, the committee resolved to encourage regional and local dispute resolution committees to monitor police activities and police/community relations.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday the Goldstone report came

"perilously" close to conveying the impression of government and security forces "standing like a knight in shining white armour between two warring black factions in order to keep the peace".

The HRC said the report displayed a "profound ignorance or disregard of the historical record of apartheid government... as a destabiliser and manipulator".

If the commission continued to produce "such facile analyses" of political violence, it ran the risk of being regarded as simply "government's infiltration of the peace accord".

The HRC, however, praised some of the commission's recommendations, particularly those relating to the control of hostels and carrying of dangerous weapons.

● Comment, Page 10

State, ANC and IFP blamed for violence

Sowetan 29/5/92

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By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission has blamed "three centuries of racial discrimination and over 40 years of an extreme form of racial and economic dislocation in pursuit of apartheid", for violence in the country.

Judge Goldstone on Wednesday delivered his second interim report to State President FW de Klerk at Tuynhuys, Cape Town.

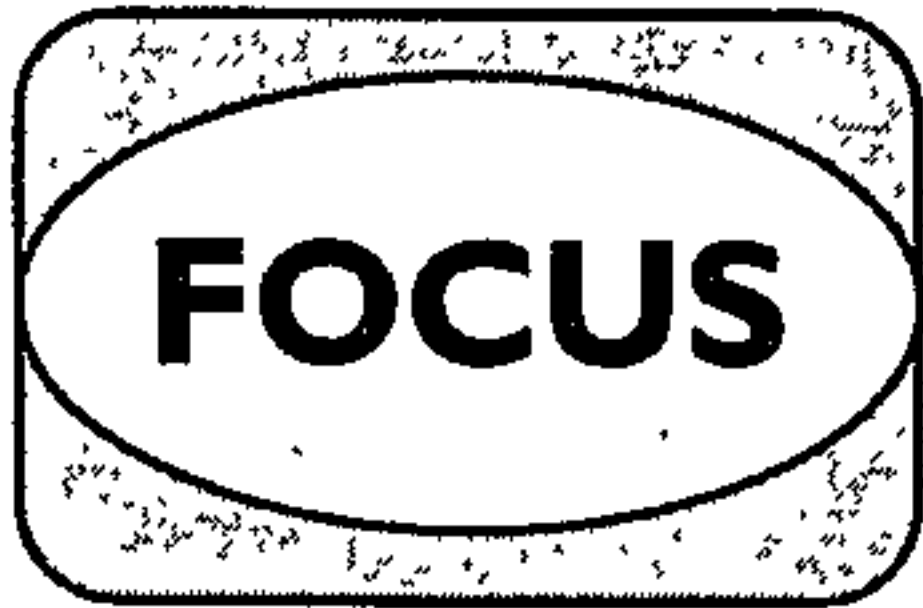
Justice Goldstone says his report is far from complete. Four committees are still hearing evidence and investigating very specific areas.

These committees are looking at specific incidents in Tokoza, the possible involvement of the South African Defence Force in violence, taxi and train violence, and mass demonstrations.

While in terms of its brief the Commission has three years in which to complete its work, Justice Goldstone explains in his report that the "significant escalation of violence in recent weeks" has caused the commission to re-evaluate its role and proceedings, hence the interim report tabled this week, only six months after the start of its work.

Investigating the causes of violence in the country, the commission's report explains that no evidence was found to corroborate the allegations of a "third force" operating in the country or that such a force was involved in the orchestration of violence in black communities.

The report does, however, not entirely absolve the security forces. Justice Goldstone explains that there are many causes of violence in the country, and that they



are primarily rooted in the historical injustices and complexities of apartheid and its security apparatus.

"The consequences of these policies on the black people of South Africa are well known and documented," Goldstone says.

This three centuries old subjugation today manifests itself in dogmatic intolerance and intense political rivalry between the country's two biggest black political organisations - the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party - and this was the "primary cause" of the violence in Natal and Transvaal, Justice Goldstone says.

In his critical report, based on evidence in open hearings before the six-month-old commission, Justice Goldstone concludes that both the ANC and the IFP "resort to violence and intimidation in their attempts to gain control over geographic areas" and that "it must be accepted that individual policemen and ANC and Inkatha supporters have been guilty of serious criminal conduct".

"The commission would like to stress that no one other than the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have the power effectively to curb the violence and intimidation being perpetrated by their respective supporters.

"They should resolve to do so and to that end to harness fully and effectively the structures of the National Peace Accord," Goldstone says.

Both the ANC and Inkatha had been "over-hasty" in blaming each other for the violence, and "tardy", especially at the top leadership level, in taking steps to stop the violence by imposing discipline and accountability among members.

He also explains that even if allegations against members of the security forces proved to be justified, "such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party".

There was thus a phalanx of factors which proved fertile for the unbridled spread of violence and chaos across the country, such as: "A police force and army which, for many decades, have been the instruments of oppression by successive white governments in maintaining a society predicated upon racial discrimination.

"This involves a police force and an army that for the majority of South Africans, the police and the army are not perceived as fair, objective or friendly institutions."

He believes that the reason for Government being blamed for the violence lies in the reality of the State's many years of "complicity in undercover activities, which include criminal conduct".

This and what he calls "well documented" criminal conduct of individual members of the South African and KwaZulu Police "exacerbate the perception of so many people that the Government or its agencies are active parties responsible for the violence".

"As with the political parties referred to above, our recent history has been one in which the Government has failed to take suf-

ficient steps to prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces and the police and to ensure that the guilty are promptly and adequately punished.

"It is a little wonder, therefore, that the situation of political violence and intimidation in South Africa is so widespread and its causes so many and so complex," he says.

This, almost holistic, conclusion does not, however, detract from some of the more specific of the root causes of the violence, such as the single sex hostels and the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, Goldstone says.

"The commission is convinced that the carrying of any dangerous weapons in public should be outlawed - whether in respect of political meetings or at any other place.

In Natal it is predominantly members of the IFP who insist on this unacceptable practice. Other Zulu men do not find it necessary.

"The commission finds it quite unacceptable that even the limited ban on the carrying of weapons to political meetings has been ignored by the IFP on at least one occasion...

"This public flaunting of the law in the presence of a large SAP presence is unfortunate and should not be allowed to occur again in the future.

"Steps should be taken urgently to prohibit the carrying in public of any dangerous weapons at any time at all.

"This constitutes provocative and unacceptable behaviour in any decent society. It is calculated, furthermore, to create a climate of violence," Justice Goldstone says.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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LABOUR

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions is seeking to wrest negotiations from the teetering tables of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and return the process to the streets.

This week, the federation outlined its programme of sustained mass action which will kick off in the middle of July.

Central to its plans is a three-day strike, but unlike last year's one-off Value Added Tax strike, there will be a programme of rolling action which will continue indefinitely until demands are met.

The "rolling action" will include marches, demonstrations, factory occupations and will be linked to local campaigns around the country.

Cosatu threatened the strike earlier this year after a central executive meeting. It was interpreted it as a gentle persuasion to the government to make concessions at Codesa, to negotiate VAT and to speed up legislation for farmworkers and the National Economic Negotiating Forum.

But the failure of Codesa II, the sensational exposure of corruption at various levels of government and secret police bases around the country as well as concrete evidence of government complicity in hit squads has turned the tide and made the federation rough up its tone.

"We will use mass action as an alternative to Codesa," said Cosatu general secretary Jay

W/Week 29/5-4/6/92

Out of Codesa and into the streets

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Cosatu has read the mood of the country's workers and presented a plan for hard-line mass action, reports FERRAL HAFFAJEE

Naidoo this week. There seems little hope for a quick-fix solution to prevent strikes: it is clear that the government will not concede to the federation's battery of demands. Neither will Codesa be able to deliver the political progress the labour movement is demanding.

Cosatu wants the immediate dismissal and prosecution of all ministers implicated in the corruption scandal, as well as the seizure of all their assets. It is also calling for an independent public commission — with full access to all government records — into all allegations of corruption.

The R5-billion set aside in the Budget for secret projects should immediately be redistributed to violence compensation, drought relief and reconstruction finance, says Cosatu.

The federation also alleges that the government is "running a network of death squads and

covert operations. Every arm of the state's repressive apparatus is involved".

Among Cosatu's demands on hit squads are a full public disclosure of all secret projects and covert operations and the freezing of funding for covert operations. Also on the federation's hit list is "the dismissal and prosecution of all ministers and key officials implicated in the acts of murder".

Cosatu is also considering drawing up a "wanted list" of apartheid criminals. Neither does the federation discount the possibility of Nuremberg-style trials "particularly for those who have continued to perpetrate these atrocities post-February 1990".

Cosatu's ire is not reserved only for corruption and hit squads: "Codesa is fast reaching the end of its lifespan. We will not allow the process to go beyond Codesa III."

Cosatu is sticking to its demand that there be agreement on an interim government by the end of June and a constituent assembly in place by the end of the year.

"The government began to demystify some of the mechanisms proposed to entrench minority vetoes like regional formulae, senate powers, high majorities and the interim constitution which had until then been clouded in technical jargon," said Naidoo about Codesa II.

The federation is demanding a two-thirds majority for decision making at a constituent assembly, it rejects the senate and says an interim constitution is unacceptable.

Although Cosatu is spearheading the mass action campaign, it will be joined by its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, in any action. The federation also intends to bring the National Council of Trade Unions and other members of the Patriotic Front into the campaign.

The strikes at the SABC and Toyota's Durban plants, restiveness in the previously quiescent public sector, the dispute in metal industry wage talks and the National Union of Mineworkers' plans to push for an inflation-busting increase instead of opting for a productivity-linked wage deal all indicate a groundswell of resistance in the labour movement which Cosatu has read and now plans to harness.

We don't need hand-wringing We need one person, one vote

W/Mail 29/5-4/6/92

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Plaintively they cry: 'Something must be done about the violence'. Yes, something must be done — immediately. Give us a democratic constitution and one person, one vote now.

By **TONY HEARD**

It is becoming tedious, and reminds one of a remark by a former editor of the *Belfast Telegraph*. Hilary Wason, having also edited in violence-torn Rhodesia in the 1960s, maintained in his memoirs that the most overworked, and therefore useless, phrase in politics is "something must be done".

South African violence grows. So does political confrontation.

The public demand: "Something must be done!"

So along comes the National Peace Committee, with yet another meeting. The urgent session of the full committee was called for this week to discuss the deteriorating situation, and to consider asking political leaders how the Peace Accord can be made more effective. The ritual charges by warring parties were on the agenda.

Will this be another well-meaning note in a litany of elusive success?

One fears so. Which is not to knock the sincere efforts of those working at peace. But the cancer in the life of the nation runs too deep. Too much injustice has been piled on injustice over the years for grave-faced men in dark suits to make much difference.

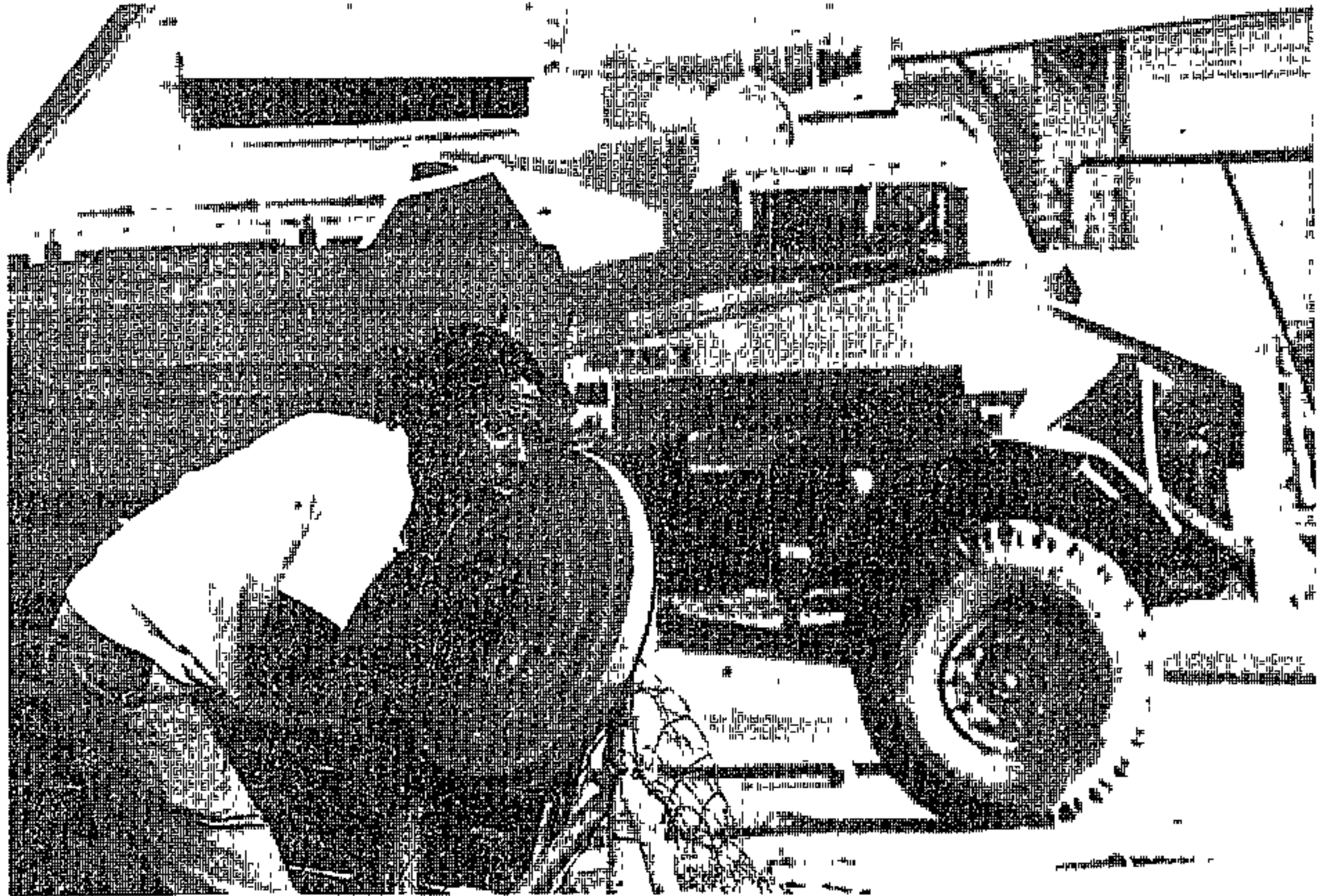
Black people are frustrated, angry — and impoverished by apartheid. They still have no vote.

Unlike many other democratising countries, the repressors of the past are still there, in office — manipulating, feather-bedding and misspending, trying to save their privileged skins.

The peace process weighs accusation and counter-accusation in dignified fashion. Polite discussions take place on television. There is a gross remoteness about it all.

These parlour games and minuets seem miles away from where it's happening; that is, on the ground in bullet-ridden trains and taxis; in the blood-drenched dust of Alexandra, Khayelitsha, Trust Feed, in places where warlords walk unhindered

Powerfully suggestive that the peace effort



While the peace talks go on, so does the fighting

Photo: GUY ADAMS

is not working was last week's disclosure that violence is heading for record levels. Nearly 10 dead a day.

What South Africa needs, and needs urgently, is not burgeoning peace committees with earnest hand-wringing but a straightforward, democratic constitution. Quickly.

We need one-person, one-vote in one country. We need to rediscover our once-hilarious national motto. *Ex univitate vires*. It's all so obvious that it sounds clichéd. But it's the way ahead.

Peace will come only when there is a viable replacement for township war.

And the best replacement for warring devised by humankind is government by consent.

Democracy is no talisman. At most, it is the lesser of evils. It tends to work slowly, it can be confusing and it can have unjust effects sometimes.

It should be noted that, in themselves, essential values like political liberty and free expression are no absolute guarantees of prosperity, as I heard Sir Ralf Dahrendorf of Oxford remind an audience in Eastern Europe at the International Press Institute assembly last week.

But they help. With democracy firmly in the nation's constitutional armoury, the chance to move ahead to prosperity is surely the greater. It is the way to clear the desks, field the full team, for political and, hopefully, economic growth. In South Africa, it means

the chance to lift all economic sanctions and isolation.

Yet Codesa has gone into a stall while violence soars.

Instead of haggling over thinly-disguised racial minority vetoes which it will never secure in the end, the government should be doubling the speed of ordinary constitution-making. A growing economy, an independent judiciary and an enlightened, agreed constitution provide the safeguards minorities need.

An absolute entrenchment of freedom of expression and of the right of the media to publish is pivotal to this. Grubby politicians who dare to interfere with such entrenchment will have to do so openly and be dealt with accordingly.

If a filibustering government does not respond to reason, it will have to respond to power. It will have to deal with mass political action, however uncharmed the Roelf Meyers might feel.

It is perfectly understandable for voteless masses to demonstrate in all legal ways available to them. They cannot vote for the parliament that rules them.

Mass action might not seem agreeable in the parlours of Sandton, Rondebosch and Durban North. But it is different in Alexandra, Khayelitsha, Trust Feed.

Unless there is political progress at Codesa, mass action could become a reality for all.

● Tony Heard was formerly editor of the *Cape Times*

Try apartheid's executors for genocide

Wilmair 29/5-4/6/92
NELSON MANDELA, despite the outcry from the press, is technically correct in drawing comparisons between the genocidal tendencies of Nationalists and Nazis. Often, glib comparisons are made between particular atrocities and the Holocaust which serve only to trivialise the latter rather than to focus attention on the former.

Unfortunately, however, the Nazis do not have a monopoly on genocide. Hitler's was obviously the most ruthless, brutal and all-embracing attempt to eliminate a whole people, but others have sought to emulate him. The Nationalists have, for over 40 years, been pursuing a policy which is genocidal, according to the United Nations' definition of the term.

Just as a person accused of murder cannot argue that he is not really guilty because he did not kill as many people as a serial killer, so a government cannot argue that it cannot be guilty of genocide because it has not killed six million people. There is definitely a difference of degree, but the comparison is valid in principle.

The UN's Convention, which has been ratified by the majority of countries in the world, defines "genocide" as "any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part ..."

What else has apartheid been all about?

The object of the system was to assert white control over the black population, whatever the cost in terms of death, suffering and destruction.

The "resettling" of millions of "superfluous Bantu" and "surplus appendages" was not only calculated to bring about the physical destruction of part of the population. It did. It destroyed not only their homes, their community, their livelihood, but also themselves.

I saw some of them dying and counted the

Wilmair 29/5-4/6/92
Comparisons between the genocidal tendencies of the Nationalists and the Nazis are true, writes

COSMAS DESMOND, former British director of Amnesty International

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graves of others. The young died of gastroenteritis and typhoid because of the lack of proper water and sewerage; the old sometimes died simply of a broken heart. But the deaths were the direct result of a deliberate policy which affected only a racially defined part of the population. That is genocide.

It might be described as "only" on a small scale. But it was total for the victims and their families. And nobody knows how many there were. Their numbers are doubtless still increasing as a result of the persistence of the conditions into which they were forcibly removed. It is also not known how many more there might have been. At Limehill, for example, my own research showed that 10 years after the removal the rate of population growth has halved — a fact no doubt welcomed by those who fear being overwhelmed by the sheer weight of black numbers.

Many years ago, I submitted evidence on the effects of forced removals to the UN Commission on Human Rights. The chairman's reaction was that this constituted a "prima facie" case of genocide. He seemed more concerned, however, about being able neatly to classify the victims rather than with the fact that people were dying.

It is hardly necessary, and there certainly is not space, to catalogue all the "bodily or mental harm" done to the black population under apartheid: the retarding of physical and intellectual growth through malnutrition; the underdevelopment caused by an inferior and perverted education system; the breaking up of families

by the migratory labour system; the lives ruined by harassment, imprisonment and torture.

The overall effects of these and numerous other apartheid practices also constitute genocide. It could be argued that virtually the whole black population has suffered some bodily or mental harm; many are still enduring it.

Finally, killing. The convention makes no mention of numbers, nor of the intention to eliminate the greater part of the group. Killing any members of an "ethnical or racial" group simply because they are members of that group is genocide.

"Not only the government but "public officials and private individuals" can be guilty of the crime. There can be no doubt about the guilt of the latter two. But has the government itself directly killed people because they were black?

It has certainly done so indirectly. That in itself is sufficient to convict it.

But I believe that the charge of genocide can also be substantiated in cases, like Sharpeville and Soweto, where black people have been killed as a direct consequence of laws to which only black people, and all black people, were subject. It will be claimed that they were shot because they were a threat to "law and order". But they were only a threat because they were subject to those laws and they were only subject to those laws because they were black.

The current violence does not appear, on the surface, to be genocidal since members of the same "ethnical" or "racial" group seem to be killing each other. Killing political opponents may be equally reprehensible but is not "genocide". Nevertheless, as the present violence has its origin in the "total strategy", as much of it undoubtedly does, the killings are genocidal.

The purpose of the "total strategy" was to subdue the black population by any means necessary, including killing. Some white activists also "needed to be eliminated", but that does not change the essential nature of the strategy.

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TRUTH AND JUSTICE

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It is the government itself which has drawn the battle lines along racial lines and thus left itself open to the charge of genocide, even when it claims to be eliminating political enemies. Blacks, not members of political groups, have always been seen as the threat. The fact that some members of that group have been co-opted to do the dirty work does not excuse those responsible.

There is, therefore, a sound basis for Mandela's comparison. To what degree not only the government, but also public officials and even private individuals are guilty is a question which would be better left to a Nuremberg-type court rather than to the summary judgment of newspaper editors.

●Father Cosmas Desmond, author of *The Discarded People*, served as a priest in South Africa for 20 years. In the 1970s, while fighting against forced removals, he was banned and placed under house-arrest.

Goldstone lets SAP, SADF off the hook

JUDGE Richard Goldstone has stunned political and legal observers with an interim report of his inquiry into violence that puts the blame largely on the political conflict between Inkatha and the African National Congress.

The storm was exacerbated by the government not releasing the report for a month after it was submitted and timing its release to its own advantage. Since it was the only party with prior sight of the document, it was also able to put its own "spin" on it.

The report was signed on April 29 by Judge Goldstone, but only released by President FW de Klerk on May 27 with no indication of why it was delayed for a month when it dealt with urgent matters relating to current violence.

The report hardly deals with any of the evidence of South African Police and Defence Force involvement in violence or connivance with the Inkatha Freedom Party — such as the Trust Feed judgment and SADF secret training of Inkatha members — and appears to let the security forces off the hook. It blames only "individual policemen, ANC and Inkatha members".

Lawyers involved in the commission are concerned that it pre-empt some of the hearings currently under-

Wise 29/5-4/6/92

Judge Goldstone's interim report puts the blame for the current violence on Inkatha and the African National Congress. The government has seized on the report as an exoneration of its security forces. By ANTON HARBER

way as part of the inquiry and has caused a political storm that could jeopardise the future of the hearings.

The ANC and its allies announced immediately that they were "most concerned" and called an emergency meeting "to work out a considered response".

The IFP accepted the findings of the commission, signalling a relief that it did not take further blame for violence.

Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel said the report was "indisputable confirmation of what the government and SA Police had been saying all along."

"The entire world should now note that the SAP and SADF are not responsible for the violence, and are indeed doing everything possible to combat it," he said.

Inquiry into WM exposés

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE GOLDSTONE Commission has called a special one-person inquiry into revelations in *The Weekly Mail* that a national secret police operation has been linked to planned assassinations of African National Congress members.

After a one-day preliminary hearing last week, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone set up the inquiry under a senior member of the Johannesburg Bar, Advocate RM Wise. His brief is to enquire into the allegations published in the newspaper on May 8 and 15 "concerning the planning or instigation of violence by members of the SAP".

Wise will hear evidence from 15 June in Pretoria.

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber, senior reporter Drew Forrest and Lieutenant General PJ Viljoen of the SAP gave evidence at the preliminary hearing.

In his report, Judge Goldstone said he had received "no evidence" to suggest the existence of a "third force" in the sense of a sinister and secret organisation orchestrating political violence on a wide front.

"No information has been received by the commission that could enable it to make any findings relating to a systematic or nationally organised campaign of violence." He does not deal with the evidence before him of, for example, policemen conniving with the Inkatha-linked Black Cat gang of vigilantes in Wesselsfontein or secret SADF training for Inkatha men.

The report says that "the causes of the violence are many and complicated". It cites economic, social and political imbalances as a result of apartheid, a police force which has been an instrument of oppression, the sudden legalisation of political organisations, a climate of political intolerance and the involvement of the state for many years in undercover activities and criminal conduct.

However, it repeatedly points its finger at ANC and Inkatha supporters and their "serious criminal conduct" and calls on their leaders to end the killings. Leaders of the ANC, IFP,

SAP and SADF have "a heavy responsibility to control and impose discipline upon their members", Judge Goldstone says.

It singles out the kwaZulu Police and the "widely held view" that they are a "private army of the IFP". He expresses particular concern at evidence before him of "unlawful activities by senior members" of the KZP. However, he sees these allegations as under investigation and declines to comment further or make any recommendations about the KZP.

He also deals extensively with the issue of "dangerous weapons" being carried in public. He calls for it to be outlawed and says it is "quite unacceptable" that even the limited ban on weapons has been ignored by the IFP.

"This constitutes provocative and unacceptable behaviour in any decent society (and) is calculated ... to create a climate of violence." He calls on the SAP not to allow it to happen again.

Judge Goldstone calls for "an effective police presence in local communities" and says that the new Division of Internal Stability is best suited for this work.

He calls for the commission to be granted "adequate means and procedures for offering protection to witnesses who testify before it".

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Wise



Distrust of police 'obstacle to peace'

Sowetan 29/5/92 (274)

A LACK of trust in the security forces was a major obstacle in the way of achieving peace in South Africa, the National Peace Committee said on Wednesday.

"The containment of violence through the normal process of co-operation between the police and community is being denied in the violence-torn areas by the breakdown in normal community structures and the lack of trust in the security forces," the NPC said after a meeting.

At the meeting, the NPC agreed that regional and local dispute resolution committees be encouraged to form monitoring task groups to monitor police activities and police/community relations and report back through the secretariat to the National Peace Committee.

The NPC agreed that police and community orientation grassroots seminars be held by political parties in conjunction with the police.

In addition, members of political parties and the NPC should attend police training courses to understand their nature.

The recently formed Police Board, which meets on June 2, should be informed of the intended action and should give a formal report of the activities at the next meeting of the NPC.

The meeting noted that the effectiveness of the LDRCs and the RDRCs were being hampered because members were not always available for reasons of full-time employment or overcommitment in other activities.

Intimidation was also a factor in Natal, where two

committee members had been killed.

To try to solve this problem, the NPC agreed committee members should be available at all times.

They also looked at the possibility of creating a national fund to support fulltime officials.

"Ultimately, community stability would require multi-party involvement in the establishment of democratic structures - as envisaged by Codesa - to manage community affairs," the statement said.

The NPC also decided that a meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord be called as soon as possible.

The date of the meeting would be announced only after details were agreed to by all the signatories. - Sapa.

Secure all hostels advises Goldstone

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission has recommended - among other things - that all single men's hostels be fortified and that security checks be done at all entrances to the hostels.

The commission's second interim report, handed to State President FW de Klerk on Wednesday, blamed the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the security forces for the continued violence in the country.

He pointed out, however, that the conflict on the ground was primarily because of the "political bat-

tle between supporters of the ANC and of the IFP"

"Both sides resort to violence and intimidation in their attempts to gain control over geographic areas," he said.

The IFP on Wednesday gave a guarded response to the finding.

Inkatha central committee member Mr John Bhengu said: "I will say 'yes' in the sense that it is the two parties who are embroiled in violence against each other."

He claimed it was the ANC - through the now-

defunct UDF - which had started the fighting in Natal in 1985.

But the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday dismissed these allegations by Mr Justice Goldstone as superficial and as missing the point.

"Firstly, to attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and IFP is to ignore that the rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the South African Government and its security forces..."

"Secondly, with regard to who holds the key re-

sponsibility for bringing the violence to an end - to place this responsibility on the ANC and the IFP is to ignore the reality that it is the National Party regime who wields State power,"

Mandela told delegates at the opening of the movement's policy conference at Nasrec.

The Goldstone report said allegations of police, and by implication the Government complicity in the violence and overt support for the IFP in the conflict, were being investigated.

The commission also recommended that the Government place a blanket ban on the carrying in

public of all dangerous weapons.

"Even if the allegations against members of the security forces prove to be justified, such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the IFP," Goldstone said.

He also pointed out that "a matter of great concern" was the widely held view that the Kwazulu police were a private army of the IFP, and similarly disturbing were "recent activities" of members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"Organisations whose members are responsible for violence have a heavy

State, ANC and IFP blamed for violence

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By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission has blamed "three centuries of racial discrimination and over 40 years of an extreme form of racial and economic dislocation in pursuit of apartheid", for violence in the country.

Judge Goldstone on Wednesday delivered his second interim report to State President FW de Klerk at Tuynhuys, Cape Town.

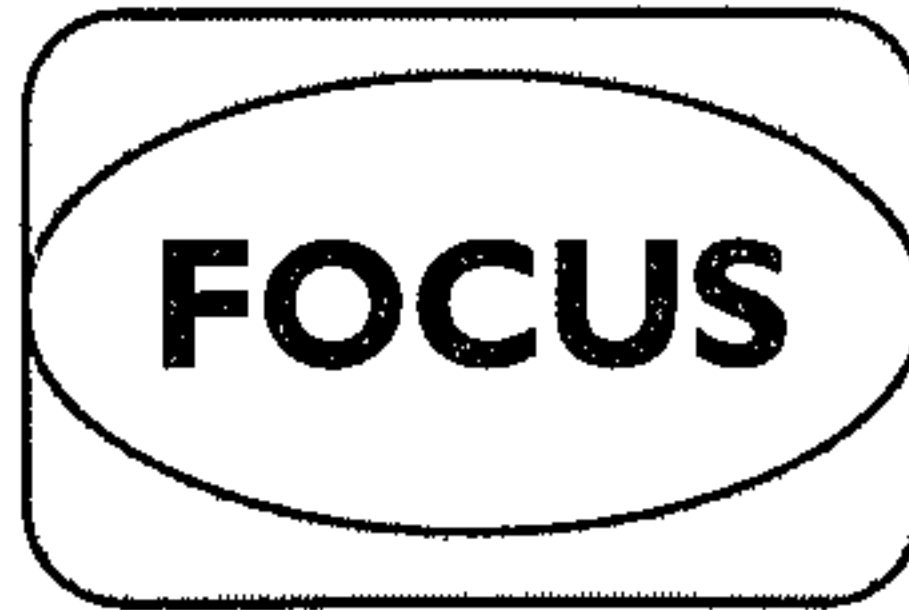
Justice Goldstone says his report is far from complete. Four committees are still hearing evidence and investigating very specific areas.

These committees are looking at specific incidents in Tokoza, the possible involvement of the South African Defence Force in violence, taxi and train violence, and mass demonstrations.

While in terms of its brief the Commission has three years in which to complete its work, Justice Goldstone explains in his report that the "significant escalation of violence in recent weeks" has caused the commission to re-evaluate its role and proceedings, hence the interim report tabled this week, only six months after the start of its work.

Investigating the causes of violence in the country, the commission's report explains that no evidence was found to corroborate the allegations of a "third force" operating in the country or that such a force was involved in the orchestration of violence in black communities.

The report does, however, not entirely absolve the security forces Justice Goldstone explains that there are many causes of violence in the country, and that they



are primarily rooted in the historical injustices and complexities of apartheid and its security apparatus.

"The consequences of these policies on the black people of South Africa are well known and documented," Goldstone says.

This three centuries old subjugation today manifests itself in dogmatic intolerance and intense political rivalry between the country's two biggest black political organisations - the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party - and this was the "primary cause" of the violence in Natal and Transvaal, Justice Goldstone says.

In his critical report, based on evidence in open hearings before the six-month-old commission, Justice Goldstone concludes that both the ANC and the IFP "resort to violence and intimidation in their attempts to gain control over geographic areas" and that "it must be accepted that individual policemen and ANC and Inkatha supporters have been guilty of serious criminal conduct".

"The commission would like to stress that no one other than the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have the power effectively to curb the violence and intimidation being perpetrated by their respective supporters.

"They should resolve to do so and to that end to harness fully and effectively the structures of the National Peace Accord," Goldstone says.

Both the ANC and Inkatha had been "over-hasty" in blaming each other for the violence, and "tardy", especially at the top leadership level, in taking steps to stop the violence by imposing discipline and accountability among members.

He also explains that even if allegations against members of the security forces proved to be justified, "such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party".

There was thus a phalanx of factors which proved fertile for the unbridled spread of violence and chaos across the country, such as: "A police force and army which, for many decades, have been the instruments of oppression by successive white governments in maintaining a society predicated upon racial discrimination.

"This involves a police force and an army that for the majority of South Africans, the police and the army are not perceived as fair, objective or friendly institutions."

He believes that the reason for Government being blamed for the violence lies in the reality of the State's many years of "complicity in undercover activities, which include criminal conduct".

This and what he calls "well documented" criminal conduct of individual members of the South African and KwaZulu Police "exacerbate the perception of so many people that the Government or its agencies are active parties responsible for the violence".

"As with the political parties referred to above, our recent history has been one in which the Government has failed to take suf-

ficient steps to prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces and the police and to ensure that the guilty are promptly and adequately punished.

"It is a little wonder, therefore, that the situation of political violence and intimidation in South Africa is so widespread and its causes so many and so complex," he says.

This, almost holistic, conclusion does not, however, detract from some of the more specific of the root causes of the violence, such as the single sex hostels and the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, Goldstone says.

"The commission is convinced that the carrying of any dangerous weapons in public should be outlawed - whether in respect of political meetings or at any other place."

"In Natal it is predominantly members of the IFP who insist on this unacceptable practice. Other Zulu men do not find it necessary.

"The commission finds it quite unacceptable that even the limited ban on the carrying of weapons to political meetings has been ignored by the IFP on at least one occasion..."

"This public flaunting of the law in the presence of a large SAP presence is unfortunate and should not be allowed to occur again in the future.

"Steps should be taken urgently to prohibit the carrying in public of any dangerous weapons at any time at all.

"This constitutes provocative and unacceptable behaviour in any decent society. It is calculated, furthermore, to create a climate of violence," Justice Goldstone says.

Unrest death toll drops

FIFTY people were killed and 32 injured in the week from May 20 to 26.

This compared with the previous week's total of 61 deaths and 59 people injured, according to the latest repression report compiled by the Human Rights Commission.

It said, in the report released in Johannesburg on Wednesday, that vigilante actions in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area and Natal accounted for 42 deaths and 24 injured.

Although the PWV death roll of 38 remained constant (39 died the previous week) the Vaal region - and Sebokeng in particular -

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continued to be a flashpoint. Ratanda on the East Rand did not have a high number of casualties but had become volatile and tense.

The HRC said the tensions started on May 19 when Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade members disrupted a Congress of South African Students' march.

Five train attacks on the East Rand and Johannesburg areas accounted for five deaths and five injured.

In Natal, the deaths dropped from the seven recorded last week to four this week. Four people

were injured. (274)

According to the report, action by Security Forces accounted for five injured and 414 arrests in the PWV, Eastern Cape and Ciskei.

During a demonstration at the Department of Education and Training offices in Springs on the East Rand, 372 SA Democratic Teachers' Union members were arrested.

The HRC said the SA Defence Force's 21 Battalion had yet again been involved in raids on East Rand townships, which had resulted in injuries to residents in squatter camps at Phola Park and Tamboville, and in Ratanda.

FOCUS ON THE SPIRALLING TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE

Frustrated youths fight a faceless foe

SOWETO youths were back in the news last week, igniting horrifying images of the future reign of the "lost generation" of the brutalised youth

They were protesting against the raising of examination fees by the Department of Education, but their message stretched far wider than this "Start noticing us, do something about our problems — or face the consequences," they seemed to be saying

While an uprising like that of 1976 seems unlikely, aimless revolts by gun-toting 1990s youths, unemployed and hardened by the factional violence of the past two years, may be a lot worse. Already anarchic, misplaced violence is part of township life.

While the seemingly aimless revolts continue, PHILIPPA GARSON

spoke to youths and community leaders to find out what lies behind the latest upsurge of protest violence

In the 1980s, targets of resistance were clearly defined: killing councillors and other government officials, petrol bombing houses and company vehicles and defying consumer boycotts were legitimate activities, according to anti-apartheid movements intent on rendering the townships ungovernable.

Now, when the "enemy" is a faceless man lurking in a car with no number plates, when warring parties are locked into peace agreements and when torching indiscriminate targets is condemned by all, where do the youth turn to vent their anger?

According to youth and community leaders grappling with the upsurge of violence, when targeting delivery vehicles, a petrol tanker and innocent people, the youths were expressing frustration at their lack of direction: no jobs, poor schooling, violence, poverty and little to look forward to

The 1990s have so far delivered only degenerating conditions and growing despair, pouring a cold dose of reality over hopes of what imminent

freedom will bring

African National Congress Youth League secretary general Rapu Molekane says his organisation has recognised the level of anger among the youth, exacerbated by the hiatus in negotiations "That anger must be channelled or we'll have anarchy" In his opinion, the seeds of a revolt are there and the government is "watering them"

Molekane admits to a growing militancy among ANC-supporting youths, who are demanding weapons and protection and are impatient for change. While their frustration mounts they nevertheless continue to support the Youth League, he claims

But what does support for an organisation mean? These days political understanding hardly counts. Fighting prowess and having a gun are far more important.

"Where there's lots of violence they organise themselves around the one who's brave and able to lead them in battle. We don't have the same political leadership as before," says Molekane. In the current climate everyone yearns for a gun — for self-defence or crime

"In the 1980s if you had a gun, you didn't tell anyone. Now it's the fashion," says Molekane. Whereas the "thugs" of the past could be disciplined by organisations, those of today are armed, dangerous and untouchable

Molekane believes it's not too late to channel the anger and energy of the youth into organised forms of action like consumer boycotts and general strikes. If not, "we could have an outbreak — something we really don't want to see"

Some are more sceptical about the potential, and consequences, of mobilising today's youths

With the unbanning of organisations in February 1990, a new space opened up for people to hurl themselves into formally forbidden politics, says Monique Marks, of Wits University's sociology department, who is researching the youth and political violence in Diepkloof

Now the form of political organisation is different. In the 1980s those involved were committed activists, willing to risk detention and repression. In the 1990s involvement has become popular, with seemingly no risks, and "political suss" less of a requirement, says Marks

Youths with little or no political understanding became card-carrying members of political groups. "Now the 'old' youth leadership, either disillusioned or in unions or new political positions, have left. A huge gap has been created and into it has stepped an immature leadership, opening the space for aimless criminals to tag along"

In Marks' opinion, the activities of the youth "seem to have gone way off". Lacking guidance, harbouring growing frustrations and bearing the responsibility of defending their families against violence, they are using the same "ungovernability" tactics of before. "Now their strategies are different but their tactics are the same". In fact, they seem to have no strategy at all and "their targets are completely random"

Unlike the late 1980s, when the youth acted in tandem with unions and other groups, they now act on their own

In Mark's view, most youths want the obvious: peace, school and jobs. Gone are the revolutionary ideals of communist liberation. But with the current violence they fantasise about guns and glorify Umkhonto weSizwe. "They see themselves in the forefront of the violence today as they were then. But they aren't recognised for it."

Marks recalls the bitter comment of one youth: "When Mandela came out of prison he didn't even thank us"

Behind the rage, a cry for help

By PHILIPPA GARSON

SPORTING leather pants, slick pointed shoes and rings on his fingers, Abraham Sithetho is a cool dude — the kind you'd expect to find sauntering around the Carlton Centre.

But Sithetho's mission is a lot more urgent than window-shopping. Immersing himself in "life and death" battles in his home town of Sebokeng is a full-time job. Erecting barricades, organising street committees, keeping watch after dark and forcing the children off the streets are his immediate tasks.

In between, he dreams of going to India for "military training and education". After failing his matric some years ago, he's been unemployed. But one day he wants to be a lawyer.

Unlike most youth, Sithetho dreads the weekends — it's then that the fighting really starts.

Ever since gunmen in a car opened fire on his friends playing soccer a fortnight ago, killing three and injuring six others, youngsters have poured en masse on to the streets, setting up barricades at every turn

Sporadic fighting between Inkatha supporters in the kwaMadala hostel on the outskirts of Vanderbijlpark and African National Congress-supporting residents continues. Young criminals from Sebokeng have been recruited by Inkatha and are also holed up in the compound, claims Sithetho. Schooling has been disrupted, particularly in Zone 7, the scene of most of the fighting.

When night falls, the youths stand on street corners tapping their watches. "Time up, time up," they yell.

Time for taxi drivers to stop their rounds. Time for all cars to leave the streets. And time for the mysterious Nissan Sentras to cruise the township, firing at random targets.

It's dark and the youth, clumped in groups on street corners, some with guns, stop every car. Those that don't stop are stoned or set alight. How can they be sure of their targets?

"We know their number plates," says Sithetho, admitting that sometimes the wrong people are the victims.

According to Peter "Gift" Moerane, of the Vaal Council of Churches, the youths are as volatile as they were in the mid and late 1980s. "They've have taken the law into their own hands." They spend their hours patrolling the streets, "defending the community. But they don't know what they're looking for."

"It's anger that brings us on to the streets," says Sithetho. "The young ones are angry too. They feel unsafe — at home, on the playing



Youths vent their anger ... But who is the enemy?

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

fields, attacks can occur. They only feel safe in a mob. The youths believe in mobs. Being in a mob is safer.

"The youngest (involved in the fighting) are about nine years. We tell them to go home but when the violence happens we'll find them around us again."

The little ones have no fear, he says. "Sometimes you'll see a seven-year-old looking at a corpse and fear becomes dead to him. We don't fear death because death fears no one."

Before dusk, a group of teenagers playing dice stop to talk after some persuasion by Sithetho. Others sullenly refuse, saying they're busy.

"My life is worse than before because this situation is not normal. It makes me do terrible

things," says 18-year-old Jabulani Khumalo. "Our schools are overcrowded, there are no jobs. Even at school we are afraid. This thing will doom the future of many young people because they aren't going to school."

And Khumalo's ambitions? "I wish I could go to Lusaka for training so I can protect my family."

"We are not like ordinary young people because we have no happiness," says Raymond Vilikazi. "We can't even entertain ourselves. We have to have parties in the day because after six they come to shoot."

They brighten up briefly when the Kine Centre in town is mentioned. "Yes, we go there. We fully enjoy it. We feel a little bit safe there."

Shootings claim four more lives

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PRETORIA. — Four people were killed and two others wounded in separate shooting incidents in Natal and the Transvaal, the latest police unrest report said.

A white man was shot dead by three black gunmen in Imbali township near Maritzburg. No further details were given.

A man was shot dead and another seriously wounded when gunmen fired at them in Dobsonville, Soweto, and in another incident a man was wounded when armed men attacked him at the Meadowlands hostel, also in Soweto.

A man was killed and his wife seriously injured when his house was attacked by gunmen at Umbumbulu, near Amanzimtoti, on Thursday night.

In KwaMashu, members of the SAP and KwaZulu Police opened fire on a suspected stolen car which sped away when signalled to stop.

The driver lost control and hit a road embankment. One passenger was found to have been shot dead.

● A crime sweep in Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand was proceeding "quietly" last night, police liaison officer Major Ray Harrald said.

Allegations that residents had been refused permission to leave the squatter camp were "utter nonsense", he said. — Sapa

These mass actions planned

Triple alliance wants to adopt visible actions

SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH

MASS action on a scale not yet seen in South African history will be considered today at the ANC's vital national policy conference at Nasrec, Johannesburg. *Star 30/5/72*

A document entitled "Alliance Programme of Action" is in the possession of Saturday Star. It sets out a plan — agreed to by leaders of the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party — for a countrywide campaign of marches, demonstrations and strikes to break the deadlock with the Government after Code

The plan provides for "rolling" actions rather than a campaign within a limited timeframe — and it signals unequivocally that the ANC intends from now on to make high-profile mass action an integral part of its negotiating strategy.

● See "Speak Out" on Page 2

The draft tripartite document forms the basis for crucial discussions at the ANC conference, which will lead to a final resolution tomorrow.

The document is presented to delegates "not as a blueprint or set of instructions, but rather as a flexible guide towards developing a programme of action for the alliance". But it carries tremendous weight, having been drafted by national and regional members of the executive structures of the alliance at a summit meeting on May 13.

The document targets the third week in July for "unprecedented and sustained" mass action, including strikes, marches and occupations.

If approved by the conference, the comprehensive programme will get under way with the ANC Youth League organising June 16 events under the slogan "Youth action for the vote, peace and democracy".

South African "Freedom Day" on June 26 will be part of the build-up towards breaking the negotiation deadlock in the alliance's favour, the document says. Intensified action will then be implemented.

● TO PAGE 2.

FROM PAGE 1

ANC plan

presented on a regular basis, according to preliminary conditions.

The document says joint activities like people's assemblies are appropriate for projecting our demands and preparing for elections.

A special ANC conference including representatives of the alliance will be held at the beginning of July and a broader forum with the Patriotic Front has been suggested for July 10.

The programme of action was first discussed by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu two days before Codessa 2, and has since been revised after the ANC and the Government failed to agree on transitional arrangements.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela firmly linked negotiations to mass action in his opening address to the ANC conference on Thursday.

"The negotiations at Codessa must be supported by other means of struggle. A draft alliance programme of action will be discussed here."

Mandela said a special committee had been set

up with the primary task of linking the negotiation process to practical action by the ANC. The main aim of the comprehensive programme would be to dispose of the National Party Government and to establish a democratically elected government in the shortest possible time.

The tripartite alliance says in the draft programme of action that the outcome of Codessa 2 will be held at the beginning of July and a broader forum with the Patriotic Front has been suggested for July 10.

The programme of action was aimed at achieving an interim government and democratic elections for a new constitution.

Other key demands included:

- The implementation of Codessa decisions within agreed time frames.
- An end to "state-sponsored violence".
- An independent commission of inquiry into corruption and death squads.

The programme would include "unprecedented mass action if our bottom lines are not met, a highly organised election campaign and enhanced participation of our members in the negotiation process".

Mandela softens on Goldstone

STAR 30/5/92

ESTHER WAUGH and SHAUN JOHNSON

THE see-saw saga of the Goldstone report on violence took another dramatic turn yesterday when African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said he now regarded the report as "fair" but lambasted the Government for "scandalously" manipulating its contents.

At a press briefing during the crucial ANC policy conference at Nasrec, Mandela revealed that he had been given a copy of the full report only yesterday afternoon — two days after it was tabled in Parliament.

His earlier reaction had been in response to a short press release which was issued on Wednesday and which dealt with certain specific issues. After having had the opportunity to

read the interim report, however, he said he now thought it was "fair".

● See reports on Page 2 and "Undercurrent Affairs" and Editorial on Page 10.

"The commission has gone into the question of the causes of the violence in an objective manner. We would have

preferred it if he had gone further into the causes, (but) the commission tried to be objective."

On Thursday, following media reports alleging that the commission had laid full blame for the violence at the doors of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mandela firmly rejected these conclusions.

Since then, however,

he had telephoned Mr Justice Goldstone to explain the context in which he had made his remarks — a context ANC leaders describe as "near-hysteria" over the judge's apparent blaming of the ANC and IFP, and seeming exoneration of the security forces.

"We got the distinct impression," Mandela said, "that the judge fully understood our position."

Speaking to Saturday Star at Nasrec yesterday

● TO PAGE 2.

Goldstone

● FROM PAGE 1:

day, Mandela said he now believed the report "would strengthen the ANC's hand in negotiations. It has clarified a lot of things, and in many instances has taken the same position (as the ANC). It will be difficult for the Government to refute charges (made against the security forces)."

Yesterday, Mandela said the ANC was "greatly disturbed by the gross discrepancies between the report and (the) (press) statement, as well as the role of the South African Government in propagating a view of the report which they knew was false".

Mandela said the report had been in the hands of the Government for four weeks, and it chose to concentrate attention on the press release so as to divert attention from the report. We are deeply disturbed at the manner in which Government has manipulated the (press) release. We consider these actions by the Government to be scandalous and reprehensible in the extreme."

The ANC leader added that Government Ministers had immediately seized on the press release in order to claim

that the commission had exonerated the security forces and the state from involvement in the ongoing violence.

"In reality, the commission (report) states that part of the violence was attributable to state complicity in undercover activities, including criminal conduct on the part of the security forces," he said.

Saturday Star understands that the original intention of the commission was that the full report would be tabled and fully discussed in Parliament, rather than an abridged statement released to the public first.

In the ANC briefing, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said it was notable that many of Mr Justice Goldstone's recommendations — on hostels and traditional weapons — had been raised by the ANC with President de Klerk last year, and never acted upon.

At the media conference, Mandela also revealed that the ANC supported the decision this week by the National Peace Committee to convene a meeting of all political leaders. He suggested that the Goldstone report be discussed at this meeting.

The ANC would be taking additional steps to control all its members, he said.

Van Staden has earned

Goldstone row one big mix-up

STAR 30/5/92

JOHN PERLMAN Chief Reporter

MONUMENTAL
A mix-up between the Goldstone Commission's latest interim report on public violence and a press statement reflecting the commission's position on other specific investigations was responsible for this week's confrontation between the ANC and the Government over who was responsible for political violence.

Transvaal communities. The two documents drew differing conclusions on issues that were not directly related.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela reacted, on the basis of the initial interpretations of the commission's findings, by rejecting the interim report as superficial. It is thought that a call from Goldstone may have caused the ANC last night to retreat quickly from this position. Goldstone himself has refused to comment publicly on the row.

Initial reports suggested the interim report laid the blame for the violence at the feet of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, which it did not. This interpretation was seized on by government officials, who said Mr Justice Goldstone had vindicated the police's conduct during the violence.

The confusion arose when the Government released, four weeks after it was submitted, the second interim report of the Goldstone Commission at the same time as Goldstone issued a press release on progress with inquiries into violence in six specific Natal and

Two documents on violence cause furor

TWO documents on the question of violence were issued this week, both attributed to Mr Justice Goldstone, chairman of the commission of inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation — better known as the Goldstone Commission.

THE GOLDSTONE 2nd INTERIM REPORT

This 11-page document was sent to the State President on April 29, but was only released by the Government this week. In it, Judge Goldstone said the causes of violence were "many and complicated", and included: ● The economic, social and political imbalances in South Africa caused by three centuries of discrimination; ● The fact that for "many South Africans, the police and the army are not perceived as fair, objective or friendly institutions"; ● The "absence of political tolerance, particularly in the black community", and the sudden emergence of powerful national political parties; ● Criminal elements taking advantage of an untrained police force; ● The use of single sex hostels and squatter camps to concentrate support and store weapons; ● The failure of the ANC and Inkatha to impose discipline and accountability among their members; ● The failure of the Government to take sufficiently firm steps to prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces, and the police and to ensure that the guilty are promptly and adequately punished.

THE GOLDSTONE PRESS RELEASE

This four-page statement deals with the Natal towns of Umhlanga, Imbali and Empangeni and with the Vaal, Soweto, and Alexandra areas in the Transvaal. It reaches superficial conclusions on the issue, as charged by the ANC.

Press reports this week suggested that the commission had drawn an overall conclusion that the political violence was primarily due to rivalry between the ANC and IFP. In fact, that charge was made in Goldstone's press release regarding six specific communities — Umhlanga, Empangeni and Imbali in Natal, and the Vaal, Soweto and Alexandra areas in the Transvaal.

In that press release the judge said violence in the six areas was primarily caused by "the political battle between supporters of the ANC and of the IFP". Security force misconduct, even if allegations of such were proved, "could not have been possible" without this ongoing battle, he said.

The interim report, however, which was submitted to the State President at the end of April, said the primary causes of violence in the country were "many and complicated". These included the economic, social and political imbalances caused by apartheid, use of police and the army to maintain racial discrimination; conflict between the ANC and IFP; and criminal elements taking advantage of unrest.

The document says as much: "In the circumstances the commission has decided that no good purpose would be achieved by setting up multiple committees to inquire into specific allegations of past violence and intimidation in the areas in question. Such inquiries would necessarily be extremely lengthy and costly."

Political observers believe the heat of the debate around Goldstone's findings — and the consequent confusion over the two documents — is due in part to Mandela's strong criticism in Geneva and again in Helsinki of the Government's alleged role in the violence as well as the vigour of Kriel's statements in response

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Preventing Goldstone from becoming another millstone

A SMALL knot of delegates to the ANC conference stood in the empty Nasrec hall — it was early on Thursday morning — whistling and shaking their heads in shocked unison.

An ordinary-enough bunch of middle-ranking officials from ANC regions around the country, they were looking at the front-page newspaper reports on the findings of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the violence.

It is no exaggeration to say they could not believe what they were reading. "But these guys are supposed to have been into the townships," hussed one, as if betrayed.

Unlike many of its newspapers, white South Africa should not begin to crow too soon or too loudly over its apparent exoneration in the Goldstone report. The perceived "clean bill of health" is a chimera, and both events and history will record it as such.

The general, shorthand perception — and this is a very different thing to the detailed contents of Mr Justice Goldstone's report — is now that the blame for South Africa's Cambodia-scale carnage can be apportioned as follows: 50-50-0. That is 50 percent ANC, 50 percent Inkatha, 0 percent State.

Black South Africans — and their opinions matter — simply do not buy this. Few ANC supporters will seriously claim their organisation is not implicated in the national disgrace, but neither will they accept the extraordinarily simplistic interpretations of what Goldstone is supposed to have found and which sent the Government and much of the media into paroxysms of self-congratulation.

STAN
30/5/92
UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

SHAUN

JOHNSON



BEFORE whites exult at the findings of the commission, they should realise that Government has not been given a clean bill of health.

And one of the main features of the new politics in South Africa is that now, it matters what black people think — even if they are not yet formally empowered.

One can't help feeling that at least in part, the current controversy is the result of a misunderstanding — as well as an attempt by anti-ANC forces to put words into Judge Goldstone's mouth he did not intend to utter.

It is notable that by the time the ANC conference opened, not even Nelson Mandela had seen a copy of the Goldstone report. His response was therefore to reports about the report, and he was careful to avoid a personal attack on "the learned judge".

In the report, the commission indeed identifies one of the causes of violence as "a history

over some years of State complicity in uncover activities, which include criminal activities", and it also cites "general causes" including: socio-economic and political imbalances, security forces which had been the "instruments of oppression", the sudden legalising of political organisations, and single-sex hostels.

These, of course, are all clearly the responsibility of the State and its policies, and the ANC doesn't understand why it should have been singled out for blame in the press release. To my mind there are at least two great dangers attached to the Goldstone rumpus.

First, the commission could begin to lose its crucial credibility within the society as a whole, and this would be a terrible loss. Second, the important practical proposals which Mr Justice Goldstone makes could become obscured in the acrimony over the allocation of "blame".

There is no doubt that the commission is right in calling on Mandela and Chief Buthe-lesi to rein in their followers. Those who want peace will also applaud the unequivocal call for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and the suggestions regarding closer monitoring of flashpoints. But the State cannot be allowed to shirk its very real responsibilities.

However one prefers to juggle the "blame percentages", the point surely is that no one's hands are clean, and all are going to have to take part in the washing thereof.

South Africa, all of South Africa, needs the Goldstone Commission. The judge himself should denounce the cruder interpretations of his findings. In that way we might be able to prevent Goldstone from becoming a millstone.

Inflation still up on 15%

CT 30/5/92
Business Editor

FOOD prices and the effect of VAT are helping to keep the inflation rate still above 15%, figures released yesterday by the Central Statistical Services show.

The inflation rate for April, as measured by the consumer price index, was almost unchanged at 15.6%, only 0.1% below the March figure.

But the food index rose by 1.8% in March and April. This was due mostly to rises of 11.3% in the price of vegetables, 7.8% in the price of dairy products, 5.5% in the price of fruit and nuts and 3.1% in the price of fish and seafood products.

The price of meat came down by 3.7%.

● Inflation stalls bank rate — Page 5

HOPE FOR SA ECONOMY
See PAGE 5

BUSINESS BRIEF

Pik's plea to OAU on Codesa

DAKAR. — In a surprise move the government has asked the next head of the OAU, Senegal's President Abdou Diouf, to help end the Codesa deadlock.

The move comes as an about-turn from the government which has until now strenuously resisted any direct role by the international community in negotiations.

Mr Diouf will take the presidency of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) when Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida's term expires in July.

The government has been prepared to allow foreign observers to attend Codesa proceedings but has resisted demands, particularly from the PAC, for a more interventionist role.

'Unblock negotiations'

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha returned from the Ivory Coast and Senegal yesterday.

The visit was seen in diplomatic circles as boosting the prospects of South Africa being invited to the next OAU summit, albeit only as an observer.

"President Diouf could personally intervene to help unblock the Codesa negotiations," Mr Botha told Senegalese Radio this week.

It appears likely that South Africa could soon establish some formal diplomatic ties with Senegal, but a foreign affairs spokesman refused to comment on this yesterday.

He said the visit — which included a stopover in Abidjan for a meeting with Ivory Coast Foreign Minister Mr Amara Essy — was "highly successful".

— Political Staff, Sapa

Govt held back report

CT 30/5/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government delayed the release of the Goldstone report on violence for almost a month in an apparently cynical attempt to serve its own interests and embarrass the ANC.

The report — which blamed ANC-Inkatha rivalry as a chief source of violence and ruled out a "third force" — was released this week as the ANC began its policy conference and President F W de Klerk prepared to leave on an extended overseas tour.

However, the report — which has become the subject of a furious row between the government and the ANC — was completed on April 29 and sent immediately to Mr De Klerk.

A well-placed source said yesterday that the delay was suspicious because in the past the government had released the commission's reports within 48 hours.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night that if the report had indeed been delayed for almost a month, such an action would be "quite reprehensible, especially in the circumstances of ongoing violence".

He pointed to the eight-month delay in releasing the Pickard report on cor-

ruption in the public service said it "seems this government regards it as its prerogative to time these releases to suit itself".

Dr De Beer said the government's action strengthened his "long-held conviction that the National Party will always put its own political advantage above all other political considerations".

Mr De Klerk could not be reached for comment last night.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who heads the commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation, yesterday declined to be drawn into the row between the government and the ANC over who was to blame for the violence, saying: "It is not our policy to respond and have a public debate."

Yesterday law and order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said: "The Goldstone Commission was appointed after considerable pressure from the ANC itself. Now that they don't like the findings which the judicial investigation has come up with they reject it. This is totally incomprehensible."

● Judge: How to end violence — Page 2

● ANC slams govt for 'manipulating Goldstone findings' — Page 2

Judge: How to end violence

CT 30/5/92 (274)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into public violence and intimidation has found that no good purpose would be served by merely conducting further inquiries to apportion blame.

In his report tabled in Parliament this week, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone states: "It must be accepted that individual policemen, ANC supporters and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters have been guilty of serious criminal conduct in this regard.

"If we are to curb this violence then all our efforts must be harnessed in creating the means of doing so."

The commission recommended that a number of steps could and should be taken immediately. These included:

● The deployment of an effective police presence in communities to work in close co-operation

with local dispute resolution committees established in terms of the Peace Accord.

"If they are perceived by the local communities as working with their own representatives there is some prospect that they will be perceived as a friendly force and will begin to gain communal confidence and support."

● The new Division of Internal Stability "would appear to be" the only suitable branch of the SAP for such work. "This branch should also work in co-operation with the justices of the peace as soon as that office has been created in terms of the Peace Accord."

● The Goldstone Commission should be granted adequate means to offer protection to witnesses who testify before it.

● Organisations whose members are responsible for violence have a heavy responsibility to impose discipline upon their members. "This applies no less to the

defence force and police than to the ANC and Inkatha."

● Hostels, which are common to most of the worst areas of violence, should all be securely fenced. A strong and efficient police presence should ensure that no arms are taken in or out of hostels. Police should also be in a position to protect all hostel dwellers from external attack.

● The commission is convinced that the carrying of any dangerous weapons in public should be outlawed — whether in respect of political meetings or any other place.

The commission noted that it was predominantly members of Inkatha in Natal who "insist on this unacceptable practice", but added that police had not reacted on occasion when weapons were publicly flaunted.

● The commission noted that it had not received any evidence that could enable it to make any findings relating to a systematic or nationally organised campaign of violence.

ANC slams govt for 'manipulating' Goldstone findings

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JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday diverted its attacks on the Goldstone Commission report away from its chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, and instead focused on the government.

At a press conference here yesterday, ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki said the Goldstone Commission report had identified 10 causes of the violence. The report did not — as implied by the government — highlight the rivalry between the ANC and In-

katha as the primary cause of the bloodshed, he said.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the same news conference that the ANC's initial rejection of the Goldstone report was based on news reports. The ANC had since had time to study the report and believed it to be fair and objective.

While government ministers had stressed the commission's finding that the primary cause of violence was rivalry between the ANC and

the IFP, "in reality, the report identifies more than 10 causes of the violence and at no stage suggests a so-called primary cause", the ANC's information and publicity department said in a statement.

"In fact, the stated first historical cause of the violence in the report is the apartheid system itself.

"The second is the fact that, as the report states: 'The police force and the army have, for many decades,

been the instruments of oppression by successive white governments'."

The ANC claimed: "The reality is that the commission states that part of the violence is attributable to state complicity in undercover activities, including criminal conduct on the part of the security forces."

In response to the report's suggestions, the statement said:

● "The ANC fully supports the decision of the National Peace Committee to convene a meeting of all

leaders as soon as possible to discuss the escalating violence:

● "We believe that this meeting should also discuss the report of the commission:

● "The ANC will take all necessary additional steps to ensure proper control of all our members and will continue to co-operate with both the National Peace Committee and the commission to the best of our ability."

Reacting last night to the ANC claims, deputy justice minister Mr

Danie Schutte said: "Methinks the ANC doth protest too much"

Mr Schutte said the statement on the Goldstone report was unambiguous in that it stated the commission "has no doubt that the primary cause of the violence in all these areas is the political battle between supporters of the ANC and the IFP".

He said that according to the Goldstone report, no evidence had been received to suggest there was a so-called third force.

The report then listed causes of

the violence, including: "As far as political violence is concerned, the commission has no doubt at all that both ANC and IFP members and supporters have been guilty of many incidents that have resulted in the deaths of and injuries to large numbers of people."

The deputy minister said the government had already indicated that it had taken note of criticisms of government agencies. "Immediate steps are being taken to remedy the situation," Mr Schutte said. — Sap

Angry ANC 'doth protest too much'

JOHANNESBURG. — "Methinks the ANC doth protest too much," said deputy Justice Minister Mr Danie Schutte in reaction to the organisation's claim that the government manipulated the findings of the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Schutte yesterday claimed the ANC's allegations of manipulation were unfounded.

He said the press statement on the Goldstone report was unambiguous in that it stated that the commission "has no doubt that the primary cause of the violence in all these areas is the political battle between supporters of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party".

Mr Schutte said that according to the Goldstone report, no evidence had been received to suggest there was a so-called "Third Force".

The deputy minister said the government had already indicated that it had taken note of criticisms of government agencies. *ARC 30/5/92*

"Immediate steps are being taken to remedy the situation," he said. "It is therefore worrying that the ANC still refuses to re-commit itself and its members to the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord." — Sapa.

JOHANNESBURG. — The see-saw saga of the Goldstone report on violence took another dramatic swing yesterday as ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said he now regarded it as "fair" — but lambasted the government for "scandalously" manipulating its contents.

At a Press briefing during the crucial ANC policy conference at Nasrec, Mr Mandela said he was given a copy of the full report only yesterday afternoon — two days after it was tabled in parliament.

He said that having had the opportunity to read it, rather than the short Press release issued on Wednesday, he now thought it was "fair".

"The commission has gone into the question of the causes of the violence in an objective manner. We would have preferred it to have gone further into the causes, but it tried to be objective."

On Thursday, after media reports alleging that the commission had laid full blame for the violence at the doors of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mr Mandela firmly rejected these conclusions.

But since then he has contacted the judge to explain the context in which he made his remarks — a context ANC leaders describe as "near-hysteria" over the judge's apparent blaming of the ANC and IFP, and seeming exoneration of the role of the security forces.

"We got the distinct impression that the judge fully understood our position," Mr Mandela said after his discussion with Mr Justice Goldstone.

It now emerges that there was a great deal of difference between the Press release issued by the Ministry of Justice on behalf of Mr Justice Goldstone on Wednesday, and the contents of the 10-page commission report.

While the Press release holds the ANC and IFP primarily responsible for causing the violence, the report offers a more complex explanation — and says specifically that the responsibility to "control and impose discipline applies to the SADF and the police no less than to the ANC and the IFP".

Speaking to Weekend Argus at Nasrec yesterday, Mr Mandela said he now believed the report "would strengthen the ANC's hand in negotiations".

He said the report had clarified many issues and had often taken the same position as the ANC.

He added that it would now be difficult for the government to refute charges made against the security forces.

The ANC was "greatly disturbed by the gross discrepancies between the report and the Press statement, as well as the role of the government in propagating a view of the report which they knew was false".

The report had been in the hands of the government for four weeks, Mr Mandela said, "and it chose to concentrate attention on the Press release so as to divert attention from the report".

"We are deeply disturbed at the manner in which the government manipulated the Press release. We consider these actions to be scandalous and reprehensible in the extreme."

The ANC leader said government ministers had immediately seized on the Press release in order to claim that the commission had exonerated the security forces and the state from involvement in the ongoing violence.

Weekend Argus understands that the original intention of the commission was that the full report would be tabled and fully discussed in parliament, rather than an abridged statement released to the public first.

A senior source in the tripartite alliance said ANC leaders were "frankly baffled" by the fact that the full report and the statement were written by the same man — Mr Justice Goldstone.

"They are irreconcilable. The findings of the commission report are completely at variance with the conclusions made in the press release."

But the ANC has clearly decided to focus on the role of the state, not the judge, in the affair.

ESTHER WAUGH and SHAUN JOHNSON
Weekend Argus Political Staff

Mandela cries 'foul'
State 'manipulated' Goldstone report

ARR 30/5

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GOLDSTONE SPELLS IT OUT: THERE ARE NO 'GOOD GUYS'

STimes 31/5/92

2 SUNDAY TIMES, May 31 1992

THE government and the ANC both tried this week to seek political advantage from two Goldstone commission reports. Ironically, the reports indicted both for fomenting violence.

The row involving ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel obscured the fact that the commission in its first, and overall, report says: "Individual policemen, ANC supporters and IFP supporters have been guilty of serious criminal conduct."

It did not, as Mr Kriel claimed this week, exonerate the government and the police.

ANC president Nelson Mandela first condemned the interim report as "superficial", and then retracted the statement, admitting that there had been confusion between the two reports.

He said that "ANC/IFP rivalry has been fostered and manipulated by the government and its security forces" — a statement that was essentially supported by the commission's second report, which focused on violence in three areas of Natal and three areas of the Reef.

The commission, in its press release

to "stop the violence by imposing discipline and accountability among its membership".

The commission, while placing apartheid at the top of the list of five primary causes of violence, also lambasted the state for "complicity in undercover activities, which include criminal conduct", along with government failure "to take sufficiently firm steps" to stop such conduct and punish the guilty.

The commission has become the good guy/bad guy scorecard despite convincingly illustrating that there are no good guys.

The furore that erupted this week over the second interim report, and a four-page press release issued this week focusing on six trouble spots, raised government-ANC tensions.

By CHARLENE SMITH

on violence in the six specific areas, emphasised "that no one other than the IFP and the ANC has the power to curb the violence and intimidation being perpetrated by their respective supporters".

"Even if allegations against members of the security forces prove to be justified, such misconduct would not have been possible but for the ongoing battle between the ANC and the IFP."

In its overview, completed on April 29 and then submitted to the State President — but only released this week — the commission also accused the ANC and Inkatha leadership of being "tardy" in taking effective steps

The second interim report noted that, though the commission has a three-year brief, "the significant escalation of violence in recent weeks" made the report necessary, even though conclusions had not yet been reached with a number of committees, including those on Thokoza; involvement of the defence force; taxi and train violence; and mass demonstrations.

Mr Werner Krull, press secretary to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, denied that they had done more than act as a conduit for a press release this week from Mr Justice Goldstone — a fact confirmed by the judge himself.

Mr Krull said the April interim

report had been issued three weeks after receipt by the State President. "If we had released it earlier it would have come out before Codesa 2, which could have caused other problems."

Reporting on causes of violence, the commission, in its second interim report, found there was no "third force" in terms of "a sinister and secret organisation orchestrating political violence on a wide front".

It suggests that causes of violence are "many and complicated and include the economic, social and political imbalances among the people of South Africa".

These are:

- The consequences of three centuries of racial discrimination and more than 40 years... of apartheid.

- A police force and army which for many decades have been the instruments of oppression by successive white governments... (and which are) for many South Africans... not perceived as fair, objective or friendly institutions.

- The unexpected and sudden legalising of large and predominantly black-supported organisations.

- A climate of political intolerance, particularly in the black community.

The report says these factors give "violence a fertile breeding ground". It notes that various elements have contributed to this, including criminals, an undermanned and poorly motivated police force, and single-sex hostels and squatter communities.

● IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he was prepared to accept the finding of the commission that Inkatha had played a role in the violence.

Speaking at a rally at Vulindlela, near Maritzburg, he said he accepted that without the political will of the IFP and the ANC there would not be peace in South Africa.

Goldstone showdown

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Cipres 31/5792

By **DESMOND BLOW**

THE ANC, which had earlier attacked the Goldstone Commission's second interim report into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, has suddenly switched horses and accused the government of manipulating the report.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said that the ANC had now fully studied the Goldstone report and believed it to be fair and objective.

In a statement at the weekend the ANC said there was a "gross discrepancy" between the statement issued and the actual report of the commission of inquiry.

10 causes

The ANC claimed the government had propagated the view that the commission had found that the primary blame for the mushrooming violence was the ongoing battle between the ANC and the IFP.

"While government ministers had stressed the commission's findings that the primary cause of the violence was the rivalry between ANC and IFP, in reality the report identifies more than 10 causes of the violence and at no stage suggests a so-called primary cause. In fact the first historical cause of the violence in the report is the apartheid system itself," said the ANC.

Govt did a dirty on report, says ANC

The ANC claimed among the other causes given in the report was that the police force and the army have for many decades been the instruments of oppression by successive white governments.

The ANC claimed further that "the reality is that the commission states part of the violence is attributable to State complicity in undercover activities, including criminal conduct on the part of the security forces".

The ANC also stated that the report called for the SADF and SAP, like the ANC and the IFP, to take "measures to control and discipline their members".

All three principal players - the government, the ANC and the IFP - have tried to use the report to their advantage in the play for power.

The highly respected judge found that individuals in the ANC, the IFP and the security forces were all responsible for the mushrooming "serious criminal conduct".

He also said that no evidence had been placed before him to suggest

there was a "third force" involved in the acts of violence.

The judge did not find that no third force existed, but that the commission had received no evidence to suggest there was a sinister and secret organisation or group committing acts of violence in furtherance of "some nefarious political aim".

Although the report was signed by Judge Goldstone on April 29 it was only released by President FW de Klerk on May 27, a month later.

Right time

It is believed the government waited for an opportune time to release the report and put the blame firmly on Inkatha and the ANC, and decided to release the report after Nelson Mandela accused De Klerk of allowing the murder of people simply because they were black.

The IFP appeared to welcome the findings of the Goldstone Commission but also used the release of the commission findings to attack both the ANC and the security forces with "evidence" which had apparently been in their possession for several weeks.

The Inkatha Institute claimed it had a list "provided by a highly placed informant within the ANC" of more than 50 SAP members countrywide who had been recruited by the ANC.

IFP accepts finding

E Press 31/5/92
INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he was prepared to accept the finding of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry that Inkatha had played a role in the violence. (274)

Speaking at a rally at Vulindlela near Maritzburg, Buthelezi said he accepted that without the political will of the IFP and the ANC there would not be peace in SA.

The IFP would therefore continue to participate in local and regional dispute committees, he said, and remained committed to the National Peace Accord.

Buthelezi called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in holding peace rallies in SA. Both leaders should show they were serious about bringing an end to the violence, he said. - Sapa

'ANC hitmen are killing us'

By FRED KHUMALO

THE gunning down of Bongani Ntshangase last week was the work of an ANC hit squad.

So claim former ANC detainees who say the squad is out to eliminate people who were detained in ANC "torture camps" while the organisation was still banned.

The ANC denied the allegation saying the men were "acting in league with the government".

The former detainees, now working under the banner of the Returned Exiles Committee, this week threatened to "fight back" if another of their members is killed. *C/Pres 31/5/92*

"What should be clear, though, is that we are not threatening to shoot ANC members at random. We know our targets within the ANC," said Derrick Headbush, who claims he was detained in ANC camps in Angola and Uganda between 1987 and 1990.

Five members of the committee who spoke to City Press told how they had been living in fear following anonymous telephone threats.

The members are Pat Hlongwane, Derrick Headbush, Siphon Laliso, Gege Kheswa and Siphon Ngema.

They live in Lindelani, thanks to the "sympathy and humanitarian spirit" of controversial IFP leader Thomas Shabalala who is "treating us like sons".

The fact that they are staying

at the mercy of an IFP leader should not be misconstrued as a reflection on their political leanings, they say.

"We are neutral politically. It's just that Shabalala is sympathetic to our cause," said Kheswa.

Hlongwane said: "We know that we are being followed by the ANC. And it is they who killed Ntshangase. We are not going to rest until he is revenged. Shabalala has offered asylum."

Like Headbush, Hlongwane says he is originally from Kwa-Zakhele township in Port Elizabeth. However, he is now based in Durban because "I had nothing to go back to in Port Elizabeth".

Families killed

Both men allege that while they languished in ANC camps, their families were killed in accordance with orders issued by the ANC's security officers.

Members of the committee said an ANC hit squad from Transkei has been instructed to eliminate committee members who have been campaigning for an inquiry into conditions at ANC camps.

He said an inquiry into the conditions that prevailed (or still prevail) in ANC camps would dent the organisation's image and erode whatever support it has, thereby limiting its chances in future elections in an apartheid-free SA.

The members say they have enlisted the help of different international human rights organisations - including Amnesty International and the ultra-conservative American-based Interna-

tional Freedom Foundation - in trying to bring about an inquiry into conditions in ANC camps.

Members of the committee allege the ANC hit squad was also responsible for the death early this year of Tsetitso Leballo, who was Winnie Mandela's chauffeur.

They were accused of being SA government agents and were wrongly arrested and kept in ANC camps, they claim. They say they were not given fair trials.

Hlongwane said he was sentenced to 15 years in an ANC jail for allegedly being an SA government informer.

Headbush, who says his ANC codename was "Bacon", said he first left the country for military training in Botswana in 1985, coming back soon thereafter to carry out "missions".

But while he was undergoing military training in Angola, he was suspected of being an NIS agent. He was arrested in Nova Stalassao, a prison in Angola.

ANC spokesman Joel Netshitenzhi confirmed that Laliso, Ngema, Hlongwane and Kheswa had at some stage been detained by the ANC but said he had no information on Headbush.

He confirmed that Laliso had taken part in the famous 1984 mutiny by ANC fighters based in Angola.

He, however, further confirmed that Hlongwane was indeed found guilty by a tribunal of trying to infiltrate the ANC and sentenced to 15 years inside an ANC prison.

To other allegations, Netshitenzhi reacted angrily, saying the ANC detractors were talking "nonsense".

DJ threatened to kill us, claim strike three

By FRED KHUMALO

(481) (274) 274 31/5/92

THE two-week-old strike by SABC employees has taken a new, potentially explosive turn with one of the non-strikers allegedly threatening to have three strike leaders "mown down".

Allegedly marked for assassination are Radio Zulu journalist Mtholephi Mthimkhulu, and CCV-TV cameramen Mandla Ndlovu and Zakhele Nene.

According to a Mwasa spokesman, the threat came from popular Radio Zulu DJ Victor Velaphi Mkhize who has resigned from the union and is back at work.

Mwasa sources said the DJ went to Ndlovu's house and threatened to hire assassins to "mow down" the cameraman.

He allegedly repeated the threats to Nene and Mthimkhulu whom he phoned on separate occasions at their homes.

The three have reported the threats to police.

SAP spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi confirmed that Mthimkhulu had made a report to the Inanda SAP police station.

The office of KwaZulu Police spokesman Col Moses Khanyile confirmed that Nene had made a report at Umlazi police station, but the office bears no knowledge of Ndlovu's report.

According to sources within Mwasa, the DJ fell out with the other strikers when he suggested that the union should settle for the offer made by the SABC management - an 11 percent across-the-board increase and a minimum salary of R1 300.

Victor Mkhize denied that he had threatened Ndlovu, Mthimkhulu and Nene.

He, however, confirmed that he had visited Ndlovu's home where he spoke to his wife, telling her that he (Mkhize) had received some threats from people who were not happy with his work.

"I left a message with her saying that should anything happen to those of us who are not on strike, Mtholephi (Mthimkhulu) and the other strike leaders (including Ndlovu) would have to be investigated," Mkhize said.

He said jealous people were now taking advantage of the fact that he had not joined the strike and were trying to launch a smear campaign against him.

"I have nothing against Ndlovu. In fact I know nothing of the alleged threats," said Mkhize.

Workers at CCV and all SABC radio stations broadcasting in vernacular languages are standing firm on their demand of a 20 percent across-the-board increase and a R1 500 minimum salary.

The SABC - which made a total profit of R77,8-million in the last financial year - recently met five members from the KwaZulu legislative assembly in an attempt to resolve the crisis which has reduced Radio Zulu into a jukebox. Nothing was, however, resolved.

An offer by the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce, Black Management Forum, Izimboni Chamber of Industries and the Ukhamba Liquor Association to act as mediators was this week turned down by SABC human resources manager Kobie Kotze.

Organisations across the political spectrum have come out strongly against the SABC for refusing to lend a sympathetic ear to the striking workers.

The Natal midlands ANC said in a statement that viewers and listeners were not getting what they were paying for, and called on the SABC "to pay their workers a living wage".

Broardcast bolues counta turn unity