

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES — GENERAL

1993

MAY — JUNE

# Marches: Bill lays stress on liability

CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT  
and MICHAEL SPARKS  
Weekend Argus Reporters

IF the government accepts a draft Bill proposed yesterday by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone it will represent a major break with current legislation on public demonstrations.

If the legislation is passed — with its stricter control mechanisms and provisions for closer co-operation between gathering organisers and police — it would for the first time confirm the right of people to march and demonstrate.

Conveners would no longer have to seek permission for public gatherings or demonstrations. They would be required only to give notice of them.

Draft legislation handed to President De Klerk yesterday emphasises the civil liability of groups organising public gatherings, pickets and demonstrations.

Explaining the Bill, Mr Justice Goldstone said that if the conveners took all the necessary steps to prevent loss of life or damage to property, they would not be liable for damages.

"For example, the conveners of the gatherings and demonstrations in the past few weeks would not have been liable," he said.

The Bill addresses the issues of civil liability of organisers and gatherings and preventing gatherings or demonstrations near courts, parliament and the Union Buildings.

It deals extensively with the appointment of people responsible for the organisation and control of gatherings and their obligations to negotiate details of the gatherings with senior police officials beforehand.

The commission recommended that mass demonstrations and marches were matters of such urgency that the subject should not be deferred and that legislation was desirable before the completion of the present period



Mr Justice Richard Goldstone,  
commission chairman.

of transition.

"Should the proposal be accepted, it may prove to be desirable to make the necessary arrangements in order that the Act may apply in self-governing states," the judge recommended.

The draft Bill states that conveners of gatherings should give at least 10 days' notice of a gathering or demonstration. However, the period could be shortened if all responsible officials agreed.

In an attempt to ensure greater control and to establish civil liability, the Bill suggests that full details of the conveners and organisations attending a gathering and, where possible, names of marshals, be given to the responsible officials.

The Bill goes a step further, stating that the exact and complete route be made clear to all officials and, if necessary, to local authorities. Where no local authorities exist the local magistrate should be given details.

It also requires that conveners inform police of transport arrangements to and from gatherings.

# Dancing to the tune of death

STimes 21/93

By JOHANNES NGCOBO

THE "freedom songs" sung by ANC marchers in recent week are filled with words of death and violence against the "boers"

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba recently outraged white farmers when he danced to a song which called on white farmers to be killed.

The ANC has since announced a review of all the songs. The Sunday Times this week held its own review of some of the songs.

Some samples

● *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto We Sizwe Thina Abantu bomkhonto Sizimisele Ukuwa bulala wona lamabunu* — We members of Umkhonto are prepared to kill all the boers;

● *Amabhunu Ahlupha Abazali Ekhaya Bathi Ziphi Izingane Zabo Sizobashaya Nge Aka Sizobashaya Nge Bazooka* — Whites or boers are troubling our parents at home ... we are going to hit them with our AK-47 and bazookas;

● *Khwela Phezukwendlu Ubatshela Umangishaya Ibhunu Umama Uyajabula* — Get on top of the roof and tell them that when I hit the boer my mother becomes happy.

## Reviewing

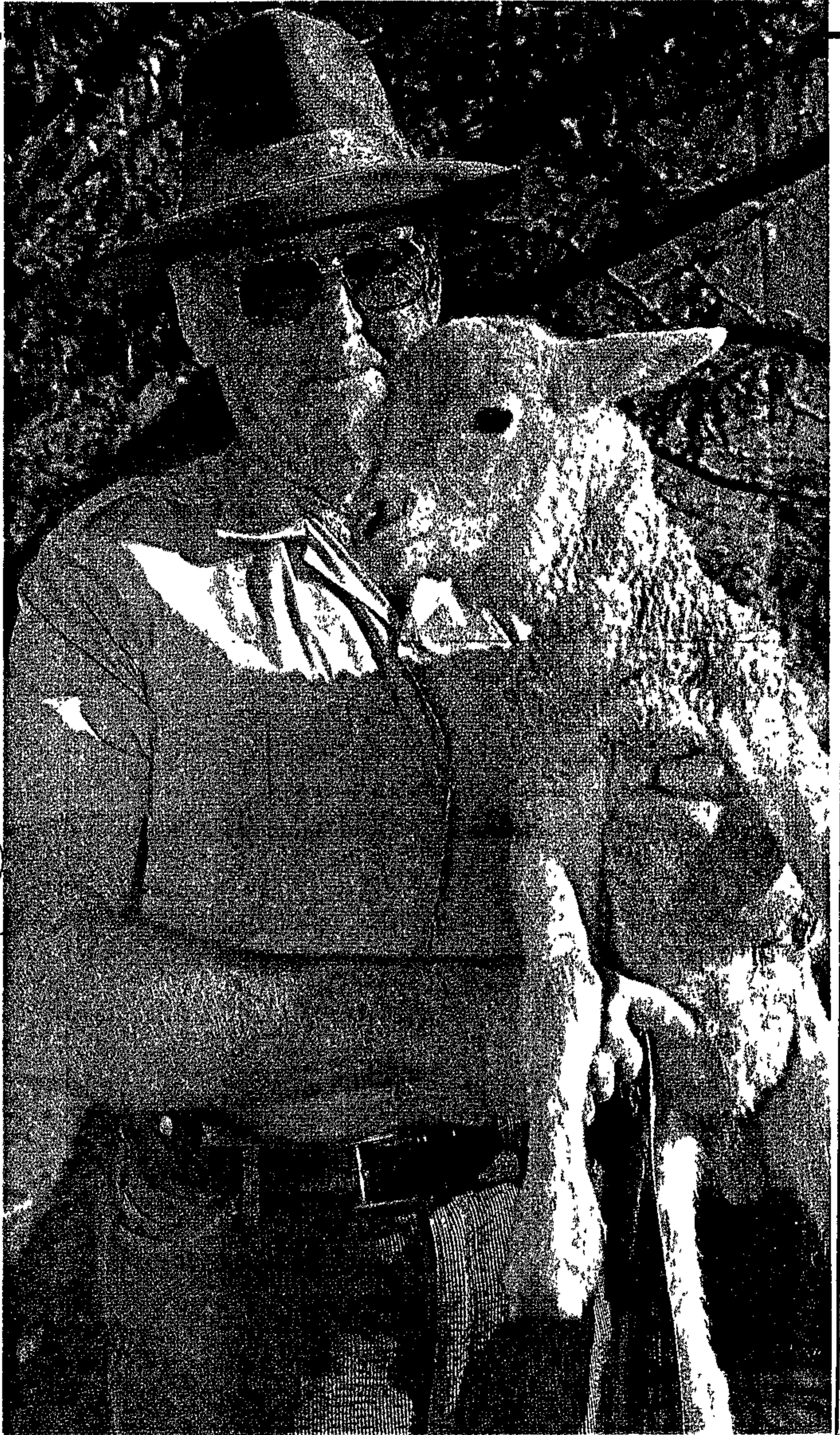
The songs of hate are chanted by other organisations including the Mass Democratic Movement, the Congress of South African Students, South African Allied Workers' Union and the now defunct United Democratic Front.

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said his organisation was reviewing songs with racial connotations

"Some of these songs have been used in mass mobilisation of the people, but we see no need to raise political tempers of other people now," he said.

But the ANC Youth League's Parks Manekahlana said his organisation would not review the songs.

"We are not going to stand up and stop people (from singing the songs)," he said.



ARMED AND WAITING ... Johan Meyer, 73, who was born on his Senekal farm, says he has reached the end of his tether

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BUSINESS DAY, Monday, May 3 1993

## Peace committee seeks to strengthen accord

THE national peace committee was set to discuss ways of strengthening the peace accord at a meeting today, committee spokesman Val Pauquet said at the weekend.

She said the strengthening of the accord was discussed at a meeting of the committee's executive last week, when the agenda for today's meeting was planned.

B/DAY 3/5/93  
RAY HARTLEY

The executive heard a report from the national peace secretariat on events over the past two weeks, including demonstrations and commemorative services for assassinated SACP leader Chris Hani.

Mass action and inflammatory speeches made by political leaders

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were among other issues discussed, Pauquet said.

Delegates to the meeting looked at ways of improving the involvement of business and church leaders in the peace process.

They also discussed offers from prominent sports personalities who wished to become involved in peace work.

# FW urges leaders to help crack down on violence

ARC 3/5/93

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□ Words not enough, strong action is needed, says president

PRESIDENT De Klerk has called on political leaders to bolster tough security action against violence by clamping down on inflammatory statements and actions by their members.

He was reacting in part to Saturday night's attack at the Highgate Hotel in East London, where three balaclava-clad gunmen walked into the bar and opened fire with automatic weapons, and then hurled a handgrenade into the adjacent snooker room, killing five people.

Mr De Klerk said yesterday he was shocked and outraged by the killing.

"I should like to convey my condolences and those of the government to the families of all those who have lost loved ones in this senseless violence."

Words were not enough, he said, which was why the government had already taken several practical initiatives.

"The best example of this is the present deployment of a very large number of security personnel throughout the country. The purpose of this action is to get a firm grip on the security situation in all problem areas."

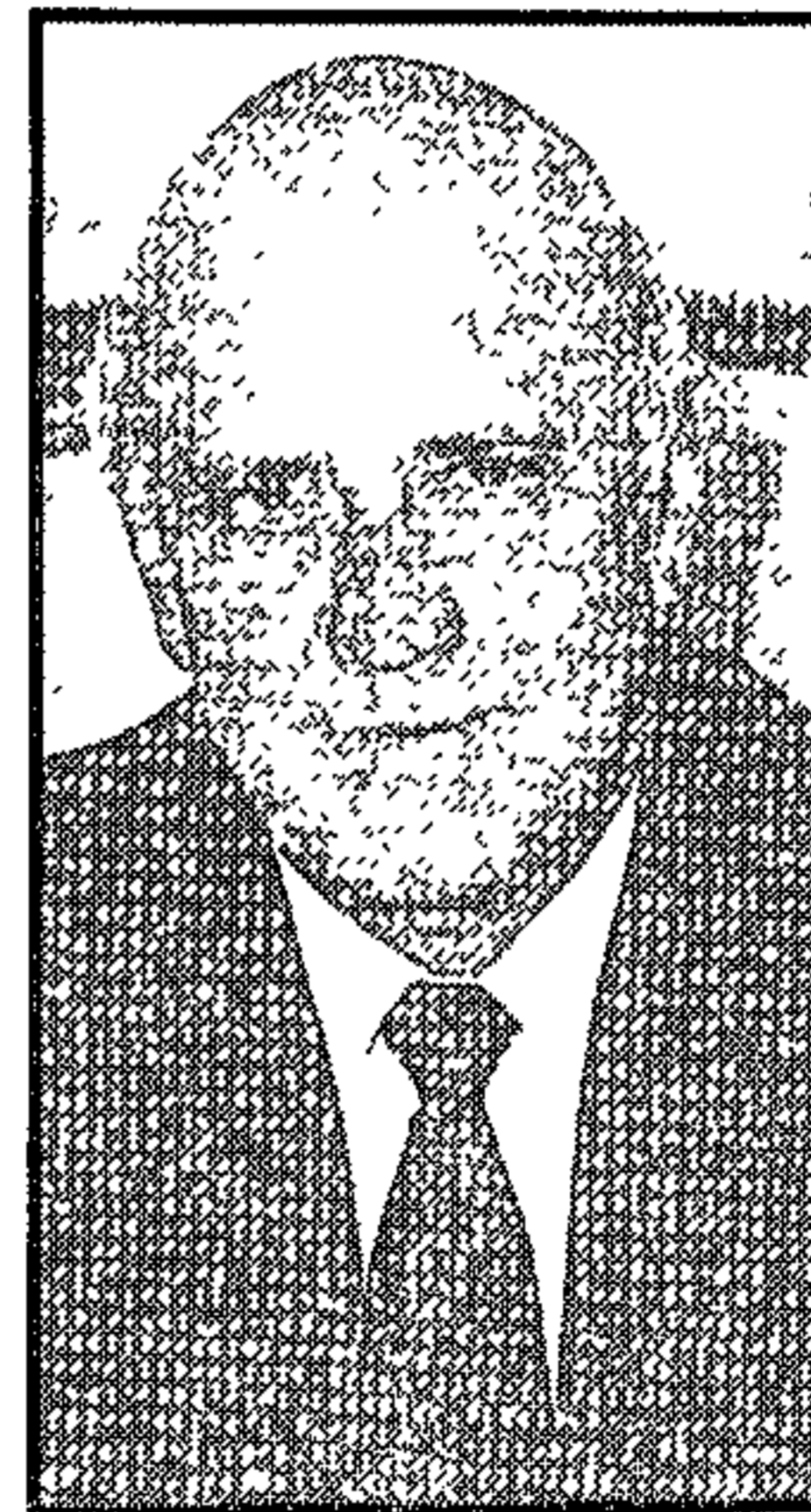
This was proceeding "at full speed".

Mr De Klerk said the Border region was the focus of particular attention, and special measures had been taken to prevent attacks from neighbouring countries.

To complement this, however, political leaders "should exercise maximum restraint over their statements, their actions and the actions of their followers".

Mr De Klerk said the African National Congress needed to do much more to dissuade their followers from potentially violent threats and acts.

"Bland press statements are not good enough".



President De Klerk

It was also dangerous and unnecessary for the rightwing to mobilise militarily.

"South Africa does not need private armies. We need to disband those which do exist.

"I call on all leaders to stop pointing fingers and to accept co-responsibility to help combat violence," said Mr De Klerk.

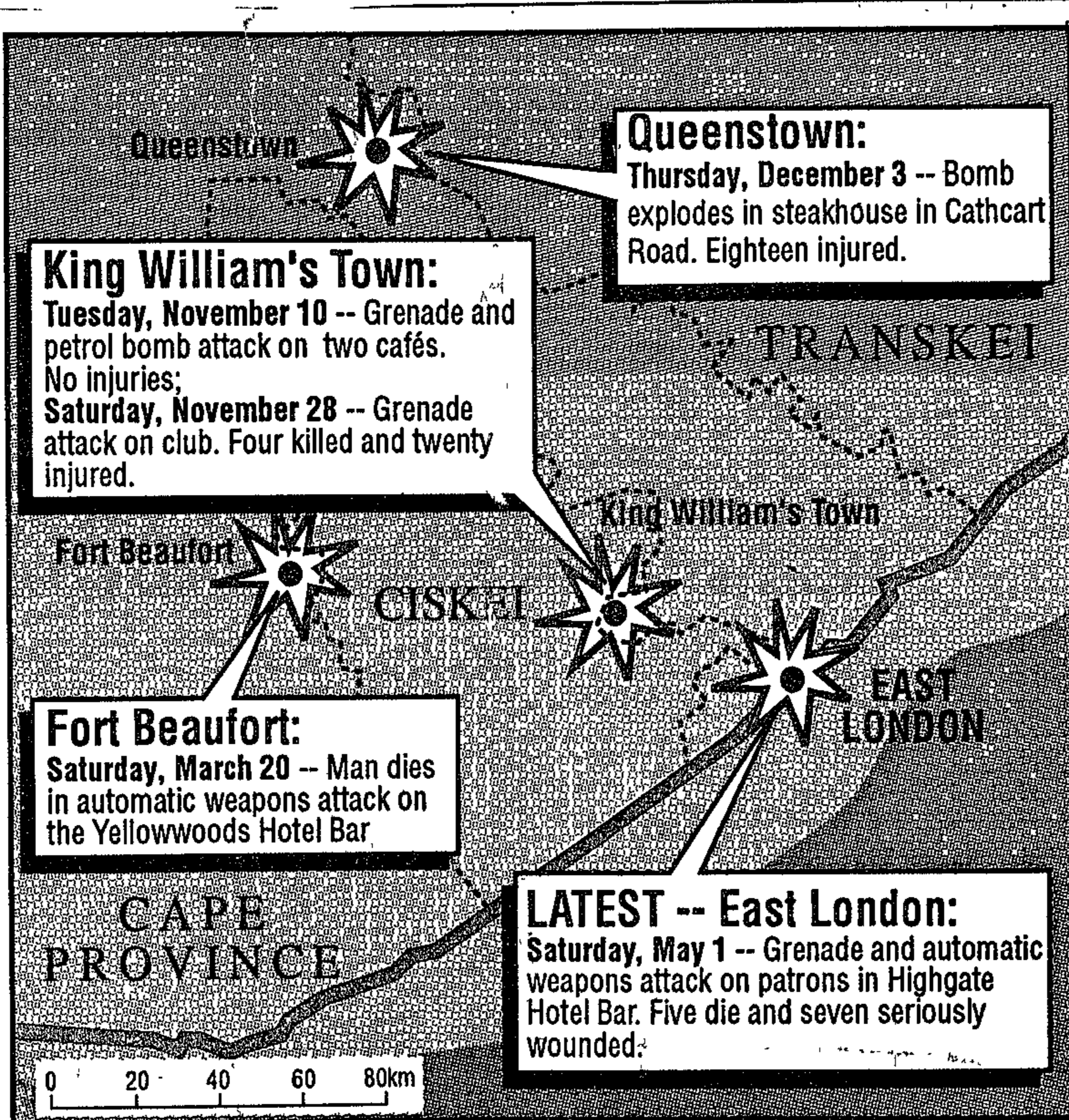
● In Bisho, Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said in reaction to the attack in East London: "These treacherous and cowardly attacks on innocent members of the public must be stopped".

He also called for "the disbandment of all private armies and the surrender of their weapons".

"If the national security forces prove to be unable to supply the necessary degree of protection there can be no alternative but for people to organise peace units and be trained and equipped to protect themselves," Brigadier Gqozo said in a statement — Sapa.

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Map: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Wiehahn task group

THE Manpower Department has appointed a task group under the chairmanship of labour specialist Prof Nic Wiehahn to investigate the Industrial Court.

The group includes employer, trade union, government and Industrial Court representatives and its investigation will cover the administration of the court as well as its presiding officers.

The court has had credibility problems — especially as far as unions are concerned — because of the unpredictability of a perception that it is geared to management needs.

### Christian TV opens

CHRISTIAN Network, televised on M-Net's spare transmitter, began its first broadcast yesterday with a discussion programme including President F W de Klerk and church leaders.

De Klerk said the roles of state and church often overlapped but that the two should not interfere with each other's sovereignty.

### Freedom in focus

VIOLENCE against journalists in SA in the past three weeks has put Press freedom in "sharp and tragic focus", says International Federation of Journalists general secretary Aidan White.

In a message issued to mark the UN's World Press Freedom Day, White said. "The brutal and outrageous acts of violence against journalists in SA in recent weeks (...) illustrate how much has to be done to make the World Press Freedom Day dream come true."

### Pringle awards

THE English Academy of Southern Africa has invited submissions for the Thomas Pringle award, sponsored by the Achievement Management group of firms. Awards will be made for reviews of plays, books and TV series, educational articles and poetry published in 1991 and 1992. Entries must be submitted by May 31.

REPORTS Business Day Reporters, Sapa

# SA recovery 'in political hands'

Blom 3/5/93

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The gradualist approach towards lowering the exchange rate through fundamental economic reform heightened the risk of the process being sabotaged by politicians, Board of Executors (BoE) senior portfolio manager Rob Lee said in the latest Investment Outlook.

He urged the speedy implementation of the objectives outlined in the normative economic model (NEM) in order to enhance the international competitiveness of SA's economy. These objectives included the abolition of exchange control, lower and simpler import tariffs and the abolition of the import surcharge.

"Our concerns about the implementation of the NEM boil down to a fear that 'political realities' will prevent an adequate reduction in the size of the public sector and impose a far too gradual timetable for the lifting of exchange control and tariff protection," Lee said.

Instead of lowering consumption expenditure's percentage of GDP by merely holding government spending levels in real terms while economic growth resumed, the absolute size of government needed to be cut first.

Lee felt it would be appropriate to implement the economic model within the next few months when the international economy had begun mov-

ing into a sustained recovery.

While the economy had the potential to grow at rates of 4% and more in 1994/95, this potential was unfortunately in the hands of the politicians. The lack of rapid political progress would probably result in another year of negative growth, while mass action campaigns would also worsen prospects.

Lee pointed to several favourable factors, such as the improved prospects for the international economy and commodity prices; the uptick in the dollar gold price; and agricultural recovery. A reduction in interest rates before year-end was possible if the capital account improved.

He believed a boom in commodity prices would make the economic adjustment process less painful. The commodity cycle might be close to its bottom, although slack demand and high levels of stock meant there would not be a significant strengthening in prices until well into 1994.

"A sustained uptrend in commodity demand and prices from the mid-90s may yet provide SA with an opportunity to lift itself off its 'low road' economic growth path," Lee said.

The dollar gold price had technically broken its long-term bear trend, while fundamentally gold's supply-demand situation was very positive.

## Delta invests R195m in tooling upgrade

TRACY SCHNEIDER

DELTA Motor Corporation has invested R195m in tooling and improved plant technology for the launch of the new Opel Kadett and Astra.

MD Willie van Wyk said Delta had passed the "true test", funding investments solely out of cash reserves without resorting to borrowings.

Delta had been profitable for each of the past six years, he said. The way forward now was to focus on customer requirements and the elimination of inefficiency and waste.

The Astra is Delta's first completely new passenger car.

Adam Opel AG chairman and MD David Herman said at the launch of the Astra that Delta played an important role in Opel's global sourcing and development of international export markets. An Opel audit of the new Astra and Kadett had endorsed Delta's quality levels as being on a par with those at Opel's European plants.

Blom 3/5/93

Blom 3/5/93

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HEROES OR VILLAINS, Youth Politics in the 1980s, by Jeremy Seekings (Ravan, R28,50)

MUCH has been made in recent weeks of the role of the youth in SA's political future. The assassination of Chris Hani threw into sharp relief the political militancy of this poorly defined section of the population.

It was a group of youths who booed Nelson Mandela at the FNB Stadium during commemorative proceedings for Hani and it was youths who went on the rampage outside the stadium five days later during funeral speeches.

In Cape Town, Durban, Maritzburg and Port Elizabeth it was "groups of youths" who participated in incidents of looting during city centre marches.

Heroes or Villains? is an attempt to understand what happened to the youth in the '80s when they were at the forefront of efforts to make townships "ungovernable".

The significance of Jeremy Seekings' book extends beyond its 100-odd pages as it represents the most thorough attempt to understand the political role of youth in the '80s. He spends much time trying to define "youth". He says that as SA

# Role of youth examined

810AM 315193.

went through social upheaval in the mid-'80s "childhood, youth and adulthood became blurred as the natural progression from home to school, and then to work became anything but commonplace". In this context "youth" came to be understood as those having particular attitudes and behaviour, rather than those belonging to a defined age group.

Two divergent stereotypes of youth as "apocalyptic" or "liberatory" developed as a result.

In the apocalyptic stereotype "youth are not only associated with violent behaviour; violence is largely understood in terms of the youth".

In the more extreme versions of this view, the youth had become synonymous with savagery. This in turn led to the false perception that youth were exclusively involved in violence.

The liberatory view of the youth, in contrast with the apocalyptic view, focuses on the political commitment of the youth and their struggle for justice and liberation. The liberatory view saw youth as "young lions" who formed the core of political revolution.

While Seekings identifies the two stereotypes, the rest of his book does little to develop or dispel them. Instead, he merely states that "studies suggest that neither political youth nor anarchic youth constitute a majority of the total population of young people". Perhaps this is because the two stereotypes have such wide resonance with South Africans who primarily encountered youth in these two roles.

Seekings manages to capture the politicisation of the youth in the '80s and the role played by organisations such as the SA Youth Congress in mobilising and channelling militancy into political struggle. He goes some way to describing the degeneration of this political mobilisation into a growing involvement in acts of political violence and

ultimately the establishment of violent gangs within politically organised youth.

But Seekings fails to give enough attention to how the active encouragement of youth to engage in quasimilitary activity with direct political aims created the space in which this degeneration occurred.

For the most part, he describes the political leadership of the youth as disappointed bystanders powerlessly observing the decay of their noble ideals.

Many youth leaders no doubt detested the violence of their supporters, but there can be no question that violence was actively encouraged by others who sought to use the youth as political cannon fodder in the war against "puppet structures" in the townships.

A case could be made that the ambivalence in the political leadership, some of whom believed insurrection was possible, led to the failure to rein in the youth when this was

still an option in the mid-'80s. Seekings does, however, make the point that "the insurrectionary beliefs of many youth leaders led them to prioritise struggle rather than organisation-building", adding that many of the "first generation" youth leadership were removed by the state and replaced by less sophisticated militants.

Seekings admits to being unable to say whether youth were inherently predisposed to violence, or encouraged to this end.

"Are young people distinctively militant, politicised or involved in violence? This remains unclear," he says. While they played a central role in many protests and initiated violence, there was no clear contrast between their actions and those of older people.

Seekings fails to answer the question "heroes or villains?", but he goes a long way towards understanding youth politics.

With the future of the politically directionless youth uncertain, it is a timely work that deserves attention from those grappling with ways to eliminate violence and establish a new culture of tolerance

RAY HARTLEY



# The price for doing our job may be too high

BIDM 3/5/93

## LLOYD COURTS

THE murder of a journalist and the beating of another in Sharpeville has changed the mood among people used to reporting events in the country's troubled townships.

Journalists have been harassed, arrested, teargassed, shot at and smacked about. But this did not mean they were in mortal danger.

Then a colleague was killed and another seriously injured.

Calvin Thusago, an SABC reporter, was attacked by thugs, and died of his wounds. Cameraman Dudley Saunders was rescued by police, but not before coming within an inch of losing his life.

Until Thusago's death recent events in Soweto, Kattlehong, Vosloorus and Sebokeng were covered with nothing but the usual trepidation and a tight feeling in the gut while approaching a barricaded roadblock guarded by militant youths, armed and foul-tempered.

Marches, demonstrations, commemoration services all seemed the same on the surface. But journalists were beginning to experience an active, open hostility.

After hearing of Thusago's murder, many started calculating the odds in a game that had suddenly at-

tered radically. Statistically, journalists' chances of running into trouble are high. My own initial reaction was to avoid the townships and any other life-threatening situation.

Journalists tread a fine line in the townships and have to read situations carefully. Television crews have raised this ability to a fine art. But the variables have become numerous and complex.

Colleague Brian Sokutu summed up the changes while driving through Sebokeng the other day: "In the '80s, you knew where the trouble was coming from. Now it comes at you from all sides."

Despite the new (and constant) dangers, the townships have to be covered. Journalists have a duty to report the horror in the country's ghettos, to observe first-hand a climate where atrocities are commonplace and life is cheap.

The greatest danger probably comes from the dreaded, and growing, "criminal element". It is virtually impossible to distinguish criminals from demonstrators. And often there is no difference.

Journalists covering the funeral of Chris Hanu were robbed, assaulted

and abused by "mourners" (One MK member resisted similar treatment from "mourners" but was told: "F off. You're white.")

We have a high profile in the townships and appear to be easy pickings. Another problem is the so-called "lost generation". With nothing to lose, it is seemingly bent on taking advantage of political gatherings to satisfy atavistic instincts.

And the PAC factor, as it affects working journalists, has become too disturbing to ignore. Journalists are regularly verbally and physically abused by young thugs marching under the PAC flag.

I seem to be singled out for a special rendition of "Settler settler, bullet bullet" every time I set foot in the townships. A black journalist with a white skin, I am an all-round target.

During a demonstration in town, one such miscreant not older than 13 told me I would definitely be singled out for special retribution by Apla. I ignored him. In tense times, journalists generally refrain from being

provoked, though I sometimes marvel at what foreign correspondents get away with.

But the "settler, settler" rubbish is beginning to unnerve me.

And then, of course, there is an old favourite for journalists: getting caught in the crossfire. Everyone appears to be armed these days. When there are three sides to crossfire, the stakes are upped.

Thankfully, harassment and arrest by police appears to be a thing of the past. These days I say a little prayer every time I see a police vehicle, although township residents probably do not share this sentiment.

Many journalists are visitors to townships. When working there they experience only a fraction of the tensions residents experience daily.

Residents are prey to the same thugs and hoodlums journalists come face to face with from time to time. Residents who are journalists live a special kind of nightmare.

Condemnation of Thusago's killing by political organisations was swift, as was the ANC's response in apprehending the alleged killers. The organisation appears keen to send a distinctive message that it will not tolerate attacks on journalists.

The PAC has also offered protection to journalists.

There have been calls for the education of township residents on the need for journalists to move about freely to perform their function, which is to tell South Africans and the world what is happening.

Yet calls for tolerance are falling on increasingly deaf ears. I fear that black and white journalists will remain in mortal danger every time they enter the townships.

Some colleagues have spoken of a news blackout as a response to attacks, but this is neither feasible nor constructive.

Journalists are still going into the townships, driven by the compulsion to be in the middle of a story when it happens and the belief that the truth must somehow emerge.

Last week journalists demonstrating in Sharpeville against the killing of Thusago heard the news that television cameraman Sam Msibi had been shot in Kattlehong. The demonstration, for all its good intentions, lost its meaning.

I want to do my job. Yet the price may be too high. There are savages out there who will kill me for my watch.

## Five die on Reef in weekend violence

FIVE people were killed and two children were injured in several unrest related attacks on the Reef this weekend.

On the East Rand, the bodies of two men with AK-47 rifle wounds were found at the Wattville Hostel in Actonville yesterday.

In Katlehong, near Alberton, a woman's body was found in a field at Pharki section, police said.

In Thokoza, also on the East Rand, an unknown woman was stoned to death by a group of people yesterday morning.

A man was shot dead in

**STEPHANE BOTHMA**

front of his house in Orlando West, Soweto, and in Orlando East two children were injured when a hand grenade was thrown at a house. They were not seriously hurt, police said.

The reasons for the attacks were not known and no arrests had been made.

In another incident yesterday, a Benoni hitchhiker was shot in the legs after four men offered him a lift near Kempton Park, East Rand police said.

Jacques Loots, 27, was

hitchhiking in 3rd Avenue, Bredell, Kempton Park, at about 4am.

Four men in a green Mazda offered him a lift, police spokesman Const Riaan Sadie said.

As Loots was about to get into the car, one of the occupants drew a gun and started shooting at him. As he fell, Loots managed to draw his own gun and return fire.

The attackers drove off in the direction of Kempton Park, leaving Loots next to the road with several bullet wounds in both legs.

## Advocates

THE general council of the Bar has called for the introduction of an interim Bill of Rights enforceable by the courts, including the Appellate Division.

Chairman Brian Southwood said the council reaffirmed its support for the introduction of a Bill of Rights and urged negotiating parties to agree to a new constitution at the earliest opportunity.

"Experience in countries such as Namibia has shown that the introduction of an interim Bill of Rights greatly facilitates the process of creating a rights culture," he said.

"An interim Bill of Rights must be accompanied by adequate state resources to give all citizens

## Goldstone commends ANC alliance, police

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC alliance, police and the national peace secretariat deserved praise for the relatively peaceful nature of events surrounding the death of SACP leader Chris Hani, Judge Richard Goldstone said at the weekend.

"At the same time the commission unequivocally condemns the criminality which accompanied many of the mass marches which were held. Such conduct resulted in death, injury, damage to property and looting," he said.

In a statement on a preliminary inquiry into the violence, Goldstone said: "The ability of people to give physical and verbal expression to their feelings serves as an important safety valve and may prevent more uncontrolled and widespread violence."

"However, the freedom to express those feelings and to protest in public cannot be allowed to cause widespread physical and mental injury to a substantial segment of society," he said.

He said parties agreed the violence should be further discussed in a workshop, which will be closed to the public, in mid-May and no formal inquiry should be held.

The workshop would discuss "causes of or reasons for the damaging or looting of private or public buildings or other property and the assault or death of members of the public," he said.

- Goldstone said the workshop would also look into:
- The reasons for the failure of organisers of marches to obtain permission for the demonstrations from local authorities or magistrates;
  - The steps taken by march organisers to prevent looting and violence;
  - Incidents where people were killed "in the vicinity of police stations";
  - The steps which should be taken to avoid a repetition of the looting and violence.

Goldstone called for submissions on ways of improving the security of political leaders.

**Attributable earnings up 6.5%**

**Aberdare now a wholly-owned subsidiary**

**The "Powertech Package"**

ended 28 February 1993

**Consolidated balance sheet** Figures in R000

	As at 28.2.93	As at 29.2.92
Equity shareholders' interest (see note)	312 326	246 343
Preference shareholders' interest	34 017	127 191
Provision for liabilities	7 089	9 860
Deferred taxation	4 858	873
<b>Total employed</b>	<b>358 290</b>	<b>384 267</b>
Fixed assets and investments	182 478	180 907
	32 966	12 119
Bank and deposits	20 442	49 262
Current assets	380 647	389 494

**NEWS** Government lacks credibility and is 'corrupt' ● Passmore on drugs charge

# Mandela's solution to violence in sight

ANC leader confident of stemming ebbing white tide:

**LONDON** - The installation of a "legitimate and credible government" in South Africa was the only solution to escalating racial violence in the country, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

**Government illegitimate**

"One of the reasons that the present Government has been unable to address the question of violence is that it has no legitimacy, no credibility. It's corrupt," Mandela told a Press conference in London at the start of a two-day official visit to Britain.

He will meet Prime Minister Mr John Major, Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd and Labour Party leader Mr John Smith today before addressing the House of Commons.

Mandela acknowledged a burgeoning exodus from South Africa, mostly by whites who feared for their safety amid the escalating racial violence.

It is normal in a transition "for minorities to be concerned, to ask: 'What is going to happen to me, to my family?'" said Mandela.

"We must be prepared to address those concerns. I am very optimistic that we will be able to withstand the tide of people leaving," he said.

**Foreign investment**

Mandela said he would renounce sanctions and launch a campaign to attract foreign investment as soon as the date for elections had been announced.

The ANC president said he was counting on Britain's help in installing "parliamentary democracy" in South Africa.

*Sapa-AFP*

# Joint peace force may be on talks agenda

THE ANC's proposal that a combined armed force of about 5 000 "peace soldiers" should be mobilised to keep the peace during the elections phase could be on the negotiations agenda soon, sources said yesterday.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise said yesterday the ANC had proposed a brigade of crack MK, SADF, SAP and homeland soldiers be mobilised — after a transitional executive council was in place — to deal with violence in "volatile areas".

Parliamentary sources said such a proposal could soon be discussed in one of the negotiations technical committees. Al-

~~RAY~~ RAY HARTLEY and TIM COHEN (274)

though no official confirmation could be obtained yesterday, the discussions would follow a meeting between MK and SADF heads a week ago, where "certain concepts" were discussed.

Modise said in an interview that the brigade would form the nucleus of a "national peacekeeping force" to ensure elections were free and fair.

"Without this kind of force, you cannot have a levelling of the playing fields. The peacekeeping force would not replace the police, but would be used in the most vola-

tile areas to ensure the climate is created for free and fair elections," he said.

The joint force would have legitimacy with most South Africans. "I think this is the only way we can go now, with the tarnished image of the police and SADF."

DP MP Dene Smuts said to achieve real security in the run-up to elections it might well be necessary to create an armed force with specific tasks. This would not be an indictment of the SAP or the SADF as it would be operating in extraordinary circumstances with a prescribed role.

Other sources were sceptical, pointing out that the establishment of a rigorous

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## Force (BLOM) 415793

command structure would be complex and to set it up in the short time before elections would be difficult.

Modise said he feared a future government would be faced with the enormous task of ending the cycle of violence.

The peacekeeping force would be scrutinised by international observers and would have to be totally neutral, he said. MK soldiers would hand over to the authorities those witnessed to be involved in violence.

Modise said about 3 000 MK members from within SA had been mobilised to maintain order at Oliver Tambo's funeral.

Modise said the formation of an unarmed peace corps to protect communities from violence was also being discussed by MK. The corps, which needed to be

formed immediately, would also act against banditry in communities.

MK had also recommended to the ANC that it become involved in training marshals in crowd control. He said the burning of two men in their homes near the FNB stadium during a service for the late Chris Hani "hurt us a great deal", and the incidents of violence around the stadium would have been avoided if MK had been deployed in the area.

Modise denied that self-defence units had received MK training as government alleged. "It is no secret that weapons are flowing across the borders of this country. We hope that the ways and means will be found to stop this. They are not only being used to kill whites, but to kill all of us".

● Comment: Page 8

From Page 1

Sowetan 4/5/93

# The power is in your hands

IN 1988 *Sowetan* took what many thought was a calculated risk — at the instigation of the Editor's desk — to talk about development.

The country, particularly our readers who are black, were smarting and licking the wounds they received from various forms of violence. The violence seemed senseless and unending.

We identified the violence as arising directly from apartheid's ruthless destruction of all black societal structures.

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## ■ Building the Nation and healing the wounds of apartheid — a calculated risk that paid off:


We said apartheid did not only attack the people's political structures but attacked the entire body politic of black life.

We suggested the best way out of the dilemma was for blacks to rebuild these structures. Treading very carefully, a rather tricky route, we finally decided that this should be called Nation Building.

That ideal is taking shape today. It is not only *Sowetan's* task to see that it succeeds.

One of our slogans says the power is in the hands of all South Africans to rebuild the nation.

We are helping to reshape our future by building this great nation.



# Alcohol plays role in violent deaths

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CT 4/5/93

Staff Reporter

VIOLENCE claimed the lives of 57 people a day in 1990 — and six of those deaths were political or unrest-related, the Medical Research Council said in a report yesterday.

According to the report 20 796 people died in violence-related incidents over 12 months between 1990 and the beginning of 1991.

These included assaults, stabbings and shootings.

Dr. Johan van der Spuy, head of the research programme on trauma, said twice as many people were murdered than died in car crashes in 1990.

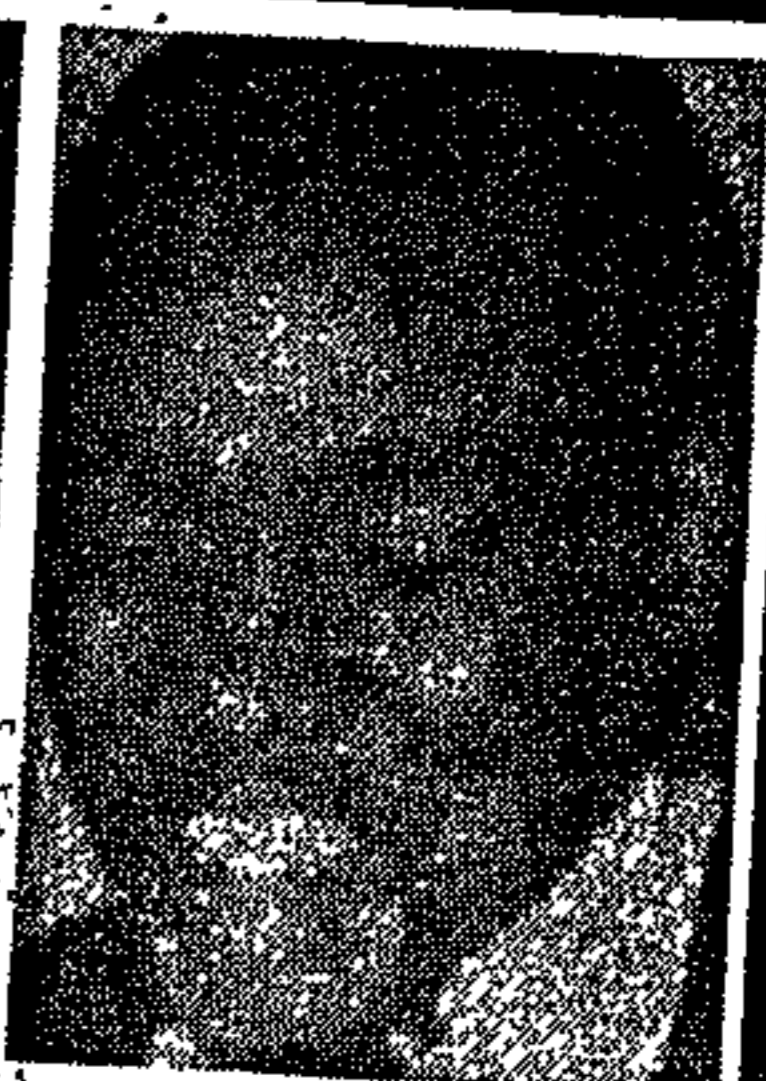
Alcohol also played a "tremendous role" in violence-related killings.

"During 1990 on the Cape Peninsula alone there were 85 182 patients injured during violence, and of those, 1 614 (1,9%) sustained fatal injuries.

"Of the fatal cases 70% had blood alcohol levels of 0,08g/100ml (the legal limit) or higher, and 39,6% had blood alcohol levels of 0,20g/100ml or above."

Dr Van der Spuy said South Africa was "a lot worse off" than most other countries when it came to road deaths per 100 million kilometres travelled, with 11,5 deaths for that distance in 1991.

Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, US, Japan, France, Italy, Hong Kong and several other countries all recorded less than two road deaths per 100 million kilometres travelled.



WANTED ...  
Lungisi Ntintili

WANTED ...  
Thembelani Xundu

# Warning: 'More attacks'

Own Correspondent **CT 4/5/93**

EAST LONDON. — Police were aware that one of the men they suspect as having been involved in Saturday night's Highgate Hotel massacre was at a PAC rally near King William's Town in the Ciskei earlier in the day, sources said yesterday.

Despite this, police placed Mr Thembelani Xundu and Mr Lungisa Ntintili in the vicinity of Saturday's attack in which five people died and seven were injured.

Mr Ntintili, issued a statement through his attorney yesterday saying he feared for his life and denied involvement in the killings.

"My client has never been in the Border or East London area either prior to or after the incident and there is ample evidence to that effect," his lawyer said.

Police also disclosed that Mr Ntintili, a PAC member, had been arrested and released in February after questioning him in connection with the golf club attack.

They said they did not find sufficient evidence to link him to the attack.

The Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) yesterday claimed responsibility, in a telephone call to Sapa, for the attack at the Highgate Hotel.

A man claiming to be an Azanla cadre said he had co-ordinated Saturday's strike and warned there would be more attacks.

Azanla is the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

But a spokesman for the Harare-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania yesterday cast doubt on the claim, telling

The spokesman, who would not give his name, told the AFP news service the Harare office "has no information about this".

A PAC official said Mr Ntintili had been at the launch of a Southern Transkei branch of the PAC in Butterworth on Saturday and could not have been at the scene of the shooting on Saturday evening as he had only left after 8pm.

Independent sources say Mr Xundu — who is also alleged to have been identified at the King William's Town Golf Club attack and, Yellowwoods Hotel killing near Fort Beaufort — was seen at a PAC May Day rally at Phakamisa township, near King William's Town.

It is believed Mr Xundu has changed his appearance and now sports a moustache, in contrast to a police photograph in which he is clean-shaven.

The ANC yesterday condemned the attacks as did the SACP, DP and Labour Party.

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE  
JOHANNESBURG

1992

## SA's ministers 'among the WaBenzi'

CAPE TOWN — Cabinet ministers have 251 luxury German cars at their disposal and, according to an opposition MP, have turned SA into a "WaBenzi" nation.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister André Fourie said yesterday there were 251 Mercedes Benz and BMW vehicles available at government garages.

These cars were available for use by cabinet ministers, deputy ministers, administrators, members of the executive committee, judges, commissioners-general, members of the ministers' coun-

Political Staff  
cils and other VIPs. The purchase price varied from approximately R19 500 to R196 700 between 1982 and 1992.

The policy regarding the purchase and selling of vehicles was determined by the Transport Department, Fourie told Parliament in reply to a question tabled by MP Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg).

"It is very sad indeed to find out that like most other countries in Africa, SA has become a WaBenzi nation," Soal said yesterday.

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BID 4/5/93

## Wide support for arms Bill

CAPE TOWN — Spurred by the weekend massacre in East London, parliamentary parties yesterday unanimously backed stringent new legislation on the illegal possession of firearms.

The Arms and Ammunition Amendment Bill provides for a five-year minimum jail term for the illegal possession of machine guns, grenades, limpet mines and similar weapons.

Deputy Law and Order minister Gert Myburgh said in Parliament anyone in possession of an AK-47 posed such a serious danger to the public that he had to be removed from society for a relatively long period. Myburgh said that during 1992, 495 people, including 30 policemen, were killed and a further 574 injured.

During 1992 alone, the SAP seized 891 AK-47 assault rifles. During the same period hand grenades caused the deaths of 69 people and injured 269.

The SAP had also devised a national firearms plan in order to improve its abili-

274  
TIM COHEN

ty to combat the illegal importation, use and distribution of firearms, he said.

CP MP for Potgietersrus Schalk Pienaar said that in the present climate of violence it was inconceivable that anyone could object to the proposed legislation which provides for a maximum 25-year jail term.

DP MP for Houghton Tony Leon said the Bill was particularly timely in view of the weekend massacre, but he too questioned whether this would be enough.

It had to be asked whether the Bill was enough and whether drastic security action should also be taken.

Sapa reports that AVU MP Moolman Mentz said the Bill missed its purpose if the longer sentence could be suspended entirely, and it should be referred back to the standing committee.

If the lawmaker intended a mandatory minimum sentence — in this case five years — it should be stated clearly.

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Continuing support for the cap.





# focus on fear

**"F**EAR prevails among all of us, black and white.."  
"It may be better to fight than surrender..."

"My wife and I never go visiting at night. We would rather be prisoners in our home than be attacked..."

"I am sickened by all the violence in South Africa. Is nobody capable of putting an end to it?"

The voice of the white community in South Africa has never sounded so strident — or so scared.

As they lurch ever closer to apartheid's nemesis, black rule, as violence soars and the economy plummets, conservative whites are not only reaching for their guns.

They are picking up their pens and writing to their favourite newspaper as never before, packing the letters page of the conservative, mass-circulation *Citizen* with their worries.

"So many people are screaming," says veteran editor Johnny Johnson, who reads every letter. "It's the most worrying period I've ever experienced. People are very angry and scared."

The 40-or-so letters that come in each day, make his 135 000-circulation tabloid a soundboard for the mood of what he calls "middle-road, ordinary, decent people".

South Africa's five million whites, outnumbered 5-1 by blacks, have always been prone to nervousness

They built apartheid as a bulwark against a sea of black impoverishment lapping at their privilege.

But President FW de Klerk demolished the barrier

White control has all but gone. Just as many whites had feared — particularly in the large working class that distinguishes industrialised South Africa from the colonial Africa of the past — violence and uncertainty followed

More than 8 000 blacks have been slaughtered in a low-intensity civil war since De Klerk released apartheid clamps in 1990

Violent crime has reached unprecedented levels, sweeping into suburbs and farms. Whites die daily, in defence of their property

The recent sight of angry young blacks running riot after the assassination — by a white man — of their hero Mr Chris Hani, stoked white fears of black revolutionary terror.

Mr Nelson Mandela says the main threat to peace in South Africa comes from 800 000 conservative whites who last year voted in vain against change in a referendum. He appeals for whites with skills to stay on and make the new, nonracial country work.

The letters pages of the *Citizen* reflect the militancy he talks of. But, as international moving companies report a surge of demand, they also expose fright, frustration, helplessness and

Sowetan 4/5/93

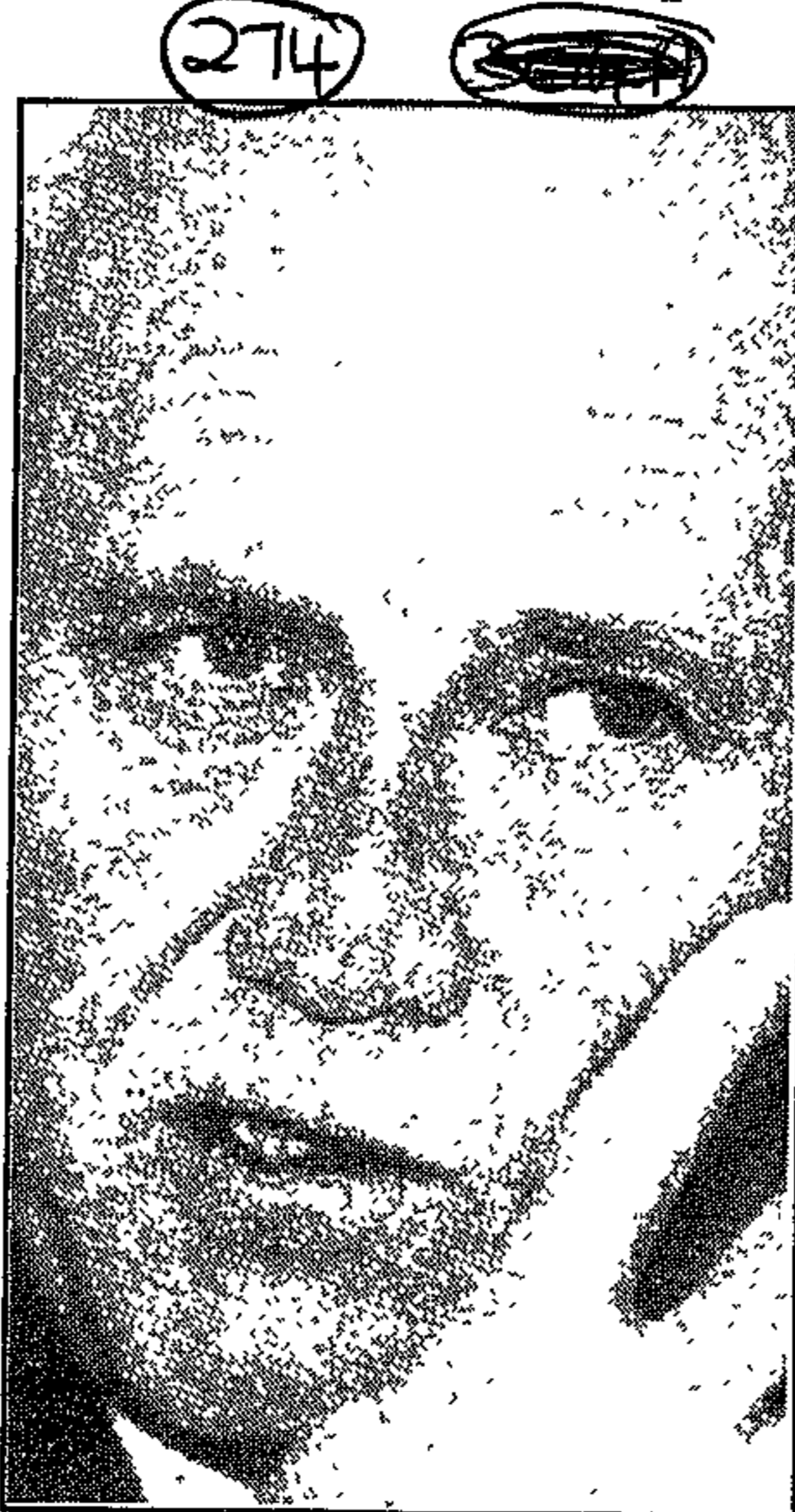
White terror and anger in South Africa has

reached hysterical proportions, with many des-

perately trying to emigrate. Their fears scream

from their daily, the *Citizen's* letters page, says a

Sapa-Reuter Correspondent:



FW de Klerk ... white control has gone.

hopelessness.

Citing a "massacred" economy, collapsing education and highway banditry, "Packing for Perth" wrote: "Thank you Mr Mandela but we decline the offer.

"My family and I will be moving to a country that can offer us a future, a country in which I will have a stable job, my family's safety is much more secure and my children will obtain a satisfactory education"

Mrs DT Schneider wrote that riot, rape and murder undercut Mandela's pleas.

"Why should the 'brains' stay — to be slaughtered by brainless, uncontrolled thugs?" she demanded. "No, Mr Mandela, it is not the past

Our little ones grew up and learned to love this land of hope and promise only to have it wrenched from them

but the present and the future that whites find intolerable."

"Rhodesian", an exile from what is now black Zimbabwe, said his family fled "black Marxist domination".

"Our little ones grew up and learned to love this land of hope and promise only to have it wrenched from them," he wrote

"There is no future here for them and it's time we were moving on."

A mother-of-two, signing off "Tired", wrote from her smallholding that she can't sleep for fear of radical blacks chanting "one settler, one bullet"

"I have a very strict set of rules regarding safety, for example when the front door bell rings my children must go to my room and not appear until I tell them to," she confided.

Even in the mid-1980s, when South Africa's townships burned in riots that branded the need for change on a stubborn white nation, whites were not so concerned, says Johnson.

"They were in control. Now violence has reached the white suburbs. People live behind bars. There is a feeling that if this is the new South Africa they don't want it."

Many *Citizen* readers blame De Klerk, the white leader who tolled the bell on white rule

"He's a traitor. That's what they think of him. He's weak, he's handing over," says Johnson

Wrote "Tired": "FW de Klerk had the 'courage' to embark on a new road but he does not have the courage to draw the line and state the rights of the white people.

"We ordinary people are paying a very high price." — Sapa-Reuter

# Dissent on what tops talks agenda

310  
2001  
Sawetun 5/5/93  
■ Will it be regions or violence as groups prepare to parley?:

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

THE Negotiations Council will on Friday consider proposals on the question of how the country will be divided into regions.

The planning committee on Monday agreed that sub-committees would prepare the proposals, along with others, on matters such as public demonstrations.

The decision to look at proposals on regions has been interpreted as a move to placate the Concerned South Africans Group, who insist on the form of the new state before negotiations can commence, and that there should be agreement on the powers, duties and functions of regions.

The decision is expected to ease the negotiation process and Friday's meeting is expected to be productive.

"I think we've got a very good chance of making real headway on Friday," SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday.

However, sources in the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress warned yesterday that it was still too early to make a decision on regions.

The Government insists that the question of violence, should top the agenda.

Minister of Constitutional Negotiations Mr Roelf Meyer has said that he hoped violence would take precedence at Friday's meeting.

# Mass action: De Klerk 'may have to rethink'

TOS WENTZEL

(274)

Political Staff

ARG 5/5/93

PRESIDENT De Klerk has warned that the government cannot continue negotiating in forums on a variety of subjects in the face of pressure or threats of unacceptable mass action.

Speaking at a dinner for the International Public Relations Association

in Cape Town, he said the government in the circumstances would have to consider its position carefully.

"The future of South Africa must be determined by the genuine leaders of our people in reasoned debate and not by emotionally charged crowds shouting slogans in our streets."

Rightwing and leftwing hardline ex-

tremists as well as an overflow of emotions had to be contained.

Communication in negotiations had to be based on a genuine desire to find common ground and reasonable and workable compromises.

It could not be based on threats and pressure.



Continue

# 3 pp

(274) 5/5/93

## □ And six other p

### The Argus Correspondents and Staff Reporters

NINE people, three of them policemen, died in a spate of violence around the country today.

In an attack near Pretoria, a man and woman were apparently dragged from their car and killed, but a baby was left unharmed on the back seat.

In Alberton a father was stabbed to death in his home by robbers who told the terrified family: "One bullet, one boer. We are going to kill you."

In Boys Town, Crossroads, Mrs Thelma Mkilo, 71, and a neighbour known only as Madiba died in an attack by balaclava-clad men.

Mrs Mkilo's husband, Mr James Mkilo, 78, said they were asleep when he was woken by bullets hitting the door of their shack.

"Suddenly two men in balaclavas were standing beside our bed."

"Without a word one opened fire with a "big gun."

"My wife raised both her arms and pleaded for mercy. 'My children, what have we done . . . please spare our lives.' Those words are still ringing in my ears, but the men kept firing," said Mr Mkilo.

"I crawled to another room, where I took blankets from a bed, covered my body and just lay there waiting for the worst. "Then there were shouts about fire outside I managed to crawl out and realised my shack was burning."

Firemen found Mrs Mkilo's charred body after they put out the fire.

The couple's neighbour, known only as Madiba, who was in his 30s, was shot dead in the attack and his girlfriend Ms Monica Boy was wounded in the chest.

In Mitchell's Plain Mr David Pietersen, 47, was shot dead when armed men barged into his house at 1:15am and demanded liquor.

A police spokesman said Mrs Renee Pietersen, 27, was woken by the sound of a window breaking.

Mr Pietersen went to investigate and was surprised by a gunman in the passage. A second man with a knife appeared and forced Mrs Pietersen to show him where crates of beer were kept. As she left the room she heard two shots.

The intruders fled with the beer and Mrs Pietersen found her husband dead, with wounds in the head and chest.

The three policemen were killed in Dobsonville, Soweto. Six others were wounded.

Police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the policemen had just finished their shift when their vehicle was ambushed by gunmen with AK-47 assault rifles and other weapons.

Colonel Halgryn said a "huge manhunt" had been launched.

"We won't stop until we get

# icemen shot

people die in new violence around South Africa

(274) ARG 5/5/93



The couple killed on the Rosslyn/Ga-Rankuwa road near Pretoria appear to have been killed in cold blood after being dragged from their car, which had no bullet holes.

The man had a bullet wound in the back of the head and it appeared as if a concrete milestone had been dropped on the woman's head.

The girl, thought to be about 18 months old, was found sleeping, unharmed, on the back seat of the car.

Tyre marks on the roadside gravel and the way the car was parked halfway across the road indicated the couple had been making a U-turn when confronted or had been trying to flee their attackers.

In the Alberton attack the sleeping Schoeman family were surprised at 4am by three armed men who got in to their Florentia home by breaking a bathroom window.

Police said the robbers told them: "One bullet, one boer. We are going to kill you" and plunged a knife into Mr J C Schoeman's heart.

## WATCH ON VIOLENCE

# A day in the life of a peace monitor

(274) ARG 8/5/93  
Argus Correspondent HELEN GRANGE reports from Johannesburg

**H**AVE you ever wondered exactly what a peace monitor does aside from being visible at mass action events?

Mr John Olivier, the Western Cape regional organiser of the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) this week gave a rare insight into a day in the life of a monitor, and it's a job with dimensions few appreciate.

Here is how he outlined it:

7am: The pager begins bleeping to announce the day's press conferences and actions planned by political organisations. A note is made of marches, rallies or sit-ins which look potentially violent.

9am: Political leaders are phoned to provide details on times, venues and the number of people expected to arrive. It's important to find out whether any actions are illegal.

9.30am: An informal discussion is held over tea with the United Nations and European monitors, and the day's work is divided between everyone. (The foreign monitors are usually dispatched to rural areas because they have "fast cars" and can get there quicker, says Mr Olivier.)

10.15am: A call comes in from the ANC branch chairman advising that there will be an illegal march to government offices in town. The NIM office hurriedly phones as many of its accredited monitors as possible. A lot of them are too busy. Some volunteers may surface through NIM's member organisations (mostly independent human rights organisations).

The monitors are sent out to the march.

12.30pm: A meeting is held with the joint forum on policing, a body monitoring the actions of police in violent situations. An NIM analysis group studies new complaints made against the police and checks on the progress of investigation into previous complaints.

2.30pm: The SAP's violent crimes investigation unit calls. Can some NIM monitors come to a scene of violence to help get statements from witnesses? Some witnesses prefer not to give statements directly to the police.

4.30pm: Monitors make written reports on their observations of the day's activities. There are some recommendations made on controlling the behaviour of march participants, the police and/or the organisers.

5.30pm: Monitors meet at the centre where a peace training workshop is being held. New monitors are being trained in basic observation skills (spotting signs, uniforms, banners and anything potentially important should there be violence) and the taking of statements and affidavits.

9pm at home: A call comes in from a local peace committee member. A peace monitor's township house has been targeted for burning. A senior police officer is called to ensure there are extra patrols in the area.

11pm: Go to bed and hope there won't be any emergencies during the night.

# 'Observers reduced violence'

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MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

FOREIGN observers monitoring political events in South Africa had helped to reduce tension and violence and appeared to have helped to modify police response to mass action, said Danish ambassador Peter Brückner.

Speaking at a briefing to welcome the new head of the European Community's 15-person observer mission in South Africa, German diplomat Dr Paul Joachim von Stülpnagel, Mr Brückner said the observers had established "good rapport" with police through peace structures and other forms of dialogue.

The European Community's observers are all senior police officials from various police forces in member countries.

Mr Brückner said he believed there had been "much improvement" in recent months in the way the police had handled demonstrations.

"It is, among other things, a result of the dialogue through which they have received advice from experts on controlling big crowds in a more modern fashion," he said.

Dr Von Stülpnagel, who has had diplomatic appointments in Africa, Persia and Russia, said his appointment did not signal a change in scope or emphasis of the EC's observer mission, but he was nevertheless convinced that the team had made an impact in helping to reduce tension and violence.

# Stop stoning and burning in township, say leaders

(274)  
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

ARG 5/5/93

COMMUNITY organisations in Mbekweni have distanced themselves from the indiscriminate stoning and burning of cars in the Paarl township.

They have called on residents to show some restraint and allow the community to return to normality.

So far four vehicles, including two delivery vans, have been torched in the township since the death of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

Mbekweni now appears to be a no-go area for non-residents driving delivery vehicles.

Earlier this week militant youths refused to allow a Telkom vehicle into the township to repair a public telephone at Desmond Tutu High School.

Yesterday, ANC Youth League (Mbekweni branch) chairman Mr Mike Mgajo said the Youth League, ANC, and South African National Civics Organisation did not approve of the indiscriminate stoning and burning of vehicles.

"We live in a very remote area and that telephone was our lifeline. Telkom, emergency services and delivery vehicles should be allowed into the township."

He said the tensions in the township was exacerbated by the anti exam-fee launched by high school pupils.

He said the organisations had divided the township into nine zones.

"Their function is to make sure vehicles, especially delivery trucks, entering Mbekweni are not attacked. We are trying to distance ourselves from these indiscriminate attacks and call on residents to show some restraint."

He said residents were upset because of the housing shortage, adding that 3 000 families, some of whom had been squatting in the area since 1983, needed houses.

Residents also believed they were being overcharged for the consumption of electricity.

They were also angered by the continued existence of the community council.

"Only three people, including the so-called mayor Mr J Myataza, are still left of the seven-man community council. The councillors create problems because they are seen as propping up the system."

Two councillors died of natural causes and two resigned.



Political, criminal violence often intertwine, argues Patrick Laurence

# Thin line splits bandits

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**T**HE verdict in the Addo murder trial has been recorded perfunctorily in the press, having been reduced to a minor item by the slaying of communist leader Chris Hanu, his funeral and the hunt for his killers.

Yet the murder last August of Andre de Villiers, a farmer from Addo in the Eastern Cape, is as important to an understanding of the violence sweeping the country as the killing of Hanu.

The assassination of Hanu, the reported discovery of a hit list in the home of one of the suspects, and the alleged use by the assassin of a pistol stolen from an Air Force armory have justifiably strengthened suspicions that a Third Force is behind much of the violence.

The verdict in the trial of the killers of De Villiers is, however, a reminder of the need for circumspection before ascribing political motives to killings and subscribing to conspiracy theories.

The initial assumption by many observers after De Villiers was gunned down as he returned home to his farm was that he had been killed for political reasons. De Villiers had been giving in-

formation to the media about a military unit, Hammer, widely suspected of involvement in the murder of anti-apartheid activists in the mid-1980s, including the charismatic Matthew Goniwe and three comrades in June 1985.

The deduction was made that De Villiers had been silenced by members or ex-members of Hammer who, it was reckoned, feared exposure of their alleged role in the murder of "enemies of the State."

The inference was reinforced by an earlier disclosure in the Goniwe case: the existence of a military signal ordering that Goniwe be "permanently removed" from society. The signal — which appeared to summarise a conversation between Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen and General Johannes van Rensburg — was reportedly sent on the orders of Brigadier van der Westhuizen, then military commander in the Eastern Cape.

Brigadier van der Westhuizen has since risen to the rank of general and is the chief of military intelligence, that section of the Defence Force suspected of co-ordinating a "dirty tricks" war against the African National Con-

gress and its allies.

Suspicions that De Villiers was murdered for political reasons were strengthened by his son's statements at the time. His son, Louis de Villiers, told the press that his father's last words as he lay dying were: "Listen, it's a political set-up and cover-up."

These suspicions deepened when the police dismissed conjecture that the killing was politically motivated, suggesting that the evidence pointed to robbery as the motive. The later arrest of two members of the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, further compounded suspicions of a cover-up. As ANC member Valence Watson, a friend of De Villiers's, put it: "Something extremely fishy is going on."

In another twist to the murder saga one of the two arrested ANC fighters, Xolani Ncinane, died in custody, reportedly of an AIDS-related illness. His death inevitably conjured up images of overzealous interrogators.

In the event, however, the surviving former ANC guerrilla, Tamsanga Mali, and another co-accused, Lindile Stemele, were found guilty of murdering De Vil-

liers. Each was sentenced to imprisonment for 25 years. Their motive was robbery. Ncinane fired the fatal shots.

The conviction was based in large measure on statements made to the police. Ncinane's statement — made before his death in prison — having been largely corroborated by those of Mali and Stemele.

Of critical importance to the outcome of the trial, defence counsel, Glen Goosen, a lawyer trusted by the ANC, did not contest the veracity of the statements. Nor did he call on the accused to testify in their own defence. Significantly, too, although the men may appeal against their sentence they will not appeal against their conviction.

The Addo trial highlights a central facet of violence in South Africa: while political and criminal violence may be distinguishable at either end of a hypothetical continuum, they merge in the centre and are often inextricably intertwined.

When all the speculation about a cover-up is stripped away in the Addo trial, an insoluble political core remains, although — critically — its nature is different from

what was initially surmised

De Villiers was murdered by a gang of robbers, one member of which is still being sought by police, but two gang members were former ANC guerrillas who had applied their military training to crime.

The factors behind the genesis of the guerrillas-turned-bandits are political: the apartheid system, the armed struggle and the inability of the ANC to provide for the material and psychological needs of its fighters once they returned to South Africa to start a new life.

If it is a mistake to attribute political motives to crimes when there are none, it is an error of equal magnitude to dogmatically deny that there is a political dimension to criminal violence which appears, on the surface, to be a-political. The on-going murder of white farmers — of whom De Villiers was one — is a case in point.

Attacks on and the killing of white farmers is becoming an almost daily occurrence in South Africa. The attackers appear to be robbers whose primary motive is plunder. Piet Gous, the president of the

Free State Agricultural Union and a Conservative Party MP, however, challenges the view that the killers are mere bandits. He contends that they are incited to kill by the homicidal rhetoric of ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, who has won notoriety by leading crowds of blacks in chanting the slogan: "Kill the Boer! Kill the farmer!"

Exhortations to kill, whether from the ANC Youth League or the Pan Africanist Congress — whose battle cry "One settler, one bullet" echoes around the townships on every political occasion — create a psychological milieu which legitimises murder as part of "the struggle" and elevates plunder to a patriotic duty.

They condone killing in the same way as security forces talk about "taking out enemies of the State" did during the regime of P W Botha.

To quote Marilyn Botes, whose husband was burnt alive when murderous mob attacked his house on the day of Hanu's funeral: "Peter Mokaba is shown on national TV inciting people to 'Kill the Boer.' Well they killed his husband." □

# Observers 'helped to reduce violence'

Political Staff

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CAPE TOWN — Foreign observers monitoring political events in South Africa had helped to reduce tension and violence, and appeared to have helped to modify police response to mass action, Danish ambassador Peter Bruckner said yesterday.

Speaking at a briefing to welcome the new head of the European Community's 15-person observer mission in South Africa, German diplomat Dr Paul Joachim von Stulpnagel, Bruckner said the observers had established good rapport with the police through peace structures and other forms of dialogue.

Bruckner said that he believed there had been much improvement in recent months in the way the South African Police had handled demonstrations.

"It is, among other things, a result of the dialogue through which they have received advice from experts on controlling big crowds in a more modern fashion."

Von Stulpnagel said his appointment did not signal a change in scope or emphasis of the European Community's observer mission, but he was nevertheless convinced that the team had made an impact in helping to reduce tension and violence.

## Mass action passion fades

15/5/93 (274)  
MARITZBURG. — The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass action campaign for this week ground to a halt yesterday as the crowds failed to turn up for a planned march on police headquarters in the city.

The alliance leadership here was locked in discussion late yesterday to re-assess the programme and decide on strategy, following the small turnout.

ANC deputy chairman Mr Blade Nzimande said previous mass action had affected the mobilisation for this week's planned mass action — Sapa (274)

# ANC rejects protest Bill

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC has rejected a proposed Bill governing mass demonstrations publicised by Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone last week, because it was not consulted adequately.

"The ANC believes that poor legislation is worse than no legislation at all, but that the outstanding problems with the Bill can be easily resolved," the statement said.

"The ANC welcomed consultations on the previous draft, many of which were incorporated in the redrafted version. However, the commission ignored the ANC's subsequent comments. The Bill is inconsistent in its approach to the right to demonstrate and is difficult to interpret. It fails to establish consistent and simple procedures for demonstrations.

"It imposes a wide ranging statutory civil liability on organisers of demonstrations," the ANC said.

Other problems included the Bill's restriction on demonstrations near courts and Parliament.

Goldstone would not comment yesterday.

# Commonwealth rethinks SA role

BIDM 5/5/93

RAY HARTLEY

THE future of the Commonwealth observer mission to SA hangs in the balance with its Durban office scheduled to close down in weeks and the strong possibility that funding for its observer force may be cut soon.

Mission head Duncan Chappell said yesterday representation had been made to the Commonwealth's London head office in an effort to change the decision to close the Durban office.

Financial constraints had led the Commonwealth to rethink its role in SA.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was scheduled to discuss the future of the mission with Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku in London yesterday, he said. It is believed he urged Anyaoku to retain the mission.

ANC peace desk official Sydney Mafumadi said it would be "most unfortunate" if the mission were to close its offices with elections drawing closer and violence continuing unabated.

Chappell said Commonwealth headquarters was considering replacing observers, who were scheduled to return to their home countries in mid-May, with a smaller team of "technical assistants".

A well-placed monitoring source said it was likely that the mission's Johannesburg office would be reduced to a skeleton staff.

Mafumadi said the ANC believed all international missions should remain in place.

There was a strong possibility that violence would be stepped up by "spoilers" wanting to undermine future elections.

Mission spokesman Colleen Lowe-Morner said yesterday the 10 observers scheduled to leave in mid-May would be replaced by "a new cast of characters" to deal with changing political circumstances in SA.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that the EC has appointed an ambassador-level diplomat to oversee its observer mission which will continue to operate for at least another six months.

Former German ambassador to Addis Ababa Paul Joachim von Stulpnagel said yesterday the existing 16 mission members felt they had made a difference.

Stulpnagel said four or five of the existing observers had asked to remain in SA and the others would be replaced. They would continue to operate within the guidelines set down by a UN Security Council resolution stipulating that observers should work with local organisations to encourage peace.

Stulpnagel, who met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday, said the existing observers had told him that their mere presence at mass gatherings had played a positive role.

Being policemen, the observers were able to contribute expertise to multiparty discussions about peacekeeping, he said.

# Govt 'lookout' appeal

(274) CF 5/5/93

DEPUTY Law and Order Minister Mr Gert Myburgh yesterday made a "very strong appeal" to all owners and managers of entertainment establishments — particularly in the Border region — to be on the lookout.

After visiting the Highgate Hotel, East London, where five people were shot dead on Saturday night, and Frere Hospital where the injured were being treated, Mr Myburgh said it was impossible for police to protect every establishment in the country.

Shocked by the scene of the shooting, he said an incident such as this

should not be allowed to influence negotiations. Also, negotiators should not drag their feet, giving justification for attacks of this kind.

● Some city pubs are considering increased security.

Fireman's Arms manager Mr Rob van der Molen said he and the directors were to discuss tighter security.

The manager of McGawley's Pub said he had advertised for trained security men who had firearm licences.

Perserverance Tavern owner Mr D Myburgh said he was thinking of hiring more security guards.

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**Preparing  
for violence**

RAY HARTLEY (274)

THE national peace committee this week decided to prepare action plans for five areas which "constituted a threat of violence", officials said yesterday.

The areas are constitutional negotiations, freedom of political activity, the peace process, suspension of mass action, and the education crisis and record of understanding between the ANC and government.

Chairman John Hall said SA was to an extent "precariously placed" following SACP leader Chris Hani's assassination on April 10.

The committee was preparing room for political parties to "reassess" should negotiations collapse.

Hall said that without the intervention of peace structures during events at Hani's funeral "there would truly have been chaos".

National peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildehuys said the London organisation International Alert would assess secretariat structures.

He said in some areas it was still impossible to create peace structures. Eleven regional and 86 local dispute resolution committees had been established.

# NPC plan on talks' failure

CT 5/5/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Committee has asked its executive to prepare plans on issues related to violence, including constitutional negotiations (274)

However, NPC chairman Mr John Hall said the committee could mediate informally if formal negotiations broke down.

"The issues include the negoti-

ation process, political freedom of activity, the peace process, suspension of mass action and the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC, and the threat of mass action in education."

Mr Hall told a news conference if the structures had not been in place "we would have seen chaos in the land" following the death of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani

The National Peace Secretariat submitted a report on events arising from Mr Hani's assassination.

"It was clear that although the emotionally-charged demonstrations and mass action was largely peaceful, incidents had got out of control and the killings, lootings and vandalism shattered the confidence of many South Africans," the NPC said. — Sapa

# ANC slams 'biased' new law on weapons

## Political Staff

THE ANC has criticised the government's new gun laws, saying they will be interpreted as a measure to disarm blacks and not whites.

It also objected to the minimum five-year sentence introduced in the amendment to the Arms and Ammunition Act, which it said at-

tempted to punish people for possession of firearms without dealing with the reasons why there are demands for firearms.

"Minimum sentences do not distinguish between those who should receive a harsh punishment because they have come into possession and intend to use the weapon for anti-social purposes and those who should not," the ANC said.

It said the courts had also questioned the wisdom of legislating minimum sentences.

"A line of decisions handed down by the courts, including the Appellate Division, have strongly enjoined Parliament not to enact minimum sentences but to leave the question of sentence to the discretion of the courts."

The ANC said it was concerned that as long as there was a racial bias in the distribution of firearms, "this harsh measure will be seen as designed to disarm black people but not whites."

"In particular, concerns have been raised about the modulus operation and status of the Firearm Recovery Unit of the South African

Police, which is perceived to be predominantly, if not exclusively, concerned with the recovery of firearms from blacks in general and ANC members in particular."

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Gert Myburgh, said the Arms and Ammunition Amendment Bill would also apply to ANC arms caches.

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# Government seeking debate on mass action

ARG 6/5/93 (274)

□ 'Violence aimed at delaying negotiations'

**Political Staff**

THE government is to place mass action on the negotiation agenda and charge that it "leads to violence", Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has revealed.

His comments yesterday follow President De Klerk's warning on Tuesday night that the government could not continue negotiating in forums on a variety of subjects in the face of threats of "unacceptable" mass action.

Mr Meyer, opening debate on his budget vote in parliament yesterday, was upbeat about negotiations and said: "We are on the threshold of a breakthrough."

But he used the occasion to lash out at mass action and warned that it could play into the hands of those who wanted to delay negotiations through violence.

The negotiations planning committee would recommend that a technical committee on violence be appointed, he said.

"I am already giving notice that the government will expect the committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organs and persons responsible for it, and to make recommendations.

"I am also giving notice that the government will adopt the standpoint that mass action leads to violence and gives rise to a climate of violence."

Delays in talks played into the hands of those who wished to derail the process by means of violence.

"Mass action that involves violence creates such a danger," he said.

Mr Meyer was bullish about progress in negotiations, saying that although "the process is balancing on a razor's edge... we are on the threshold of a breakthrough".

The prospect of visible progress "within a foreseeable time" explained attempts by "radicals at the extreme poles of the political spectrum" to plunge the country into violence.

"The content of their utterances, the innocent victims of their attacks and their choice of target areas for their actions emphasises the desperation of their attempts to prevent or derail negotiated settlements."

He appealed to all leaders who had "the courage to stand up and be counted among those who have chosen peace to utilise the negotiation process to cause peace to triumph".

Turning to the thorny issue of regionalism, he said — in an

apparent swipe at the right-wing — that "cultural aspirations must not be allowed to destroy our common nationhood and to fragment our country into a number of non-viable sovereign nation states".

But his speech was laced with references to the need for "strong, autonomous regional government structures".

"Our freedom... also lies in the recognition of diversity."

He said a matter of major importance in negotiations was the need to agree on the shape and terms of reference of a commission on regional government.

Proposals need to be submitted to the negotiations forum on the phasing in of a new system of regional government.

The forum would also have to make proposals on the delimitation of regions and their powers and functions.

These would then be embodied in the transitional constitution to "regulate regional government immediately after the election".

Mr Meyer also stressed that the proposed transitional government did not amount to a transitional government "to which the government is going to hand over its power".

It was designed only to prepare for "the run-up to elections", he said.

# ANC rejects Goldstone draft Bill on regulating gatherings <sup>(274)</sup>

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has rejected the Goldstone Commission draft Bill on regulating public gatherings— which was submitted to parliament last week — saying there were “several serious problems” with it.

And Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said this week it had “some concerns” with sections of the Bill regarding the freedom of people to associate and gather. A spokesman said the organisation had examined the Bill and would comment further later.

The Bill, handed to President de Klerk on Thursday, emphasised the civil liability of groups organising public gatherings and outlined suggested procedures for planning such gatherings.

Offering an interpretation of the Bill last week, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said convenors would no longer have to seek permission for public gatherings or demonstrations.

Instead they would be required only to give notice to the necessary authorities — a major break with current law.

But the ANC said in a state-

ment that the Bill was “inconsistent in its approach to the right to demonstrate” and was “difficult to interpret”.

The organisation said the Bill failed to establish consistent simple procedures for demonstrations and imposed wide ranging civil liabilities on demonstration organisers.

It also did not provide a simple and cheap appeal procedure against police and public authority decisions and severely restricted the right to demonstrate near courts, parliament and the Union Buildings, the ANC said. ARG 6/5/93

# Govt push to end mass action

*Bloom 6/5/93*  
CAPE TOWN — Government gave notice yesterday that it intended to demand an end to mass action when violence was discussed in negotiations — which were currently balanced on a razor's edge.

Delivering a generally optimistic speech in Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, however, issued a stern warning on mass action.

Introducing his department's budget vote, Meyer said there were encouraging indications that in coming weeks agreements would be formulated regarding a whole series of key elements of a new constitutional dispensation. "The process is balancing on a razor edge, but we are on the threshold of a breakthrough."

He said the planning committee of the negotiations forum would tomorrow recommend the formation of a specialist committee on violence.

Government will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organisations and people responsible for it. "I am giving notice that the government will there adopt the standpoint that at the present time mass action leads to violence and

*(274)* ~~SA~~ ~~SA~~  
TIM COHEN

gives rise to a climate of violence."

Government would also test the standpoints of other parties on peace by the extent to which they would be prepared to give practical effect to their recommendations to the committee and their reactions to its recommendations.

However, the process had to proceed simultaneously with these discussions "in a spirit of positive aggression", he said.

Meyer said other important negotiations issues were details of the transitional constitution and the terms of reference and composition of a commission on regional government.

On the date for an election, Meyer said only that government believed this date should be before April next year.

Acting CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg delivered a fiery response, warning that failure to meet the CP demand for self-determination would lead to bloodshed.

He said Meyer's speech was evidence that the negotiations were regarded by government as a rubber stamp for what it had already

agreed with the ANC. Any group that attempted to deviate from what was already agreed with the ANC was portrayed as a spoiler.

For the CP, self-determination was a principle that should be decided on before the form of state was decided.

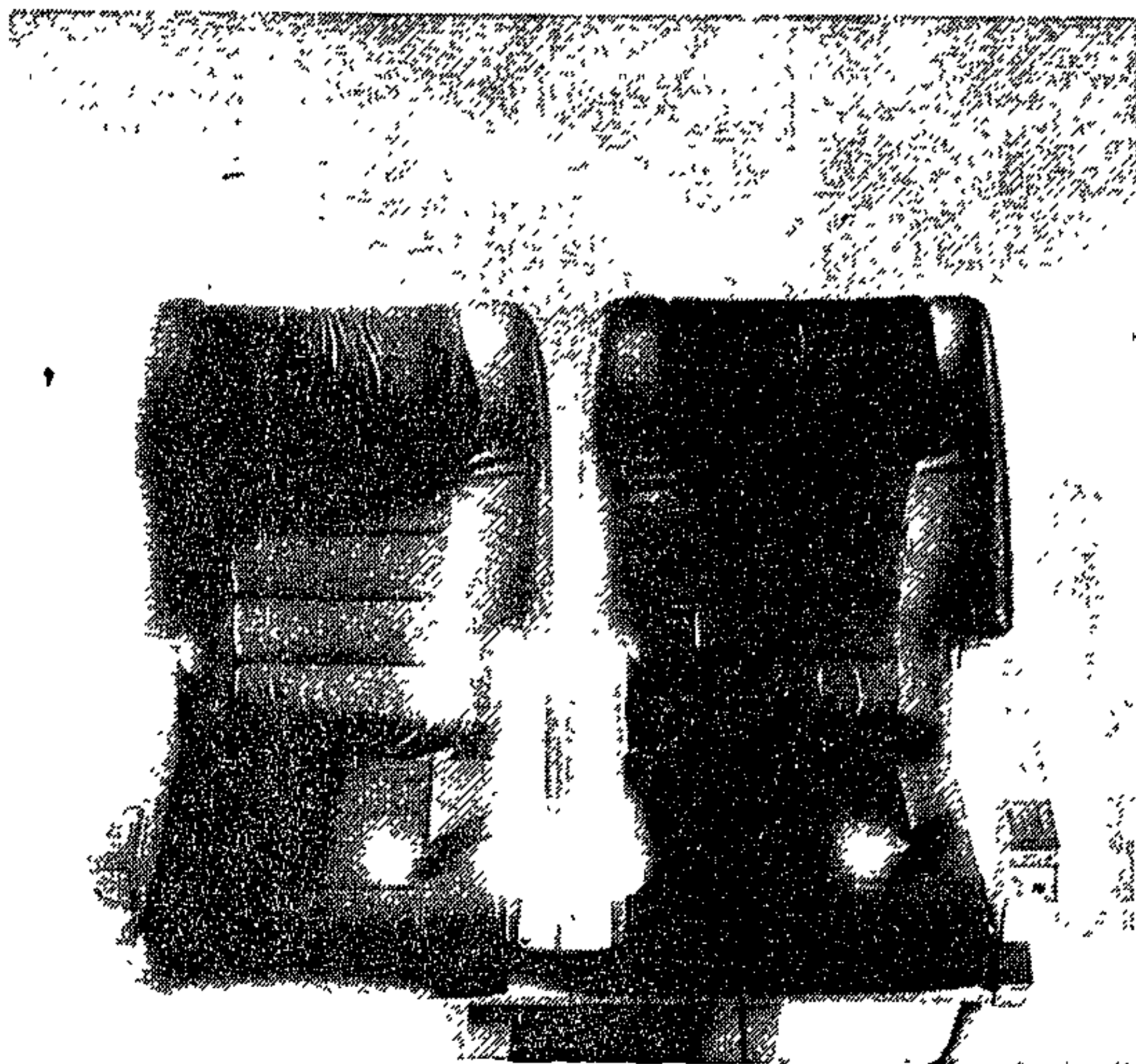
Although the CP was trying to avoid it, failure to acknowledge this principle would lead to bloodshed. "Do not force us to offer blood."

Our political staff reports that Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said a "deal" that was "simply stitched together" by the NP and ANC privately could not be binding on the negotiation process until the other parties had agreed to it.

While every party deserved to have its views taken seriously, a distinction had to be drawn between those negotiating in good faith and those who were not.

Leon said Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope had said there was no question of the homeland giving up its independence or control over its security forces. But Mangope's advisers were at the negotiating table. If he had no intention of giving up independence why were they contributing to the creation of structures of which they would never be a part? he asked.

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## *Bloom 6/5/93* UK owes SA, says Mandela

LONDON — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed Britain for sowing the seeds of violent upheaval in SA, telling parliament members "history demands ... that you help us".

Mandela told a bipartisan group of MPs that Britain's Act of Union, forming the constitution which created SA in 1909, paved the way for apartheid. ~~SA~~

"Your right to determine your own destiny was used to deny us to determine our own," he said. ~~SA~~

The ANC president, who earlier had met Prime Minister John Major, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Labour opposition leader John Smith, asked MPs to urge the SA government to set a date for elections and to stem violence.

— Sapa-AFP *(274) (304A)*

# AK 47s: 'Time has come for crackdown'

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ARC 6/5/73

## Political Staff and Sapa

THE killing of three policemen and a policewoman in a bloody dawn ambush in Soweto has provided fresh evidence of the need for legislation cracking down on the possession of AK 47 rifles, according to the Ministry of Law and Order.

The policemen died instantly yesterday when attackers opened fire with AK 47s on a Canter police vehicle carrying 23 Municipal Unit police home from their night shift guard duties at municipal properties. The policewoman died later.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the department condemned the "latest AK47 atrocity in the strongest possible terms".

This and a spate of other AK 47 attacks — such as the killing of five whites in East London's Highgate Hotel on Saturday night — emphasised the "dire need" for steps such as those envisaged in the Arms and Ammunition Amendment Bill, he said.

The Bill contains provision for a minimum sentence of five years in prison and a maximum of 25 years for possession of certain illegal arms and explosives. It has been debated in parliament and now only needs to be voted on before it becomes law.

Captain Kotze said police had launched a manhunt under the command of "the most capable and experienced officers" and set a R200 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

Those killed in the hail of bullets were Constable F R Maswanganyi, Constable M M

Mashiane and Sergeant Maxwell Sirunu.

Policewoman Constable Martha Masinga died later yesterday from injuries sustained in the attack at a Dobsonville intersection.

Five other police were injured, one seriously.

A caller claiming to be a spokesman for the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), claimed responsibility in a telephone call to Sapa at 1.15pm yesterday.

A man identifying himself as Comrade Kaboko from the West Rand said "a commander and four recruits" had carried out the attack.

The PAC said yesterday it had received no indication that Apla had carried out the attack.

Secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said that although Apla had "a broad mandate" which included attacks on the security forces, "I am not saying it was Apla and we have had no indication that Apla carried out the attack".

The caller said: "Tell (Law and Order Minister Hernus) Kriel that we are prepared to continue with the armed struggle until the land is restored to us."

● It has become urgent for all parties to do their utmost to improve police/community relations, Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said yesterday.

Condemning the killings, Mr Gastrow said neither the government nor any future government would be able to maintain law and order if the killing of police was allowed to continue.

# Exam fees won't be scrapped

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CT 6/5/93

**THE government moved last night to defuse the mounting countrywide education crisis as schooling was disrupted in black, coloured and Indian schools.**

The Minister of National Education, Mr Piet Marais, and the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, issued a joint statement calling for the launch of an all-party working group to decide on a new education dispensation.

However, the government stopped short of buckling to key student demands to scrap the controversial matric exam fees.

The crisis in education deepened to an unprecedented level yesterday.

On the Rand, where schooling has ground to a halt, there were several incidents of violence as pupils continued the week-long protest against exam fees.

In the Western Cape, schooling came to a virtual standstill as more than 8 000 teachers and pupils gathered for a mass meeting in Cape Town on the question of teacher retrenchments.

They roared their approval in the Good Hope Centre when a call was made to "wipe the department from the earth".

More than 200 Indian schools in Natal were affected yesterday when teachers protested against a new selective merit award to certain teachers.

● On the East Rand, two people were injured, several houses — including two owned by policemen — were gutted and six youths were arrested in a spate of violent incidents involving pupils.

A supermarket was also attacked and several cars damaged.

● In Beaufort West, about 300 members of Cosas occupied the offices of the chief magistrate, the Department of Education and Culture, and the Department of Internal Affairs. A number of people were arrested.

● Teachers from Tulbagh joined their Paarl colleagues for a march on the education department's regional offices in Paarl, where a list of grievances was handed over.

The government initiative was announced after urgent meetings in Cape Town on Tuesday between government education departments, the National Education Conference, the National Peace Committee and Cosas, as well as two cabinet meetings yesterday.

Earlier yesterday, the National Education Crisis Committee and Cosas vowed to continue their protest against the fees, should the government not drop them.

Mr Marais and Mr De Beer said the government had consulted key role-players in education for the establishment in the shortest possible time of "a representative and credible" educational forum.

They said this stance was in line with the government's commitment not to act unilaterally.

The crowd who attended the mass meeting in Cape Town were brought in by bus from as far as Robertson. Most schools in the northern suburbs and Mitchells Plain closed early while several outlying schools did not open yesterday.

Schools are expected to function normally today.



**CUT ME OUT!**

ARE YOU OVER  
**USE SCAL**

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50	ISORDIL
28	LOSEC C
30	MODURET
30	MODUCR
30	NATRILIX
28	POSTOVA
30	PREMPAR
28	PREMPAR
100	PROTHIA
28	RENITEC
100	STOPAYA
30	TENORAN

# It's go, all day for monitors

By Helen Grange

Have you ever wondered exactly what a peace monitor does aside from being visible at mass action events?

John Olivier, the Western Cape regional organiser of the Network of Independent Monitors (NIM), this week gave a rare insight into a day in the life of a monitor, and it's a job with dimensions and stresses that few people appreciate.

Here is how he outlined it:

**7 am:** The pager begins bleeping to announce the day's press conferences and actions planned by the various political organisations.

A note is made of marches, rallies or sit-ins which look potentially violent.

**9 am:** Political leaders are phoned to provide details on times, venues and the number

## Stress and strain few appreciate



of people expected to arrive.

It's important to find out whether any actions are illegal.

**9.30 am:** An informal discussion is held over tea with the United Nations and European monitors, and the day's work is divided between everyone. (The foreign monitors are usually dispatched to rural areas because they have "fast cars" and can get there quicker, says Olivier.)

**10.15 am:** A call comes in from the ANC branch chairman ad-

vising that there will be an illegal march to Government offices in town. The NIM office hurriedly phones as many of its accredited monitors as possible. A lot of them are too busy to avail themselves.

Some volunteers may surface through NIM's member organisations (mostly independent human rights organisations).

The monitors are sent out to the march.

**12.30 pm:** A meeting is held with the Joint Forum on policing, a body monitoring the actions of police in violent situations. An NIM analysis group studies new complaints made against the police and checks on the progress of investigation into previous complaints.

**2.30 pm:** The SAP's violent

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crimes investigation unit calls. Can some NIM monitors come to a scene of violence to help get statements from witnesses? Some witnesses prefer not to give statements directly to the police.

**4.30 pm:** Monitors make written reports on their observations of the day's activities. There are some recommendations made on controlling the behaviour of march participants, the police and/or the organisers.

**5.30 pm:** Monitors meet at the centre where a peace training workshop is being held. New monitors are being trained in basic observation skills (spotting signs, uniforms, banners and anything potentially important should there be violence)

and the taking of statements and affidavits.

**9 pm at home:** A call comes in from a local peace committee member. A peace monitor's township house has been targeted for burning. A senior police officer is called to ensure there are extra patrols in the area.

**11 pm:** Go to bed and hope there won't be any emergencies during the night.

● NIM is a recently formed body aimed at increasing and improving the effectiveness of independent monitoring organisations. Regional structures have already been launched in the Transvaal, Natal, eastern Cape, western Cape and the Border/Ciskei regions.

Information gathered by NIM will contribute to the Goldstone Commission's new database on incidents of violence, aimed at identifying perpetrators and assisting victims.

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# Police vow to get killers

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PRETORIA. — Eight people — four of them policemen — died and 10 more were injured in a spate of attacks yesterday as police vowed to pull out all stops to find those responsible for recent attacks on policemen, farmers and hotel patrons.

The attack on the policemen, the most serious of yesterday's incidents, left four dead and five injured.

In Crossroads, Cape Town, two badly charred bodies, one with shotgun wounds, were found after two shacks were destroyed by fire in Boystown early yesterday.

The SA Council of Churches condemned the resurgence in violence, while police spokesman General Leon Mellet said police were committed to solving these crimes.

"We believe that with the co-operation of the public we will be able to apprehend the criminals, no matter where they hide," he said.

It was difficult to say whether the attacks could be linked to recent inflammatory remarks by politicians,

## Eight die, 10 injured in spate of attacks

although these caused a polarisation that the country could not afford.

The SACC called for greater urgency in constitutional negotiations and said forces "hell-bent" on derailing the talks seemed to be at work.

The four police officers died when attackers pumped bullets into their vehicle in a dawn ambush in Dobsonville, Soweto.

A man purporting to be an Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla) spokesman claimed responsibility for the killing.

In a telephone call to Sapa, the man, calling himself "Comrade Kaboko from the West Rand", alleged an Apla commander and four recruits

had carried out the attack.

He said: "Tell (Law and Order Minister Hernus) Kriel we are prepared to continue with the armed struggle until the land is restored to us."

Three of the policemen — Constable F R Maswanganyi, Constable M M Mashlane and Sergeant Maxwell Sirunu — died when the gunmen attacked their truck at the corner of Main and Roodepoort roads at 5.45am.

Constable Martha Masinga, who was shot through the hips, died later in hospital.

The five injured were Constables M Pikwa, B Ngema, S Nkohla, D Foromo and Ethel Bodibe. Fourteen others escaped injury.

A massive police manhunt, led by a crack team of detectives, was launched for the killers yesterday morning.

Police have offered a R200 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

A spokesman said it was believed several attackers had been wounded when the police returned fire.

Sgt M A Maphumalo was wounded in the Durban area on Tuesday night while travelling home by bus.

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# Govt call to end mass action

THE government gave notice yesterday that it intended to demand an end to mass action when the issue was discussed in negotiations.

Delivering a generally optimistic speech in Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, however, issued a stern warning about mass action.

He said there were encourag-

ing indications that within the coming weeks agreements on a series of key elements of a new constitution would be formulated.

"The process is balancing on a razor's edge, but we are on the threshold of a breakthrough."

He said that tomorrow the planning committee of the negotiations forum would recommend that a specialist committee on violence be formed

(274) ET 6/5/93  
"I am giving notice that the government will adopt the stand that at the moment mass actions lead to violence and give rise to a climate of violence."

The government would also test the views of other parties on peace by the extent to which they were prepared to give practical effect to their recommendations to the committee and their reactions to its recommendations.

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# Violent mass action suits the spoilers, warns Meyer

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government is to place mass action on the negotiations agenda and charge that it leads to violence, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer revealed yesterday.

His comments follow President de Klerk's warning on Tuesday night that the Government could not continue negotiating in forums on a variety of subjects in the face of threats of "unacceptable" mass action.

Meyer, opening debate on his budget vote in Parliament yesterday, was upbeat about negotiations and said: "We are on the threshold of a breakthrough."

But he used the occasion to lash out at mass action and warn that it could play into the hands of those who wanted to delay negotiations.



Meyer... Government to raise mass action at talks.

The negotiations planning committee would recommend that a technical committee on violence be appointed, he said. "I am now already giving notice that the Government will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organs and persons responsible for it, and to make recommendations. "I am also giving notice that

the Government will adopt the standpoint that, at the present time, mass action leads to violence and gives rise to a climate of violence," he said.

Delays in talks played into the hands of those who wished to derail the process by means of violence. "Mass action that involves violence creates such a danger."

Meyer was bullish about progress in negotiations, saying that although "the process is balancing on a razor's edge... we are on the threshold of a breakthrough".

He appealed to all leaders who had the courage to stand up and be counted "among those who have chosen for peace", to utilise the negotiation process to cause peace to triumph.

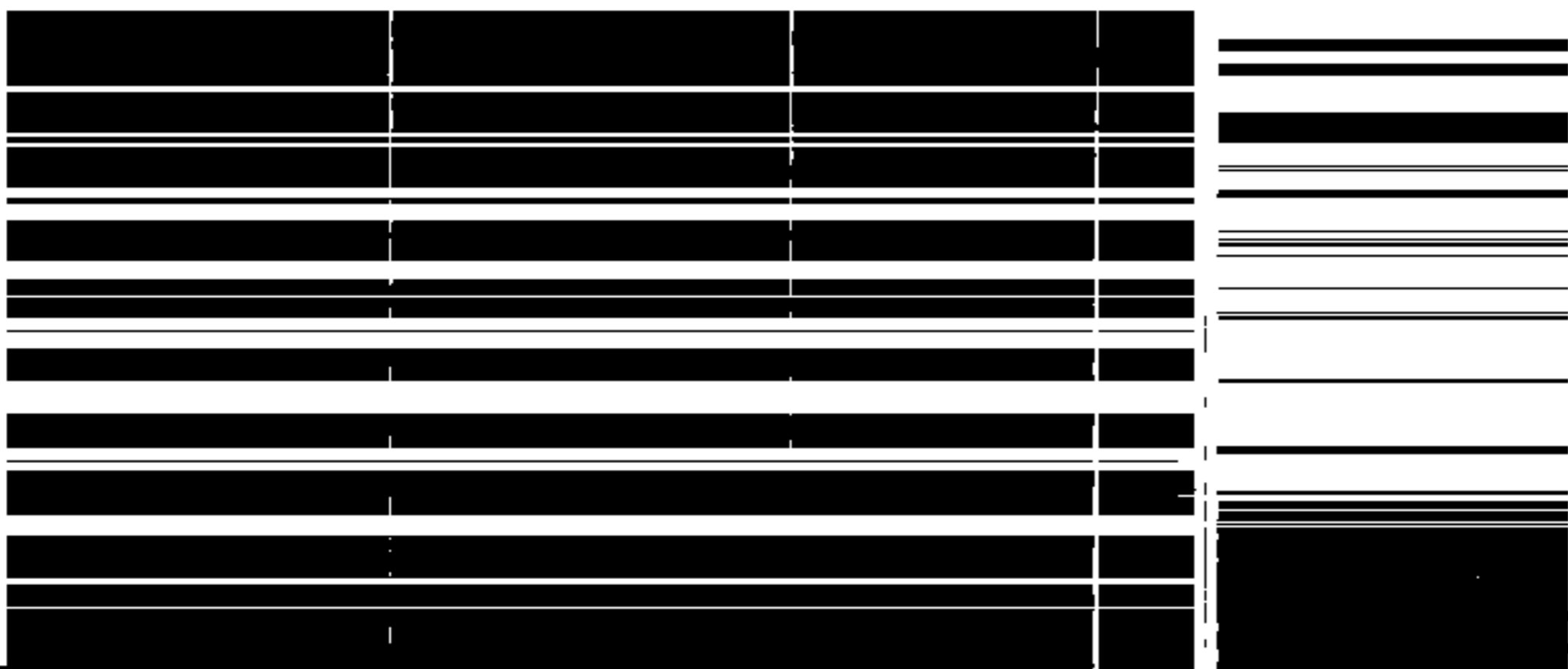
Turning to the thorny issue of regionalism, he said, in an apparent swipe at the right wing, that "cultural aspirations must not be allowed to destroy our common nationhood and fragment our country into a number

of non-viable sovereign nation-states".

But his speech was laced with references to the need for strong, autonomous regional government structures. He said a matter of major importance in negotiations was the need to agree on the shape and terms of reference of a commission, on regional government.

This should submit proposals to the negotiations forum on the phasing in of a new system of regional government. It would also have to make proposals on delimitation of regions and their powers and functions. These would then be embodied in the transitional constitution to "regulate regional government immediately after the election".

Meyer also stressed that the proposed transitional government did not amount to a transitional government "to which the Government is going to hand over its power". It was designed only to prepare for the run-up to elections, he said.



# Business sentiment severely bruised by last month's unrest

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By Sven Lünsche

Business confidence last month took a battering even more serious than after the Boipatong massacre and the subsequent breakdown of Codesa 2 negotiations, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said yesterday.

It called for swift progress to be made in the current round of negotiations, "to prevent any further delay in the long-awaited upturn".

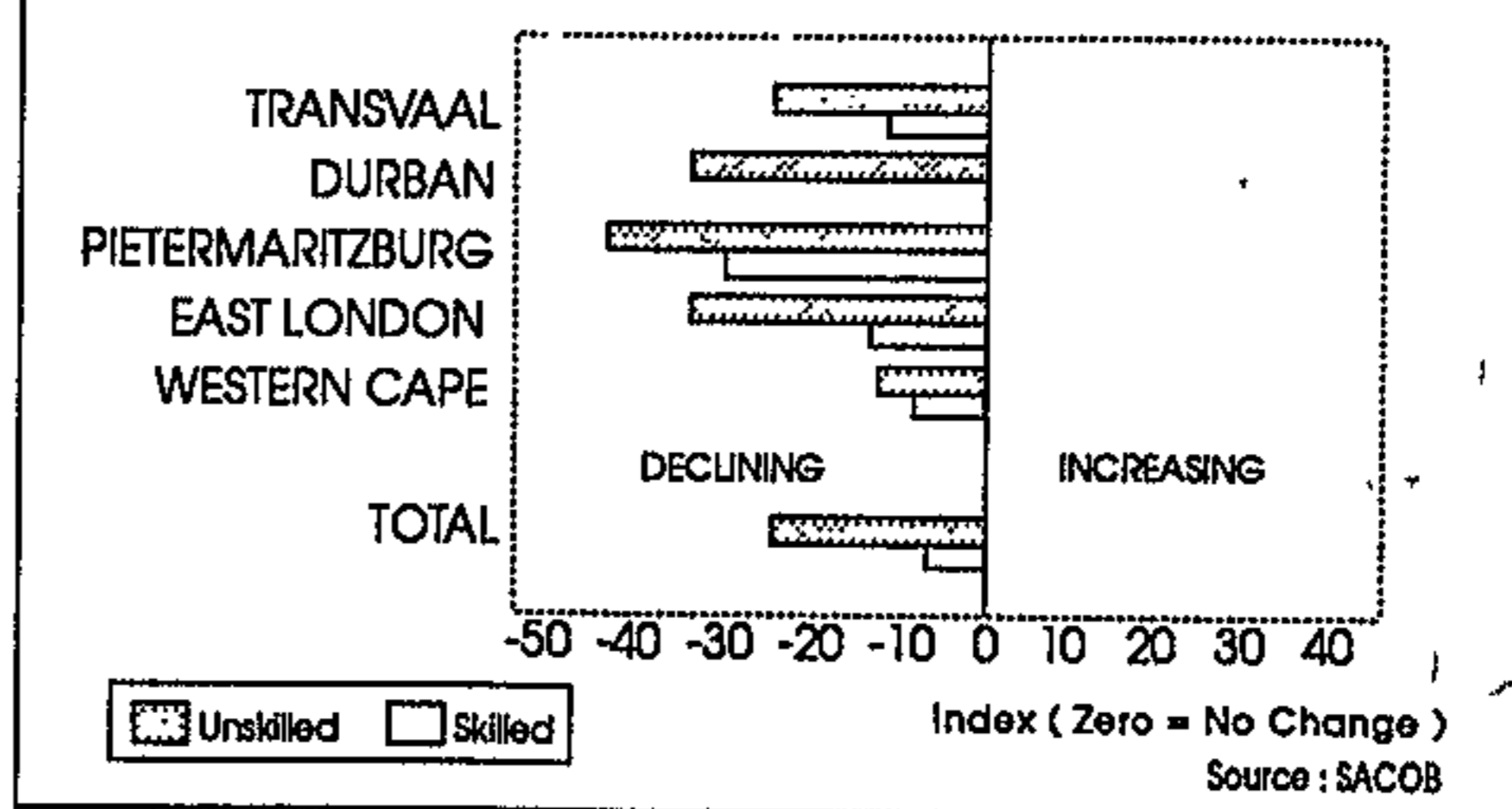
Sacob said the recent upward trend in its Business Confidence Index was arrested in April, as the economy "remained hostage to political developments, particularly events surrounding the funeral of slain SACP leader Chris Hani".

Director-general Raymond Parsons said business sentiment gradually recovered in the second half of last year, despite the collapse of negotiations at Codesa. "This time around, however, the impact on confidence is more serious."

Chief economist Dr Ben van Rensburg said: "The combined effects of recent political events, prospects of further mass action, and the still-to-be felt impact of the Budget could act as a constraint on a further rise in business sentiment over the next few months."

"The initial hope that the tragedy of Hani's assassination would result in renewed urgency and more rapid progress in the political negotiations has not yet been

### OUTLOOK FOR EMPLOYMENT TO MARCH 1994



realised.

"It is essential that real progress is seen to be made if permanent damage to the growth potential of the economy is to be avoided," van Rensburg warned.

As an immediate result of the political turmoil, more professionals were emigrating and investment decisions were being put on hold, he said.

Van Rensburg said the Budget could impact negatively on retail sales, manufacturing production and the inflation rate in the short-to-medium term. April retail sales were well down on expectations.

While the recent gold price hike would help reduce pressure on foreign exchange reserves and marginal mines, "increased employment and new mining ventures will only arise if the higher price is sustained for a number of months".

The manufacturing sector was particularly hard hit by stay-aways in April.

Sacob's survey shows that there was a sharp decline in activity levels, with 68 percent of respondents reporting a decline in sales, compared with March.

Economist Keith Lockwood said the drop in sales and new orders was not surprising because there were effectively six fewer working days in April than in March.

"Discussions with industrialists indicate that April was a big disappointment, as they had seen new order volumes rise steadily over previous months."

"If activity levels do not recover in May, a downward revision of prospects for the coming twelve months is likely," Lockwood said.

As an immediate consequence of poor sales conditions, industrialists are readying themselves for further layoffs, with 61 percent of survey respondents saying they will cut back on unskilled workers over the next 12 months. (see graph)

By Paul Bell  
Labour Correspondent

Six Cosatu-affiliated public sector unions, representing mainly education, health and municipal workers, will stage a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Saturday, firing labour's first shots in its planned renewal of mass action.

Announcing the march yesterday, Post Office and Telecommunication Workers' Association (Potwa) president Kgabise Mosonkutu said the march would initiate a process of escalating action that could eventuate in a general public-sector strike if the Government failed to meet union demands.

In addition to current turbulence in the education sector, the announcement heralds the possibility of widespread industrial action in other spheres — hospitals, the Post Office and telecommunications, municipal services and, perhaps, rail transport.

The other five unions already supporting Saturday's march are the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union, the SA Municipal Work-

Star 6/5/93

# Unions to march on Union Buildings

ers' Union, the SA Democratic Teachers' Union, the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations, and the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union

Although the campaign takes its cue from the mass action campaign announced by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance in the wake of Chris Hani's assassination, to pressure the Government to set an election date by May 31, the six public-sector unions have also enunciated their own demands.

Calling the Government's decision to cut staff in the public sector by 5 percent "a direct act of aggression", and condemning

the 5 percent wage increase imposed on the public sector, the unions demanded:

- No cuts in public spending where these had the effect of reducing services to the poor, and other spending reductions to be negotiated with unions.
- A halt to retrenchments and "unilateral restructuring".
- The scrapping of the 5 percent wage increase ceiling and the reopening of wage negotiations.
- The extension to public-sector workers of the right to strike, a single Labour Relations Act and an interim dispute resolution mechanism.
- Guarantees to public-sector workers in Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Ciskei of their right to organise freely.

Potwa's Mosonkutu said the unions fully expected the Government to try to draw out the fight. "But we are prepared to fight for as long as it is necessary to achieve our demands."

Cosatu sources indicated that the mass action campaign would not be nationally determined this time, but left to regions and affiliates to decide on appropriate action.

**PETER GASTROW,** Democratic Party MP for Durban Central, expressed concern in Parliament this week over the growing war talk in the country. Here are edited extracts from his speech in a debate on the Arms and Ammunition Act.

ANC colleagues will agree that the gap between the leadership and the angry youth is growing. The NP will agree that the gap between the leadership, the State President and the support base is growing.

When Peter Mokaba said: "Kill the boer, kill the farmer!", the leaders at the top rejected it. It is therefore not the ANC leadership but the youth at the bottom which says: "Yes, that is our language!" It is the reality and there are thousands and thousands who support that talk.

This week there was a meeting in Cape Town City Hall. Thousands of enthusiastic supporters came to listen to Eugene Terre'Blanche. We can no longer say Eugene Terre'Blanche is a madman, or Peter Mokaba is a madman.

They are part of our reality and that reality is starting to suggest to me that beyond the horizon — I cannot see them — clouds of civil war are starting to form.

I am talking about civil war. We have to get rid of petty points. We have a far greater national issue to deal with.

This legislation can only make a dent in the problem. How do we deal with the growing polarisation, the growing threat to South Africa's existence as a stable society?

The fact is that the fear which exists among whites — and among blacks, Indians and coloureds as well — is a

# Dark clouds of civil war forming just over horizon

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factor underpinned by a number of other factors.

The first factor is poverty and the massive gap between "haves" and "have-nots". This leads to widespread use of firearms for theft, robbery and crime in general.

## Leadership

The second factor is the growing frustration, as far as blacks are concerned, at the lack of progress in the political negotiating process. The high hopes and expectations which had piled up during the years of struggle in the eighties, and which reached their peak during the release of leaders and the unbanning of organisations, have not been fulfilled.

Whites and many coloureds and Indians also live in a climate of complete insecurity. There is no light at the end of the tunnel. There is no leadership which is strong enough to satisfy them that in three years' time they will be able to live a normal life.

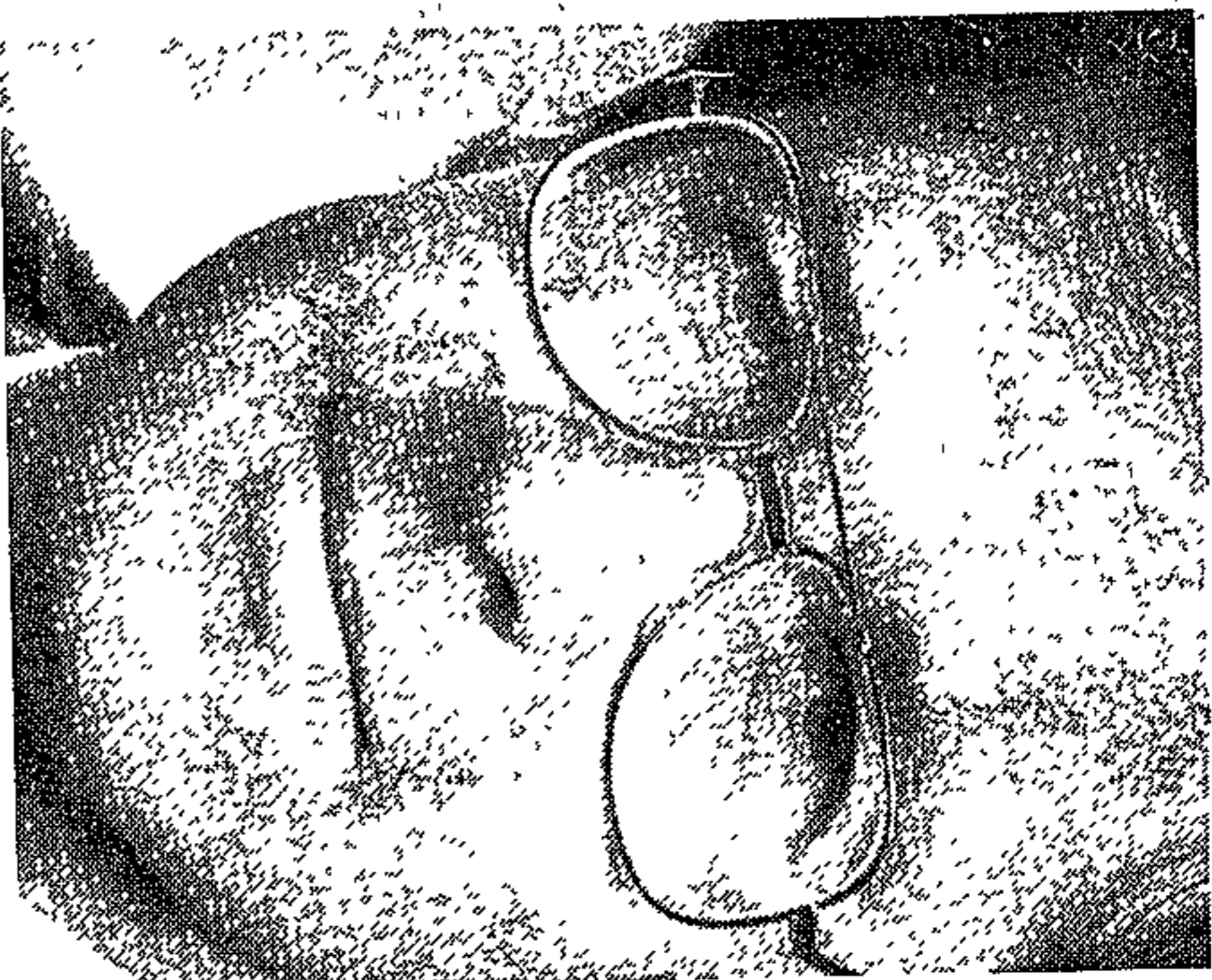
We live in a society in which there is a threat to what we believe we are entitled to. That includes all the benefits and privileges which we used to have in the past.

The people who clapped and cheered Eugene Terre'Blanche are not irrational,

mad people. Many of them are ordinary, fearful South African citizens who do not know what is going to come their way. They are looking for an immediate knee-jerk form of protection and reassurance. They find this with people who wear badges and who have rank, who have firearms and who talk tough.

Some commentators talk about a comparison with the Weimar Republic days. I read in today's papers that other commentators talk about the Kerensky period, just before the Russian revolution. Maybe this all sounds very dramatic, and maybe I am going through one of those funny phases, but I am worried that while we pick off points between the parties, and while the negotiators at the negotiating table argue about the name of the conference, these clouds may well surface on the horizon one of these days. Then it is going to be very difficult to deal with the situation.

How can we provide law and order when it comes to firearms? The police have offered rewards of thousands of rands for the handing in of illegal firearms. I do not have the statistics, but a pathetically small number of firearms have been handed in.



**PETER GASTROW,** MP: "Many are looking for an immediate knee-jerk form of reassurance. They find this with people who wear badges and firearms and who talk tough."

What does legislation help if the police are not in a position to obtain information about illegal firearms? Why is that the case? The police are understaffed and have bad police-community relations.

There was a time when the intelligence which the police were able to gather was far better than it is now. Not that there was a good police-community relationship, but at that stage it was possible to have a more effective intelligence system.

## Compulsory

A prerequisite for more effective policing and for proper community policing is therefore an improvement of the police-community relationship.

We have a joint responsibility, and this includes the Labour Party, the ANC, the NP and every other party, to start working on transforming the police and views in the community as far as relations between the police and the com-

munity are concerned.

A new government, possibly next year, will sit with the same police force that exists now. If that police force is not motivated and encouraged to fulfil its tasks under those circumstances, the new government will have no chance of relying on the police for law and order.

Even if we pass legislation providing for 10 or 20 years' compulsory imprisonment and some people go to prison, it will not make a big difference to the law and order crisis. Relations between the police and the community need to be improved so that the community can say "there are three people in that house who robbed a bank last night, come and take them away".

That would be a normal situation in any society, but it does not happen now. That will only happen if relations between the police and the community are improved.

# There to ensure mass action doesn't explode

Star 7/15/93

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By Helen Grange

Every mass action event has the potential to explode into uncontrollable violence — and were it not for the omnipresent ANC marshals, bloody conflict would be the norm rather than the exception.

They are the first line of control in any ANC alliance march or mass demonstration and, as such, constitute the thin line between order and chaos.

Calvin Nyelimane, the ANC marshals' secretary-general in the PWV, is an experienced marshal whose job has frequently plunged him into life-threatening situations.

In an interview with *The Star* this week he described the work of these disciples of discipline, whose presence has prevented the loss of numerous lives on many occasions.

"Most people in a big crowd will listen to instructions and co-operate peacefully. But there are always enemies, elements within the crowd who will not listen and refuse to be controlled.

"If a group of these elements should become angry and violent, and there are weapons involved, there is little a marshal can do except keep an eye on the individuals from a distance,



and at the same time call for marshal reinforcements," says Nyelimane.

He himself has been threatened by criminal elements on a few occasions. The first day of marches after Chris Hani's assassination found him in Soweto as part of the team of marshals trying to push a crowd away from the Protea police station.

One ANC marshal died in the chaos which erupted after police opened fire.

"I had to call for protection. There were people in the crowd from different organisations threatening us. We were trying to push the crowd away from the police station. It was a very dangerous situation."

Danger is always present, especially when controlling the front section of marches where the leaders are, according to Nyelimane.

"The marshals protecting the leadership are the most vulnerable. Anything could happen at any time and you've got to be

prepared for it."

Keeping control over marchers sometimes needs a sharp tongue or even some physical confrontation, but mostly, polite interaction is the most effective method of crowd control.

But without widespread co-operation from a crowd, the marshals lose their effectiveness. Nyelimane, recalling the Hani funeral vigil at the FNB Stadium, says the crowd broke up into angry groups of youths who "couldn't even be controlled by the police".

"The marshals were being threatened with knives and guns. They had to watch from a distance."

Nyelimane stated without hesitation that the police are often provocative in mass action events, leaving the marshals the unenviable job of trying to defuse tensions between the crowd and police.

"I remember on one occasion a policeman with a camera telling the crowd he was sick and tired of marches and that Jonas Savimbi (Angola's rebel Unita leader) would be brought in to fix things. The people got very angry and I had to intervene."

Marshalling is not only a man's domain. There are numerous ANC women marshals who put their lives on the line to save lives. As ANC marshal Sofie Seati puts it: "We are working to protect the people."

# Defiant ANC youth promise mass protests

By RONALD MORRIS

A DEFIANT ANC Youth League (ANCYL) said yesterday unspecified white areas, government buildings, and "other buildings of power" are to be occupied and protests will take place at newspapers and the SABC.

In a statement regional secretary Mr Neville Naidoo said continuous attacks on the democratic forces — led by the ANC — were a reflection of the NP's strategy of clinging to power.

"Suddenly statements and songs by Peter Mokaba are blown out of proportion ... We are being told to change our songs and slogans to suit our opponents and critics."

Announcing the start of its mass action campaign on May 18, the ANCYL said it would aim to speed up the

announcement of an election date, the enactment of transitional executive councils, joint control of the armed forces, and government control of the right-wing.

"We also wish to warn the press and the SABC in particular to lay off the youth. Although we support freedom of the press we cannot allow them to create the conditions for threats and the assassination of our youth leaders."

Asked how the ANCYL would be able to control its members after the violence and looting which followed the assassination of Mr Chris Hani, Mr Naidoo said the league would do everything in its power, but it was impossible to guarantee 100% discipline.

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## Youth League warns media

**LINDA ENSOR**  
 CAPE TOWN — The Western Cape branch of the ANC Youth League warned the Press and the SABC yesterday to "lay off the youth".

The media was threatened with protest action if reporting continued to portray the youth in a way which made them "vulnerable to right-wing attacks".

Secretary Neville Naidoo said at a news conference that while the league supported the freedom of the Press, the organisation could not allow the media to create conditions for threats and assassinations of youth leaders.

Examples of the attacks on youth were that statements and songs of league president Peter Mokaba were blown out of proportion and the youth described as marginalised, militant, radical, violent and ill-disciplined.

Naidoo announced the launch of a programme of action including the targeting of institutions of power such as police stations and administration buildings.

"This would begin after May 15 if government failed to commit itself to holding elections and satisfying other demands.

Chairman Mcebisi Skwatsha said if the youth league felt the ANC was not acting in a way it accepted, it would take its own line and adopt its own tactics.

# Violence claims 12 lives in two days

AT LEAST 12 people were killed in violent incidents across the country yesterday and on Wednesday.

Gunmen killed five people, including a one-year-old child, in an attack on the house of a KwaZulu policeman in Umgababa on the Natal south coast on Wednesday night, police said yesterday.

Durban police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said four gunmen wearing balaclavas and armed with AK-47 rifles shot dead Const Alson Mkhize, 51, and one-year-old Sithebele, and injured Mkhize's wife Gladys at their home.

Naidoo said the attackers stole a 7,65mm pistol and ammunition before fleeing and shooting at the house, killing three more people.

Police were offering a "substantial reward" for information leading to the arrest of the killers, said Naidoo.

The ANC and Inkatha said yesterday they were investigating the incident.

Yesterday two people were shot dead near the Natal Midlands town of Wartburg. Police said five men opened fire on a kraal with shotguns, killing a man and a woman who had not yet been identified.

Meanwhile, youths in Dundee's Sibongile township in northern Natal stoned police vehicles in retaliation to alleged teargassing, said the ANC.

Maritzburg police spokesman Capt Henry Budhram confirmed there had been confrontation in the township but could not immediately give details.

Dundee ANC secretary Desmond Budhram said Inkatha supporters had held a meeting in Sibongile township on Wednesday night. He said the meeting ended peacefully. However, ANC-supporting youths continued to "keep watch" in the area and police arrived at midnight and allegedly began teargassing them.

He said youths began stoning police vehicles when police again fired teargas at them yesterday.

Budhram said police would respond to the ANC claims later.

In Cape Town yesterday, three men were shot and killed and a woman was seriously wounded when violence flared again in Boystown, Crossroads.

Residents of the settlement near Cape Town claimed they were shot at by attackers when they tried to run to the local police station for help.

Two badly charred bodies, one with shotgun wounds, were found in the same area on Wednesday, bringing the death toll to five. A number of shacks were torched.

Lt John Sterrenberg said police were still trying to establish the motive for the attacks and killings.

In other incidents of violence two bread delivery vehicles were attacked and burnt in Umfeleni, Kuilsriver. The attackers made off with bread worth about R10 000 and caused damage estimated at about R170 000 to the vehicles.

The Human Rights Commission reported yesterday that violence had claimed 46 lives in the past week.

Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle emerged as a focal point of violence, accounting for 13 of the deaths.

At Tigane township in the western Transvaal, violence centred on the funeral of an Inkatha member and six people died.

Attacks on whites in the PWV and Border regions claimed five lives. There were 16 attacks against security forces, resulting in two deaths.

Natal's toll of 10 (in the week) showed a decrease from the 30 recorded the previous week and from this year's weekly average for Natal of 23. — Sapa.

## TRANSNET LIMITED

TENDER NO. PPN 1/12/3/4024/1

SALE OF LAND:  
 EAST LONDON  
 ON THE BANK OF THE NAHOON  
 RIVER

Propnet, a Business Unit of Transnet Limited no 90/00900/06, invites tenders for the purchase of certain land in East London, in extent approximately 13,1225 hectares being portion of Erf 10337 East London, situated on the bank of the Nahoon River, also known as Lot Silverstrand.

Tender documents, containing full particulars of this proposed sale are available at

## Mandela visits slain boy's parents

**CHRIS BATEMAN**  
 LONDON — ANC president Nelson Mandela saw the ugly face of racial violence in Britain yesterday when he met the London parents of a black matric pupil stabbed to death by a gang of white teenagers.

He emerged from the encounter to express "great concern" at the resurgence of racism worldwide.

"This is a very disturbing development... especially in a place like Britain, the home of parliamentary democracy. We are used to this kind of thing in SA, but I have a sense of deep concern that it should happen here."

He spent 20 minutes talking to Neville and Doreen Lawrence, whose son Stephen, 18, was stabbed twice by a group of four to six white teenagers while waiting for a bus in southeast London two weeks ago. Police, who have yet to make an arrest, said the attack was unprovoked.

Doreen Lawrence said they had received no messages of condolence from the British government; "yet a leader of a country from abroad can be interested".

The couple say they passed on the names of their son's killers to the Metropolitan police, whom they accused of being "cavalier and patronising".

Scotland Yard said a "dedicated" team of officers was investigating the Lawrence murder "diligently and with total professionalism".

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# R100m in unrest damage over past year <sup>274</sup> SAP

BIDAM 7/5/93

**STEPHANE BOTHMA**

DAMAGE to property during the 8 181 unrest-related incidents during the past year amounted to almost R100m, SAP internal stability unit chief Lt-Gen Johan Swart said this week.

August, when the ANC called for mass action after the Boipatong massacre, saw the highest number of unrest incidents during this period, totalling 1 535, in which 240 people lost their lives, including 12 policemen.

Some 63 policemen had been

injured during that month, he said.

The same month, a record number of 848 marches, gatherings and demonstrations were held out of a total of 2 840 during the 12-month period April 1992 to March this year.

The 8 181 incidents reported during the period indicated a decrease of 691 incidents compared to the same period during 1991, Swart said.

The internal stability unit, primarily responsible for the combating of violence and the prevention of crime, had deployed 6 490 members in 11 regions.

It had implemented innovative training changes in line with supportive community policing.

They had been trained in conflict mediation skills and emphasis had been placed on communication.

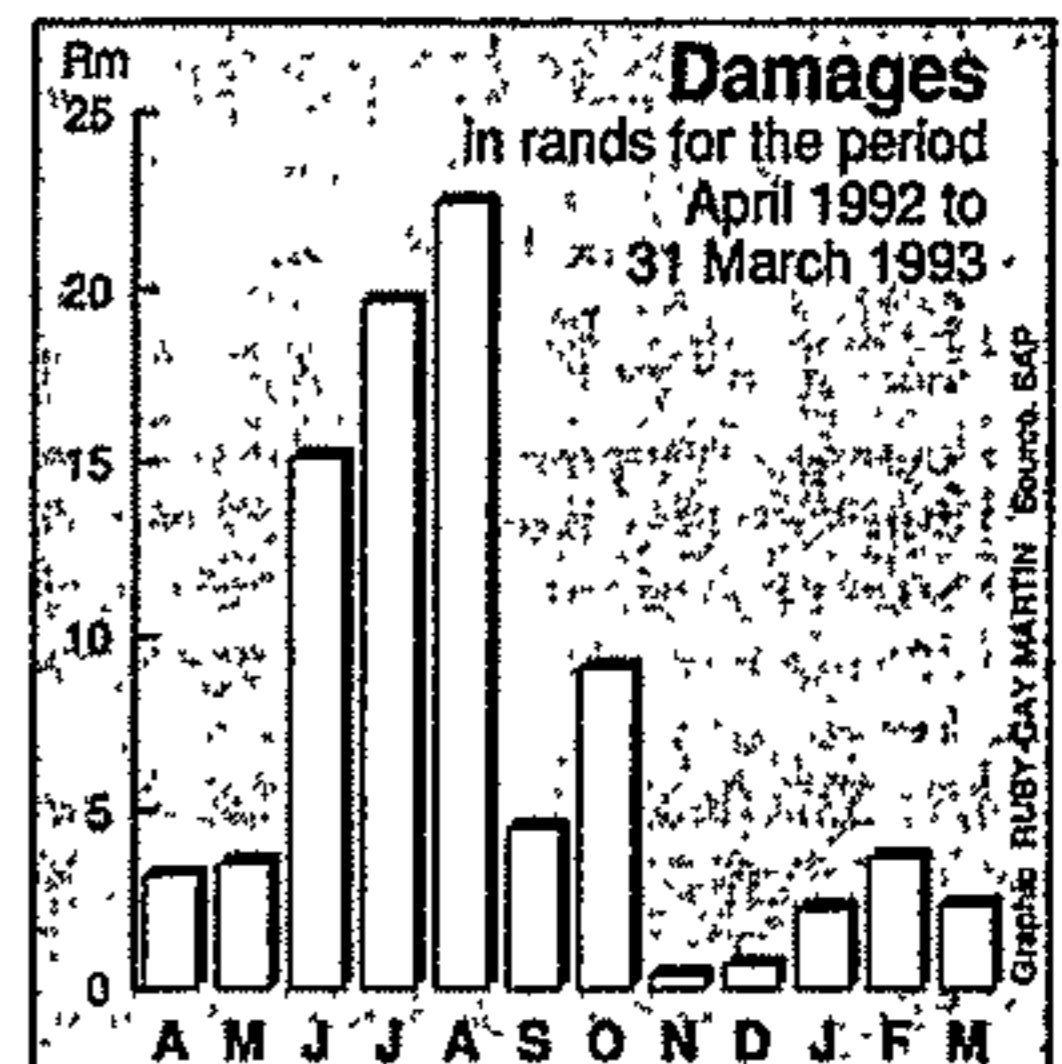
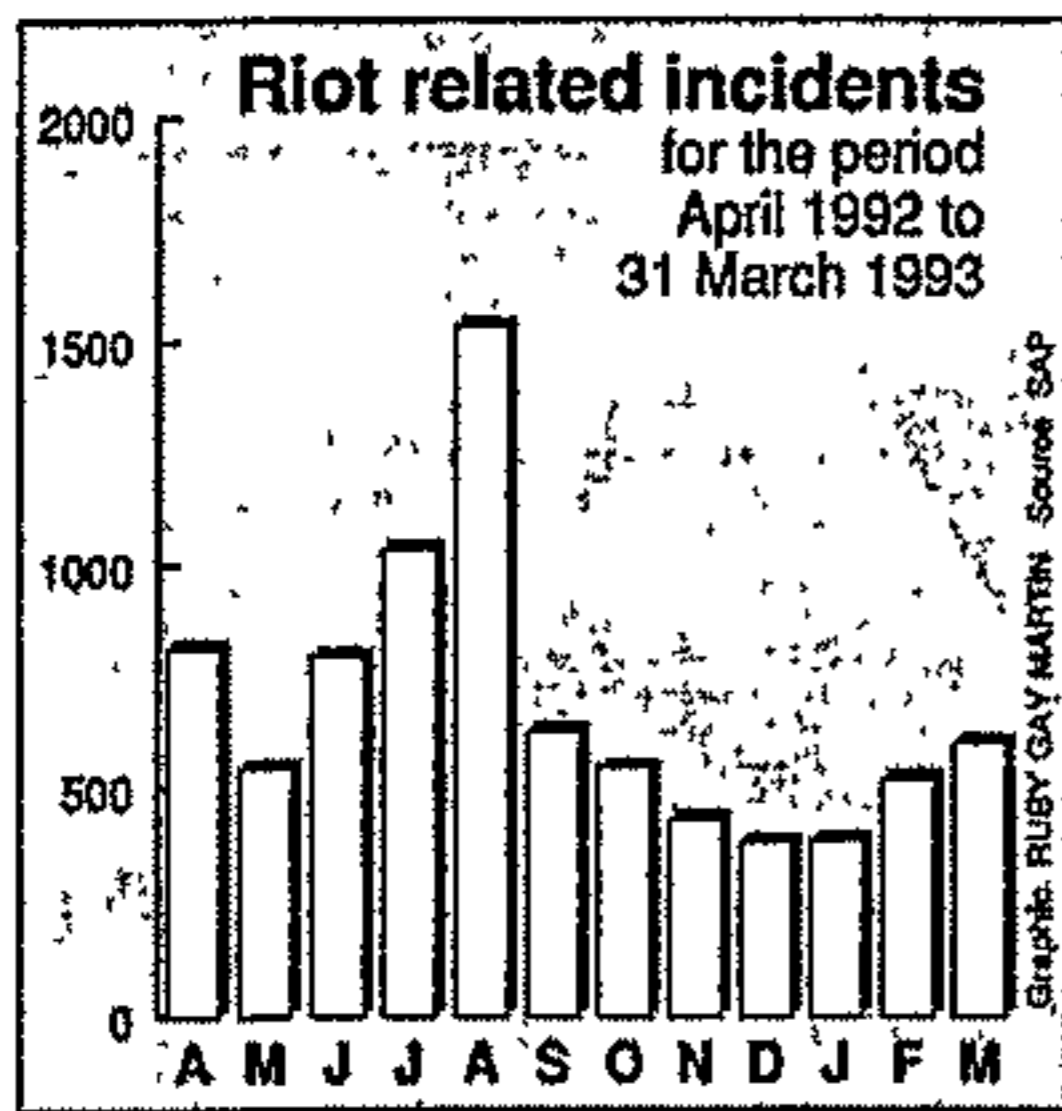
During October several base camps had been established on the Natal/Transkei border to prevent cross-border attacks by Transkeian militants, he said.

During November, the unit had established several base camps on the Eastern Cape/Transkei border to

deal with the Apla threat.

"Since the deployment of ISU members in these regions, residents, white as well as black, have expressed their gratitude for the presence of the SAP in their midst," Swart said, adding that the presence of ISU members on farms in those regions especially had been welcomed by the farming community.

During the 12-month period, the ISU had made 6 065 arrests, manned 20 082 roadblocks, confiscated 2 736 firearms, including 48 AK-47 rifles, and confiscated 10 841kg of drugs.



## Armcor invited to Malaysia's high-tech expo

BIDAM 7/5/93

**STEPHANE BOTHMA**

ARMSCOR is likely to participate in one of southeast Asia's largest maritime and aerospace exhibitions, to be held on the Malaysian island of Langkawi in December this year.

It is the first time that SA has been invited to exhibit at the Langkawi International Maritime and Aerospace (Lima) exhibition, regarded as a gateway to southeast Asian countries. Lima's organisers said they were not only interested in SA's defence technology, but also its civilian high-tech maritime and aviation industry.

Armcor was presented with an official invitation by the Malaysian Defence Ministry this week to participate in Lima '93, and was favourably considering participation, an

Armcor spokesman said.

"Although we have not yet signed on the dotted line, we will probably exhibit," he said.

Dato'Mohd Radzi Manan, director of Lima '93 organisers, said the Malaysian government was keen for Armcor and other SA companies to participate in the show.

"My government is very interested in the knowledge of SA companies and in possible joint ventures," Manan said.

He said his government was eager to establish a high-ranking aerospace and defence industry in Malaysia and believed that SA could contribute towards this goal.

Lima '93 includes aeronautic, aerospace and maritime industries.

"The unique location in southeast Asia underlines the role of defence technology in this region," he said.

During the first Lima event in 1991, 150 exhibitors participated. These included key industries from the US, UK, Italy, France, Germany, Japan and Austria.

The Malaysia government has allocated a new exhibition area for Lima '93, recently built at a cost of \$19.9m.

Runways to the new Langkawi international airport would be incorporated into the exhibition area to allow aerial displays during the exhibition. Harbour facilities would allow large vessels to be exhibited, Manan said.





Star 7/5/93  
ANC to send  
marshals on  
crash course

The ANC is planning to give its marshals "a general mandate" to act against crime and violence in the country and to put 3 000 of them through an advanced crash course in criminal investigation and crowd control, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed yesterday.

Mamoepa said the newly trained marshals, who would be graded and given rank, would then form the nucleus of a future police force.

But Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday said the ANC's plan would spark violence and polarisation.

The plan was "a fundamental contradiction of the principle that the police force should serve the entire community on the basis of apolitical professionalism and impartiality".

According to ANC organising section head Steve Tshwete, the marshals will remain an unarmed force.

The ANC, Tshwete said, was investigating remuneration and rewards for outstanding work done by the marshals.

The organisation's marshals have maintained strict control at recent ANC-organised events.

Some of them have also made citizens' arrests.

In Sharpeville two weeks ago they arrested three men allegedly involved in the murder of SABC journalist Calvin Thusago. — Political Correspondent.

# Do we just lie down and die?

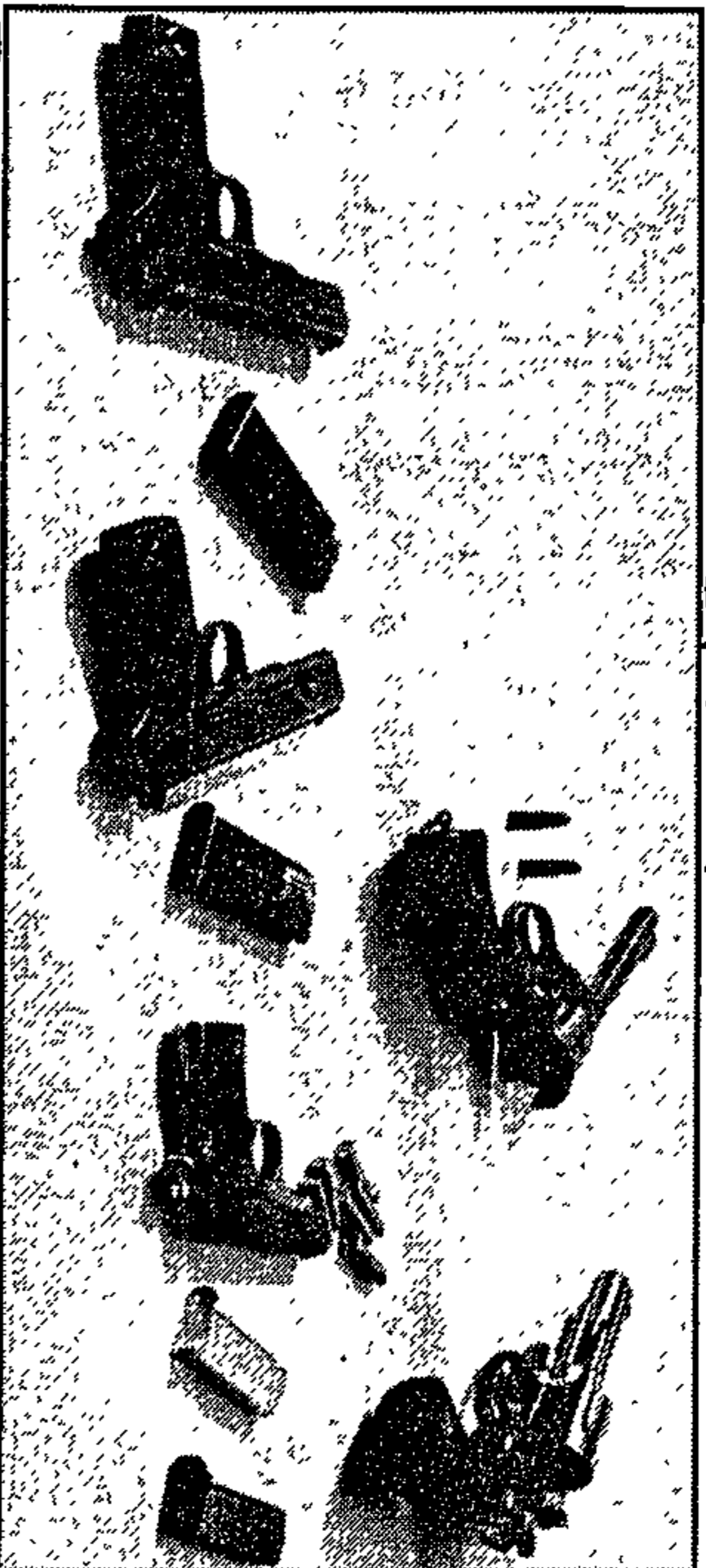
Star 7/15/93

**WERE** it not for the bravery of one man, armed only with a pistol and facing three AK-47-armed killers at the Highgate Hotel, how many more victims might have been felled? And, if armed and trained citizens happened to be at Eikenhof that fateful morning, might those children and the others not have been saved?

ANC policy is disarmament of the civilian populace. Any move towards forced disarmament will result in a rush of firearms being reported stolen — mine included. The arms will in fact be cached — for use in morally legitimate self-defence.

So, instead of having control of registered and trained gun-owners, the next government will face a worse situation than the Nats have done for the last 30 years: huge quantities of illegal firearms in the hands of unregistered persons with unknown agendas, as well as the new factor of large numbers of supposedly illegally armed citizens, "criminalised" overnight by facile and dangerous ANC legislation.

Not the ANC, nor any political party or group of parties, can do anything to lower the crime rate.



Hand guns . . . are they dangerous or life-savers?

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I ask the ANC: How, without firearms, does one defend self and family against armed criminals? Even if confronted by a thug with a knife, are we supposed to fight back with knives? Clubs? Lie down and die? In 92 percent of all violent crimes (SAP figures), illegal weapons are used.

Take registered guns away from citizens and all you're left with is a heavily armed, more confident criminal sector. No government in the world has ever been able to

even partially solve the problem of illegal weapons in unlicensed hands. The ANC has even less chance and should face the hard reality of today — an armed, trained and responsible populace would lessen crime, not increase it. The most heavily armed nation in the world today, per capita, is also the one with the lowest crime rate — Switzerland.

No, I will not give up my moral right and allow anyone to take my firearms. I will fight. I am apolitical, treat

everyone equally, have never shot anyone and hope I never have to. But I demand the right to bear arms to protect myself and family. I am as-tounded at the lethal arrogance of the ANC and Nats.

And, if the ANC does jack-boot this legislation into place and my firearms are somehow taken away from me, I and many others will have to leave SA — no matter what Nelson Mandela says to the contrary.

Bob McCallum  
Johannesburg

# Sparks fly over curbs on firepower

Star 7/15/93

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A recent article by The Star's Washington correspondent, Hugh Robertson, arguing for increased gun control, has sparked reaction from readers holding the opposite view. In the light of the huge response to Robertson's article — and the debate about the role of guns in the violence sweeping the country — The Star today publishes some of the letters.

IN A recent article, Hugh Robertson, The Star's Washington correspondent, urged the South African Government to take measures to control the proliferation of guns in the country as a means of curbing rampant violence.

Making a comparison between America and South Africa, Robertson noted the use of guns, including semi-automatic weapons, in mass killings and the ease with which these could be obtained.

"The overriding problem," wrote Robertson, "is how to put a stop to what might be seen to be 'political violence' in one country, or the actions of deranged individuals in the other."

Replying to Robertson, F. Thompson of Kempton Park wrote: I read Hugh Robertson's opinion article in The Star of February 11 with dismay. I doubt that I could address the numerous misconceptions in a letter short enough to print, so I highlight a few of them here for your information.

"... death by massacre has become commonplace, and in both countries there is alarm at the proliferation of the weapons being used in these crimes..."

Why does the article concentrate on firearms? Molotov cocktails, explosive devices, edged weapons and impact weapons account for a significant proportion of such mas-

sacres. Even if firearms could be magically wished away, these other weapons would be available to those who wanted them. I recall one case in the US where a maniac used a truck to crush his victims.

"A favourite is the 'Street-sweeper', an assault weapon so named because it has the power to spray a city block with up to 2,500 shots without reloading."

I have searched the literature but am unable to come up with an assault weapon which has this kind of magazine capacity. The best I can do is the standard 50-round magazine used in the prototype Heckler & Koch G11 and the extended 50-round magazine available for the R-4, among others.

If you care to include the Calico M110 and M950 carbines as assault weapons, I can bring the capacity up to 100 rounds, but this is as high as I can go.

As a simple reality check, has your reporter considered how heavy 2,500 rounds are? A rough calculation based on the 9mm Parabellum round comes out at over 30 kg!

"More than half of all weapons used in crimes are semi-automatic pistols... these new instruments of death..."

Sorry, the semi-automatic pistol celebrates its centenary this year, so it is hardly new. I shall not comment on the erroneous language here.

"... a proposal to limit the



AK-47s for Africa . . . these weapons, for so long regarded as symbols of liberation, are now increasingly becoming instruments of terror.

sale of semi-automatic pistols to one gun per person a month."

I am not sure how this law even begins to face the problems enumerated in the article. More likely this is a "feel good" law, of the type so popular in the US.

"... led by the far-right political lobbying group widely seen as the most sinister and vociferous, the National Rifle Association."

As far as I am aware the NRA only lobbies on gun control and closely related issues, such as hunting. When it opposed the so-called Brady Bill it did so on the grounds that the waiting period introduced was

pointless. Instead it proposed an instant background check system, which had already been implemented in three states.

I really don't see how the belief that ordinary citizens should have access to firearms for self-defence, sporting and other legitimate purposes transforms one into a member of the far Right.

I have seen lists published in American gun magazines rating politicians seeking election by their voting records on gun control. Unlikely as it may seem in the light of your reporter's views, these lists have been known to place Democrats ahead of Republicans.

"In the face of evidence that gun ownership facilitates the country's horrifying murder rate..."

Why then did the murder rate in the US not increase from 1968 to 1988, although gun ownership increased by over 140 percent during those two decades?

Why did the town of Kennebec see a reduction in violent and other crime when it went to another extreme and made gun ownership mandatory? Why is Switzerland not the murder centre of the world, given that almost every able-bodied male has been issued

with a fully automatic rifle?"

"... they assert that any attempt to remove guns from the community would be doomed to failure since people of malevolent bent would simply conceal their weapons."

This seems reasonable given that New York and Washington DC are among the most violent cities in the US despite these jurisdictions' extremely stringent gun laws. For what it's worth, New York contains 3 percent of the US's population but suffers 16 percent of the armed robberies.

Closer to home, AK-47s are criminals' weapons of choice despite being illegal.

## Firearm controls a failure

THE lack of research displayed by your correspondent, Hugh Robertson, appals me.

Robertson mentions Washington and Los Angeles, two of the cities in the US which have had strict gun control measures for some time. Predictably, the ban on the possession of handguns had no effect on the murder rate in those cities — rather the reverse, as law-abiding citizens are denied their most basic human right, that of self-protection.

No mention is made of the fact that Texas has strict concealed-carry laws, which left the people of Killeen disarmed. George Bush tried to tie the issue of gun control to a Bill making evidence gained by illegal search and seizure admissible. If you can rape the Second Amendment to the Constitution, why not those providing for due process, or indeed every amendment which constitutes the Bill of Rights?

Gun control hasn't worked in Washington, murder capital of the US; Los Angeles, riot capital of the US; or even New York, where it was implemented 70 years ago. In contrast, states such as Florida, which converted to a more permissive system of gun ownership, have seen dropping crime rates.

During the Los Angeles riots, those (mostly Asian) businessmen who had weapons were the ones whose property didn't go up in flames. Those who sought to buy the means to ensure physical integrity found that there were waiting periods and background checks.

Honey Hills  
Roodepoort

Brett Norrie

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## White schools:

## ANC clarifies

JOHANNESBURG. — Although the ANC had publicly opposed a call to occupy white schools it did not necessarily reject the idea, ANC PWV regional secretary Mr Obed Bopape said yesterday. (274) S

He told a press conference here the matter would remain high on the agenda until the government became part of a forum to address the education crisis.

He was answering a question on a joint statement by the ANC and the SA Communist Party PWV regions, southern Transvaal regions of the NECC, SA National Civic Organisation, SA Democratic Teachers' Union, Congress of SA Students and SA Students' Congress. — Sapa

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# Violence takes toll on police

By Ferial Haffajee

W/mad 7/5-13/5/93  
FOUR off-duty policemen were murdered in a dawn ambush in Soweto this week and another was shot in the head as he sat eating in his car in the heart of Johannesburg.

By yesterday, 40 policemen had been murdered on and off duty this year, according to the South African Police, indicating that the rate of police deaths could far outstrip last year, when 96 SAP members were killed. (274) (258)

Their deaths highlight the effects

of a violent society on the police force, which reaps a grim harvest of murders, suicides and drop-outs.

The suicide statistics speak even more eloquently of an institution falling apart at the seams. In the past two years, 132 police officers have committed suicide and the figure shows no sign of abating. The suicides reflect growing mental ill-health in the force.

In 1991, the incidence of discharges for depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety and hypertension grew by 300 percent.

# Secure farms planned

(274) (P) # CT8/S/93  
Political Correspondent

FARMSTEADS in parts of South Africa could soon resemble the security fortresses erected by farmers during the Rhodesian civil war.

The government is urgently considering a financial aid plan for threatened farmers which will include high security fencing, spotlights and sophisticated alarm and communications systems.

An announcement giving details of the security package would, "considering the pressing need", be made as soon as possible, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

It is understood that the plan to beef up security in the rural areas began well before farmers and right-wingers issued a series of ultimatums to the government this week.

‘Cynics say we are only out here for a holiday in the sun and to earn extra money. If that were true, I’d rather be in Sarajevo.’

5 Times 915193  
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— PROFESSOR DUNCAN CHAPPELL IN CONVERSATION WITH SHARON CHETTY

**DISTINGUISHED** Australian criminologist Professor Duncan Chappell has spent decades analysing the criminal mind — but nothing prepared him for the violence he encountered in South Africa as a Commonwealth peace observer.

For seven months, he and about 60 observers from the United Nations, the European Economic Community and the Organisation of African Unity attended funerals, marches and other potentially explosive events, intervening whenever tension grew.

These independent monitors from throughout the world form part of a unique mission in South Africa — to help keep the peace and oversee our country’s painful progress towards democracy.

“Days of boredom interspersed by minutes of terror” is Professor Chappell’s succinct description of his work.

The boredom comes from hours waiting for meetings to happen and for officials to grant him appointments.

The terror has been real ... like the time he stood barely 20 metres away from a group which petrol bombed a police van and then opened fire with an AK-47 outside the First National Bank stadium during Chris Hani’s funeral.

Soon afterwards, a police helicopter was shot at with an AK-47 in full view of his group.

“I must say this is a very stressful job for someone in his 50s,” he said.

“Cynics say we are only out here for a holiday in the sun and to earn extra money. If that were true, I’d rather be in Sarajevo.”

When not tagging along with the

masses, Professor Chappell — a Cambridge PhD — works on proposals dealing with justice and law issues. He has been invited by the government to criticise and make suggestions on various aspects of the law.

This 53-year-old father of two is no stranger to South Africa. He was a visiting professor at the University of Cape Town and the University of Natal law schools in the 80s and has maintained a keen interest in events here.

“I was surprised when my foreign minister picked me for the job. But I guess no one can be prepared for this kind of situation. This mission is unique in that there is no military intervention.

“In the past, the UN has used military might in trouble spots. We are here at the invitation of political leaders — this gives us easy access to the major role players.”

Professor Chappell stresses that the peace observers’ task is not to prescribe any solutions — they are the people waiting in the wings, ready to help in any way they can when called on.

He returns home later this month to resume his work as director of the Australian Institute of Criminology. But, despite the stresses and strains of being an observer on 24-hour, seven-day-a-week call, he will gladly return when South Africa’s first non-racial general election is held.

“I will take with me wonderful memories of how beautiful this country is. There are great gaps to bridge, but I see a willingness among the people to do this,” said Professor Chappell.

K

SI Times 915193

# A land washed in blood and tears

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By SHARON CHETTY

THE level of violence in South Africa may have diminished since the bloodiest days of previous years. But the horror has not.

The Human Rights Commission has reported a significant drop in the monthly death toll from political violence compared with last year's average for the same period.

The SA Institute of Race Relations also noted that fatalities this year had dropped to levels last seen in the second half of 1989.

The institute's figures show that the average daily fatality rate so far this year is 4.25 — half that of last year.

But if this year has not yielded the most widespread violence, it has seen some of the worst.

The victims came from all races, ages, classes and parts of the country — shack-dwellers in Sebokeng, white tourists in the Transkei, black policemen riding home after a night shift, middle-

class whites drinking in Eastern Cape pubs.

The first high-level political assassination — of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani — occurred in April, sparking fears of tit-for-tat killings by radicals from the right and left.

Pillage and riot came to the hearts of the big cities for the first time as ANC marshals lost control of crowds in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town during protest marches after Mr Hani's killing.

Television viewers were treated to Beirut-like images of devastated city streets.

The violence also took specifically racial overtones.

A white gunman fired on black protesters marching in the streets; black gunmen staked out a road south of Johannesburg with the in-

tention, said witnesses, of shooting up a school bus. (Later, the men turned their guns on a passing car with white passengers.)

Bandits — chanting slogans like "Kill the settler" and "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" — attacked lonely farmhouses in a spate of killings that enraged the white farming community and led to threats of war.

Among the biggest victims were the police. Sixty-eight officers have been killed this year — the latest outrage an attack on a truckload of off-duty policemen returning home in Soweto's pre-dawn.

But there was one bright spot.

The slaughter has so outraged the public that this year has seen a spate of citizens' arrests in the townships, the establishment of local block-watches and co-operation from the ANC in hunting down murderers.



SAP lauded 9/15/93

THE SAP has received a rare accolade — the two foreign police experts called to help in the investigation into the murder of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani have said local police have conducted the investigation in a thorough and professional manner.

The praise came from Dr. Ralf Kruger, from Germany, an expert on terrorism, and Britons Commander George Churchill-Coleman and Detective Inspector Michael Jones.

Reports by Sunday Times Re

# Music soothes kids affected by violence

St. Times 9/5/93  
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TWO women are using music to take youngsters from gangland to the bandstand.

Musician Sharon Katz, 38, and sociologist Marilyn Cohen, 42, are bringing hope to children traumatised by violence as they work their way through schools in Natal and Kwazulu.

The two claim music therapy teaches co-operation and helps instil a sense of self-worth and purpose.

"It also seems to turn gang leaders into band leaders. After playing an instrument or singing they open up and start speaking about their problems."

Last Christmas, the therapists spent the day with friends in a township near Durban.

Mrs Katz was playing her guitar when a group of youths started to stone them. She continued playing and a youth carrying a toy AK-47 began strumming it as if it were a guitar. Then all the stone-throwers took turns to strum her guitar.

By RYAN CRESSWELL

The duo are currently training 500 children from 20 schools in and around Durban to take part in a music celebration for peace in conjunction with Napac.

Music therapy has been used successfully for years overseas but it is fairly new to South Africa.

Said Mrs Katz: "Children from all communities, black and white, are traumatised and suffering from various degrees of stress because of violence. Music makes meetings between children from different communities possible."

Mrs Katz has a master's degree in music and music therapy from Temple University in Philadelphia and fronts her own band, Afrika Soul. She met Mrs Cohen, an American and former director of Philadelphia's Mental Health Department, while she was living in the United States.

# King Zwelithini speaks for peace

By SIPHO KHUMALO

CITRESS 915193 (274)  
HAIL, hail, hail! His Majesty the King of Zulus Goodwill Zwelithini has spoken.

Township residents and hostel dwellers must forge links for the sake of peace and prosperity in the country — this is the message from the Ingonyama in a speech that has been supported by organisations across the political spectrum.

The speech comes in the wake of an initiative by the "King's Committee for Peace" — a group of prominent personalities in all walks of life — to involve the king in peace overtures, mainly aimed at creating understanding between hostel dwellers and township residents who have been at each other's throats of late, resulting in a spate of killings.

Zwelithini has expressed willingness to throw his lot behind the new moves to bring peace and prosperity not only to Natal, but to the rest of the country.

"It is the duty of each and every citizen in SA to restore peace as a matter of urgency so that economic growth can become possible again," said Zwelithini in his address to hostel dwellers at Wema, near Lamontville township in Durban.

The speech has already drawn praise from the SA National Civics Organisation, which said it was impressed with the king's declaration of himself as a non-partisan.

Sanco national deputy president Lechesa Tsenoli said for once his organisation had good reason to give public praise to what the king had spoken.

Many political observers believe that the king's non-partisan speech will boost the behind-the-scenes moves to get him involved in peace initiatives in Natal.

Former NSL chairman Rodger Dinga Sishi — now a key mover in the behind-scenes moves to involve the monarch in peace moves — told City Press: "A list of proposals have been formulated and forwarded to His Majesty for his consideration."

The initiative enjoys the tacit support of the ANC, Inkatha and the PAC.

The members of the group include the Rev BK Dlodla, trade unionist Bheki Khumalo, ANC deputy secretary Jacob Zuma, Radio Zulu manager Rev Hawu Mbatha, Sabta president James Ngcoya, PAC NEC member Joe Mkhwanazi, Nactu assistant general secretary Mahlomula Sikhosana and trade unionist Lucky Hlongwa.



**ZWELITHINI ... All must work for peace.**

# Accord at talks will end violence

Sawetam 10/5/93

■ **OPTIMISTIC VIEW** Senior politicians praise

De Klerk for planning to deal with extremists:

By **Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent

**T**HE ENDEMIC violence in South Africa can be dealt with as soon as multiparty agreement can be reached on its causes and ways of stopping it can be identified. (30/11/93)

This is the view of senior politicians across the spectrum who commented yesterday on President FW de Klerk's statement on Saturday night that Government had a duty to stop violence from the extreme left and right in the country "and would do so" incisively. (27/4)

After a week of intensified militancy, especially from the far right, De Klerk said in his late-night statement on Saturday that negotiations would proceed swiftly despite threats from both ends of the spectrum to thwart the process.

"Extremists on the left or right should not underestimate the Government's power and its resources. Nor should they doubt its determination to use these", De Klerk said.

The buildup last week to the De Klerk speech was also significant during last week's parliamentary debate by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, who yesterday repeated his position on multi-party agreement on the violence.

"The technical committee on violence (established last Friday at the multiparty negotiations forum at the World Trade Centre) will act as a facilitator and will advise the negotiations council on how to deal, specifically, with violence," Meyer said.

In terms of agreements reached, the technical committee on violence will deliver its report on Friday at the multiparty planning committee and thereafter at the negotiating council on May 18.

This and the setting of a date for elections, possibly on June 3, according to agreements reached at the World Trade Centre last Friday, will give impetus to efforts which could curtail the violence in the country "significantly," political leaders canvassed for their views yesterday said.

STAR  
**Sermon**  
10/5/93  
**defended**

CAPE TOWN — Senior Anglican clergy yesterday defended Archbishop Desmond Tutu against criticism over the style in which he delivered his sermon at the funeral of slain South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani.

This follows a number of individual and parish objections from within the Anglican Church from people who, the archbishop's press secretary John Allen said yesterday, appeared unhappy with his performance.

The Cathedral Chapter of the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town said in a statement "those unaccustomed to political funerals in the black community" may have been alarmed by proceedings.

But Allen said Archbishop Tutu's style "helps to ease people's frustrations".

He said the objections probably came largely from conservative white members. — Sapa.

# Attacks on media slammed

*Sowetan*

11/5/93

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THE ANC and the PAC yesterday condemned attacks on journalists, saying this was not consistent with democratic practice.

The organisations said a campaign to educate their followers was necessary if youths were to understand the role the media.

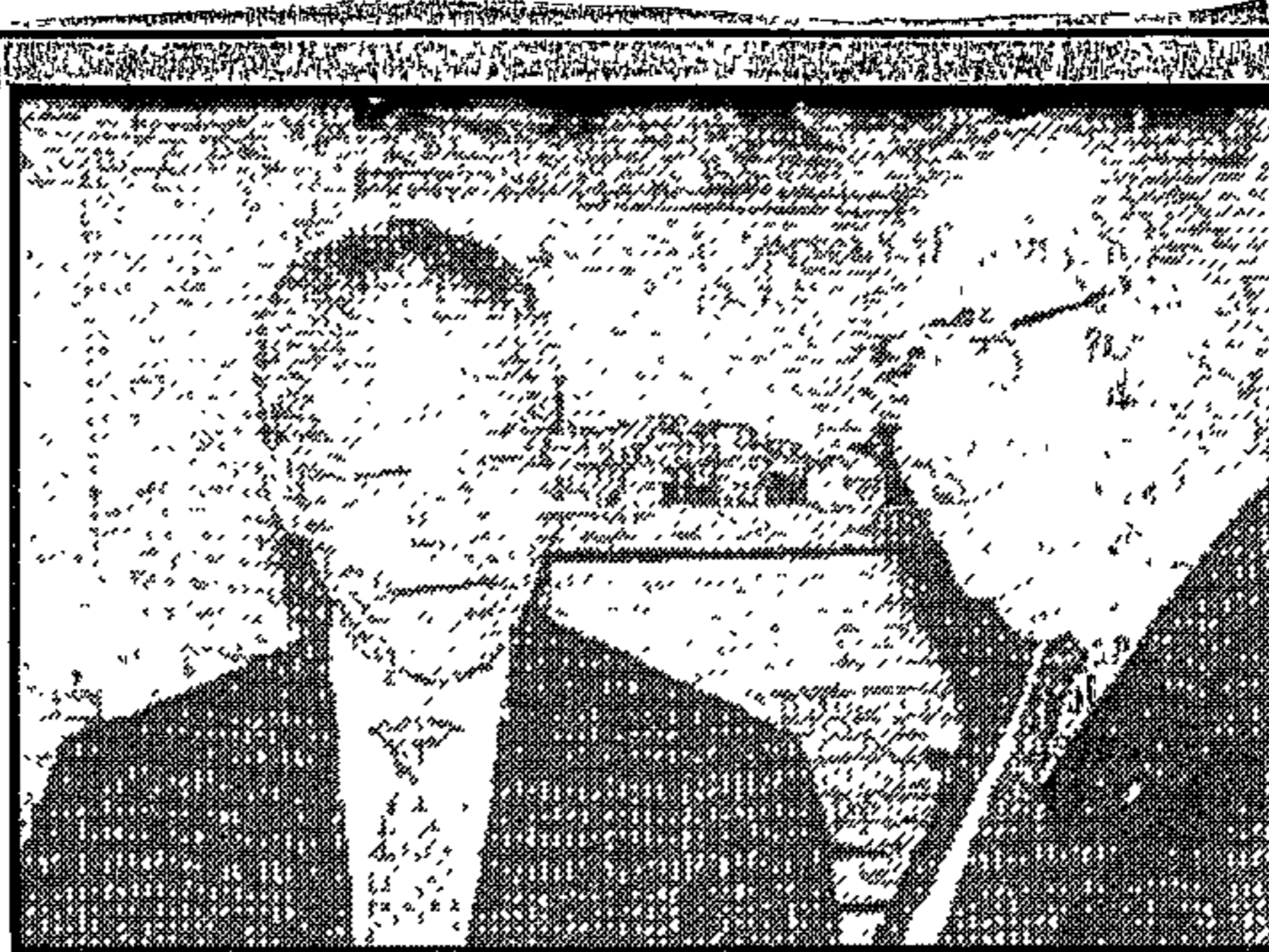
Representatives of the organisations were speaking at a media workshop organised by the Media Workers Association of South Africa

held at a Johannesburg hotel.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa for the PWV region said the media had a vital role to play in the democratisation of society.

"As such I do not think political organisations should seek to silence the media."

PAC official Mr Basner Ngceba decried "inflammatory utterances by all political organisations".



**MEETING:** Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Helmut Kohl.

## Mandela warns Kohl of violence in SA

**BOB TILLEY**  
The Argus Foreign Service

BONN. — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela warned German leaders not to expect a bloodless transfer of power in South Africa.

In talks with German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Mr Klaus Kinkel yesterday, Mr Mandela said his organisation could not guarantee there would not be violence in the "difficult times ahead".

Mr Mandela said he expected an announcement of a date for elections before the end of this month, and he appealed for German financial assistance to enable the ANC to stage an effective campaign.

But Mr Kohl did not respond positively to this appeal, according to Bonn government officials.

Mr Kinkel broke off a meeting on the Bosnian crisis with other European Foreign Minis-

ters in Brussels to hurry back to Bonn to meet Mr Mandela before the ANC leader flew home to Johannesburg last night.

● Meanwhile in London a newspaper claimed Mr Mandela was used by race militants to "politicise" the murder of a black schoolboy. The Daily Mail quoted police as saying they feared unrest over the death of teenager Stephen Lawrence was being fomented by activists.

Stephen, described as a "peaceful and studious" boy, was stabbed to death at a southeast London bus stop by a gang of white youths, believed to be members of the racist British National Party headquartered nearby.

Last week Mr Mandela met members of the Lawrence family, and told them that while racial violence was common in South Africa he was horrified it should take place in an apparently peaceful society.

# Mass demo experts due in SA soon

Star 11/5/93

By Helen Grange

A team of foreign experts on policing will arrive in South Africa shortly to help plan a crowd control training course for members of all major political parties, sources said yesterday.

The ANC has already announced it will put 3 000 of its marshals through a six-month training programme.

The criminology departments of the University of the Witwatersrand and University of the Western Cape are negotiating with the ANC and other parties about training possibilities, and a team of overseas experts will assist in doing a "needs analysis", according to one university source.

Professor Clifford Shearing of the University of the Western Cape said the proposed training course was an attempt to implement recommendations of the Goldstone Commission on the handling of mass demonstrations.

ANC marshalling head Rocky Malebana-Metsing confirmed yesterday that the organisation was talking to "sympathetic institutions" about assistance with training in unarmed policing and crowd control.

At present, 100 marshals were benefiting from training facilities made available to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

ANC organising head Steve Tshwete said yesterday that the need was growing for well-trained marshals in the run-up



to elections and during the transition.

He added that no official position had been taken on the suggestion of joint training with other parties.

Meanwhile, the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat is involved in discussions with the ANC and other parties on the issue of a multiparty "peace corps" during the elections.

MK commander Joe Modise recently proposed that a brigade of crack MK, SADF, SAP and homeland soldiers be mobilised to deal with violence during the transition.

The peace corps would not replace the police, but would be used in the most volatile areas to ensure a climate was created for free and fair elections, Modise said.

Professor Mike Hough of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria said he doubted a joint peacekeeping unit could be formed in the short time before elections.

"It would be difficult to train and finance a unit like that in the time available. There would also be political ramifications."





# More hope than horror beyond the far horizon

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**M**R PETER GASTROW's talk in Parliament this week of "civil war" says more about the young Natal MP than about the country. When a national leader begins to gnaw his fingers over dangers that lie beyond the horizon, as he put it, his nerves are beginning to fray.

The cause of the anxiety, I suspect, is not simply the sporadic mayhem of the township youth but the gathering rebelliousness of the whites on the right.

Our generals have, in losing everything from Tobruk to Cuito Cuanavale, managed to acquire a reputation for ferocity which makes even a short, chunky little man like General Constand Viljoen loom 10 feet tall. Our farmers bear the brave reputation of Boer generals like Delarey and De Wet; or that other Viljoen — Ben Viljoen — who ended up in Texas earning his living as a trick rider at rodeos.

Whatever the reason, the gathering of farmers and retired generals at Potchefstroom on Thursday sent a frisson of anxiety through all South Africa, and beyond. From the stadium where they met, however, the anxiety, the talk of "civil war", seemed remote and exaggerated.

The farmers (there were about 6 000 of them — I counted) were angry, it is true, over the killing of isolated and usually aged people on their homesteads, over the withdrawal of credit, over farm-labour legislation and especially over the price of maize. But they were *ordentlike mense*, decent folk, well behaved, self-disciplined, corpulent and devout.

They were neither as angry nor as violent as the crowds I saw in my youth, tussling with the Torch Commando and hurling chairs at photographers, nor as mean-spirited. Only a handful bore sidearms, and the South African flags outnumbered the *Vierkleurs*. I decided the civil war was not about to start, so I left early. Later, I'm told, General Viljoen dutifully exhorted the farmers to join the commandoes. The war talk was mere posturing.

That's not the impression one gets from reading the newspapers, of course. They home in, unerringly, on

the violent rhetoric, the raised fist, the pistol tucked into the waistband and all the other, familiar images of political street theatre. Television, even more than newspapers, turns politics into an elaborate dance.

I dwell on the character of this meeting because I think it important that we should not frighten ourselves with illusions. The dangers of South Africa's transition are real, and sometimes daunting, but it is important to identify them correctly and to define them precisely.

The farmers and the generals do have the capacity to unleash fearsome violence, but the danger is not immediate. The immediate threat lies in the social disintegration of the townships, which has produced marauding cohorts of youngsters — depraved, as the song puts it, because they are deprived — whose behaviour is so savage as to arouse the impulse towards counter-violence.

The "lost generation" is truly lost, unto the third and fourth generation. The children who gave up their schooling to seek liberation in 1976 and in the following years are now ineducable; they are incapable of transmitting to their children the habits of learning, the disciplines of industrial society or the willingness to postpone satisfactions. Children who now fail at school will see their children fail, and their children after them, and there is nothing anybody can do about it — neither Nationalist nor ANC, neither capitalist nor socialist. They are lost.

**M**OREOVER, their numbers are growing and their influence is spreading. An epidemic of ignorance and violence sweeps the townships, and the police are powerless to stop it because they do not have the trust and support of the mass of the people. Only a government which enjoys legitimacy — which has been elected by procedures that are broadly perceived to have been fair and free — can restore order, or execute incorrigibles, or establish work battalions, or impose a minimum of civilised discipline on youngsters who have run wild.

The National Party is increasingly helpless. We are seeing, time and again, that it can offer no more than threats or promises; where old laws prove ineffectual, it offers new ineffectual laws. But when disorder threatens, it must turn to the under-trained, unfunded, well-meaning ANC marshals.

Hard-pressed police officers, standing on the front lines, must surely perceive sooner or later that their own best interests lie in answering to an effective democratic government rather than to an ineffectual white government.

**T**HE second source of danger lies on the right wing, not with the *ordentlike mense* who gathered at Potchefstroom, and perhaps not even with the generals, but with the right-wing crackpots, the racial ideologues who use "communist" as a code for "black", the social misfits who find a sense of security in firearms, the psychopaths whose need to vent rage seeks an outlet in violence. The assassins and the bombers. The Afrikaans word *sluipmoordenaars* — furtive killers — describes them precisely.

Both these threats, from left and right, are manageable, given quick agreement to establish a national government and wise policies afterwards, but it is necessary to ensure, right now, that the farmers and other classes of decent whites do not become the sea in which the psychopathic right-wingers swim, and that the mass of the black population does not make common cause with the bandit class of young black people.

So long as there is a white policeman to keep order at Potchefstroom, and a black ANC marshal to keep the township predators in line, there is good hope of a relatively peaceful outcome. Orderly, peace-loving, reasonable people are still in the majority in this country, turning up at work every day, and living decent, well-ordered, law-abiding lives.

What lies just out of sight, beyond the horizon, is not "civil war" but peace and order. Our leaders need only to grasp it.

**KEN OWEN**

(274)  
Star 11/5/93  
**Protection  
for newsmen**

By Montshiwa Moroke  
(275)

The ANC and PAC yesterday offered at a Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) workshop on safety, direct protection to journalists in townships, following the killing of SABC newsman Calvin Thusago last month.

PAC labour director Basner Ngceba suggested that journalists obtain addresses of officials in areas, who would accompany them.

Spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC has 10 iron rules and one states "that under no circumstances must we attack the media".

## Talks deal will boost tourism — FW

DURBAN — President F W de Klerk said yesterday he had no doubt negotiations would be successful and this would lead to a reduction of violence, the early establishment of a transitional executive council and the installation of a government of national unity next year. *BIDM*

Opening the SA Tourism Board's marketing exhibition "Indaba" in Durban, De Klerk reiterated his confidence that a settlement was imminent. *12/5/93*

A government of national unity would

lead to a dramatic reduction in violence, which would open the way to an unprecedented increase in international tourism.

De Klerk said tourism contributed 6,1% of the world's GDP and "SA wants its fair share of this enormous market". *274*

Satour has said international tourism already provides the country with an annual income of R3,4bn in foreign exchange. Tourism Minister Bhadra Ranchod said SA hoped to attract 1-million overseas visitors by 1995 and 1,75-million by 2000. — Sapa.

# Parties say no to spoiling tactics

Political Correspondent

POLITICAL parties yesterday undertook not to disrupt meetings held in the Western Cape following a special conference convened by the Western Cape Peace Committee. ~~2017~~ 274

At the conference, the executive of the committee, the police and the African National Congress said they wanted to ensure that both international and local peace monitors attend two meetings — to be hosted by Inkatha and the ANC — in Parow this week. CT 12/5/93

It will be the first time the ANC holds a meeting in the traditionally conservative area. The Peace Committee will also meet with non-signatories of the Peace Accord to discuss political tolerance at meetings in the area.

The ANC called on the government to "seriously take issue with threats by the right-wing".

ANC regional assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said both he and Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni had received anonymous threats related to their involvement in the meeting.

Mr Hofmeyr said extensive security precautions had been taken to ensure the public's safety at the gathering.

No cover for  
peace officials  
in townships

Political Correspondent

NO insurance company has been willing to provide cover for peace officials who negotiate agreements and defuse tensions in conflict-riven townships, parliament has been told.

Talks are now underway to investigate forming a special fund for members of the conflict-resolution committees and peace consultants who may become victims of violence.

Mr Theo Rudman, executive director of the government-funded Directorate of Internal Peace Institutions, says in his first report that the committees are "called upon to combat violence and intimidation at grassroots level" and that staff often found themselves not only ideologically, but often physically, caught between the conflicting parties.

# Insurance denied to peace staff

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

NO insurance company had been willing to provide cover for the members and staff of the 11 regional peace committees, the National Peace Accord reported yesterday.

The 78 staff members of these committees also did not receive any fringe benefits, the Directorate of Internal Peace Institutions said in its 1993 report, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The directorate was taking up the matter with donors and the insurance industry with a view to a special fund for members and personnel who might become victims of violence.

The absence of fringe benefits had resulted in regular calls on the secretariat and directorate to provide a transport allowance and life insurance.

The executive director of Internal Peace Institutions, Mr TD Rudman, praised the regional and local com-

mittees for their role in combating violence and intimidation at grass-roots level.

The committees had performed the vitally important function of facilitators in keeping discussion alive in disputes, negotiating with the parties involved, consulting the authorities concerned and monitoring the implementation of resulting agreements.

Mr Rudman said the facilitating function was by its nature a very sensitive one. Great care had to be taken in appointing a facilitator.

## Unpredictable

Mr Rudman said he was assisted by 22 officers in the peace secretariat, who worked in inherently demanding and time-consuming circumstances.

"The nature of the process of dispute resolution and conciliation is such that the day-to-day activities of the directorate are characterised by matters unpredictable and urgent — the virtually impossible usually has to be achieved in crisis situations and at all times of the day or night," he said.

# Threat 'from radical left'

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DIRK VAN EEDEN

RIGHT-wing leaders said yesterday that the threat of a Bosnia-style civil war in SA would come not from the right, but from the radical left.

However, reacting to President F W de Klerk's statement on Saturday threatening action against the left and the right, they said that to ignore the Afrikaner's right to self-determination was a recipe for strife.

Gen Constant Viljoen, the retired general co-ordinating attempts to unify the right, said it was clear the Afrikaner Volksfront established on Friday had been branded radical and extremist.

He was not prepared to enter into a mudslinging contest with De Klerk, but called on him to "keep his door open" to the Volksfront. If De Klerk could talk to the ANC, which by its own admission was radical, he should talk to the Volksfront.

He said multiparty negotiators, in their

rush to create peace, were ignoring the Afrikaner's right to self-determination. That was the real threat to peace.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said if De Klerk had intended to hit the left and the right with the same blow, he had missed the right completely.

"The violence is coming from the left, but he does not have the courage to speak frankly with them."

HNP leader Jaap Marais said there was no comparison between the left and the right, as the right wing had only threatened war and De Klerk had "nothing to react to. Every time De Klerk hits out at the left, he has to look over his shoulder at what the ANC's reaction will be."

● See Page 2

● Comment: Page 6

BIDAY 10/11/93

# Crowd-control experts to aid marshals

The Argus Correspondent

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ARG 11/5/93

JOHANNESBURG. — A team of foreign experts on policing is due in South Africa soon to help plan a crowd-control training course for all major political parties.

The ANC has already announced that 3 000 of its marshals will have a six-month training programme, but has denied reports that it is forming a police force.

The criminology departments of the universities of the Witwatersrand and Western Cape are negotiating with the ANC and other parties about training possibilities, and a team of

overseas experts will assist in doing a "needs analysis", according to a university source.

Professor Clifford Shearing of UWC said the proposed training course was an attempt to implement recommendations by the Goldstone Commission on the handling of demonstrations.

ANC marshalling head Rocky Malebane-Metsing confirmed yesterday that the organisation was talking to "sympathetic institutions" about assistance with training in unarmed policing and crowd control.

ANC organising head Steve

Tshwete said yesterday the need was growing for well trained marshals.

He added that no official position had been taken on the suggestion of joint training with other parties.

Meanwhile, the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat is involved in discussions with the ANC and other parties on the issue of a multiparty "peace corps" during the elections.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise recently proposed that a brigade of crack MK, SADF, SAP and homeland soldiers be mobilised to deal with violence during the transition period.



# Police take steps to protect farmers

*13/05/93*

THE SAP would take immediate steps to improve the security of people living on farms and smallholdings and, where possible, policemen would be placed on farms of vulnerable elderly people, police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said yesterday.

The move followed several recent murders which apparently had political motive, he said.

But SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) president Boet Fourie warned that if the police security measures were not effective it would be difficult to stop retaliatory action on the part of farming communities.

The SAAU has called on President F W de Klerk urgently to reintroduce the death penalty and to use the full power of the state to combat murder and lawlessness, particularly on the platteland.

The appeal came after discussions yesterday between the SAAU's general council and Van der Merwe and other police generals.

Van der Merwe said the police had, for some time, been busy with comprehensive steps to improve the security of those living on farms who were regarded as being particularly vulnerable.

Manpower in the affected areas would be increased as soon as possible and, where the manpower position allowed it, policemen would be placed on the farms of the elderly people concerned, he said.

Patrols would be intensified and Van der Merwe appealed to all residents in affected areas to protect themselves.

Police spokesman Capt Nina Barkhuizen said "every member of the force that can be spared" would be used to protect people living in "sensitive areas".

*STEPHANE BOTHMA and GERALD REILLY*

She said police reservists would also be used in affected areas, which included the Free State/Transkei border where several attacks had taken place recently.

All trained police reservists in the eastern Transvaal had been called up for service following recent attacks on elderly people in the area, regional commissioner Maj-Gen Chris Smith announced.

Since the death of SACP leader Chris Hani on April 10 there have been nine attacks on old people in the region, and during 1992 there were 67 attacks.

Roadblocks, patrols and police visits to farms have been stepped up.

After the SAAU discussions with police top brass yesterday, Fourie said where necessary unrest areas would have to be proclaimed and curfews introduced.

On the controversial issue of labour legislation for the agricultural industry, Fourie said the SAAU had decided it would in future negotiate with government only on a basis of a single amended Act.

The SAAU, he said, rejected the possibility of extending the principles of the Wage Act to agriculture.

This view would be passed on urgently to Manpower Minister Leon Wessels.

Fourie said the general council reaffirmed that unity and co-operation within organised agriculture was imperative. It pledged itself to establishing an "unstoppable" united front in the interests of the farming community.

□ Sapa reports that Lettie Opperman, 62, was shot dead in her bed on her White River smallholding by two burglars early yesterday. Her husband was wounded.



Transvaal Rural Action Committee new SABC board at a public h

## No insurance for mediators

*13/05/93*

Political Staff

NO INSURANCE company had been willing to provide cover for members and staff of the 11 regional peace committees, the national peace accord reported yesterday. (274)

The 78 staff members also did not receive fringe benefits, the internal peace institutions directorate said in its 1993 report, tabled in Parliament.

However, internal peace institutions executive director T D Rudman praised regional and local committees for their role in combating violence and intimidation at grassroots level.

"The object envisaged, which has in fact been achieved, was that the regional and local committees would, by negotiating with the parties involved, resolve disputes that cause or could cause public violence and intimidation, that they would consult with the authorities concerned, especially on planned public action of a contentious nature in order to prevent conflict and to monitor the implementation of agreements that may result."

The directorate was consulting donors and the insurance industry on launching a special fund for those who might become victims of violence.

## Security firms invaluable, says ANC

*13/05/93*

PRETORIA — Private security companies would be an invaluable resource for SA, but the industry needed to be better regulated, ANC security head Joseph Nhlanhla said yesterday.

Speaking at a conference on security in SA at Pretoria University, Nhlanhla said the industry should consider introducing its own code of conduct to prevent intervention by the state. (274)

In order for the private security companies, which currently employed 300 000 personnel, to "assume a positive role in the unfolding situation," adequate conditions of employment, training and compensation would have to be standardised.

*ADRIAN HADLAND*

It was also vital that the industry ensured its members were politically neutral, Nhlanhla said.

Brig Gert Jonker of the Correctional Services Department told the conference, organised by the Institute for Strategic Studies, that communities had to assume more responsibility for the rehabilitation of criminals. (274)

Structures such as correctional boards and local parole boards should be used by the community to combat crime at a grassroots level, Jonker said.

Representatives from the SAP and the Namibian police also presented papers.

# Attacks: Farmer anger 'near breaking point'

Political Correspondent

THE two rightwing parties in parliament have warned, after the latest farm murders, that anger in platteland communities is fast reaching breaking point.

The Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie made sharply critical statements yesterday about the murder of Mr and Mrs Duimpie Steyn of the Breyten district.

The CP said "terrorists and murderers must now realise that active self-defence measures are being put in place."

AVU spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz said it was unsatis-

factory and insufficient that only the murderers should pay the cost of their deeds "since the authorities have known for a long time who the propagators are".

He said the link between calls for the murder of farmers by political leaders and the increase in murders was "indisputable".

The AVU demanded that police act against leaders who incited their followers to commit murder. Inaction would be criminal.

Mr Mentz warned: "No one can be sure when the mounting resistance will reach breaking point."

ARC 13/5/93

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# Consumer boycotts mark the start of mass action

THE ANC's programme of rolling mass action took off yesterday with consumer boycotts and protests countrywide.

The Transkei/Natal border post was sealed off for several hours by demonstrators during a day of turmoil on Natal's lower South Coast, and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance launched a boycott of white businesses throughout the eastern Transvaal. The alliance also called for boycotts in many other centres.

Our Durban correspondent reports that youths stoned several cars and trucks north of Port Shepstone, injuring at least two people, while police reported that cars travelling through Transkei were stoned near Bizana.

The town of Harding came to a standstill as businessmen heeded an ANC stayaway call, and several shops closed in Port Shepstone where thousands of protesters staged a peaceful march.

The ANC said it was considering consumer boycotts in Port Shepstone, Richmond, Matatiele, Kokstad, Harding and a number of Transkei towns from Monday. It said it was protesting against continued SA security checks at border posts, and called for the arrest and trial of "known killers" in the area and the dismissal of two senior SAP officers. The organisation also called for an election date to be set and the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Meanwhile, DIRK VAN EEDEN reports that ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu said a consumer boycott in

that area would continue until an election date had been set.

He said the alliance demanded the immediate establishment of a transitional executive council, the reinstatement of workers who took part in past stayaways and the de-electricification of the Mozambique border fence. Government should also take action against "right-wing lunatics".

On the Reef, the Krugersdorp consumer boycott continued and the alliance made plans to start boycotts in Germiston and Alberton.

WILSON ZWANE reports that the ANC Kagiso branch vowed to continue its boycott in Krugersdorp. Its demands included:

- The removal from Kagiso of all white policemen until all security forces were placed under multiparty control;
- The resignation of all Krugersdorp councillors and the installation of an interim administration accountable to all people in the area; and
- The recognition and financing of Kagiso's defence units.

Chairman Uhuru Moiloa said the consumer boycott was launched last Saturday after it had become clear that Krugersdorp residents "were not interested in living with us".

Police spokesman Col Ray Harrald said police would not accede to the demand that white policemen be removed from any township. Policemen, irrespective of colour, had a duty to serve the people. If there were complaints regarding police conduct, these should be filed with police for investigation.

In Germiston, ANC PWV regional executive committee member Mondli Gungubele said a consumer boycott would start on Monday, despite initial demands being met.

The ANC had demanded that three Germiston metal working companies — Rand Refinery, Hargram Engineering and Thomas Foundry — halt disciplinary action against workers who attended last month's funeral of SACP chief Chris Hani.

Rand Refinery GM Herman van Heerden said all differences between the company and the NUM had been resolved. NUM officials had agreed to recommend that Rand Refinery not be targeted for mass action and that Rand Refinery's actions not be used to support a consumer boycott of Germiston. Germiston Chamber of Commerce manager Denise Bland said Hargram engineering had withdrawn all action against its workers yesterday, while Thomas Foundry had insisted that no action had been taken against its workers.

Gungubele said the boycott would go ahead because the alliance expected Germiston and Alberton businesses to "use their clout" to force government to release the prisoners and set an election date.

The ANC also announced that a protest would be staged in Alberton on May 22, to demand the release of 56 members detained in the Modderbee Prison. If they were not released, a consumer boycott of Alberton would be launched on May 24.

# SACP, Cosas call to deepen school crisis

□ 'Over 5,6-million pupil days lost this year'

JOHN VILJOEN  
Education Reporter

THE SACP and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) have called on pupils to occupy under-used and unused schools and to deepen the education crisis until their demands are met.

Their regional executive committees met yesterday.

Meanwhile, principals return to high schools today for the first time since April 28.

This was decided at a meeting of parent teacher student associations, Cosas, principals and the National Education Coordinating Committee last night.

The meeting adopted resolutions stating that exam fees should not be paid by any matric pupils, but that matrics should register for the exams "which must and will take place".

In a joint statement by SACP Regional Secretary Mr Lizo Nkonki and Cosas after their meeting, the organisations demanded the immediate scrapping of the R48 matric exam fee and a halt to retrenchments of House of Representatives teachers.

The organisations condemned the looting of shops and delivery vehicles, the stoning of drivers who are trade union members and "selective reporting" of pupil activities

by main-line media which divert public attention from pupil demands.

The Department of Education and Training reports that the South African Democratic Teachers' Union has refused a DET request for an urgent meeting about the union's intention to strike.

DET spokesman Mr Geoffrey Makwakwa said the request for a meeting yesterday followed the department's concern at the serious consequences of a further loss of tuition time in schools.

So far this year, more than 5,6-million pupil days had been lost in high schools through disruptions.

ANG 13/5/93 (52) 274

NEWS Girl tells of Boipatong murder

Police image is  
*Sowetan 14/5/93*  
improving - NPS

■ Better relations established with black community:

Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

THE perception that the police were the "strong arm" of the Government was fast disappearing, Mr Antonie Gildenhuys of the National Peace Secretariat said yesterday.

In his report on the NPS, tabled in Parliament yesterday, Gildenhuys said the "poor relations between the South African Police and the black commu-

nity" had been a serious impediment to peace in the past.

"This relationship is changing for the better," he said.

The SAP's department of community relations was playing a vital role in building confidence between police and ordinary citizens in black communities.

"Much more so than in the past, the police are prepared to act pragmatically as circumstances require," Gildenhuys said.

## Wits/Vaal violence reduced - Gildenhuys

Star 14/5/93

CAPE TOWN - There has been a general reduction in violence in the Witwatersrand and Vaal areas, which has permitted increased emphasis on violence prevention and social reconstruction, according to National Peace Secretariat (NPS) chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

"There is generally a significant drop in political violence, particularly in the number of deaths," he said in the NPS annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Peace rallies could be a successful instrument in promoting peace. Efforts were being made to get parties at loggerheads to meet on a grassroots basis as a first step towards reconciliation.

"Joint rallies are the next step in the progress towards peace," the report said.

Peace structures in these areas had been severely tested by the political activities which followed the assassination of Chris Hani.

Negotiations between the ANC and SAP on steps to keep marches and gatherings peaceful had prevented the Wits/Vaal region being declared an unrest area.

Tension still remained high in the Natal region, where the regional peace committee had focused on mediation and the resolution of disputes on a reactive, rather than preventive, basis.

"The regional peace committee has been unable to es-



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 establish local peace committees in a number of key areas. Political parties laying down preconditions for the formation of committees was a major obstacle."

Workshops had established the three major stumbling blocks as the political climate, shortcomings in the security and judicial systems, and shortcomings in NPA structures.

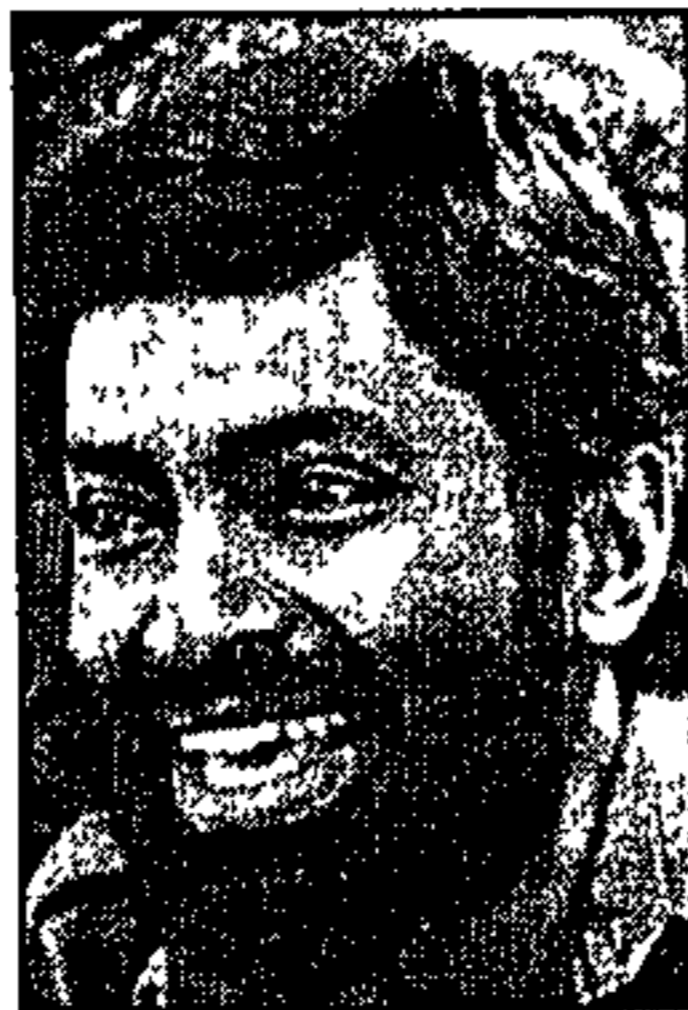
Problem areas included the Midlands, Mool River, Bruntville and Estcourt, which were extremely tense and militant. There was cautious optimism about progress after valuable co-operation from party representatives, it said.

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 There had been an improvement in the Port Shepstone area where, six months ago, there were more than 70 killings a month.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and IFP in northern Natal had heralded a change of atmosphere at committee meetings. The two parties had also proposed the implementation of a number of resolutions to strengthen the peace process after the tragic killings in the Table Mountain area between Maritzburg and Durban. - Sapa.

## Broeders praise 'open' selection

Star 14/5/93



Grilled... former Azapo chairman Saths Cooper.



Interviewed... Methodist Bishop Peter Storey.

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Two former Broeders said yesterday they welcomed the "transparent" process of selecting a new board for the SABC, saying they had rejected the secret nature of the Afrikaner organisation.

A seven-member panel yesterday continued to delve into the personal and political background of nominees.

Hendrik Sloet, former Broederbond and chairman of Saambou, who is a member of the SABC board, said he had never "seen on paper" the news policy barring extra-parliamentary organisations from the airwaves. Board chairman Professor Christo Viljoen admitted on Wednesday there had been such a policy.

Sloet said: "I made the deduction when they were not allowed to have their say on TV. In hindsight it was a wrong decision."

The panel, chaired by Mr Justice I Mahomed and Mr Justice P J Schabert, has interviewed 33 nominees during the past two days. More than 50 interviews remain.

A former Radio Moscow reporter for almost 30 years, Dr Phila Ndlovu, was asked to describe conditions in the Soviet

broadcasting corporation.

"Did you not find it utterly suffocating to be told by the party what could be permitted?" asked Mr Justice Mahomed.

"I did," said Ndlovu.

Others interviewed yesterday included Moeletsi Mbeki, a consultant to the ANC/Cosatu media department, social anthropologist Dr Caroline White, former Azapo chairman Dr Saths Cooper, Methodist Bishop Peter Storey, Sunday Times journalist Carmel Rickard, former Sunday Tribune editor Ian Wyllie, and former NGK moderator Johan Heyns.

● The National Party strongly condemned the hostile style which marked Wednesday's board selection hearings, NP media liaison director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday, according to Sapa.

● The spectacle on television of Mr Justice Mahomed questioning board chairman Viljoen reminded Afrikaner Volksunie MP for Bethal Chris de Jager of Hitler's SS generals, he said yesterday, according to Sapa.

"We know about the Spanish Inquisition and we saw what kind of inquisition is waiting for South Africa," he said during debate on the Home Affairs budget vote.

## Immunity for observers

Star 14/5/93

By Helen Grange

International observers have been granted immunity and privileges similar to those enjoyed by diplomats.

The announcement was made yesterday in an extraordinary Government Gazette.

In terms of the announcement, international observers have been exempted from all forms of taxation and have been granted legal immunity as far as their official duties are concerned.

Visas are also to be issued to them free of charge.

James Canu, spokesman for the UN Observer Mission, said yesterday that foreign observers had been waiting for the announcement.

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 "It is welcome news. It comes in the wake of communication between the observer missions and the Government on the matter," he said.

Canu said such immunities and privileges were common practice in other countries around the world where international observers were operating.

Foreign observers, he said, would be especially pleased with the news that they would no longer have to pay double tax - both in South Africa and their countries of origin.

Other privileges would not make much difference to the way observers had been operating. "We have had no problems moving around, but it is good to have that right recorded on paper."

## 86 pc of voters have their IDs

Star 14/5/93

CAPE TOWN - About 7 000 polling stations will be set up for the coming general election.

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 Issuing of identity documents is going well and about 86 percent of the 22 million eligible voters already have these.

Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte said more than 90 percent would have ID documents by early next year.

These would be virtually impossible to forge as a special lamination process and laser printing had been used.

Schutte would not comment, but it seems little is being done in the TBVC states about the election. - Political Staff.

## Dawie breaks the ice

Star 14/5/93

By Gerald L'Ange  
 Star Africa Service

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 Zimbabwe's crumbling policy of refusing contact with South Africa at ministerial level will be virtually abandoned today when Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Public Enterprises, goes to Harare to sign an agreement to build a power line to Bulawayo from Matimba power station in the western Transvaal.

The policy, which was to have been enforced until apartheid was irreversibly abandoned, has been made impracticable by Zimbabwe's dependence on South Africa for transport and power.

The signing will represent a big advance in Eskom's plans

for a power grid across southern Africa.

The Matimba-Bulawayo project has been pushed forward earlier than planned to give Zimbabwe access to South African power if drought again cuts generation in Zimbabwe, as it did last year.

The line will act as a back-up until another line is built to Zimbabwe from the Cahora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. It will also enable Zambia to draw power through its link with the Zimbabwean grid.

Botswana will also sign the agreement in Harare because, although it will not initially draw power from Matimba, the line to Bulawayo passes through its territory.

# Foreign observers granted special rights, immunity,

(274) ART 14/5/93  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — International observers have been granted immunity and privileges similar to those enjoyed by diplomats.

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Mr Canu said such immunities and privileges were common practice in other countries around the world where international observers were operating.

Foreign observers, he said, would be especially pleased with the news that they would no longer have to pay double tax — both in South Africa and their countries of origin.

THE LAW FM 14/5/93

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## Why bother?

**Government's vast** statutory power to counter crime and violence is about to be augmented with yet another tough measure — but critics argue that many of the laws are virtually useless. An amendment to the Arms & Ammunition Act, piloted through parliament last week by Law & Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh, increases penalties for the illegal possession of AK-47 rifles and hand grenades. Myburgh says that last year nearly 500 people were killed with AK-47s and 69 in grenade blasts.

The new measure comes barely a week after DP justice spokesman Tony Leon slammed government for creating a "paper chase of legislation," much of which amounted to "little more than words on paper."

Speaking in the parliamentary debate on the Justice budget vote, Leon said SA's system of justice had failed to be effective, accessible or credible. To back his argument, he cited the Criminal Law Second Amendment Act, rushed through parliament last year to deal with the problems of illegal weapons, intimidation and private armies. The law defining the offence of "indirect intimidation" stipulated that the maintenance and organisation of private armies constituted an act of indirect intimidation and provided for heavy penalties.

But in spite of the measure, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre Blanche boasted at a recent meeting in the eastern Cape that his "wenkommando army" was 45 000 strong and he invited more recruits.

"He incites lawlessness and violence and the State turns a blind eye. So we churn out more legislation and we do nothing to bring the full force of the law to bear on transgressors," said Leon. He added that there were many similar examples of people on the Left who also broke the law with abandon.

Government's contradictory approach to justice was further illustrated by last year's urgent effort to ban gambling. The Howard Commission that was eventually appointed to investigate the issue recommended the legalisation of the very type of gambling government had wanted to outlaw.

A third example of recent "legislative futility" was the Drugs & Drug Trafficking Act approved last year. The measure, described by Leon as draconian, was opposed by the DP who were accused by Nationalist spokesmen of being soft on drug-pushers. Though Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee told parliament at the time that the new law was "striking at the heart of the problem" and was "long-awaited and timeous," it came into operation only 10 months later.

"The cumulative effect of this pattern of legislative ducks and drakes, which has come to characterise the government in decline, means one thing: the failure to apply laws which this government enacts simply under-

\* \* \* cont - D

CURRENT AFFAIRS FM 14/5/93.

scores the need to move SA back on track and install a new interim government," declared Leon.

He said a second crisis facing the administration of justice was the replacement of principle with expedience, which had undermined the confidence of ordinary people in the system of justice.

This was best illustrated by the Further Indemnity Act, which allowed the early release of prisoners such as Barend Strydom, Khethani Shange and Robert McBride. Coupled to this was the ease of obtaining bail for people charged with violent crimes

"There is no doubt that respect for the law is a prerequisite for democracy. But if the criminal justice system collapses and the majority has no confidence in the law, crime will never be controlled," he said. ■



# Two killed in clash with police as pupils block township

**Two** pupils were killed and two injured in a clash with police after pupils blocked the main entrances to the township.

A spokesman for the western Cape peace committee confirmed the deaths, but a police spokesman could not immediately do so, Sapa reports.

An SABC reporter at the scene said two trucks were burnt out and another stoned. Pupils ran for cover as police fired rubber bullets and tear gas.

As part of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) western Cape region's campaign to

block major routes into the townships, pupils in Khayelitsha also went on the rampage, stoning and torching cars.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that according to 17-year-old Cosas regional publicity secretary Ndoda Ngenuthi, drivers whose cars were stoned or torched should walk away from the scene to escape injury. "It is only arrogant drivers that are going to get hurt. They can take the keys of the truck or car and leave us with the property. We won't harm them."

He said "arrogant" drivers were those who refused to stop and drove "recklessly

at the kids".  
**KATHRYN STRACHAN**

The Mass Democratic Movement, whose members include the ANC tripartite alliance and Cosas, has expressed concern at some attacks, notably:

- On vehicles and people bringing vital health care, welfare and other services to the communities;
- On motorists and in some areas, white and coloured people who had been singled out; and
- On journalists and monitors of the peace

accord and the international community. Nationwide violence, sparked by protests against the matric exam fee, continued to rage yesterday, with pupils warning that the country would be in flames if authorities refused to give in to their demand to scrap the fee.

In Soweto clashes between protesters and security forces left several people injured and vehicles worth about R200 000 ablaze. Twelve pupils were arrested in eight confrontations in the township.

Soweto police spokesman Maj Joseph Ngobeni said security forces used birdshot

to disperse stone-throwing crowds, but they had received no reports of injuries. Baragwanath Hospital, however, said it had treated several people for birdshot wounds.

In Maritzburg, protests ended with Cosas members holding a senior Department of Education and Training official hostage in a DET building for five hours. Pupils said the official would be released only once government responded to their demand to scrap the fee, but police were able to rescue him by mid-afternoon. Police

To Page 2

**Clash 8/10M 145793.**

also evicted pupils who burst into offices in the building and destroyed furniture

Meanwhile, pupils in the southern Transvaal announced a new direction for their protest. Cosas southern Transvaal spokesman Vitalous Xaba told a news conference in Johannesburg a consumer boycott was being planned for the region.

He said pupils would sit for their exams whether they had paid the fee or not. "If they refuse to let us sit for the exams, the country will be in flames," he said

While pupil protests escalated, teachers from around the country staged their own demonstrations against a range of issues. In Durban, 11 Sattu members appeared in court on charges of trespassing after a

**(274)**

sit-in at the local DET offices to put their demands on the merit award system. The charges were withdrawn

Sattu members in Cape Town picketed outside the SABC offices in Sea Point, in protest against the SABC's alleged unfair coverage of the education crisis. In Bellville, others continued their sit-in at DET offices against proposed retrenchments and the 5% wage increase

In the tertiary sector, thousands of Venda University students and staff marched on the SA embassy in Sibasa to present a memorandum protesting against the closure of Bophuthatswana University. Protesters hijacked vehicles en route.



# Police strong-arm image 'changing'

CAPE TOWN — The perception in the black community of police impartiality was improving but had not been established fully, national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said in the secretariat's annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

"The strong-arm image, which the police carried for some time, is fast disappearing. Much more so than in the past, the police are prepared to act pragmatically as circumstances... may require," he said.

Discussion of proposed police activity between interested parties and the conclusion of agreements relating to mass action had greatly enhanced the acceptability of police action by the broad community.

"A poor relationship between the SAP and the black community has been a serious impediment to peace in the past. This relationship is changing for the better."

New techniques and the involvement of foreign experts in programmes were making the police more efficient, he said.

It was unfortunate that there were still insufficient numbers of police officers for the tasks required of them in these times. Confusion and overlapping with other police forces, specifically those from the homelands, was impeding efficiency.

Gildenhuys said there was a general reduction in violence in the Witwatersrand and Vaal areas which had permitted increased emphasis on violence prevention and social reconstruction.

"There is generally a significant drop in political violence, particularly in the number of deaths," he said.

Peace rallies could be a successful instrument in promoting peace. Efforts were being made to get parties at loggerheads to meet on a grassroots basis, he said.

Peace structures on the Reef and in Vaal areas were severely tested by the political activity that followed the assassination of Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

Negotiations between the ANC and the police on steps to keep marches and gatherings peaceful had prevented the area being declared an unrest area.

Tension still remained high in Natal,

where the regional peace committee had focused dispute resolution on a reactive rather than a preventive basis.

"The regional peace committee has been unable to establish local peace committees in a number of key areas. Political parties laying down preconditions for the formation of committees was a major obstacle."

Workshops had established the three major stumbling blocks as the political climate, shortcomings in the security and judicial systems, and shortcomings in the national peace accord structures.

Problem areas included the Midlands, Mooi River, Bruntville and Estcourt. There was careful optimism after co-operation from parties. There had been an improvement in the Port Shepstone area, where six months ago more than 70 people a month were being killed.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha in Northern Natal had heralded a change of atmosphere at committee meetings. The two parties had also proposed implementing a number of resolutions to strengthen the peace process after the killings in the Table Mountain area between Maritzburg and Durban.

The lack of an inclusive political dispensation for the whole population, and the poor socioeconomic conditions in which a large section lived, were the main barriers to lasting peace, Gildenhuys said.

Political intolerance constituted a formidable barrier to peace as there were too many areas where free political activity did not take place.

Neither of these two problems could be solved by the peace secretariat, as negotiating an acceptable political dispensation was the task of politicians. Also, socioeconomic reconstruction was beyond the financial reach of the peace structures.

Commercially motivated violence, such as taxi wars and robbery, were still major destabilising factors. Regional and local peace committees were playing their role to combat this violence by strengthening the hands of the police, promoting better community/police relations and mediating disputes. — Sapa.

## Tough action on illegal immigrants

CAPE TOWN — Government plans to tighten the noose on illegal immigrants from China, Russia and African countries.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte told Parliament during his budget vote yesterday that 82 575 people had to be repatriated last year.

Most of those expelled were citizens from neighbouring countries — 61 210 from Mozambique, 12 033 from Zimbabwe and 6 235 from Lesotho.

However, there were also warning signs of a growing influx from China and Russia.

As result, visas for holiday and business visits to SA from these countries would be subject to strict screening.

At a media briefing earlier, Schutte would not be drawn on the number of illegal immigrants from these two regions, but said visas would in future be granted

Political Staff

only in proven instances of bona fide visits where claimable guarantees for repatriation were also furnished.

"Since the handing over of the administration of Hong Kong in 1997 to the control of the government of mainland China has become an inevitable prospect, an unparalleled fear for the future has gripped almost the whole of southeast Asia.

"Along with that, the new freedom that the government of mainland China has given its citizens to travel to other parts of the world and to explore business opportunities there for the first time in decades, resulted in an euphoric spirit of 'freedom,' which particularly induce the younger generation of Chinese to try and find a new life somewhere else," the Minister said.

# Lawyers allege Von Lieres cover-up of police brutality

LAWYERS for Human Rights (LHR) suggested yesterday that Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau SC and the SAP were attempting to cover up acts of police brutality by denying monitors access to dockets.

Earlier this week, LHR national director Brian Currin also accused Transvaal Attorney-General Jan D'Oliveira SC of similar actions.

Both Von Lieres and D'Oliveira have denied strongly they are involved in a deliberate cover-up and say the claims are grossly defamatory and unjustified.

The row has prompted the national peace secretariat to make the issue a priority item on the agenda of its May 22 peace committee meeting.

The LHR assertions followed an SABC Agenda programme this week on police brutality in which police reporting officer Jan Munnik claimed his investigations were being frustrated by the SAP and Von Lieres, who refused to give him access to dockets he asked to see.

"The refusal of the SAP to allow him (Munnik) access to dockets was based on an opinion received from the attorney-general of the Witwatersrand.

"This smacks of a cover-up and renders Munnik's appointment useless and a waste of taxpayers' money," Currin said in a statement.

Munnik, an advocate, was appointed a police reporting officer in terms of the national peace accord.

Von Lieres said yesterday his involvement in the matter had been to supply the SAP with a legal opinion on the interpretation of existing laws and provisions of the

STEPHANE BOTHMA

peace accord in relation to the status of privileged police dockets.

Von Lieres said Currin's accusations were "defamatory, malicious and destructive of the attorney-general's integrity".

Sources said Von Lieres had demanded SABC TV offer an apology, with the same prominence as the Agenda programme.

Quoting from the peace accord, Von Lieres said signatories acknowledged that the provisions of the accord were subject to existing laws, rules and procedures.

If a clash of interests existed between the accord and existing laws and rules, the provisions of the accord could not prevail above the law.

"On the principle of the matter I gave the police an opinion," he said, adding his opinion had corresponded with that of the police's own legal experts.

"I have never seen or met this Munnik. I don't know him, and he has never approached me regarding any problem concerning any access to a docket," he said.

Procedures, clearly spelt out in the accord, stated that the unit investigating alleged police torture should submit a written or verbal report to the police reporting officer on the progress and outcome of investigations, he said. This did not include making privileged police dockets available.

The SAP said yesterday it had adhered strictly to the peace accord. Contents of police dockets were regarded as privileged information and would therefore not be made available to the police reporting officer.

## Forum date postponed a day

THE negotiations forum at which the date for nonracial elections is expected to be announced has been postponed a day and will now meet on June 3.

The rest of the Kempton Park negotiations schedule has also been reorganised.

And it was learnt yesterday that four members of the peace secretariat had been seconded to the new technical committee dealing with violence. They join the ANC's Sydney Mafumadi and Inkatha's Walter Felgate on the committee, which also has a government member sitting on it.

Yesterday was the deadline for parties to submit proposals to the seven technical committees, which were briefed for their tasks on Monday.

The committees report to the planning committee today. The planning committee facilitates the process.

Sources said government's proposals were "merely a refinement" of the constitutional proposals released by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee at the beginning of the year. They dealt primarily with principles to be included in an interim constitution and those that should remain in the final constitution.

The technical committees have until May 25 to deal with an avalanche of work to prepare recommendations and draft legislation which will form the basis of the

BILLY PADDOCK

negotiating council discussions on May 25 and 28.

The council will then negotiate on key issues and reach as much common ground as possible in time to report back to the negotiating forum on June 3.

Negotiators do not believe they will have reached agreement on details of the transition process by this date, but are aiming for the setting of an exact election date and obtaining agreement on broad principles for the way ahead.

Meanwhile, an important bilateral meeting between government and Bophuthatswana that was due to take place this week was cancelled. No firm date for a future meeting was set. Two government meetings with the CP this week failed to make any progress and were described by government sources as "difficult".

However, in a meeting with Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer managed to make headway and kept the right-wing party in the process after threats that it might withdraw.

Beyers hailed the meeting as a "breakthrough" and said he saw a future for his party remaining in the process and making a meaningful contribution to it.

NEWS Girl tells of Boipatong murder and terror ● SAP now seen in a better light

# Police image is improving - NPS

*Sowetan 14/5/93*

■ Better relations established with black community:

**Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent

THE perception that the police were the "strong arm" of the Government was fast disappearing, Mr Antonie Gildenhuys of the National Peace Secretariat said yesterday.

In his report on the NPS, tabled in Parliament yesterday, Gildenhuys said the "poor relations between the South African Police and the black commu-

nity" had been a serious impediment to peace in the past.

"This relationship is changing for the better," he said.

The SAP's department of community relations was playing a vital role in building confidence between police and ordinary citizens in black communities.

"Much more so than in the past, the police are prepared to act pragmatically as circumstances require," Gildenhuys said.

# 'Sister shot 8 times'

By Tsale Makam

*Sowetan 14/5/93*

■ CASH CALL Men demanded money:

**A** 14-YEAR-OLD was shot eight times and an eight-year-old stabbed to death with a spear as they hid under a bed at their home in Boipatong on June 17 last year.

This was said by matric pupil Miss Alice Nonjoli as she recounted in the Delmas Circuit Court yesterday how her family was attacked that night.

Thirty-two Inkatha Freedom Party members have pleaded not guilty to 45 counts of murder resulting from the massacre at Boipatong.

The accused, all dwellers of the KwanMadala Hostel near the township, are each on bail of between R500 and R1 000

Nonjoli told Mr Justice AJ Smit that she peeped through the window and saw about 150 men at a street corner wearing blue overalls and white headbands.

"I grabbed my four-month-old daughter, who was asleep, and hid with her in the wardrobe. Fikile (14) and Ndo (8) were sleeping under the bed."

Two men entered the bedroom, dragged Fikile from under the bed and demanded money.

"When she told them it was her mother who had the money one of the men shot her eight times with a pistol. The other leaned over the bed and stabbed Ndo," she told the court.

"I did not leave the wardrobe until I heard neighbours' voices in the house. We found my mother-in-law lying on the dining room floor with bullet and back wounds."



# Shards of optimism grow out of crises

By David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

OPTIMISM is a variegated quality; to some it is the refuge of the unworried and to others the triumph of the will. To continue nursing optimism about South Africa is perhaps to invite the charge of failing to read one's newspapers, or to tune in to the radio. Rampaging students, racial massacres, threats of secession — superficially the country is sliding to disaster. But there is a strong case to be argued that optimism about South Africa's future is to be discovered from a realistic assessment of it.

Perhaps the main reason for optimism is that the country has a sense of direction — unlike Northern Ireland or the Middle East. The problem (as in those two other cockpits of conflict) is self-evident. The general direction in which a solution can be discovered has been identified and, in the case of South Africa, society has set off down the path. A momentum has been created in this country which has a dynamic, a logic all of its own. Crises loom, at times they even arrive, but almost magically they vanish — somehow gobbled up by the intolerant force of progress.

The process is one which frequently wrong-foots the media. The news industry, understandably but unfortunately, thrives on disaster, or the anticipation of it. In South Africa one has constantly to remind oneself of the evanescent nature of "crisis". All week there has been a sense of crisis about a student revolt, schoolchildren going on the rampage in townships unrattled, in this time of high expectations for blacks, at the government's failure to reform the education system. The "crisis" threatened to come to a head on Friday with a march by 50,000 students through Johannesburg. A previous march led to clashes and looting. This time, it was feared, the commercial capital could be reduced to mayhem.

Shortly after midday a local radio station was excitedly reporting that students and security forces were mustering, peace monitors were desperately mediating, the atmosphere was tense and clashes seemed imminent. I arrived on the scene 10 minutes later to find some abandoned barbed-wire entanglements thrown up in front of the city library and a couple of schoolgirls munching apples amid the swirling traffic of another mundane Johannesburg lunch-hour. A crisis had vanished. Another "crisis" is that posed by rightwing whites with the creation of the "Committee of Generals", talk

THE chief director of South African military intelligence in the mid-1980s — Maj-Gen. P H Groenewald — claims that the right-wing group being organised by the Committee of Generals to fight majority rule would have 500,000 men ready to defend a proposed "white fatherland".

of secession and the emergence of the former head of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, as a unifying figure.

The white right has long been recognised as a major obstacle on that journey to the new South Africa. The recent assassination of Chris Hanu, demonstrated how easily rightwingers with guns and sufficiently murderous intent can fust a real crisis on the country. Nelson Mandela, among others, continues to see them as the real stumbling block. Is it now manifest in the little general?

Driving back from Potchefstroom and the gathering of belligent

Boers at which General Viljoen made his first public appearance as the putative hero of the right, I found myself playing with a fanciful conspiracy theory. It was that the general was in fact an agent of the National Intelligence Services (NIS), South Africa's senior intelligence agency which is believed to be strongly supportive of President F. W. de Klerk.

The scenario had it that, in the wake of Hanu's murder, NIS director Mike Louw called an emergency meeting at the agency's HQ and demanded what had gone wrong. "I thought we had the right-wings riddled," he railed at his subordinates.

He confirmed in an interview for BBC television this week that he is working with three other former generals, including Constand Viljoen (see below), former C-in-C of the South African Defence Force, and "70 different right-wing organisations".

reputation — the skeleton key to rightwing hearts. A messenger duly arrived at General Viljoen's retreat farm in the Eastern Transvaal where he found the little man digging his potato patch. Flashing presidential credentials he announced "General, your country needs you!" It is, obviously, all too fanciful to be true. But it is an instructive fantasy, because it illustrates how the emergence of a General Viljoen could play into President de Klerk's hands and in the end contribute to the peace process. There are inherent dangers; for the very reason that he is not working to a hidden agenda, General Viljoen could find himself heading a force he has harnessed, but is unable to control.

But he is a general, used to command. And above all he is a highly intelligent man who, one suspects, does recognise the unskopable dynamic which is leading to the new society. For that reason he could well be the man who ends up delivering the right to the negotiating table. A man who offers further cause for optimism.

# Shards of optimism grow out of crises

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in Johannesburg

OPTIMISM is a variegated quality; to some it is the refuge of the unworried and to others the triumph of the will. To continue nursing optimism about South Africa is perhaps to invite the charge of failing to read one's newspapers, or to tune in to the radio. Rampaging students, racial massacres, threats of secession — superficially the country is sliding to disaster. But there is a strong case to be argued that optimism about South Africa's future is to be discovered from a realistic assessment of it.

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"Why the hell didn't we anticipate it?"

The head of his rightwing desk protested: "They're too fractured." He gestured at the smug-looking head of the ANC desk: "They've got Shell House [ANC headquarters] bugged from top to bottom. I've got to watch 20 maverick organisations, half of them don't think, much less write. They blew Hani away on impulse. How can I anticipate anything?"

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# Education protest claims two lives

Star 14/5/93

By Phil Molefe and Sapa

The crisis engulfing black education claimed its first lives since the start of a nationwide campaign against exam fees when two pupils were killed in Guguletu near Cape Town yesterday during a battle between pupils and police, the Western Cape Peace Committee said.

A spokesman for the committee said two pupils died and two were injured when police fired teargas and rubber bullets at rampaging youths. Police could not confirm the deaths.

Violence erupted in several Peninsula townships yesterday morning, with pupils stoning cars and erecting burning barricades.

The peace committee expressed its disappointment with the violence and said the situation, which was "complex and

tense", had intensified before any kind of solution could be reached.

In a renewed outbreak of unrest in Soweto yesterday, 12 pupils were arrested for public violence and three vehicles valued at R120 000 were gutted in a day marked by a wave of clashes between the police and pupils.

Soweto police spokesman Major Herman Oosthuysen said security forces used birdshot to disperse stone-throwing crowds of protesters. He said the arrested pupils were in police custody, but did not say when they would appear in court.

A Baragwanath Hospital official said several people were treated at the hospital yesterday for birdshot wounds.

About 100 pupils from Alexandra, near Sandton, marched to the Kew police station yesterday to present a memorandum urging the authorities to address the crisis in schools.

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) yesterday said it was planning a consumer boycott in the southern Transvaal to push its demand for the scrapping of exam fees and the establishment of a national education forum.

Cosas regional secretary Vitalius Xaba said his organisation was consulting other structures with a view to galvanising maximum support for the boycott.

Despite good attendances reported elsewhere in the country, there was little or no effective learning in most Reef township schools. The Department of Education and Training said attendance at black schools in the Johannesburg region had dropped to nil and remained erratic elsewhere. The crisis had also spread to several tertiary institutions.

● Reaping education whirlwind  
— Page 11

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The SA Police's strong-arm image is fast disappearing and its relationship with the black community improving, according to the National Peace Secretariat.

It added that the involvement of foreign experts in designing training programmes was making the police more efficient and "the perception of impartiality is improving".

# Peace body praises SA Police

But the report found the SAP's impartiality had not been universally established.

The multiparty secretariat, in its annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday, said the SAP's poor relationship with the black community had been a serious impediment to peace in the past, but, "the relationship is changing for the better". The report points out that the

SAP has established a department of community relations and, much more so than in the past, was prepared to act pragmatically as circumstances on the ground may require.

Liaison between interested parties on proposed police activities and the conclusion of agreements on mass action had greatly enhanced the acceptability of police action by the

broader community.

It added that there were not enough police officers to undertake tasks required of them "in these difficult times".

Overlapping with other police forces — specifically those in the homelands — "impedes negatively on police efficiency".

The report also praised the police for accepting foreign experts into their ranks.



# IFP members stabbed at court

JOHANNESBURG. — Six Inkatha Freedom Party supporters were stabbed and seriously wounded after a skirmish with African National Congress supporters in front of the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Michael Phama was appearing in court in connection with the murder of 23 IFP supporters in Thokoza in 1991.

● A member of the Alexandra Taxi Association was assassinated in his private car near the township, north of Johannesburg, yesterday morning.

● Violence erupted at a Port Elizabeth factory this week when a worker accused of beating an AWB member was stoned and beaten by a mob of angry black colleagues.

● At least four people died in

incidents of violence in Natal on Thursday, bringing the violence toll in the province to at least 35 since last Friday.

● A 34-year-old policeman has been suspended after squatter camp residents claimed was part of a group of 12 who ran through their settlement near Brakpan on Monday, assaulting them with sticks. East Rand police are to hold an

identity parade tomorrow.

● The bullet-riddled bodies of two Sweetwaters women have been found and another man was seriously injured by gunmen near Maritzburg late on Thursday.

● A gunman opened fire with automatic weapons on a Steytlerville truck driver and his passenger in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

# Violence dashes hopes of new jobs — experts

**BRUCE CAMERON**  
Business Staff

INVESTMENT in the Western Cape is ahead of the rest of the country but it is not nearly sufficient to provide jobs for an estimated 300 000 unemployed people living in squalid conditions on the verges of Cape Town.

The debate, sparked by Cape Town Mayor Frank van der Velde, over whether business was doing enough to ward off the growing threat of social instability to the city continued to rage this week.

Figures on investment released by the South African Chamber of Business show that the only area in the country with investment growth is the Western Cape. But it is not enough to meet the demand of the swelling squatter camps and it is restricted to safer white areas, in particular the CBD. It is the lack of investment and job creation in the mainly black areas which are causing concern, says Dr David Bridgman, director of Wesgro, the Western Cape organisation responsible for stimulating investment.

Of overall concern to the business sector is the growing violence in the Western Cape frightening off potential new investment and consequently the ability to improve living conditions and stimulate jobs.

Added to this, the president of the Cape Town Chamber of Industries, Mr John Middleton, warned that with the economy continuing to contract, "survival rather than new investment is uppermost in the minds of most businessmen".

In a warning backed by Dr Bridgman, Mr Middleton said political uncertainty and social instability were the major factors behind the lack of investment.

Mr Middleton said a major factor would be the creation of a democratic federal or regional government for the Western Cape which would enable the region to move with "co-ordinated, co-operative vigour to realise the dream of peace, stability and economic prosperity".

Dr Bridgman said diminishing investment in black areas led to increasing unemployment and subsequent violence and less investment.

Without agreement on the political future of the country and measures to give businessmen guarantees that they would not lose their investments as a result of social instability or political violence, investors had little choice but to "sit on their hands".

The evidence of investment growth in the Western Cape reflected a change in South African fundamentals away from a mining-based economy to other factors such as a growth in the service sector, particularly in tourism where the Western Cape had an advantage.

But he said it was clear investment was at a low level.

Mr Middleton said that although small and medium business enterprises could create some employment for the 300 000 jobless in the region, "we must look to tourism, public works projects and small market garden farming".

274) ARLT 15/5/93



THE AK-47, used increasingly in political and criminal violence has become the best known of rifles available in South Africa today. Yet nobody can say how many of these guns there are the country.

According to the police, the 891 AK-47s recovered last year were just a small proportion of all such weapons in the country. They said any estimate of the numbers would be "pure speculation".

ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said recently that many of the weapons filtered into the country were originally sent by the South African Government to support the rebel Renamo forces in Mozambique, though this slowed after the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984.

Although the AK-47 has been linked with the ANC and PAC, their opponents have also smuggled it into the country. It has been used by both the ANC and the IFP in incidents of violence in Natal.

There have also been allegations that the so-called "Third Force" has access to the weapons and is using them, often resulting in organisations like the ANC being blamed for attacks. The only statistics available for the number of weapons in the region are from Harare where press reports quoted military sources as estimating that at least 1.5 million AK-47s had been introduced to Mozambique since the beginning of the civil war in 1975.

Many of these weapons have been smuggled into the country through Swaziland and Mozambique and have subsequently been sold in the PWV-region very cheaply. In January, police liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen said illegal AK-47s could be bought for as little as R100, although one in good con-

dition could fetch up to R2 000. Their cheap price and ready availability have also made it easy for criminals to lay their hands on the weapons. According to Military Research Group executive member Ian Robertson, one of the reasons the weapon has developed "mystique" is that it was readily available when the Soviet Union supplied it in the 1960s to those fighting for their liberation.

Robertson said it could easily survive harsh conditions and had proved to be adaptable to battle conditions better than many other weapons. Its range, velocity and weight meant that it compared favourably with the weapons used by the SA Defence Force.

The weapon was originally developed in 1947 by Mikhail Kalashnikov, and that is where most of the name comes from. The A is for the Russian word *Automat* or automatic, while K is for Kalashnikov and the rest is for the year the designer offered the weapon design to the Soviet government.

The AK-47 has become the focus of controversy after its repeated use in violent attacks in South Africa. MICHAEL SPARKS reports.

# SA awash with unknown number of AK-47 rifles

Star 17/5/93

the Soviet government.

The original weapon was very heavy and susceptible to blockages from dirt. So a revised, lighter version of the weapon was developed by 1952, resulting in the superior battle weapon that has been in wide circulation ever since.

Tefo Raditapole, who submitted the ANC's representations to the Goldstone Commission hearings on firearms in Cape Town last month, said one suggestion the delegation had made was for the police, in conjunction with the Mozambican government, to buy up very cheaply all the AK-47s they could, and then destroy them.

When asked whether this was a valid proposition, police spokesman Colonel Ray Har-

ald said: "This question cannot be answered meaningfully. The SA Police has no jurisdiction in Mozambique. There are a number of other problems, for example, financial implications, logistics, etc."

But Raditapole said that starving Mozambicans were happy to give their weapons away for food, and that it could be done if South Africa made arrangements with the Mozambique government.

He added that while the AK-47 certainly had a reputation as a powerful weapon misused by many criminals, far more crimes were committed with stolen, previously legal firearms than with AK-47s.

Police statistics show that last year there were 537 firearm licences issued daily, with more than 3.5 million guns owned by 1.3 million people.

Janine Rauch, a researcher at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation at the University of the Witwatersrand, agreed, saying a culture of firearms existed, where people believed it was legitimate to own a firearm.

Continue

11/5/93

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# Crops, drought worries farmers more than killings

APR 17/1993

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Just a few kilometres from where Gert Davel was strangled in the house on his De Wildt smallholding recently, a woman, who asks not to be named, points to her six large dogs and says she feels secure.

The attacks on farmers are just a sign of the times, she says. Violence is rampant everywhere and farmers are just the targets of the moment.

"It has nothing to do with politics. It's the luck of the draw. No farm patrols or high security are going to stop an attack.

"Besides, most farmers have more to worry about with the drought and everything than just fretting about security. It's better to leave that up to the politicians."

The views of this farmer's wife are broadly echoed by several of the other farmers and smallholders.

While not complacent about their security, most are matter-of-fact

about their lives and accept that great changes are in store, not just for farmers, but for the whole of South Africa.

Brits tobacco farmer Mr Willem Kruger says he will accept a black government, provided it is "a good government".

"I believe that if someone wants to get me, a piece of wire is not going to stop them," says Mr Kruger.

He has a more immediate problem on his hands. Fingering wilted tobacco leaves, he says: "This — the drought and my crop — is what keeps me awake at night."

Dirk and Alta Olivier have erected a sparkling new razor-wire fence around the house on their cattle farm near Ventersdorp. They had planned to put up the fence a few months ago, but only got around to it recently — it is not a reaction to the latest killings.

Six large, vicious dogs wander ominously around the house. Eyeing them, Mrs Olivier says she feels safe.



**CROP WORRIES:** Mr Willem Kruger, with daughter Lizl, 5, is more worried about his failing tobacco crop than security. If a black government is a good one, that's OK with him.

# Goldstone: tolerance the key

(274)  
RAY HARTLEY

TRAIN killings and political violence are inextricably linked and political organisations need to teach their members political tolerance to break the cycle of violence, the Goldstone commission says.

In its final report, the commission's train violence committee recommended yesterday that organisations exercise strict control over their followers. "Unacceptable behaviour by their followers in the conduct of political activities should be disciplined. The political rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha for support at grass-roots level has resulted in distrust, intolerance and enmity between their followers."

Noting the continued lack of confidence in the SAP, it said: "The SAP is still perceived to be an instrument of oppression maintaining a society divided in consequence of racial discrimination. Furthermore, it is felt that the SAP is not community based or oriented and, for many South Africans, the SAP is not perceived as a

fair, objective or friendly institution."

The SAP had committed itself to total impartiality, minimum force and cost-effective management practices. "The primary aim of the (SAP's) community relations division should be to ensure the acceptance of the SAP by the local communities. Leaders and their organisations should make their followers aware of this. They should encourage them to participate in the new forums and structures created for their benefit by the SAP."

Other recommendations included that the SAP address "the question of reluctant witnesses" by making certain that cases were properly investigated to ensure the conviction of train killers and by explaining witness protection programmes.

The committee found no evidence of third force involvement in train violence.

18/5/93  
B 10AM

# G'stone links train violence to politics

PRETORIA — Train violence was inextricably linked to political violence and there could be no separate approach to its solution, according to the Goldstone Commission's final report on train violence.

However, a question mark hung over the involvement of a so-called "third force" in train violence. The commission found, in its report

released yesterday, that political rivalry between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party had resulted in intolerance between their followers, which had spilled over to train violence.

The commission found there was no evidence that either the ANC or IFP had actively encouraged the perpetration of train violence, but recommended that leaders of both or-

ganisations educate their followers in political tolerance.

In its interim report released in July last year, the commission stated that whenever a group of attackers was identified they turned out to be hostel dwellers, mainly Zulu-speakers traditionally linked to the IFP.

Regarding allegations that a "third force" might be responsible for the

train attacks, no one came forward with relevant information.

But, the report added: "It must be stressed that the committee was presented with no evidence to justify a finding that no such activities took place."

The lack of trust in the South African Police should continue to receive "urgent attention", the report recommended. — Sapa

# Violence on trains 'linked to political intolerance'

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ARG 18/5/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Train violence, which has claimed hundreds of lives on the Rand, is inextricably linked to political rivalry and intolerance and can only be addressed on a long-term basis, a Goldstone Commission committee has found.

The committee, which inquired into train violence last year, recommended that political organisations should educate people at grassroots level about political tolerance, "which is essential for free and fair participation in the political process".

The committee said it was "clear that attacks emanate from hostels as well as from surrounding townships", but there was no foundation for any finding that hostel residents were mainly responsible for the attacks on commuters.

There was no evidence that any organisation actively encouraged the perpetration of train violence, nor was there any indication that train violence was aimed at any political goal.

While no evidence was brought to the effect that a "third force" was involved in train violence, there was also no evidence to justify a finding that no such activities took place.

The committee found great difficulty in gathering evidence against perpetrators because of the chaotic circumstances under which attacks were carried out and the unavailability of witnesses — many of whom would not testify for fear of intimidation or reprisals.

There was also a great lack of confidence and trust in the police, still perceived to be an instrument of oppression maintaining a society divided in consequence of racial discrimination.

In its recommendations, the committee advised that attempts should be made to involve hostel residents and township inhabitants in joint forums, while political organisations should exercise strict control over their followers at grassroots level.

"The SAP should continue to address the question of reluctant witnesses. This should be done by ensuring that cases are properly investigated so as to ensure convictions. Victims should be protected as far as possible," the report said.

The police should try to build trust in the community, while the public should be made aware of and should accept that the police are there for their protection.



# Brain is the best weapon

Star 19/5/93

(274)

**NELSPRUIT** — Knowing that you are capable of outwitting an attacker, and a few easily learnt self-defence techniques could mean the difference between life and death.

So says Jeanette Schoultz, a grandmother of five, who considers herself the mother of all defence.

The former Zimbabwe police reservist recently addressed a large audience at Nelspruit's Agricultural College hall.

She says crime in South Africa has become violent and ugly.

As a result, many have resorted to arming themselves, installing electronic gates and gadgets or erecting two-metre walls around their properties.

A wall, Schoultz explains, provides privacy, not security; most people with weapons admit they would hate to shoot and kill someone, and electronic gadgets can malfunction.

The only dependable weapon she says, is individuals with the right psychological approach.

"We have to change our attitude towards crime, believe in

ourselves and learn to handle the situation."

A golden rule is to avoid screaming, which usually sets off an attacker.

Attackers, she says, expect to attack and not be attacked and even winning a verbal argument is a psychological setback.

Knives and other weapons intimidate victims and the best means of overcoming fear is understanding that the problem is not the weapon but the attacker's mind.

"A psychological advantage, a few self-defence and attack techniques executed by an elderly person, or even a child, would discourage most attackers", she explains.

More use should be made of natural weapons, which should be stored in easy to reach places. These include an ordinary lead pencil, a wire coat hanger and even a bunch of keys which, when properly used, can be lethal. Even a walking stick or an umbrella are handy, natural weapons.

CLYDE JOHNSON

INVEST AT

# Judge Goldstone's Cape Town flat ransacked

Staff Reporters

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BURGLARS ransacked the Sea Point flat of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

APR 1975 193

Mr Justice Goldstone, who is in Johannesburg, said two television sets were stolen from the flat yesterday.

Police said a member of the special guard unit looking after the flat discovered the burglary at 5pm yesterday.

The flat was in a shambles with documents strewn about.

Mr Justice Goldstone said: "The only documents in the flat were receipts and personal stuff. There was nothing of value, certainly not any of the commission's documents".

# Students come together in drive for peace

Star 13/5/93

By Michael Sparks

symbol of peace.

Student representatives would pass the message of peace on to at least two other schools.

Included in the initiative were schools from Soweto, Alexandra, Kensington and Helpmekaar Girls School.

David Storey of the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat told the more than 700 pupils that it was very moving for him to see so many people working for peace since so much of his work involved watching violence and its effects.

Barnato Park students' representative council chairman Benny Motau, who was instrumental in setting up the initiative, told the students it was no longer good enough to wait for adults to try to provide peace.

"We, the youth, need to make peace, and perhaps show the adults how to work for peace," he said.

The loudest applause at yesterday's launch of a "students for peace" initiative went to one of the youngest speakers there — 12-year-old Kirsty Matthews from Kensington Junior School.

She read out a letter she and five classmates had written to ANC president Nelson Mandela the day after Chris Hani's funeral. The girls had apologised that, in wanting to work for peace, all of them were white, and asked Mandela whether he could refer them to black girls of the same age who might want to work for a similar goal.

The peace initiative at the Barnato Park High School in Berea, Johannesburg, brought together representatives from 10 schools to light candles as a

# Activist Award for Mandela

Star 13/5/93

By Brendan Templeton

The plot to kill South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo was an attempt to force the ANC into violent confrontation, ANC president Nelson Mandela said last night.

Accepting the Gleitsman Foundation's International Activist Award at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, Mandela said right-wing elements wanted to spark off a racial civil war.

Activist Helen Joseph was granted a posthumous award at the same ceremony for her contribution to social and political change.

The Gleitsman Foundation said Mandela was chosen for the award because it was "an appropriate time to honour the commitment of a man whose name has virtually become synonymous with equality and human rights".

Mandela shared the award of \$100 000 (about R318 000) with Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng, China's longest-held political prisoner.

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If we ask the Government today, however, who the enemy of South Africa is, they are silent. They say there is no longer an enemy. [Interjections.] Over the years MK and Apla have been regarded as the enemy because they committed acts of terror and aggravated the revolutionary climate in the RSA. That is why they were banned organisations.

\*Mr R V CARLISLE: ~~Derby-Lewis~~ about Derby-Lewis?

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: The hon the State President unbanned and legalised this organisation, however.

That member is just a Boerehater. That is all he is.

\*Mr R V CARLISLE: Derby-Lewis is not a Boer! [Interjections.]

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: At the same time he promised South Africa solemnly that violence and terror would not be tolerated. Meanwhile the bloody wave of violence has engulfed South Africa, however [Interjections.]

Mr R V CARLISLE: [Inaudible.]

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Apla accepts responsibility . . .

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Wynberg must contain himself. [Interjections.]

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Apla accepts responsibility for one act of terror after the other. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That also applies to other hon members.

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: The hon the Minister of Law and Order himself says that many members of MK are nothing but criminals but the NP Government refuses to ban Apla and MK because then the negotiations will fail. [Interjections.] This Government regards negotiations more highly than the lives of men, women and children.

The new enemy, according to this Government, is the rightwing. Covert and overt operations have to be carried out against right-wing organisations. Agents, informants and infiltrators of the security forces are now being used against right-wing organisations. [Interjections.]

It would be interesting to hear how many CP MPs' telephone conversations are tapped. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

\*Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, the fact remains that we are dealing here with a confirmed declaration of war on soft targets, namely White aged people on farms.

I just want to make this last comment. The Government is responsible for the large-scale disruption in Defence Force intelligence services which was caused by the destruction of the Directorate of Covert Collection of the Defence Force and the dismissal of intelligence officers.

By the way, at the time a great fuss was made about the fact that certain of these intelligence officers would be prosecuted criminally. To date we have not heard anything about this. They were not prosecuted. The Government owes these men an apology. Their names were dragged through the mud, and this must be rectified.

I contend that the good character and integrity of officers were infringed upon by the Government at the insistence of the ANC and the PAC. I think that this Government owes those officers who were falsely accused of crimes that they did not commit an apology.

\*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I had high hopes that the hon member for Pietersburg would tell us why the hon member for Potgietersrus was not here, but apparently that is a secret. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg made a big fuss about the fact that we sit at the negotiating table and negotiate with these people. What are they doing at the negotiating table? Why are they doing? [Interjections.] Is he not there now, or was he there yesterday? Surely they are free to say that they are not negotiating until such time as these things have occurred. Why do they lay the blame and the responsibility only on us? Dr W J SNYMAN: [Inaudible.]

\*The MINISTER: No, wait a bit. The CP must accept responsibility now.

\*Dr W J SNYMAN: It is the Government's fault.

The MINISTER: I wish to thank the hon member for Hillbrow for his contribution. The hon member is 100% correct, and he also answered

the question put by the hon member for Stilton-tein. Will the banning of these organisations solve the problem?

\*They are not going to disappear; they will merely go underground. If a person goes underground, one has not disappeared yet. [Interjections.] Let us therefore please deal with the matter in a pragmatic way.

The hon member said that we were no longer taking steps against the so-called enemy by means of intelligence. It is the policy of this Government that we do not investigate political parties as such with a view to security. This does not include organisations, however, that are still involved in the so-called armed struggle. It does not include those organisations.

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Who is the enemy?

\*The MINISTER: The hon member knows who I am talking about. He also asked how many CP MPs' telephones were being tapped.

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: That is a good question.

\*The MINISTER: Oh, no! I can tell that hon member that in the sphere of security he is really not so important that we want to listen to his conversations. [Interjections.] He can say whatever he likes to whoever he likes. We shall not know about it. He must enjoy himself! [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Self-governing territories: abolition of Act

2. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) Whether it is the intention to bring the self-governing territories into a single South African political dispensation through the abolition of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No 21 of 1971); if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B857E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the hon the State President announced in his Opening Address on 29 January 1993 that the Government, together with the self-governing terri-

tries, had started to investigate the possibility of joining forces in the administrative sphere. He also said that the Government would look at joint political decision-making and co-operation in a regional context.

In reply to a question from the hon leader of the DP, the hon the State President said the following on 4 February this year in the debate on his Opening Address, and I quote from Hansard, col 401:

There is no question about the self-governing territories, as they are, not disappearing . . . The leaders of those territories say the same thing. They do not want to continue as they are. There is consensus that a new, non-racial, geographically regional dispensation has to come about to replace the present racially based regional systems. However, this, the how of it, must be negotiated first

The hon the State President went on to say (col 402):

As I have indicated, steps are being taken in the meantime to negotiate transitional measures. These include rationalisation and joint administration wherever possible. They also include measures to ensure clean administration.

In the interim we have gone far ahead of this situation. At a meeting of a Conference on International Development Management on 9 February this year, the central Government, all six self-governing territories and the four provincial Administrations collectively resolved that constitutional change was inevitable and irrevocable, that final arrangements with regard to regional government would be formalised at the multiparty negotiating forum, that the Government would facilitate bilateral and/or multilateral discussions between the various provincial Administrations and the relevant self-governing territories in order to expedite more effective and efficient development and administration in the interim, and lastly that Government may proceed with the necessary legislation which would enable self-governing territories and the provincial Administrations, where applicable, to reach bilateral and/or multilateral agreements.

\*Discussions have since been held with all the self-governing territories and the provincial Administrations involved on the introduction of

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Government's policy: MK/Apla

\*1. Mr D S PIENNAAR asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether the legalisation of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the military wings of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), respectively, and other organizations of this nature has involved any change in the Government's policy in respect of the handling of the said organizations by the South African Police; if not, why not; if so, (a) what changes and (b) with what result?

B832E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, before 2 February 1990 both uMkhonto weSizwe and Apla were declared illegal and as such subject to all the legal provisions that go hand in hand with this. As part of the ANC and the PAC these two organisations were, inter alia, legally prohibited from recruiting members, propagating their policy or promoting any of their objectives.

After the lifting of the legal prohibition on 2 February 1990, the two organisations could proceed with all legal activities and the SAP could not take steps against them purely on the basis of the fact that they had previously been declared illegal. This resulted in the SAP having to concentrate on actions which were illegal according to the law which applies to all persons.

If any of these organisations, such as in the case of Apla, are guilty of violence, the SAP conducts the necessary investigation and takes action, as in the past, according to the requirements of the law. The fact that an organisation is legal and can proceed with its normal activities does not mean, however, that the SAP close their eyes to any illegal acts which may be committed by such an organisation or some of its

members. The law is enforced without regard to persons or organisation.

\*Dr W J SNEYMAN: Mr Chairman, the revolutionary onslaught on the existing order in the country has gained unprecedented momentum and shown progress since the beginning of 1990. We have good grounds for believing that the Government yielded to pressure and definitely made adjustments in respect of dealing with uMkhonto weSizwe and Apla, as the hon the Minister indicated now.

On 22 March the SA Police admitted through Lt Col Ray Harrauld that the security forces had been prohibited from taking action against Apla and MK from as early as 1990. In fact, the SA Police and Defence Force were prohibited from infiltrating these organisations at intelligence level to collect valuable information and in so doing to protect the public properly against calculated terrorists who continue with indiscriminate decimation and destruction like a murder machine.

How many murders have not already been committed on remote farms and smallholdings recently? Many of these murders and assaults are politically inspired and are the direct consequence of acknowledged terrorist organisations and their declared campaigns of *inter alia* "Kill a Boer, kill a farmer", "We are MK, we kill Boers" and "rolling mass action" which includes the envisaged occupation of White schools and the campaign for an election date and a so-called constituent assembly.

On 3 May the hon Chief Whip of the CP requested Mr Speaker in terms of the Rules of Parliament to place the entire matter on the Order Paper as soon as possible as a matter of urgent public importance. Meanwhile matters have not improved. At present two Whites are being murdered every day. Only yesterday two aged persons were blatantly struck down with pangas and bayonets and they are in a critical condition in hospital at present.

In a statement on 22 March the CP spokesman on law and order said amongst other things that we could not permit this state of affairs to continue. It had to come to an end. Surely we could not sit at the negotiating table and negotiate while agreement had already been reached in terms of the D F Malan Minute that the

murders would stop. How can the Government continue negotiating with terrorists and murderers who are negotiating while they continue to decimate and murder our people? [Interjections.] This cannot go on.

Negotiations must be stopped until violence has decreased in the country. Only then can further negotiations take place.

Mr L FLUCHS: Mr Chairman, it is self-evident that any Government agency, including the SA Police, is obliged to treat a legal organisation differently from an organisation which is banned. The legalisation of MK and Apla would obviously have changed the attitude of the SA Police towards those organisations and the manner in which the Police deal with such organisations on a day-to-day basis. Even a primary-school child can understand this self-evident fact.

This leads one to ask why the hon member for Potgietersrus, who is not unintelligent, has framed his question in the way that he has. In asking this question he shows quite conclusively that he is a reluctant participant at the multi-party forum, because he realises full well that the negotiating process would not have got past first base had the ANC, the PAC and its armed wings not been unbanned. He is hoping, I suspect, that the negotiations will fail and that MK and Apla will be banned. His problem and that of the CP is that they are not committed to giving up the privileges which apartheid has bestowed on them.

The DP is firmly of the view that the restriction on persons or organisations, or their banning, aside from being morally indefensible, would only serve to exacerbate the violence in the country rather than to curb it. We accordingly welcome any change in attitude displayed by the SA Police towards these formerly banned organisations. We also fail to understand the logic of banning organisations when those organisations will shortly be incorporated into the security and police forces.

The level of violence in our country at the moment is completely unacceptable, but we firmly believe that if those organisations were still banned violence would be more pervasive. However, the unbanning of political organisations should not be perceived as an invitation to commit violent acts and to break the law. On the contrary . . . [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I just want to make a general comment. If one is asked to deal with an interpellation, one makes an appointment with the interpellator and, if one cannot be present for some reason or other, one normally says that one is sorry that one cannot be there. [Interjections.]

It appears to me that the hon the deputy leader has now taken over the interpellation in consequence of the election result regarding the deputy leadership, but I am very sorry that it has been done in this way. [Interjections.] Perhaps the hon member can tell us afterwards why it was done like this. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg referred to what a certain Mr Ray Harrauld had said about the SA Police. He said that he had received instructions from the Government no longer to take action against Apla and these people. I say that that is not correct. I do not know whether he was correctly quoted or not, but I want it placed on record that this Government did not give instructions that it was not permissible to take steps against Apla and MK if they contravened the laws of this country. Let there be no doubt about that.

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Do you take action?

\*The MINISTER: Yes. I shall indicate in the discussion of my Vote how many members of MK and Apla we have arrested recently. If that hon member would like to make a few inquiries, he would receive the necessary information in that regard. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg spoke about the murders of Whites. My heart bleeds just like his but other members of our society are also being murdered. There is a difference, however, between the policy of my party and his party. Whereas two White members die every day at the moment, 200 a day will die if we implement his plans. [Interjections.] That is the difference. [Time expired.]

\*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Mr Chairman, over the years the successes of our security forces have always lain in the fact that covert and overt operations were carried out against the enemy. [Interjections.] The enemy of the RSA has always been the revolutionaries—those organisations that perpetrated terrorism

# FALLING VY QULLI DIALID GUYL, BUICE ULI VIUICIUU

AFRICA WATCH SUMS GOV POLICE GOV POLICE

IN a report strongly critical of what it said was government inaction on violence, the international human rights organisation Africa Watch today accused the police of continuing misconduct, and said they were widely distrusted in black communities.

The special report, titled "South Africa — Half-hearted Reform", said steps taken by the government had fallen far short of a serious attempt to end the violence.

But Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the Africa Watch report was highly misleading in that it failed to acknowledge that a political solution had to be found for the violence, and that the SAP could only deal with the symptoms of the underlying causes of violence.

Capt Kotze said one of the primary causes of the violence lay in the very area which Africa Watch had purposely ignored — the power struggle between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Africa Watch said: "Abuses of human rights by members of the security forces continue and neither the government nor the security forces themselves have made serious efforts to investigate and prosecute those responsible."

Africa Watch claimed the government had been "markedly reluctant" to accede to recommendations by human rights groups and commissions of inquiry.

Capt Kotze said Africa Watch had also apparently chosen to ignore measures taken by the government not only to combat violence but to deal with issues such as death in custody. These measures included huge call-ups of troops, and the deployment of up to one third of the SAP to combat violence. — Sapa

# Natal town in anti-ANC siege

## Angry farmers want action

**DURBAN.** — A truck was torched and five men were arrested when farmers and businessmen blockaded the streets of the southern Natal town of Harding with tractors, trailers and trucks in a protest against the "undemocratic boycott" of the town by the African National Congress and the "harassment and intimidation of shoppers".

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — Free State farmers gathered at a number of police stations throughout the province yesterday morning to demand the introduction of security measures in the region, it was reported.

The farmers demanded in memoranda that a curfew be introduced and that the police search black towns and squatter camps for illegal weapons.

Free State Agricultural Union security committee chairman Mr Faan Malherbe said at Hertzogville the mea-

The farmers also demanded that the government erect road-blocks on secondary roads and that control points be erected at the entrances to black towns.

The protests followed a meeting by Western Transvaal farmers in Potchefstroom on Monday where similar demands were made. — Sapa

ANC in Harding and because businesses were being used as political pawns.

Committee spokesman Mr Lawrence Hoatson said it had earlier called for a complete shut-down of all businesses until the ANC rectified the situation.

The committee said businesses would remain closed until further demands had been met.

These demands included that the ANC put forward a member of their local executive to the consultative peace forum in Har-

curred due to selected boycotts be reimbursed by the ANC/Coastw/SACP alliance and that Mr Yunus Khan be removed from the local ANC executive.

Should these demands not be met, further action would be taken, a spokesman added.

However, a representative of the Harding civic association said about 80% of the town's businessmen were not prepared to close down and were meeting to discuss the situation.

The ANC, southern Natal region could not be reached for



**TEA DISPLAY** ... Ms Annalie Moolman of the SA Cultural History Museum shows an antique teapot and two types of tea that are on

# PEACE, FRA

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**I**T WAS a normal working day, but the sleepy Natal capital of Maritzburg was deserted. At the other end of the city, a huge crowd marched along almost empty streets towards the centre. Stones thudded on our cars, although the international observer logo was clearly visible on the sides.

I felt anxious about a possible confrontation between the police and the thousands of youths who marched to the city centre for the Chris Hani memorial service. Despite the constant appeals for calm and discipline made by the leaders of the ANC, the images I take away from the occasion are of broken shop windows, burning tyres and a devastated city centre.

April 14 — the day of mourning for the assassinated leader of the SACP — was a day to remember.

Like dozens of international observers in South Africa, I was struck by the mobilisation capacity of the ANC and its allies, the justified level of frustration and emotion visible in the thousands who joined in the rallies, and the sight of the militant black youth.

Because of their difficult living conditions and the lack of prospects for a better future, many of these young people are dangerously attracted to an anarchic radicalism that affects the peace process at ground level.

The events of that day also increased our awareness of the enormously difficult role of the police in this period of transition. On the one hand, they are under constant physical and verbal attack by a significant sector of the black community. On the other, they are attacked by elements in the white commun-

## **For the past six months, international observers have been active in attempts to defuse violence in South Africa. In this personal reflection, as he leaves the country, European Community observer JAOA DA SILVA says that although levels of violence remain high, the observer missions have had some success**

ity who accuse them of being soft on crime and unable to prevent the serious increase in violence.

Mr Hani's assassination was a tragedy not only because of the murder itself, but also because it happened at a crucial moment in the process of political transition. Mr Hani was killed just as the main black political forces — the ANC and Inkatha — had begun to show a greater commitment to the peace process.

However, the assassination seems to have reinforced the feelings of the main black leaders about the urgent need to move quickly back into the negotiation process, even if this means making compromises with other parties.

It seems highly likely they will soon work out a political calendar for the next few months, including a date for elections, and this will help defuse political uncertainty and tension.

The peace process, designed to facilitate SA's political transition, was officially launched on September 14 1991. Representatives of most of the main social and political forces in the country signed the National Peace Accord on that day.

They committed themselves to co-operate with the structures to be set up under

the accord, and to fulfil its provisions. The SAP also signed a code of conduct, pledging to serve and protect all communities impartially.

The accord did not provide penalties for transgressors. Many political analysts believe this weakens the effectiveness of the accord's provisions. However, given the present stage of multilateral negotiations, it would not be realistic to expect that the different parties would agree yet on the establishment of sanctions for violators of the accord.

One-and-a-half years after the signing of the accord, much work has been done. More than 80 local peace committees have been established in unrest areas

**C**O-OPERATION between communities, the local and regional leaders of the main political forces and the peace structures has increased over the last few months.

However, the fact that a high level of political intolerance still exists remains an obstacle to progress.

Expression of that intolerance can be found in a policy of territorial gains and demarcation of spheres of influence, pursued by the most

important black political forces in some areas. It can also be seen when some black autonomous administrations refuse to allow rallies or marches in particular areas or at particular venues.

In many areas, tribal chiefs fear the process of political transition will weaken their age-old authority. As a result, they have not always co-operated in the peace process, and this has led to problems in setting up structures in rural areas.

The chiefs were not drawn into the initial negotiations, and they did not sign the peace accord. This has turned out to be a political error with high costs, as it has taken a long time to make them agree to give open support to the peace cause.

The first international observers began arriving in South Africa last September. Two months later, the four observer missions — of the UN, EC, OAU and Commonwealth — reached their full force and began to work together.

Their function is to co-operate with and reinforce the structures of the peace accord. They work closely with the National Peace Secretariat and the regional and local peace structures.

The observers monitor funerals and marches, attend — and sometimes participate in — the regional and local peace committee meetings and hold regular discussions with the SAP.

More recently, they have begun involving themselves increasingly with mediation on the ground. All of this is done with the intention of creating or reinforcing the structures of the peace accord.

After six months of activity, it is clear that the level of political violence has not de-

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# GILE PEACE

creased significantly. However, the presence of observers has had a clear impact in four main areas:

- It has contributed towards the more disciplined behaviour of the masses in big marches and rallies, helping to reduce incidents of violence.

- It has helped promote more impartial action by the police in controlling the crowds at marches. It also helps create better co-operation between the police and the ANC security structures during these protests.

The police have been encouraged to engage in dialogue with the communities and have become more receptive to suggestions made to them, mainly by senior police officers from Europe. As a result, channels of communication with black communities have been improved.

- Observers have helped increase the involvement of sectors of the black community in the peace process. The constant presence of representatives of the international

community in conflict areas and the dialogue they have established with the local people have helped increase awareness of the peace process as essential for a stable transition.

- The observers have been an important vehicle to convey information to political centres around the world about the problems facing South Africa. This inevitably leads to a greater commitment from the international community and to concrete measures to help find solutions to these problems.

**A**S for the immediate future, there is a widespread feeling that certain changes have to be made to South Africa's legal and judicial system, and that these could be facilitated through better co-operation with the rest of the world.

Important legal issues are under intense public scrutiny. These include provisions for bail and the extreme ease with which it is granted; the

insufficient use of witness protection programmes; the fact that special criminal courts are seldom used, even though they could speed up trials involving crimes of political violence; and the failure to appoint justices of the peace, provided for in law.

It could prove very useful to institute a programme of technical co-operation between criminal law and other legal experts from South Africa and their counterparts from European Community countries with legal systems similar to those in SA.

This should not be regarded as interference. Such a programme of co-operation should be seen merely as an extension of the legal links being formed between SA and some of the EC countries on such issues as policing.

The peace process will not stop with elections and the eventual departure of international observers. It is a process of democratisation and reconciliation which will take years.

Leaders of the main politi-

cal forces have publicly said the "new" South Africa has to accommodate all its people without exclusion of races or communities. For that to happen, it is necessary that those political forces sacrifice some of their partisan objectives in favour of national reconciliation.

With this in mind, recent political signs emerging from the multiparty negotiating forum are encouraging. However, a greater public commitment by political leaders to strengthening the peace process is also necessary.

The outside world will be convinced this has started once political leaders agree to participate in joint peace rallies, and convey to their followers the message that it is necessary to forget past disagreement and rivalry and work together towards national reconciliation.

□ Dr da Silva has just completed a six-month term of duty as a member of the EC mission. A career diplomat, he was formerly Portuguese Consul in Durban and EC mission spokesman in Yugoslavia.



# Training sessions plan for marshals

Star 20/5/98

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By Helen Grange

The Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat's education department is to develop extensive training sessions for marshals.

The decision to train marshals was made after a landmark agreement last week involving the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, the IFP and the SAP.

Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat director Peter Harris said a working committee including all the parties had been established and had already met concerning the training programme.

Representatives of the European Community and Commonwealth observer missions also served on the working committee.

Harris said the marshals would be trained in crowd control, self-defence, crisis response, conflict resolution and first aid. It is expected that the training courses will run over a number of days and be conducted by experts

agreed upon by the working committee.

The ANC announced earlier this month that it was putting 3 000 of its marshals through training. ANC marshalling head Rocky Malebana-Metsing said recently that the ANC would welcome any assistance with training in unarmed policing and crowd control.

Meanwhile, a group of 35 black prospective police administrators, including members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SAP, is being trained in police management at the Wits Business School.



# Aid plans for victims of violence soon

Argus 20/5/93  
(274)  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A three-pronged violence intervention programme — aimed at addressing the immediate needs of the victims of violence — will be launched by The Family Institute (TFI) in July or August.

The programme's first component, a toll-free telephone counselling service and follow-up direct counselling service, is already operating as a pilot service and has proved highly successful, says TFI executive director Dr Saths Cooper.

The second component will be a mobile community crisis response and recovery unit. This will provide swift support for, and entry into, a community afflicted by violence, back-up for organised mediators and a multi-disciplinary team of trained "neutrals" to provide trauma counselling, emergency medical services and legal advice.

The third component is humanitarian assistance and development. This entails setting in motion processes whereby the survivors of violence can assume greater control over their lives and communities.

More specifically, the emphasis is on reducing people's vulnerability to violence while increasing their receptivity to community consolidation and cohesiveness.

TFI will link up with organisations involved in peace initiatives and humanitarian aid. It will also establish teams of "rehabilitated" survivors of violence to help others experiencing adaptation problems arising from constant exposure to public violence.

● The toll-free telephone counselling service number is 0800-113399.

# Judge Goldstone flat break-in 'normal' (274)

CT 20/5/93  
Crime Reporter

POLICE believe a break-in at the Sea Point flat of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone was "nothing more than a normal robbery".

Burglars ransacked the judge's flat before stealing two television sets on Tuesday.

No documents were taken, a police spokesman said.

"At this stage we believe it was coincidence that the flat happened to be that of Mr Justice Goldstone," he added.

# Help us, Sexwale implores Star 20/5/93 world 274

ANC leader Tokyo Sexwale yesterday called on the world to put together a Marshall Plan for South Africa to defuse what he called a "time bomb".

Sexwale, leader of the ANC's PWV region, said the ANC leadership had stepped in to control black outrage over the murder of Chris Han-

... what we did was merely to defuse a time bomb, he told the Foreign Correspondents' Association.

He said international aid on a scale echoing the US Marshall Plan for war-devastated Europe after World War 2 was vital to help South Africa become a working democracy.

## Unrest

"The Marshall Plan is the critical element," he said, reminding the world of its moral responsibility to rehabilitate a country ruined by apartheid.

Sexwale said unrest was breaking out so spontaneously that the ANC "had to run to catch up".

He also said he backed the ANC's historic call for black South Africans to make themselves ungovernable.

"We have called for ungovernability. Why should the Government govern our people if we're in the struggle? We have the right to be ungovernable and to make apartheid unworkable."

In the short term he believed constitutional negotiators would succeed in putting together a democratic constitution, although it was wrong to raise hopes by constant harping on dubious breakthroughs.

In the medium term, political leaders would have to battle to inculcate a democratic culture and instil a sense of legitimacy in the new institutions.

The long term — delivering the hopes and expectations of a majority immersed in poverty — was the real problem, he said.

"We're not going to achieve that alone in South Africa without assistance from outside." — Sapa-AFP.

# Keep talking - Commonwealth

By Helen Grange

The Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) has called on politicians not to let recent events, including the PAC arrests, derail the negotiations process.

The appeal was made yesterday by visiting Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

He was present at the release of Comsa's second report on violence in South Africa, and announced the pending arrival of another group of Commonwealth observers - including experts in elections monitoring - in July.

"Part of the reason for my current visit is to consult broadly on how the Commonwealth can contribute to the success of the negotiations," the chief said.

Anyaoku, who arrived on Tuesday, has already met ANC leader Nelson Mandela, President de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.

He said speculation that the Commonwealth was considering withdrawing from South Africa was unfounded.

Comsa chairman Duncan Chappell called for a concerted effort to build a culture of political tolerance, especially as violence would probably escalate



Anyaoku . . . South Africans must become tolerant.

in the run-up to the elections.

Summarising Comsa's report, covering the period from February to May, Chappell said it noted that "some of the worst forms of political intolerance" had been witnessed after the murder of Chris Hani.

The report pointed out that until the Hani assassination, there had been a marked decrease in violence in the PWV area.

Positive developments noted are, among others:

- The resumption of negotiations with a far broader participation than in the past, and indications that an election date would soon be set. The report commends the broad consensus that negotiations should not be held hostage to violence.
- Greater respect for Peace

Accord structures, and their increased efficacy.

- Some hopeful beginnings to building a culture of political tolerance, including the restraint called for after Hani's assassination.

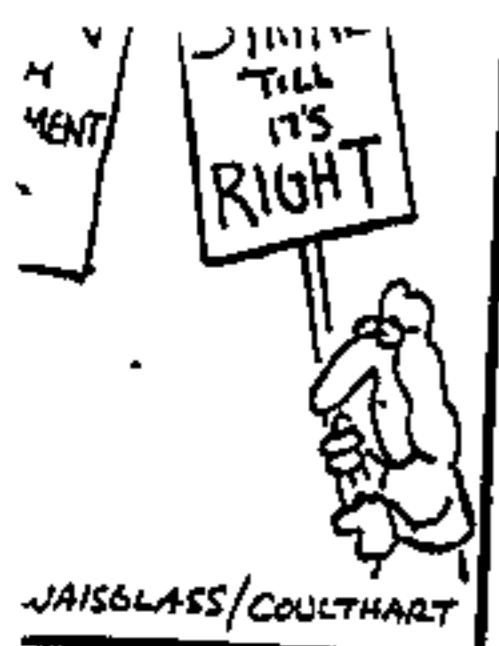
The report, however, notes that graffiti, slogans and chants "underscore a rise in intolerance at the very time when it is crucial that inflammatory remarks give way to considered political debate".

It recommends that practical suggestions be made on the holding of marches, which should be better planned. It is critical of the draft legislation put forward by the Goldstone Commission on public gatherings, which it views as "unduly restrictive".

The report also recommends banning the display of weapons at public gatherings and a comprehensive policy for dealing with weapons, including a buy-back scheme.

The TBVC states should also be reincorporated at the earliest possible date, with Pretoria using pressure if necessary, the report suggests.

The report is highly critical of the State's correctional system, which it says is "bursting at the seams, yet which is expected to cope with ever-increasing numbers of inmates".



...erstood when I apartment.'

to phone through to The Star newsroom this week?

Your struggle is the result of the recent installation of a new digital communications system.

Three organisations have been involved in the changeover — Altech's Standard Telephone and Cable Business Commu-

inside the building; Remez, which supplies the phones; and Telkom, which controls the countrywide communications network.

STC technician Mike van der Zanden said the switchover from The Star's outdated system to the new high-tech process took place last Fri-

nk into 40 Telkom exchange areas in the PWV area was put to the test on Monday and was voted a huge success.

But in the newsroom an eerie silence replaced ringing phones.

Telkom is urgently re-testing its side of the system. Meanwhile, please be patient, there is a problem...

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## Miners vow to uphold own peace accord

Almost 7 000 miners on  
Gengold's Beatrix mine  
in the Free State have  
committed themselves to  
a "peace accord" after  
two months of sporadic  
violence.

Ten people were killed  
in incidents of violence  
on the mine in March, re-  
sulting in the removal of  
more than 200 Zulu mi-  
ners to a "neutral" hostel  
in Welkom, mine spokes-  
man Andrew Davidson

said on Wednesday.

He said successful  
"peace negotiations" be-  
tween mine employees  
had resulted in the re-  
turn of the men.

The negotiations had  
been conducted under  
the auspices of the Na-  
tional Peace Secretariat,  
Davidson said, and all  
parties had agreed to re-  
frain from violence and  
intimidation. — Staff Re-  
porter.

## 3 suspects held as 2 constables shot

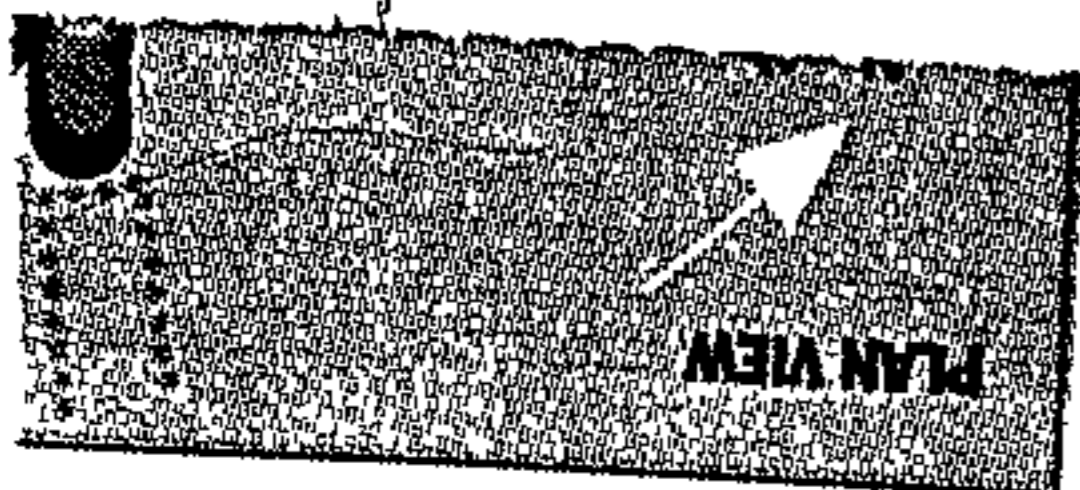
By Gien Elsas  
West Rand Bureau

Three men were arrest-  
ed after two municipal  
policemen were shot and  
seriously injured in Tem-  
bisa, East Rand, on Wed-  
nesday afternoon.

Lieutenant-Colonel  
Dave Bruce of the SAP  
said Constable LS Kgatla  
was off duty when he  
was shot in the chest  
while walking in the

street at 2 pm. His pri-  
vate firearm was taken  
from him. He is in a seri-  
ous condition in a local  
hospital.

At 3:30 pm Constable N  
Boloko, who was on duty,  
at the Limendela rail-  
way station, was shot  
and seriously wounded in  
the left side. Policemen  
arrested three suspects.  
They found the stolen  
firearm belonging to  
Kgatla in the possession  
of one of the suspects.



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THE BIBLE

## Goldstone postpones <sup>274</sup> mass-action workshop

PRETORIA. — The Goldstone Commission workshop on steps to prevent mass action crime has been postponed until May 26 and 27, a commission spokesman said yesterday.

The informal workshop would have been held here yesterday and today but had been postponed because some parties required more time to prepare, the spokesman said.

Participants will include the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, the security forces, the IFP, the National Peace Secretariat and other interested parties.

The workshop will be chaired by Goldstone commission member Mr Gert Steyn, National Peace Secretariat chairman Mr Antonie Gildenhuys and Johannesburg attorney Mr Seun Moshidi. — Sapa

# Labour camps 'will do away with loafers'

By **BION** 215793

**GERALD RILLY**  
(274)

PRETORIA — Labour camps should be established to combat the menace posed by unemployed "loafers", says Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) president Dries Bruwer.

The TAU expects all areas where incidents of violence have occurred to be declared unrest areas, Bruwer says.

Curfews, in co-operation with the TAU's security committee, have to be introduced in rural regions, and undesirable elements removed from unrest areas.

Farmers throughout the Transvaal are demanding tougher security measures from the police and the SADF to counter violence. Current measures have clearly failed, he says.

Farmers expect government to act urgently on the security demands made at a farmers'

mass meeting in Potchefstroom earlier this month.

He warns that if appropriate action is not taken, the TAU will have to consider seriously further demands by farmers.

Earlier this week Free State farmers demonstrated outside some police stations, demanding curfews, searches in black townships for criminal elements and arms, road blocks on secondary roads and the establishment of control points at entrances to black townships.

Bruwer said the idea was that "loafers" be taught basic skills, learn something of the work ethic and be placed in a position to make a major contribution to the economy.

In this way youngsters would be diverted from a lifestyle of crime and idleness to a more normal and stable existence.

Bruwer said young blacks convicted of criminal offences could be sent to the camps. The camps could also be opened on a voluntary basis for youngsters who wanted to break loose from the grip of poverty and crime.

He said most black South Africans were sick and tired of violence, most of which was perpetrated by young people.

The country was flooded with illiterate and semilliterate youngsters, who were good for nothing but unskilled ditch-digging.

Young criminals grew up to become old criminals.



# Summit will focus on violence, peace corps

13/07/93  
A "PEACE summit", focusing on violence and a proposed peace corps, will be held by the ANC PWV region on Sunday.

The situation around hostels and right-wing threats would top the agenda, the organisation said yesterday.

The formation of a peace corps was initially promoted by former SACP leader Chris Hani.

Such a corps would be community-based, made up of youths from all political affiliations and would be accountable to the community.

Members of the corps would receive paramilitary training and training in first aid and other skills.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that two municipal policemen — one on duty and one off duty — were shot and wounded in separate attacks in Tembisa on the East Rand on Wednesday.

Police reported yesterday that three arrests were made in connection with one attack.

In Soweto, police said they were investigating a case of arson after a suspected petrol bomb was hurled into ANC executive member Sydney Mufamadi's Diepkloof home — the second such attack in as many days. Mufamadi's car was destroyed in the fire.

In Natal the SAP rejected ANC allegations that police were involved in a factional war in Inanda's Bhambayi settlement, near Durban.

(274)

DIRK VAN EEDEN

The ANC's southern Natal region claimed internal stability unit policemen were "deeply involved" in Bhambayi's violence, which had claimed more than 100 lives this year — 22 last week alone.

Peace monitors have said the reasons for the violence include overcrowding, scarcity of resources and allegiances to traditional healers.

□ In its weekly report to Tuesday, the Human Rights Commission said 36 people had died and 149 were injured countrywide in incidents of violence.

Four people died in the PWV region, against 19 deaths the previous week.

In Natal the death toll dropped from 28 the week before to 20.

The Natal midlands and the Durban area were the regions worst affected.

The 20 dead included six people executed by attackers dressed in SADF uniforms. They forced their victims to lie down and shot them in the back of their heads.

The western Cape accounted for 10 of the 12 deaths recorded outside the PWV and Natal regions.

Security force actions resulted in six deaths. Two resulted from attacks on security forces.

Thirteen people were being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and 11 under Section 50 of the Act, the report said.

## Charities 'must cut dependency on donations'

COMMUNITY projects and charities had to reduce their dependency on corporate donations and start running their affairs along business lines or face collapse, Community Development Trust executive trustee Dave Jackson said last week.

Addressing a seminar attended by representatives from more than 150 organisations, he said it was a pipe dream to hope that foreign investors would solve SA's economic ills.

DIRK VAN EEDEN

Community organisations had to start charging realistic fees for services they provided, cut costs and develop the revenue earning potential of their organisations. "Think of a soup kitchen not just as a crisis feeding scheme, but as a community fast-food outlet. The desperately poor may be able to pay little or nothing for the service, but there are thousands of commuters who can."

## SA violence: 36 died in (274) seven days

APR 21 1973  
JOHANNESBURG. — Thirty-six people died and 149 were injured countrywide in incidents of violence in the seven-day period ending on Tuesday, the Human Rights Commission said in its weekly report.

Four people died in the PWV region, a significant decrease from the 19 deaths the HRC recorded in its previous weekly report.

Twenty deaths were recorded in Natal, also a lower toll from the 28 during the previous week.

The report said that the Natal Midlands and Durban regions were the worst affected. The 20 dead included six people executed by attackers dressed in Defence Force uniforms, who forced the victims to lie down and then shot them in the back of their heads.

The Western Cape accounted for 10 of the 12 deaths recorded outside the PWV and Natal regions.

Security force action resulted in six deaths. Two deaths were the result of attacks on security forces.

Thirteen people were being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and 11 under Section 50 of the Act, the report said. — Sapa.


# Mandela heeds Zwelithini's peace call

Wm Mail 2/5 - 2/5/93  
AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela yesterday said he was willing to meet Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi to address causes of South Africa's political violence.

Mandela's statement came in response to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call last Friday for a speedy end to violence. In recent weeks Mandela is known also to have come under heavy pressure from other leaders, including President FW de Klerk, to seek an accommodation with the Inkatha leader.

At a meeting three weeks ago in Wema, near Durban, Zwelithini stunned Inkatha supporters by departing from a prepared speech to say: "Enough is enough. Stop the killings."

As part of a move above party politics to contain violence among his subjects, the king is also expected to call a number of mass rallies including one which will be attended by Mandela and

Buthelezi.  274  
Zwelithini's calls stem from a series of meetings between the multi-party Concerned Group of Zulus and advisers of the king. The formerly Inkatha-supporting monarch's shift is reported to have Buthelezi's support.

Mandela said yesterday he hoped Zwelithini's office would facilitate the proposed meeting as soon as possible.

"We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned, we can move closer to finding a lasting solution to our country's problems," he said. "Our people and country yearn for peace, which is the main condition for a speedy democratic transformation of our society."

Mandela hailed the monarch's initiative as a "positive step". — Sapa and Weekly Mail Reporters

## Three-part programme to help victims of violence

By Helen Grange

A three-pronged violence intervention programme — aimed at addressing the most immediate needs of the victims of violence — is to be launched by The Family Institute (TFI) in July or August.

The programme's first component, a toll-free telephone counselling service and follow-up direct counselling service, is already in operation as a pilot service which has proved highly successful, says TFI executive director Dr Saths Cooper.

The second component will be a mobile community crisis response and recovery unit. This unit will provide swift support for and entry into a community afflicted by violence, back-up for organised mediators and a multidisciplinary team of trained "neutrals" to provide trauma counselling, emergency medical services and legal advice.

The third component is humanitarian assistance and development. This entails setting in motion processes whereby the survivors of violence can



assume greater control over their lives and communities.

More specifically, the emphasis is on reducing people's vulnerability to violence and their focus on their victimology while increasing their receptivity to community consolidation and cohesiveness.

In accomplishing this, TFI will be linking with all organisations involved in the peace initiatives and humanitarian aid or relief.

It will also be establishing teams of "rehabilitated" survivors of violence to assist and counsel others who are experiencing adaptational problems arising from constant exposure to public violence.

● The toll-free telephone counselling service number is 0800-113399.

# Fund has paid R13,4m to terror victims

(274) ARG 22/5/93  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

VICTIMS of "acts of terrorism" or their dependants have received R13,4 million since 1983 in compensation from the State President's Fund.

National Health and Welfare Minister Dr. Rina Venter revealed yesterday that since the introduction of the fund, 1 810 applications had been approved.

The biggest allocation during the past three years was R64 365 to a Mr L Barbas for a "shooting incident" in Krugersdorp on September 28 1991. Expenses included medical and funeral costs and "short-term financial assistance".

The next highest payout was R55 095 to R Sepotokele of Ikageng for an arson incident.

The dependants of a Strijdom Square shooting victim were paid R28 690 for "maintenance", funeral expenses and transport. The money went to P L Thometsane.

In 1990/91 the fund paid R3,2 million, the highest amount since it was established.

# Rebels without a cause

Star 22/1/83

274

**A GENERATION is growing up with no stake in society, writes JOE LOUW, and we ignore them at our peril.**

ON A bleak Sebokeng township street, two weeks ago, a nightmarish scene unfolds. The distraught father of a 16-year-old girl, who was murdered the night before by being shot three times in the back, leaves his petrol-bombed and gutted home to confront a group of six youths allegedly involved in the killing.

Furged, the man shoots dead three of the boys and critically wounds a fourth. Hours later, the man is advised to flee the township — no one, especially not the police, can guarantee his safety.

Another scene, this time in Meadowlands, Soweto. A tobacco and cigarette salesman has just parked his brand new company car in front of a tavern when a small group of youths come around a corner and spot the car.

Seconds later, they go into battle formation and start stoning the vehicle, smashing its windows. They make several unsuccessful attempts to set the car alight.

That night, the car's owner, armed with two pistols, sets out to find the boys

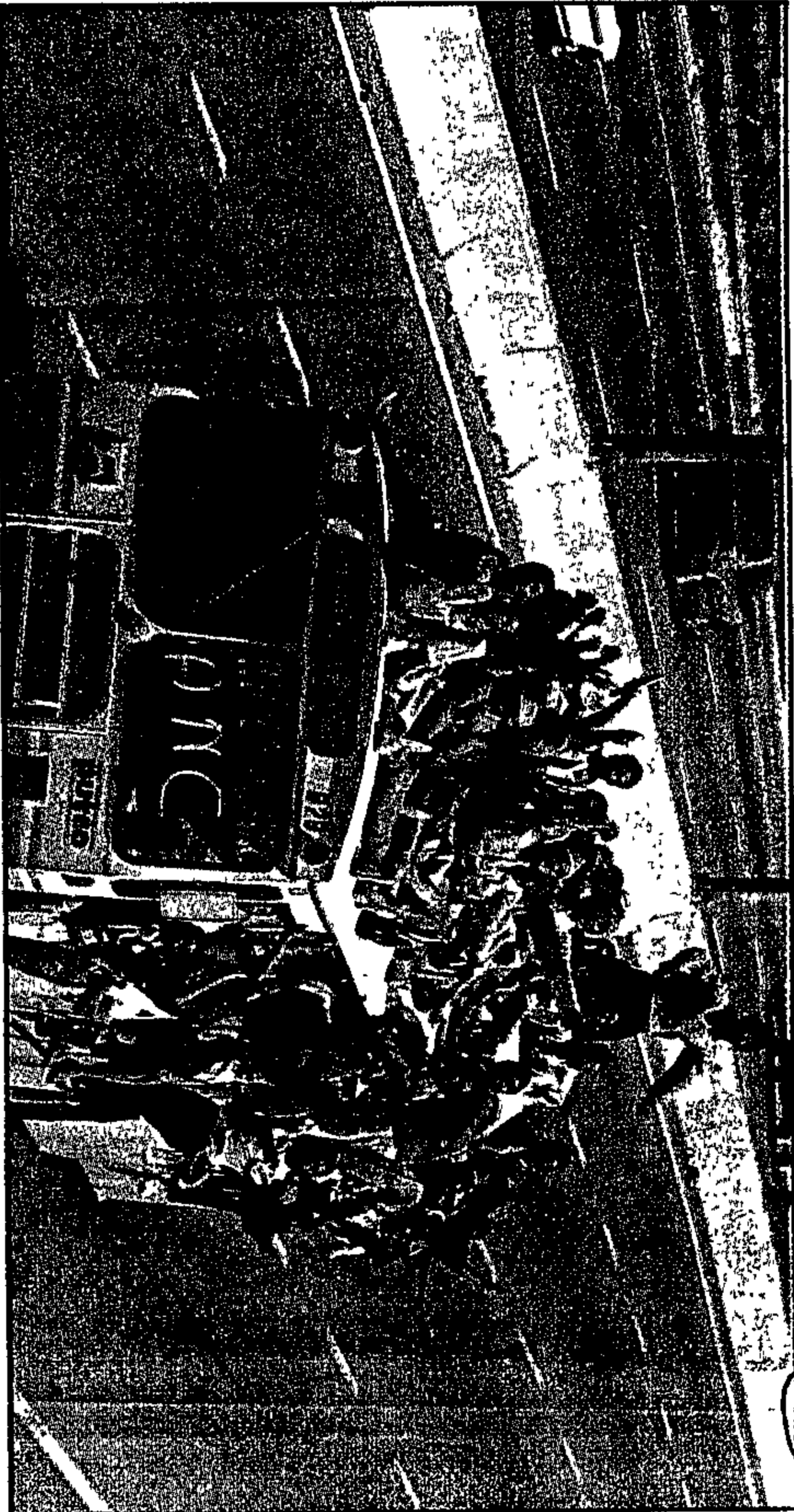
"one by one". He locates one of them in a backyard shack, and yet another scene of brutality occurs — he sticks one of his pistols into the boy's mouth and threatens to blow his brains out. The boy's hysterical mother prostrates herself before her son's would-be killer, begging for his life.

Somewhere in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, the chilling cruelty of a group of young black "marauders" has made an impression on a well-known liberal journalist.

A Staffordshire bull-terrier, he reports, was tied to a tree, doused with petrol and set on by fire by "township louts" whom he also describes as "pubescent males, breaking free of all restraint to form hunting packs to pilage and burn — they can lay waste an entire civilisation".

These and many other examples are typical of the kind of wanton acts ascribed to the "lost generation".

"We are a nation at war with its future, for we have turned our children into a generation of fighters — battle-hardened soldiers who will never know the carefree joy of childhood," wrote newspaper editor Percy Qoboza in the mid-'80s.



**LIVING DANGEROUSLY: Township youths catch a ride to the funeral of slain SACP leader Chris Hanl. ● Photograph: JOE LOUW**

is the growth of a generation which has the courage to reject the cowardice of its parents.

"There is a dark, terrible beauty in that courage... a source of great pride, but it is also a source of great shame that this is our heritage to our children, the knowledge of how to die and how to kill."

Increasingly, in the past two years, the grave crisis

experienced by young black people in South Africa and the frightening escalation of violence appear to give Qoboza's words the chilling certainty of a prophecy.

The battle-hardened township children who so courageously defied Casspurs with stones and petrol bombs in the 1980s have now grown into young adults. And a massive segment of these young people are part of

what, for the lack of a better term, is being labelled the lost generation. They are angry, frustrated and left out — out of schools, out of work, out of hope — and as a result they are often volatile and violent.

They have little or no respect for authority — any authority. Steve Mokwena, a youth worker attached to the Joint Enrichment Programme

(JEP) of two major church groups, says most of these "marginalised" youths — he refuses to refer to them as the lost generation — feel they owe nothing to the "civilisation" referred to by the journalist.

"This so-called civilisation," he says, "has systematically brutalised, isolated, imprisoned and ripped apart the very fabric of its own communities. A civilisation

that killed hundreds and maimed thousands more, and sent children into exile and detention. They feel they owe it nothing because most of them have nothing and are getting nowhere."

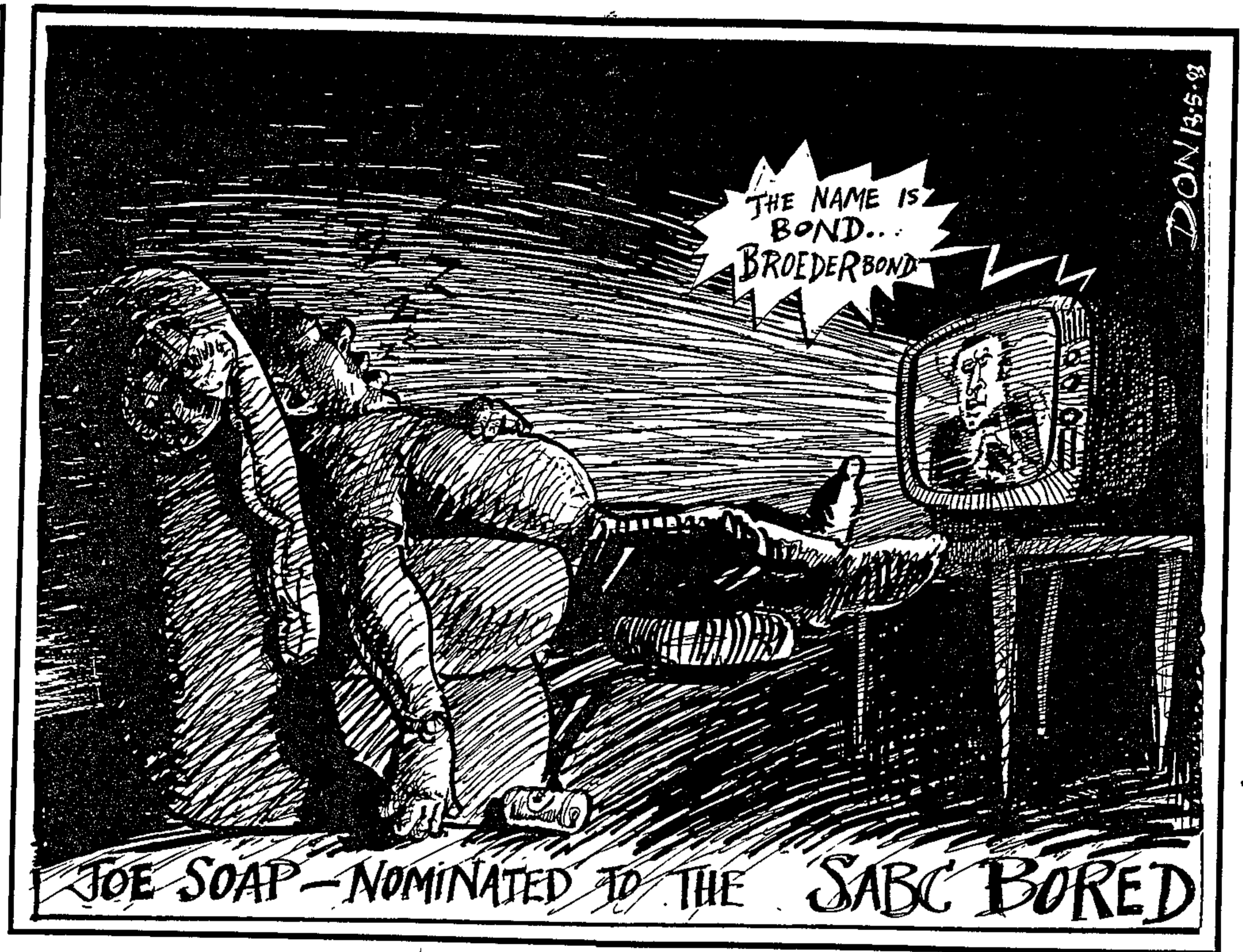
There are, according to social analyst Colin Bundy, serious social and structural pressures in South Africa can society that increase the marginalisation and alienation of huge numbers of

young black people — quite independent of their rebellious disposition. A major factor is economic. A recent survey just published by the JEP reveals that more than half of all employable South Africans between the ages of 16 and 30 — about 3 million young people — are unemployed. And this pool of "drop-outs" is fed by an average of 300 000 school-leavers every year who have not been able to secure either jobs or the opportunity of further education.

Mokwena believes that much of the positive political culture of the '80s is now turning sour. "The generation gap has brought with it increasing conflict between youngsters and their elders," he says. "Where they used to occupy centre stage in determining what happens in the township, leadership is now with the returned leaders who have come back from exile."

"And when the organisations were unbanned, there was a heightened expectation of a better deal — better housing, schools, jobs etc. But the very slow progress being made, coupled with these unrealistic expectations, turned zeal into frustration and has in itself become a recipe for further violence."

Joining street gangs and finding an outlet for their frustration in criminal activities has become almost like a survival tactic, Mokwena says.



## 'Police, army to blame for violence' — report

South 22/5 - 26/5/93

The human rights group, Africa Watch, holds the South African government and its security forces responsible for the continuing violence in this country. **QUENTIN WILSON** reports:

**A**FRICA Watch, the international human rights organisation, has accused the South African Police, Defence Force and KwaZulu Police of continuing misconduct.

Police spokesperson Captain Craig Kotze has claimed the report is one-sided but its charges will strike a chord among many South Africans.

Steps taken by the government have fallen far short of a serious attempt to end the violence in South Africa, says the special report entitled "South Africa — Half Hearted Reform", which was released on Wednesday.

"Abuses of human rights by members of the security forces continue, and neither the

government nor the security forces themselves have made serious efforts to investigate and prosecute those responsible."

Police bias against ANC supporters was evident, abuse of residents was commonplace, and deaths in detention were frequent.

"Perhaps more than any other single factor, the key to restoring peace in South Africa lies in creating public trust in an impartial and effective police force."

"Much more could and should have been done by the government and the security forces in the past two years to deploy the resources at their disposal, including their powers to investigate and to prosecute, to prevent further violence."

The report says police have failed to adhere

to the standards they accepted in the National Peace Accord for dealing with political violence. It also accuses the Internal Stability Unit of repeatedly using excessive force while policing public demonstrations.

The infrequency of prosecutions is disproportionate to the vast number of eyewitness accounts of police and Defence Force personnel escorting attackers to attack sites, assisting attackers, standing by while others attacked residents, or carrying looted goods away from the scene of the attack.

Police still use investigative techniques developed during the apartheid years which "rely heavily on confessions and largely ignore the need to seek forensic or other evidence".

The report notes that some progress has been made in retraining security forces.

Police equipment also contributes to abuses. Police officers carry loaded firearms, thereby encouraging the use of excessive force.

The report calls for the indemnity from prosecution enjoyed by police acting in unrest areas to be scrapped.

CIP/SS 23/5/93  
**Training marshals for peace**

EXTENSIVE training sessions are to be held for marshals in the Witwatersrand/Vaal Triangle area under the auspices of the Wits Vaal Regional Peace Secretariat's education department.

The training courses will include developing a code of conduct, aspects of crowd control, self defence, crisis response, conflict resolution and first aid, secretariat director Peter Harris said in a statement on Wednesday.

Harris said a multiparty working committee of representatives of the ANC-alliance, Inkatha and the SA Police has already been established to compile and conduct the courses.

The courses will run over a number of days by experts agreed on by the committee. (274)



**POLICE are investigating a series of telephonic death threats and attacks on livestock in what appears to be a well-orchestrated terror campaign against farmers throughout South Africa.**

In the first four months of this year, 108 attacks on farms — which claimed 28 lives — were reported.

Now there is growing concern over the emergence of senseless attacks on farm animals, reminiscent of the campaign waged by the Mau Mau in Kenya against white farmers in the 60s.

National statistics for this type of attack are still being collated by the SAP, but the Eastern Transvaal — where 27 farmers were attacked between January and April — has been the hardest hit. On April 14, a cow on a farm near Boshhoek had her Achilles tendons slashed and was left helpless in the field.

### Attacks

A fortnight later, on April 29, an Afrikaner cow was attacked with a pangga on the Rooikop farm near Malelane. A chunk of flesh was hacked from her while she was still alive.

An SAP spokesman said this week scores of cattle had been slaughtered in similar attacks, mostly in the Malelane and Mac Mac areas.

The Eastern Cape — where nine farm attacks were reported between January and April — is also being targeted.

#### By DE WET POTGIETER

There have been reports of livestock being hacked to death in the Cradock and Grahamstown areas, and two farmers were attacked in separate incidents this weekend.

Mr George Marais of the Retief farm near Uitenhage, was shot in the chest

# Mau-Mau style terror campaign

## FARMERS THREATENED AND LIVESTOCK MUTILATED

Still news 23/5/93

by three men who demanded money from him while he was selling sheep in the veld at 8am yesterday.

On Friday night, three armed men opened fire on a Port Alfred farmer, Mr Andries van der Merwe, 59, of Grant's Valley, when he went to investigate a noise outside his house.

"There seems to be a

campaign of intimidation in most farming areas," said the SAP's Major Ruben Bloembergen.

"The attacks on the livestock have nothing to do with stock theft because in almost every instance, the animals are mutilated and then left to die without any meat being removed."

Telephone threats have been reported from as far

afield as the Eastern Transvaal, Free State, Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal.

Several smallholding owners at Estofre, outside Bloemfontein, have received calls since the beginning of May telling them they, or their families, will be killed.

Late last month, a Bethlehem farmer was told a

bomb had been placed in house.

Six people from De Wildt, outside Pretoria, have reported telephonic death threats to the police and 10 farmers in that area have had livestock killed or mutilated in recent weeks.

On May 17, a De Kroon farmer was told over the phone that Apia knew about him and would "get him". On the same day, a Pultfontein farmer received both a telephonic and a written death threat.

Dozens of farmers in the East London and Stutterheim districts have also reported being threatened.

Police confirmed on Friday that the situation in rural areas throughout

#### ATTACKS: a

pie chart showing the regional breakdown of the sometimes fatal slash attacks on farm animals

South Africa was tense.

"The situation is potentially explosive, and we have called on farmers not to take the law into their own hands," said Lieutenant-Colonel Ray Harrald.

All reports of intimidation were being investigated, he said.

# 'Farmers legitimate targets' (274)

CT 24/5/93  
VUWANI, Venda. —

Farmers were legitimate Apla targets, the PAC's national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, said at an Apla member's funeral here on Saturday.

His statement was condemned by Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday as a "glorification of pure murder for political purposes".

Speaking at the funeral of Mr Mbengeni Fanual Mudau at Masakona village, Mr Nemadzivhanani said: "We will always be after the farmers who have so illegally occupied our land."

Mr Mudau was shot dead by security forces on April 28 near Tzaneen.

Mr Nemadzivhanani said: "Anybody who dies for freedom is a noble man and not a criminal."

Captain Kotze said such comments "reinforce the findings of the Goldstone Commission on Apla activities and are a justification of steps the government has taken in countering Apla violence from such places as Transkei." — Sapa

# Understanding the violence

As you sit in the comfort and the discomfort of your mind or even conscience, consider if you may what is happening in, say, Tokoza or Sebokeng.

After the horror of another massacre you must be saying to yourself these people are mad, savage, uncivilised or something.

Just as the trouble in black education does not make sense to those who have not gone to bed hungry, or seen the contempt in the eyes of their teenage sons and daughters because there was no money in the house, what is termed black-on-black violence similarly makes no sense to them. The "something" that forces people

*Southern*  
24/5/93

## Aggrey

## Klaaste's



## On the LINE

274  
*[Handwritten scribble]*

to behave like beasts is universal; is not a matter of being Third World or uneducated; is sometimes not even the result of abject poverty. There are poor com-

munities all over the world that perhaps degenerate into a vegetable-like inertia, or simply live from hand to mouth physically and in all other ways, who do not

implode or explode into violence.

There are poor people from a century ago and recently LA, America, who one day wake up and say this far, no further. In those days the bourgeoisie did not understand this savage behaviour, and in total exasperation Marie Antoinette wondered why people were killing and dying for bread, if they could have cake!

How many times have you not heard this disconcerted surprise. Why are they burning their schools, their houses?

In every other house in Tokoza somebody is not performing — somebody is not working, not going school, not responding with fortitude to the slings and

arrows of outrageous fortune. I was reminded of this by the anguished call from a mother to John Robbie not long ago. The talk-show host and his audience were trying to make sense out of an impending disruption of school for R48. This woman, I believe, got to the heart of the matter.

She said she was a widow. That she had a number of teenagers in her family. They were in university and high school when things were normal in her family. Now she has no help, the children have had to leave school; they have become hard, angry, monsters. When she was retrenched the family collapsed.



# Peace corps pros and cons

Star 24/5/93

(274)

**T**HE idea of a national peacekeeping force, initially scoffed at in some circles for being unrealistic, has begun to move to centre stage in the debate to reconstruct South African society.

Such a force is being strongly punted as the most effective way to deal with violence in the run-up to elections, aside from its potential to help absorb marginalised township youth and to redefine their role as assistants in socio-economic renewal.

Although still in the discussion phase, the principle of creating community-based peacekeeping structures to operate during and after the elections has been widely accepted as an initiative which should be realised soon.

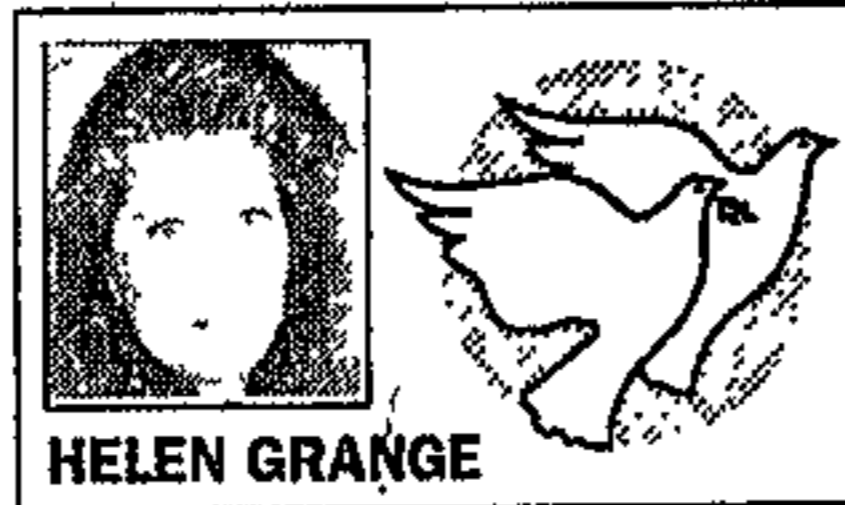
However, divisions have emerged around the structure and precise functions of the mooted "peace corps" or "joint peacekeeping unit".

The assassinated SACP general secretary Chris Hani had envisaged township self-defence units being converted into "peace corps".

The Rev Stanley Mogoba, presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, gave a clearer definition of the idea last November when he proposed a Joint Peacekeeping Unit of about 5 000, made up of the SAP, SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and homelands security forces.

Existing police and military forces would each second personnel to the Joint Peacekeeping Unit.

The unit would be under an agreed, experienced international command provided by either the United Nations or the



HELEN GRANGE

There has been a great deal of discussion on a plan for a national peacekeeping force. But what does it entail and where do the various parties stand?

Commonwealth, or both, and would be accountable to a specially created element in the National Peace Accord structures, Mogoba suggested.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise has made a similar proposal to the ANC. He has suggested the formation of a combined armed force of about 5 000 "peace soldiers" to deal with violence during the elections phase.

The ANC is currently considering this and other proposals arising from discussions with other parties and organisations.

Although the Government has undertaken to discuss the joint peacekeeping proposal in one of the negotiations' technical committees, the idea has been all but shot down by the police.

Commented Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze: "In the interests of peace, we are prepared to cooperate with any organisation, as long as they act within the law."

"However, certain security functions must remain firmly within the ranks of the SAP and SADF. To shift the focal points of security away from these bodies would be dangerous and confusing."

Meanwhile, a working committee involving the SAP and



Bishop Mogoba . . . spelt it out more clearly.

ANC Alliance has been formed at the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat to address the issue, and sources are optimistic that agreement will finally be reached on the Joint Peacekeeping Unit's shape and mandate.

Among supporters of a joint armed unit is Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin, who has argued that such a unit could be controlled through constitutional rules, subjecting it to strict lines of command and a code of conduct.

"It would also be in the interests of the police for the unit to shoulder the responsibility for dealing with confrontation situations, instead of the police al-

ways being singularly discredited for their actions," said Currin.

The international community would also play an important role in the monitoring the unit's behaviour, he added.

Professor Mike Hough of the University of Pretoria's Strategic Studies department disagrees.

"The cost and time involved in training a joint security or riot unit would make it totally unviable," he said.

"There is no time before the elections to form such a unit. That's aside from the political ramifications it would have."

Despite the divisions over security functions of a peacekeeping force, there is a lot of consideration being given to the other roles it could play.

One idea is to structure such a force along similar lines as the innovative international Peace Corps launched by President Kennedy in 1961.

A South African version of such a group would be used to provide socio-economic support to disadvantaged communities.

Said Currin: "Young people could be trained to provide, say, paralegal and paramedic services to communities."

"They could help to upgrade communities through providing water and teaching basic agricultural skills. There would also be a need for trained mediators."

Recommendations on the shape and mandate of a national peacekeeping force are currently being made to the Goldstone Commission, which is holding an inquiry into ways and means of curbing the potential for public violence and intimidation during elections. □

# PAC is glorifying murder (274) police

A LAW and Order spokesman has condemned a statement by a leading Pan Africanist Congress official as a "glorification of pure murder for political purposes".

Captain Craig Kotze was reacting to a statement by PAC national organiser Maxwel Nemadzivhanani at the funeral service of an Apla cadre in Vuwani, Venda, on Saturday. He is alleged to have said farmers were legitimate targets for Apla forces.

It was the funeral of Mr Mbengeni Fanuel Mudau who was shot by security forces on April 28 near Tzaneen, following allegations that an Apla unit was linked to the recent death of a farmer's wife at Letsitele. ARG 24/5/73

Mr Nemadzivhanani is reported to have said: "We will always be after the farmers who have so illegally occupied our land and it will serve them right until they pressure De Klerk for the total liberation of Azania."

Captain Kotze said such comments justified steps taken against Apla bases in Transkei.

# Spiritual mass action and the Great Soul

**MAHATMA** Gandhi first set foot on South African soil 100 years ago this week. When he departed for India, two decades later, the future prime minister, Jan Smuts, heaved a sigh of relief: "The saint has left our shores," he wrote. "I sincerely hope for ever."

There was a one-word explanation for Smuts's aversion to the man whose deep-seated goodness he grudgingly acknowledged. *Satyagraha*. Gandhi's intensely spiritual version of mass action which, despite its stress on non-violence and love of the oppressor, pitted subjects relentlessly and very visibly against their rulers.

*Satyagraha* — which means literally "truth force" — became a major weapon in the Indian struggle for self-rule. But it was called into being and shaped by Gandhi in South Africa.

"*Satyagraha* differs from passive resistance as the North Pole from the South," Gandhi never ceased explaining.

"The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form."

Gandhi has been seen as a prime inspiration for decades of peaceful mass struggle against minority rule in South Africa, of the resistance to racial land laws, the Congress Alliance's Defiance Campaign in the 1950s, numerous hunger strikes by political prisoners, mass marches aimed at claiming freedom of assembly, and the second Defiance Campaign, for the unbanning of political organisations, at the close of the P W Botha era. In South Africa, Gandhi's

On the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in South Africa, JO-ANNE COLLINGE reflects on the richness and power of his philosophy of non-violence.

campaign of *satyagraha* lay in defying laws which required Indians to submit to compulsory registration, which restricted their movement between the Transvaal and Natal, and which imposed a tax on indentured Indian labourers.

It was born relatively late in Gandhi's South African political career, in 1906, when the idea of defying the discriminatory "Black Act" took root at a meeting held in the Empire Theatre, Johannesburg. The entire gathering vowed never to submit to the Act's provisions. In the years that followed,

thousands purposely transgressed the law, were prosecuted and jailed.

The campaign culminated in 1913 in the march of 2 000 men, women and children from Natal across the Transvaal border, where they were deported, tried and jailed.

Campaign headquarters were south of Johannesburg at Tolstoy Farm, which was run as a self-sufficient commune for resisters and their families. There Gandhi put into effect the many social practices which he believed were intrinsic to a life of non-violence.

There was deep religious tolerance, carried to the point of residents of different faiths joining in each other's prayers and festivals; utter material simplicity and virtual self-sufficiency in food production, performance of manual labour normally left to the untouch-

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able class. In 1914, when Mohandas Gandhi left South Africa for ever, his "experiments with truth" had transformed him from a faltering young lawyer into a public figure, already known in some quarters as the Mahatma, or Great Soul.

Looking at Gandhi's beliefs and activism through the filter of today's political bloodshed, it is particularly striking how ahimsa or non-violence commanded and connected all he did or said.

It was the pole star by which government, economic relations, political programmes, social and family interactions, class and gender relations were to be guided. Gandhi's view of democracy

was "that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest". He pointed out this could never happen except through non-violence.

On another occasion he elaborated: "Democracy and violence can ill go together. The states that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent."

Laws made with the consent of the people were a form of non-violence, he reasoned. Inasmuch as democratic government had to act on behalf of the people as a whole — and groups within the nation were at odds — government could not be perfectly non-violent, he reasoned.

"I do not conceive of such a golden age. But I do believe in

the possibility of a predominantly non-violent society. And I am working for it."

Gandhi claimed at various times affinity with anarchism, socialism and forms of communism, relating to each in terms of its power to reinforce non-violence.

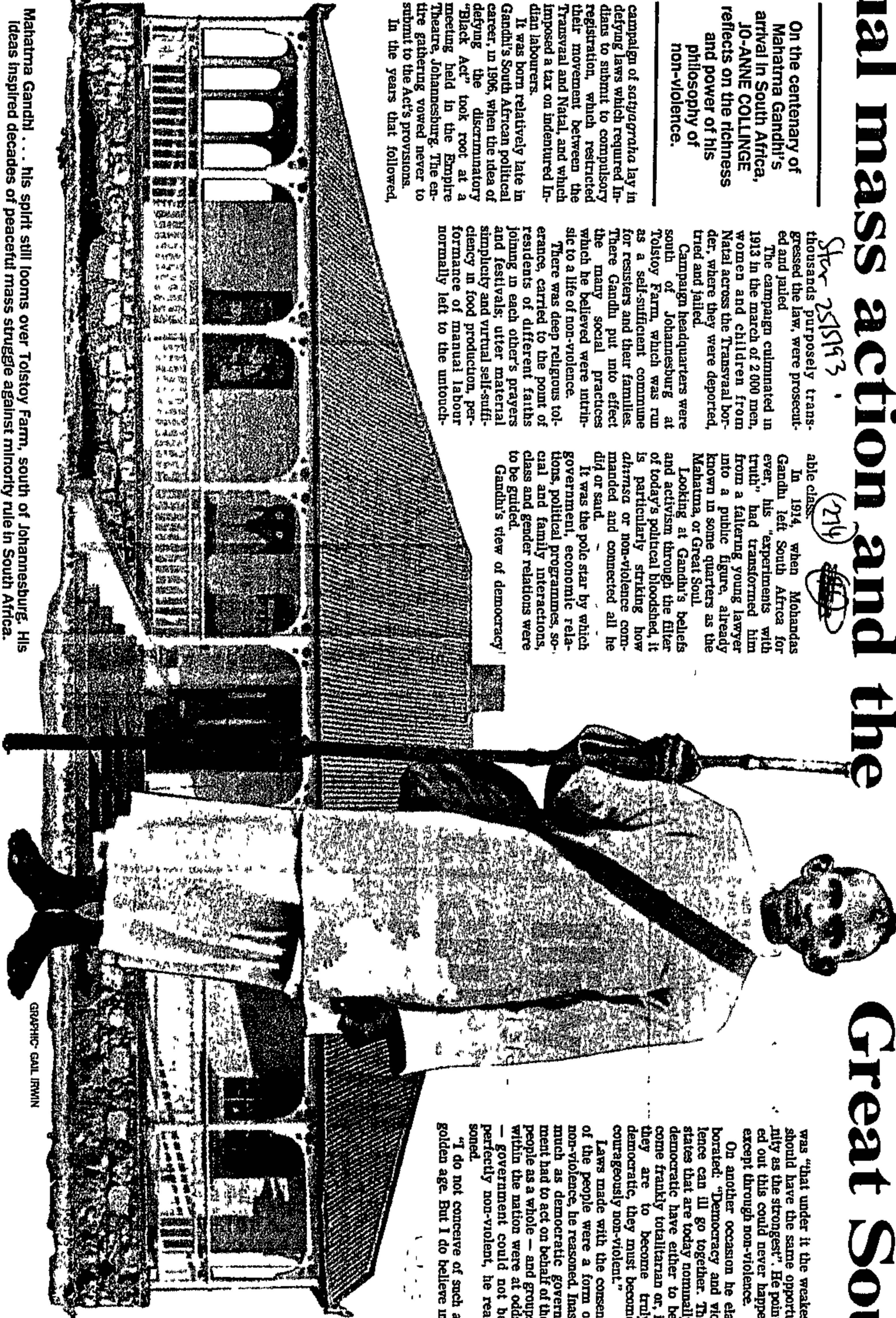
He was repelled by the Soviet form of communism which he quite plainly regarded as an imposition by a minority. For the Mahatma, means and ends had to be morally congruent.

A shrewd, worldly politician in many ways, Gandhi's peasant dress and his unflinching daily toil at the spinning wheel were not mere theatricals. They spoke of his radical ascetic convictions. Economic exploitation was to Gandhi a form of violence. But he did not stop at halting capitalism; he was deeply anti-materialist and pro-labour in an almost spiritual manner.

"If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population . . . and no such misery as we see around. Such labour will be the highest form of sacrifice," he wrote.

In contrast to the present emphasis on a human rights culture, Gandhi argued for duty.

"If we all perform our duties, rights will not be far to seek. If leaving duties unperformed, we run after rights, they will escape us as a will-o'-the-wisp." Gandhi stands out among modern activist-philosophers in his insistence on the primacy of morality over efficacy in political action — a challenge to political movements to pursue abiding values rather than expedient programmes, and to use power as an instrument, rather than an end. □



Mahatma Gandhi . . . his spirit still looms over Tolstoy Farm, south of Johannesburg. His ideas inspired decades of peaceful mass struggle against minority rule in South Africa.

GRAPHIC: GAIL IRWIN

# Harder line on mass <sup>(274)</sup> action soon

ARG 26/5/93  
Political Correspondent

THE government is poised to take a tougher line on mass action.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel gave notice during debate on the police budget yesterday that serious attention would have to be given to mass action "in the next few weeks".

Sources indicated today that the government would be lobbying at the talks in Kempton Park for support for a moratorium on mass action.

The police are also likely to present stronger arguments against mass action when applications for events are made to magistrates.

Government sources say the government is not opposed to the "democratic principle" that people may demonstrate their political sentiments publicly, but feels that mass action is undesirable in the present "overheated" political climate because of the risk of violence.

# focus on marches

**D**EMOCRACY, it has been said, is measured by the amount of freedom opponents allow each other. In the black community and many other places in the world, when people are angry with each other, the embittered one goes to the house of the alleged perpetrator to offload anger at his doorstep or gate.

When a collective of people is angry, they do so collectively, and hence the marches.

But marches are a dangerous means of expressing one's view in this country, as the following statistics show.

At least 115 people have died in marches, gatherings and funeral processions since the beginning of last year, according to figures compiled by the Human Rights Commission.

Forty one of them were killed during the first five months of this year, while 73 were killed last year. Seventy-one of the deaths, over 60 percent, resulted from police and soldiers opening fire on protesters and mourners.

During the same period, 1 312 people were injured. Six-hundred-and-seventy-six were injured last year while 636 suffered injuries this year.

This chilling toll includes well-known incidents such as the Bisho massacre, the shooting of marchers in Vandebijlpark and at the Protea police station after the Chris Hani assassination and Tokoza this past weekend.

What to many is an outing in which you walk alongside others in a collective expression of disgust or appreciation has been turned into a nightmare for black marchers.

And there is no doubt that nowadays an invitation to take part in a march brings security considerations as the major factor.

Should it be, or are those who are responsible for this merely criminalising one of the tenets of democracy, namely the right to free association and expression?

## Role of police

What of the role of police, Should they not defend the right of lawful marchers against all possible dangers? If they had done so, would the killings in Tokoza on Saturday have happened?

Why are the police the major contributors to the death toll of marchers? How did it come that a white motorist drove into a crowd of black protestors and shot two dead before he was apprehended?

Where were the police? Too busy watching if the marchers were looting white houses? Would a black motorist have been able to move into that position if the marchers were white?

Are the police just too trigger happy when it comes to black marchers?

An SAP spokeswoman in Pretoria said the figures of people killed by security forces should be seen against the background of increasing

South African marches continue to claim lives, as the latest figures show. The Tokoza shootings have prompted debate among political organisations and police on whether proper means are being used to stop deaths. *Sowetan* Investigations Editor

**Mathatha Tsedu** reports:



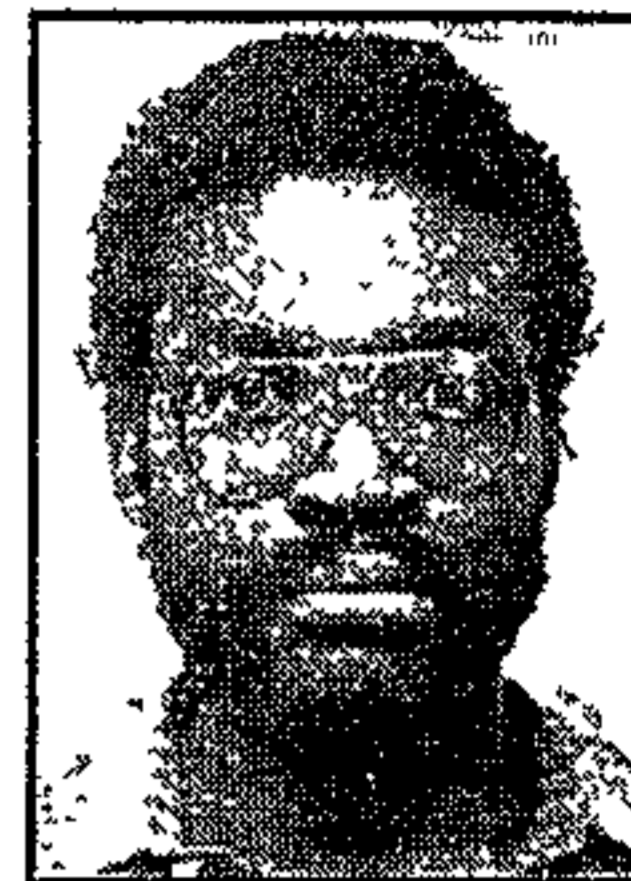
**BISHO MARCH ... Protesters carry a casualty of the bloody ANC march on the Ciskei capital.**

attacks on security forces.

"Each incident of killing involves a different set of circumstances and it is difficult to give a general answer to the problem.

"Each death is the subject of a thorough investigation by the police. The SAP has an obligation to maintain peace and enforce the law and we try to do so with the minimum of force," she said.

The spokeswoman said she could not comment on police preparedness and handling for the Tokoza march and referred the questions to Witwatersrand spokesman Captain Wikus Weber, who has said all allegations would be investigated.



Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has called for a moratorium on mass action, saying marches either turned violent or became a source of violence.

The ANC, which has borne the brunt of these attacks, has rejected Kriel's proposal, saying it will not drop mass action to accommodate the killers. Kriel, the ANC said, was criminalising victims of police killings and outlawing democracy.

Following the Bisho massacre on September 7 last year, in which 29 people were killed, the ANC found itself accused of using ordinary people as cannon fodder in its attempt to unseat Oupa Gqozo.

But the organisation argued that people in that region were denied political space to operate and organise. They were determined to secure that space and would not allow a despot like Gqozo to stand in the way. Any other decision would be playing into the hands of the Gqozo's of this world, the ANC said.

The Azanian People's Organisation said the right to march was an inalienable right of everyone but warned that liberation forces had to realise that security forces had their own agendas and would therefore not defend protesters.

"What we are saying is that liberation forces have to ensure that they have adequate security for their marchers, without relying on the forces of oppression."

The Pan Africanist Congress said it supported mass action aimed at unseating the regime and not one "planned to speed up reform. We accept that death is a part of any struggle and that our people are prepared to die. But they should not be made to lay down their lives for marches that do not bring our freedom any nearer."

Spokesmen for the Inkatha Freedom Party were not available for comment. Leaders were said to be busy on the East Rand, where violence emanating from the march shootings has now claimed over 35 lives.

And so the big debate will continue to rage about whether to march or not to march. And as the debate rages, committed democrats have to take their lives in their hands as they vote with their feet.

*Sowetan* 26/5/93  
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# Kriel hints at official curbs on mass action

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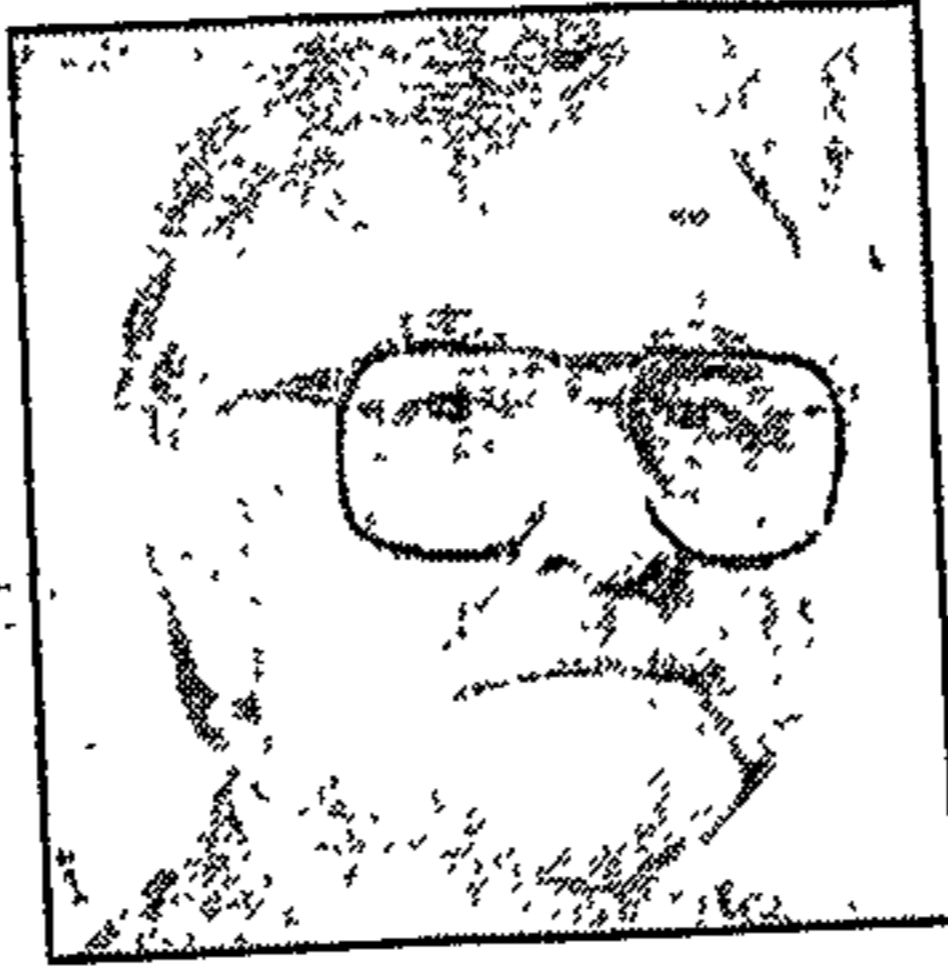
CAPE TOWN — Serious attention will have to be given to mass action in the next few weeks, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

"Mass action leads to violence, damage to property, deaths and polarisation. Does the African National Congress care if people die? If they do, then why do they continue with mass action?" he said in response to the debate on the Law and Order vote.

"Yes, it is a democratic action. That is why the Government legalised it, but it is being misused. A democratic right is not here to be misused as the ANC is doing."

"In the next few weeks we will have to give serious attention to mass action."

He rejected claims by the



Hernus Kriel . . . Does the ANC care if people die?

Conservative Party that the police's hands were tied behind their backs by Government policy.

"Neither I nor the Government has ever said to a policeman that he may not act. There is only one condition attached, and that is that he acts within

the law — and I do not apologise for that."

There was no place in South Africa for private armies, and a solution to the problem would have to be found before the country went to the polls.

It was not the policy of the SAP or the security community to investigate the activities of political parties, Kriel added.

"They do not investigate political parties, but if you are a liberation movement committed to the armed struggle like the African National Congress, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Pan African Congress and Azanian People's Liberation Army, then there is no restriction on the SAP to investigate because these people's aim is still the violent overthrow of the State," he said. — Sapa.

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# What price SA peace? At least R41-m



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By Helen Grange

Peace doesn't come cheap. In fact, this financial year it's going to cost the taxpayer more than R41 million.

That is the overall budget earmarked for the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) — the umbrella body for the National Peace Committee — and all its regional and local offshoots.

The biggest chunk of the budget goes to paying salaries of staffers in the peace structures (R11 118 000) and administrative expenses such

as subsistence allowances, travelling, telephones and faxes, training and seminar expenses (R10 913 000).

Equipment such as office furniture, vehicles, clothing and symbols is allocated R6 114 000, while professional service costs — including maintenance, programming and facilitators — have been budgeted at R10 134 000.

The Government has also made R2,5 million available to the marketing sub-committee for its marketing programme. A number of media organi-

sations are assisting the marketing drive by offering reduced rates for media space and time.

The following donations have also been made to or will be received by the NPS:

- R1 million from the Danish government for training
- R100 000 from the British government for communication equipment
- R50 000 from the Joseph Rowntree Trust for training.

The administration and financial resources of the NPS were, until last month, provided by the Department of

Justice. From April 1, however, came the responsibility of the Department of Home Affairs.

In an effort to portray the NPS as a more independent body, it has been agreed that the NPS will administer its own budget from next month.

It is known that there is some concern among peace observers about the apparent lack of monetary assistance to local peace committees, some of which are operating without office or telephone facilities.

- Training sessions for marshals — Page 2
- Plea for human rights body — Page 2

## Special probe into 'Hani violence'

PRETORIA — The outbreak of violence and looting which followed the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani last month will be discussed by a specially created committee of the Goldstone commission today and tomorrow.

The committee, made up of representatives from the security forces, the ANC, Inkatha, local authorities and the national peace secretariat, would examine measures for avoiding a repetition of the events surrounding Hani's death, a Goldstone commission spokesman said.

Despite calls for peace from political leaders and a massive security operation involving 23 000 soldiers and police about 30 people died, hundreds were injured and widespread looting and damage to property characterised the aftermath of the assassination.

An estimated 100 rallies were held nationwide involving hundreds of thousands of people.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Among the topics to be discussed by the committee, which will meet in camera, are the failure of political parties and march organisers to prevent the violence, reasons for the damaging and looting of buildings and the cause of violent incidents at a number of police stations.

In the worst of the violent incidents at police stations, three people were killed and 200 injured at Protea police station in Soweto.

The spokesman said the committee, chaired by Gert Steyn, would report its findings to the commission for the formulation of recommendations aimed at preventing a repeat of such widespread violence.

The committee would meet for the first time today, the spokesman said. It held a preliminary hearing last month.

## Committee begins work on emergency number network

PRETORIA — A government think-tank met yesterday to thrash out the details of a plan to provide a nationwide emergency telephone number.

The number would be 107, a Local Government Department spokesman said.

The plan involved dividing SA into 38 regions, he said. Each would have its own emergency centre giving immediate access to fire, ambulance and security services.

The emergency network would have to be phased in gradually.

However, the system could commence operation in some areas by the end of the year.

The decision to establish an emergency network for SA was announced in Parliament last month.

Its implementation was discussed by an interdepartmental committee yesterday.

Committee members agreed that each of the 38 regions would have to fund the

ADRIAN HADLAND

creation of their own centres, possibly through a phone bill levy.

The system would give most citizens quick access to emergency services and would provide rapid inter-regional communication and access to resources in the case of larger disasters, the spokesman said.

Legislation was being formulated to enable the setting up of emergency centres. It was expected to be tabled in Parliament as soon as possible.

The spokesman said the committee was investigating the minimum financial and technical requirements and a communication strategy for the system.

He said the number 107 had been decided on through a process of elimination. Emergency numbers in other parts of the world, such as 999 or 911, were used in SA as international dialling codes.

## Govt urged to tighten ban on weapons

POLICE yesterday recommended to government that legislation governing the carrying of dangerous weapons at public meetings be tightened.

An informed source said yesterday existing legislation and a government proclamation, published in

the Government Gazette in February, prohibited the carrying of dangerous weapons only at public gatherings that were held in unrest areas.

The source said police had submitted proposals to government for the prohibition on the public display of dangerous weapons to be extended to non-unrest areas.

Asked why police did not disarm people at public gatherings, the source said police intervention could worsen the situation. He said the carrying of certain weapons was part of a "cultural heritage" of certain groups.

The source said that as long as people did not intend using the weapons they were carrying, police did not interfere with their right to gather or march.

The source said it was often impossible for police to attempt to disarm demonstrators because the police were invariably outnumbered during these

gatherings.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the increase in the incidence of ANC supporters carrying dangerous weapons at meetings or during marches in recent months could be attributed to government's failure to implement the record of understanding, in terms of which the public display of traditional weapons was banned.

The record of understanding was signed by government and the ANC last September.

Niehaus said in light of government's failure to implement the agreement, it was understandable that some people, who feared for their lives, should carry weapons to defend themselves.

However, he said, the ANC was trying — through the national peace accord structures — to have the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons enforced.

Discussions should be held — in peace accord structures — in this regard, Niehaus said.



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## Apla warned of 'full might' of law

A STATEMENT purportedly issued by the Azanian People's Liberation Army threatening "soft targets" was merely a smokescreen designed to obscure the real cause of the police swoop against Pan Africanist Congress and Apla members, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said today.

He warned: "Attacks by Apla on innocent civilians

will be met with the full might of the South African Police and other security forces".

The purported Apla statement, faxed to Sapa yesterday morning, said loss of life was unavoidable and the safety of soft targets was in doubt as a result of the arrest of 73 PAC/Apla members during the nationwide police crackdown. Eleven of those arrested have since been released.

Captain Kotze said the police action was against "PAC and Apla policies designed to systematically murder people on the basis of race, farm ownership and membership of the security forces"

er 26/5/93  
He reiterated: "The government has repeatedly stated that one cannot negotiate and wage a race-based terrorist war at the same time". — Sapa.

(274) (SAPA)

# Arrests link Apla to attacks (274)

Weekly Mail Reporter  
W/maul  
21/5 - 27/5/93

THE first evidence that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is behind the recent spate of armed attacks on whites may have emerged yesterday when police confirmed they had arrested eight members of the Pan Africanist Congress and its armed wing in connection with an attack on a farm near Tzaneen, in the northern Transvaal.

A farmer's wife, Sandra Swanepoel, was killed in the attack, which took place on a smallholding on April 28.

Apla's claims that it has been responsible for the armed campaign against whites, which began in King William's Town last December, have been questioned by the police as well as some of the liberation movements and the media, who have remained sceptical of Apla's ability to carry out military operations.

Police representative Captain Nina Barkhuizen said the arrests were the first to prove a link between Apla and the attacks on whites, and that most of Apla's past claims to have undertaken attacks had been proved false.

Among those arrested are the organiser of the Tzaneen branch of the PAC, Jameson Valoyi, and two other PAC members, Khalifani Mukhawana and Mahume Malaty.

The Ministry of Law and Order said the five others are Apla members, one of whom, a 17-year-old youth, received military training outside South Africa. The other four were trained inside the country.

Apla headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam was unable to confirm that the arrested men belonged to the organisation.

However, in a statement, the head of the PAC's information department, Waters Toboti, admitted that a man

shot dead after the attack was a PAC member. The statement said Fanuel Mudau "fell in the field performing his duties in Tzaneen".

The Ministry of Law and Order dismissed the PAC's claim that Mudau was killed in a military skirmish as "an attempt to glorify ... a cold-blooded murder of an innocent woman".

Barkhuizen said possible links between the unit arrested in the northern Transvaal and attacks in the eastern Cape, where most of the killings have occurred, are still being investigated.

●Police have confirmed the arrest of four Sebokeng residents in connection with the Eikenhof shootings in March this year. They include Paul Molokoane, Congress of South African Students chairman in the Vaal, and Umkhonto weSizwe member Ben Mavundlela.

# We need a neutral police force - callers

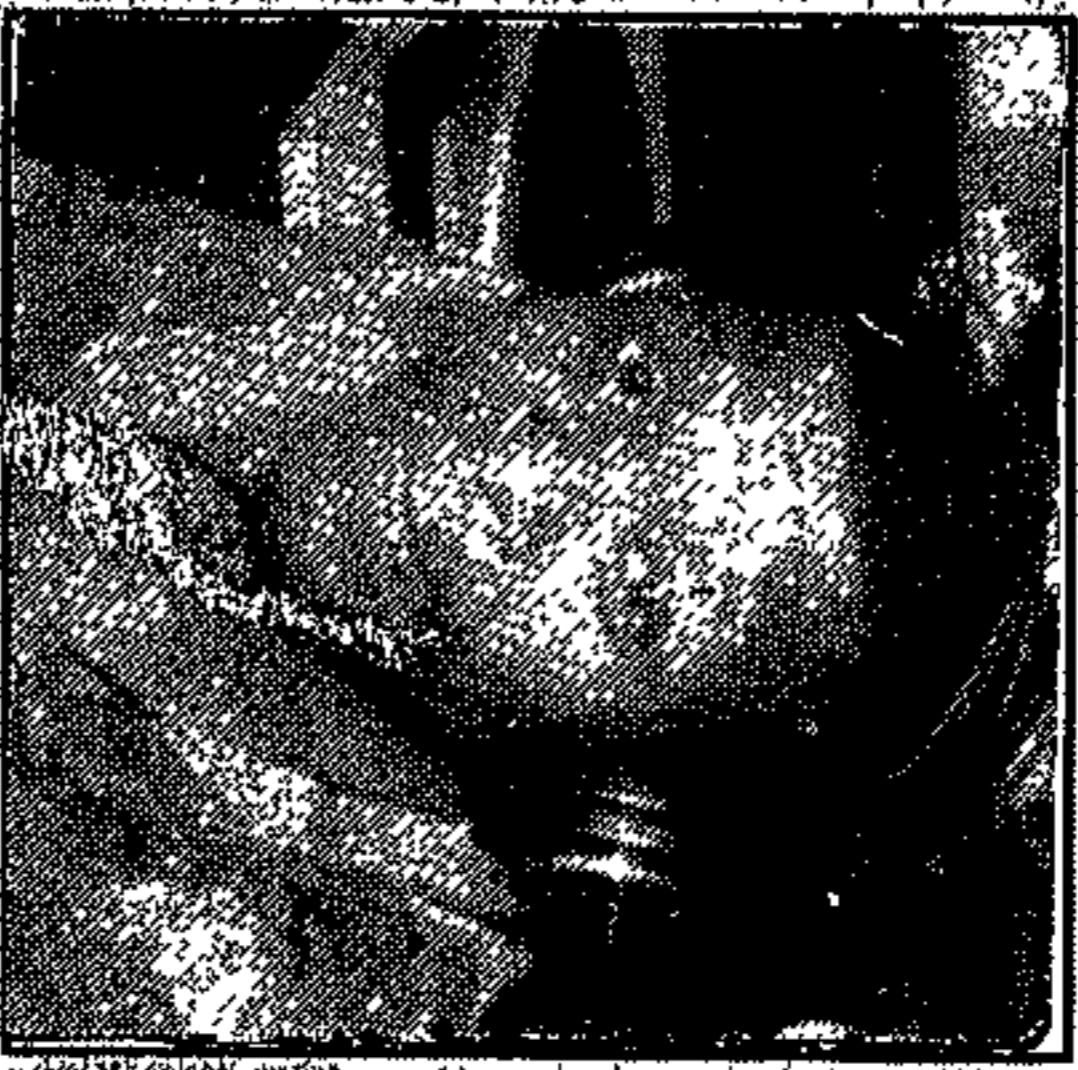
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Sowetan & Radio Metro

By Mzimasi Ngudle

## Talkback



with Jim Modise

THE upsurge in violence and the arrest of PAC leadership was a deliberate ploy to delay joint control of the security forces, listeners to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show heard last night.

A caller, Jimmy of Tokoza, said the Government was deliberately delaying the installation of the Transitional Executive Council to prolong its control of the security forces.

Others called for a neutral police force and the installation of a new Government.

"The Government and its allies want to make sure that negotiations don't succeed."

Sisa Tembisa

"There has always been a suspicion that police are siding with hostel dwellers. We need an international body like Unitag to do the policing during the transitional period."

Trevor, Eldorado Park

"The SAP must be replaced by a police force that will be inclusive of all political parties."

Beggy, Durban

"The impression is created that the regime is part of the solution. That is wrong."

"We need a neutral authority."

Bongani, Cape Town

"Military wings of

various political organisations can do the policing better. Let us show the SAP that they are not needed.

the township at night?" Junior, Meadowlands

People with credibility in the community should police the townships."

Arthur, Cape Town

"Let all political organisations distribute peace pamphlets to the war zones so as to divert people away from violence."

Mahomed, Tongaat

"Hostel dwellers who killed people are now protected 24 hours by police. The police have now taken the fight to the township. The only people who know about dead bodies that are found lying in the morning are the police who patrol

"The only solution is the election of a new government. Negotiations mean nothing. They arrested PAC leaders without any reason."

Unidentified police sergeant, Tembisa

## Call for signatories to pledge on peace

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Committee has requested an urgent meeting of the signatories of the September 1991 National Peace Accord to recommit themselves to the accord.

The NPC said in a statement yesterday regional and local leaderships should also sign the accord, while non-signatories who may have problems with the wording (of the accord) must sign a peace pledge to give legitimacy to their participating in negotiations".

(274) CT 28/5/93  
The statement issued on behalf of NPC chairman Mr John Hall said security forces should be held to the code of conduct while "private armies must be made transparent and held equally accountable".

It said security force commanders must be responsible to the NPC structures for their adherence to their codes of conduct.

"It is unthinkable that a country whose political leaders are locked into sophisticated and serious negotiations to bring peace and stability to this country, can tolerate the violence sweeping the country, threatening to destroy us all," the statement said. — Sapa

# Violence 'upsurge' since Hani killing

(274)  
ET 28/5/92  
JOHANNESBURG. — There has been a significant upsurge in violence since the assassination of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani on April 10.

This is according to the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa's second report on violence, released yesterday.

The release coincided with a visit to South Africa by Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku, and covered the four-month period from February to May this year.

Comsa also appealed to the Pan-Africanist Congress to "continue their participation in the multi-party negotiations", following this week's police swoop on the organisation resulting in the arrest of 73 members.

Comsa called for the immediate release of those PAC members still in detention.

Addressing a news conference here, Chief Anyaoku said Comsa would not withdraw from South Africa despite recent media reports to the contrary.

— Sapa



# Watergate man to help Goldstone

PRETORIA.— A former Watergate prosecutor and the chairman of Zimbabwe's Electoral Commission are among the members of a panel that has been appointed to advise the Goldstone Commission on election violence.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday said a public inquiry "into ways and means of curbing public violence and intimidation in the forthcoming election" would be held in Cape Town in August.

Panel members include:

- Mr Charles Ruff, a leading US attorney, former Watergate special prosecutor and acting attorney-general of the US;
- Professor Walter Kamba, former vice-cancellor of the University of Zimbabwe and chairman of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission;
- Professor Ron Gould, deputy chief electoral officer of Canada, "who has had wide experience of elections in many parts of the world";
- Professor J Elklit of Denmark.

Mr Ruff will be panel chair- mark, "who has observed elections in Nepal, Bulgaria and Kenya and advised on election procedures elsewhere", and

● Mrs Theresa Stiggner Scott, Ghana's ambassador to France and a former High Court judge in Zimbabwe.

Mr Ruff will be panel chair-

man. — Sapa

# Peace monitor tells of days of horror

Star 28/5/93

By Helen Grange

"Yes, we have definitely defused murderous situations, but I can tell you it's hell out there for us."

These are the words of a peace monitor who spent the past five days in the killing fields of the East Rand townships; the exhausted words of someone who came close to death several times.

Because of sensitivities about being identified, the monitor preferred to remain anonymous.

"We've had some very hairy experiences," she said. "This is a totally different scenario to the marches and rallies following Hani's assassination. It's sporadic, unpredictable violence. There's no way of knowing when and what will happen to you."

"The monitors have had to accept that what they're dealing with is different from situations anywhere else in the world. There are no comparisons to draw rules from."



"You can't know whether you're walking into a situation where you're going to get shot, petrol-bombed or caught in a deadly trap."

In Katlehong, the monitor found herself "stuck" as a kind of hostage of a group of people using her "white face" as a shield against police fire.

"The pressures are enormous. What do you do when you find yourself forcibly stuck ... immobilised and being used as a pawn? How can you know if you'll come out of that alive? As it happened, it was okay."

Yet, again and again, the peace monitor and her col-

leagues subjected themselves to the terror of brutal, chaotic fighting, by day and by night.

Were there any discernible differences in the level of tensions or the rate of killings as the days passed?

"There is the horror of corpses every day. There are bullets flying. With accumulative stress effects, it's not possible to make a value judgement."

"But on Tuesday between 7 am and 10 pm, there were at least eight potential conflicts which were brought under control. The monitors are doing a lot of good work."

"And that means going right up to a guy with a firearm, tapping him on the shoulder and trying to negotiate. The question is whether this goes beyond the call of our duty. I don't know, but how can you attempt to make peace if you don't dare to venture in where others won't go?"

Asked if she's had any nightmares, the monitor answers simply: "Not yet, I haven't yet slept. I must go and have a shower."

## Mokaba draws protest by DP

(274)  
THE Democratic Party Youth lodged an official complaint yesterday with the National Peace Secretariat against ANC youth leader Mr. Peter Mokaba after statements he made at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress on the University of the Witwatersrand campus on Wednesday.

At this meeting, DP Youth national chairman Mr. Fred Nel said in a statement, Mr. Mokaba had repeated his chant of "kill the farmer, kill the Boer" as well as remarks like "shoot to kill: shoot the Boer".

He had also called on students to launch a retaliatory attack on Wits University, Mr. Nel said.

— Sapa CT2815/PB

# Civilian 'lateral entry' crux of accelerated training for police

By Day 28/5/93

MAY HARTLEY

PLANs were being made to train civilians in policing — from ministerial to constable level — for 'lateral entry' into a future police force, Scotland Yard community relations head, Chief Superintendent Peter Stevens said yesterday.

Up to a dozen civilians would receive training abroad in police policy-making at ministerial level, equipping them for policy-making functions in the public service, he said in an interview.

More than 100 trainees would learn "middle to senior" level strategic planning for policy-making within the police force, while a third group would be placed on a "fast track" course in police work. This group of several hundred civilians would be the station commanders of the future and would be chosen for their ability to rise quickly from constable to the middle ranks of the police force, he said.

A fourth group of trainees would receive instruction overseas in modern developments in criminal investigation, including the use of advanced computer technology in solving crime.

International financial support was urgently being sought for a proposed training programme for 3 000 marshals, Stevens said. The marshalling course, which would be launched on a regional basis as soon as funds were available, would teach basic

wealth Secretary-General Emeke Anyaoku said the period leading up to elections would be "one of extraordinary tension and pressure as the various political groups position themselves to gain power".

The report described the negotiation process as fragile. "The assassination of Chris Hani... and the hardening of attitudes on both the left and right of the political spectrum underscores the deep fissures in SA society. It is to the great credit of the leadership of the nation, and especially of

Police

From Page 1

Picture: Page 3

Force

# Hopes fade for leaders' meeting

Blom 28/5/93.

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WILSON ZWANE

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon to address political rivalry between their organisations dimmed yesterday.

Mandela, who had said he was happy to meet Buthelezi if King Goodwill Zwelithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the Zulu monarch had withdrawn as a facilitator.

Mandela said the king's position was that "TV got it all wrong", Sapa reports.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela was off.

"It does, however, complicate matters," he said.

The king apparently called on Buthelezi and Mandela in recent weeks to meet to address violence.

TIM COHEN reports that Buthelezi said Inkatha had proposed that the issue of violence should top the agenda of multiparty talks, with particular attention on the disbanding of private armies.

He told a news conference in Cape Town that whenever Inkatha raised the matter, the ANC and government were "virtually apoplectic", accusing Inkatha of trying to delay negotiations and of raising the matter prematurely.

Buthelezi said he found the "hype" about the need for an election date astonishing.

It amounted to "putting the constitutional cart before the constitutional horse".

Inkatha CE and head of the party's general election campaign Joe Mathews refused to announce the party's support targets in an election, but said the party was "playing the game to win".

If this did not occur, Inkatha hoped

to be the strongest opposition party, holding the balance of power.

Mathews said Inkatha had set itself three major objectives in the first nonracial election:

- To win a sufficient percentage of the overall vote to be an essential factor in any coalition government;
- To do well in several regions so that Inkatha would form an essential part of any coalition at the regional level; and
- To perform well in the KwaZulu/Natal region where Inkatha expected to win, either in its own right or in coalition with another party.

Meanwhile, Mandela told school children yesterday that pupil mass action was not incompatible with a call to pupils to return to class.

Addressing pupils during a tour of Witwatersrand township schools, Mandela emphasised the importance of education.

"Education is the only weapon if you want to be a leader of your people," he told them.

However, the ANC president also endorsed his organisation's support for striking teachers and urged pupils to join the "fight" for equal education.

Mandela held a news briefing at King Edward VII High School in Houghton.

GERALD REILLY reports council chairman Allan Powell said yesterday that the Teachers' Federal Council had requested an urgent interview with National Education Minister Piet Marais over the education crisis.

After an extraordinary meeting of the TFC's executive committee, he said the present situation was cause for grave concern.

Certain facets called for most urgent attention.

## Cosatu push for child care

ERICA JANKOWITZ

COSATU has called on its affiliates to celebrate international children's day on Tuesday by persuading members to take their children to their work places.

Cosatu gender co-ordinator Dorothy Mokgalo said yesterday different regions were planning events as well as a two-phase strategy intended to promote Cosatu's parental campaign.

The two campaign demands were for 20 days' paid child care leave a year and subsidised child care facilities for workers.

She said both parents should be entitled to child care leave to handle school problems and look after sick children.

She said employers should take some responsibility for the provision of child care facilities.

She said affiliates were taking up the issue at individual company and industry level and would present management with demands on Tuesday.

A snap Business Day survey showed most companies were unaware of Cosatu's plans.

SA Breweries said no one under the age of 18 was allowed on its factory premises. It felt the union would not try this tactic.

AECI said chemical factories were hazardous and children would not be allowed into factory areas "for their own safety".

Pick 'n Pay said when Cosatu a few years ago had first suggested bringing children to workplaces, very few employees had complied. However, the group would accommodate children as far as possible.

An East Rand metal factory said Numsa had approached management about bringing children to work. Children would not be allowed on to the premises, and the union had agreed with the decision. A spokesman said the issues raised would be discussed.

## Goldstone panel advisers named

PRETORIA — A former Watergate prosecutor and Zimbabwe's electoral commission chairman are among the members of a panel appointed to advise the Goldstone commission on election violence.

Sapa reports that Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday a public inquiry into "ways and means" of curbing violence and intimidation in the forthcoming election would be held in Cape Town in August.

On the panel are acting US attorney-general and former Watergate prosecutor Charles Ruff and Zimbabwe's electoral commission chairman Prof Walter Kamba. Other members are John Olivier (HSRC), Prof C Shearing, (University of Western Cape), Prof T Geldenhuys (Unisa), Prof Otty Nxumalo (Zululand University), Canadian deputy chief electoral officer Prof Ron Gould, Prof J Elklit of Denmark and Ghanaian ambassador Theresa Stiggner-Scott.

WILSON ZWANE reports that an HSRC report has found that an effective system of rumour control will help curb violence between township and hostel residents.

In the report handed to Goldstone yesterday, the organisation said a lack of communication between hostels and surrounding communities was at the bottom of the conflict.

CTED

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## Time for Peace Accord to be re-dedicated - Goldstone

Star 28/5/93

PRETORIA — Participants in today's Goldstone Commission hearing into last week's Tokoza violence will be quizzed on what steps they had taken to implement the commission's previous recommendations, Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

If the recommendations had not been implemented it would mean the commission was "wasting its time", he said.

Mr Justice Goldstone was addressing the Pretoria Press Club where he was awarded the club's Newsmaker of 1992 award.

The commission chairman said the time had come for

Peace Accord signatories to re-dedicate themselves to extend — and more importantly — to carry out the peace principles faithfully and in substance.

The time was also ripe for those parties in the multiparty forum who had not done so, to sign the National Peace Accord and become active participants in its structures, he added.

"We need strong and credible government, strong and credible policing and law and order as a matter of the greatest urgency. The latter will not come without the former," he said.

There were people in the country who clearly wished the negotiations to fail, he added.  
— Sapa.

South 29/5 - 2/6/83

# Local monitors can play a vital role

~~274~~ 274

South Africa is not the only country where violence has the potential to disrupt a free and fair election

International speakers at the Durban conference included experts from Kenya, Chile, the Philippines, Lesotho, Zambia and Northern Ireland.

There were also speakers from countries monitoring the situation in South Africa for the United Nations or Commonwealth.

Of special interest for South Africans trying to cope with endemic violence were contributions from Chile, Kenya, the Philippines and Northern Ireland.

Mr Brian Feney, an executive member of the Social Democratic

Labour Party of Northern Ireland, said. "Violence is not a reason for not having an election. You tend to find that people who are involved in violence don't want elections anyway, and its a way of disrupting proceedings," Feney said.

"Elections don't guarantee solutions. They do, however, provide you with a tool with which to begin addressing problems."

He also stressed the importance of parties being involved in the process because "if you are not involved, you can walk away"

Feney presented a mind-boggling scenario of the violence in Northern Ireland which made South African events pale by comparison.

In Ireland there were constant problems with security forces And because the society was so divided, it was fairly easy to prevent or delay voters from getting to the polls.

Security forces erected roadblocks in certain areas on election day, which was tantamount to affecting the vote of a certain party.

"This is a subtle form of intimidation because even if the security forces are exceptionally polite, the mere presence of heavily-armed men is enough to frighten some people," Feney said.

"Others get tired of waiting in the queue caused by the roadblock and decide to turn back and go home.

"There are many forms of intimidation. Putting a polling station in the wrong place is tantamount to disenfranchising people. People must feel safe going there."

Feney stressed the importance of domestic election monitoring and observing teams, saying there were all kinds of signals that only local people could pick up and realise something was wrong.

He said electoral fraud was rife in Northern Ireland "Dead people always vote in our elections."

Only domestic monitors could check voters' rolls before elections to ensure the names of the dead had been removed.

# Thokoza 'broke rules'

CT 29/5/93  
PRETORIA. — The ANC organisers of the march which ended in the death of 14 people at a Thokoza hostel earlier this month did not heed the Goldstone Commission's recommendations on mass action, despite the fact that the ANC had committed itself to these guidelines. (274)

This was stated by police counsel, Mr Luther Wepener, yesterday when he addressed a preliminary Gold

stone Commission inquiry into the violence at Thokoza. Mr Justice Richard Goldstone presided.

The ANC youth league had not given sufficient notice of the march, there were insufficient marshals and they were not prepared to negotiate an alternative route to avert the potentially explosive situation, Mr Wepener said. — Sapa



## Mokaba, Terre'Blanche investigations 'complete'

POLICE have completed investigations into ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche for inflammatory statements.

Police spokesman Colonel Raymond Dowd said the dockets had been passed to the attorney-general's office which would decide on whether prosecution would follow.

Investigations centred on statements the men made at rallies after Mr Chris Hani's death. — Sapa

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CT 29/5/93

# Talks turn tensions to peace

By Helen Grange

*"Your 'if' is the only peace-maker; much virtue in 'if'." (Shakespeare)*

In Vincent Mntambo's experience, the above quote reveals its weight every time he mediates in a township conflict.

"It's the point at which the parties have purged their anger and have begun thinking about ways to solve a problem that things really start moving forward," says Mntambo, the regional director of the Community Conflict Resolution Service, a project of the Independent Mediation Service of SA (IMSSA).

He has seen this shift in focus work wonders in Sharpeville, where the community and the SA Police have been at loggerheads for years.

At the beginning of this year, however, that seemingly impenetrable animosity began



Star 21/5/93

to convert to mutual co-operation with Mntambo's assistance. Today, he can hardly believe how much the two parties have converged on issues which tore them apart for decades.

"When I was first introduced to Sharpeville, I found there were enormous tensions between the ANC and police over the military-style actions of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU).

"The community perceived themselves to be under siege. There were random detentions, after which parents couldn't trace their youngsters, as well as midnight po-

## Peace broker... Vincent Mntambo says experience allows one to get a sense of where compromises lie.

lice raids and ransacking.

Although the ANC had already met with the police, there was clearly no willingness on the part of either party to venture beyond accusations and counter-accusations.

It was suggested that a neu-

tral chairman be introduced and Mntambo was brought on board.

"In the first few meetings, I just let all the anger and bitterness come out. It was necessary to go through that. There were no solutions but I explored the parties to think

on the Reef, Sharpeville is an "oasis of peace", he says.

Mntambo is currently facilitating the setting up of a peace office in the volatile Tokoza township, a project presenting big challenges in view of the township's recent eruption into widespread violence.

"But the work is extremely rewarding and has a direct impact on where South Africa as a whole is going.

"All we need is the will. What's needed after that is to channel it."

● Mntambo joined IMSSA in September last year after lecturing in law at the Universities of SA and Natal. He undertook the IMSSA mediation training course during 1990.

creatively.

"Then they got into that mode of thinking and it became much easier. It took a lot of burden off me, shifting the focus from me to themselves. My job at that stage was to summarise and streamline the solutions offered. With mediation experience, you get a good sense of where the potential compromises lie."

Within three months, the two parties had reached trust to the extent that they were prepared to risk taking steps that would not necessarily have been approved by their higher structures.

An agreement was brokered in February: That the ISU would report their planned activities to the local police station every time they came into Sharpeville.

They would also report to the police station after every operation.

If anyone was detained, they would be held at the Sharpeville police station and not taken to an unknown destination.

This way, the community would have new access to information on activities and would also be able to locate detainees easily. This was never the case before.

## Oasis

"Every incident in Sharpeville is now tabled at the local police station and the ANC has informed me that the procedure agreed to is being followed," says Mntambo.

There are still areas of distrust between the community and police in the township, but compared to other townships

# 14 Voter education Monitoring body for elections

South 29/5 - 2/6/93

A conference on election monitoring and observing in Durban last week set in motion the establishment of a domestic elections monitoring organisation in South Africa.

More than 200 delegates from across the political spectrum adopted a proposal giving the Independent Forum for Electoral Education a mandate to initiate the setting up of a domestic monitoring organisation.

Opening addresses at the gathering were delivered by Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr Beyers Naude.

Stressing the vital need for election monitoring and observing in South Africa, Dhlomo said the unconditional acceptance of election results was even more important in the case of minority parties or those that lose elections.

"They should be given no reason to cry foul," he said.

Dhlomo said research done by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, which he heads, showed there was little awareness among political organisations of the need for an independent, non-governmental organisation to be involved in domestic election monitoring than of the need for international observers.

This was reinforced by many international speakers at the conference who said domestic monitors and observers were crucial to complement international groups performing the same function.

They said no-one was better equipped to spot some types of election fraud than the people of the country themselves.

It would be hard for international observers to spot if refugees were being imported for voting purposes, for example. It would also be difficult for them to spot intimidation given that it was very subtle and could only be understood within the context of a comprehensive knowledge of the customs of a country.

Naude's address focused on issues which could impact on monitoring activities.

He referred to the endemic vio-



**BUSY BUT BLIND:** Although these international UN monitors play a vital role in elections, local monitors are still needed

lence, crisis in black education, frustrations at grassroots about delays in the negotiations process and massive unemployment.

Naude said these issues might pose a threat immediately after elections if nothing was done to address them now.

"If this crisis in black education is not solved very soon, our country may be sitting on a time bomb. It may become difficult to control the forces of anger and aggression which have built up over many years of failure to address the legitimate demands of black people," he said.

He also said unemployment in South Africa was being viewed as

a normal fact of life even where it was blatantly abnormal. In Alexandra township, for example, there was a population of about 300 000 with 65 percent unemployed.

"What effect has this on the youth who may decide 'to hell with a negotiated constitution, I want bread!'" Naude said.

He appealed to political negotiators to address the growing frustration at grassroots level at the delay in achieving a final solution.

"Please take care that all the valuable work done is not jeopardised by a lack of faith on the part of people who feel, 'these people are just playing games'."

# Withdrawal of king 'not end of peace initiative'

City Press 30/5/93

By SIPHO KHUMALO



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THE battle for peace has not been lost despite reports that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, has withdrawn as a facilitator of talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This is according to Rodgers Sishi, co-convenor of the King's Committee for Peace which has asked King Zwelithini to use his influence to negotiate peace between Inkatha and the ANC.

Mandela said in Soweto this week that the king had withdrawn as facilitator between himself and Buthelezi.

He said the king's position was now apparently that "TV got it wrong" with regard to the king's facilitating role.

The Zulu monarch said in a radio announcement that contrary to initial reports that he wanted to bring the two leaders together, he only pointed out the significance of such a meeting between the two men.

However, Sishi told City Press that the king was still involved in the peace initiative.

Sishi said his committee was slowly but surely forging ahead with preparing ground for the King to intervene as a peacemaker in the violence.

This will involve *izimbizo* (rallies) to be jointly attended by the ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Those close to the King's Committee for Peace told City Press that it was still their hope that the "ultimate culmination of their initiative" would be a summit meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

The sources said they were still hopeful that the summit was "a possibility".

Meanwhile, the ANC's Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has lambasted the initiative as having the potential to drive people back into tribalism.

Gwala said: "It is not only the Zulus who are attacked. What is worse about this initiative is that it drives us back to tribalism. This is not the approach we have used hitherto."

Gwala told City Press he was disturbed that the initiative was not canvassed with the three regions of the ANC.

Gwala said: "We must not fool ourselves that the king will help as long as (Dr Mangosuthu) Buthelezi has chiefs and the royal family in his grip.

"We think that if people could organise at Ulundi without being threatened with civil war, we would have gone a long way."

Sishi said Gwala was properly briefed about this initiative. "The ANC was also briefed at the national level. Our committee includes Jacob Zuma of the National Executive Committee. We think Gwala is being destructive."

Souls 2915 - 216/93

By Justin Pearce

# Educating children for peace

**E**very Zulu-speaking family in Natal has lost at least one member of their extended family owing to the political violence of the last three years, says Mrs Norreen Ramsden, who is involved in peace education in Natal.

One of the biggest challenges to educators in South Africa's war-zones is to rehabilitate children for whom violence, death and injury have become part of the daily routine.

Ramsden recalls a classroom session where children were asked "what did you see on the way to school today?". One child responded by saying: "I saw the boere coming to collect the bodies."

Another child, when a teacher approached during playtime, shouted: "Hide, they're coming to shoot us."

"It may not affect them then, but as they get older the memories are still with them," Ramsden says.

She mentions children in Mozambique who were taught to shoot people at the age of 12, and were suffering psychological breakdown by the age of 17.



**CO-OPERATION: Children from New Crossroads who have come together to plan a youth centre for the area, involved in a game**

This is why the process of educating children for peace must start when children are as young as possible — even three years old is not too young to start.

"You need to teach a preschooler

that if he or she hits a friend, it does not persuade the friend to co-operate. It is not a solution to the problem."

One way of encouraging children to talk rather than fight is to have a

"peace table" in the classroom as a way of structuring solutions to problems.

With older children one can teach the techniques of problem-solving, Ramsden says.

"You need to teach them arrive at a winner-winner solution rather than a winner-loser solution. However, it is not healthy for children to deny or repress the memories of death and violence. Counselling is the ideal solution, but it is seldom available when relief money is taken up by providing food and rebuilding houses.

Children who constantly pick on weaker children grow up to be teenage gangsters, with devastating effects on whole communities.

The benefits of starting peace education at a young age have been shown in Chicago in the United States. There, communities where peace education had been applied in the schools recorded a marked drop in the rates of juvenile delinquency.

One way of building self-respect and to encourage responsible education, is to respect and listen to children.

Ramsden believes listening to children is a way of countering the dehumanising effects of political violence and child abuse, but education methods have seldom encouraged this — particularly in overcrowded Department of Education and Training schools which serve the most brutalised communities.

# Victor makes daily sacrifices in striving for peace in SA

WHAT kind of a man would be prepared to leave his family early each day to monitor violence in the riot-torn townships — and earn no salary for his efforts?

Such a man is volunteer Vits Vaal Peace Secretariat monitor Victor Mphahleli, 37, of Vosloorus, who gave up teaching in 1991 to take up the non-remunerative and risky peace-monitoring post.

His wife, a schoolteacher, is now the family's only source of income.

Mr Mphahleli said he had decided to work for peace at the behest of the Reel township violence in 1990.

"I lost my elder brother, Tembisa, and my brother-in-law, Bernard.

"Instead of resorting to arms to avenge the killings, I decided to work for peace in this country."

## Dangerous

His decision was not easily accepted by his wife Nonomde and his children Rando, 14, and Bongani, 11. Quite apart from the fact that the post did not pay, the family saw the job as dangerous.

But Mr Mphahleli adds: "Although they now give me moral support, my family always worries about my safety. In the past they would discourage me."

He admits that his daily work in the riot-torn townships can be "a bit dangerous" at times.

But he is happy to have saved lives and to have defused tensions in volatile areas.

Last Saturday he survived a chase call during an ANC march in Thobozana in which at least 13 people were injured.

"As I was helping people, I was nearly shot dead.

Someone was training his AK-47 assault rifle at me," said Mr Mphahleli.

"But I like what I'm doing. There is nothing more important than working as a team in monitoring."

QUOTE: We're a symbol of hope... When we come here, it is as if God has come to the area

# THEY BRING PEACE

What does it take being a peace monitor in a violence-torn township? Sunday Times writer **BRIAN SOKUTU** and photographer **CECIL SOIS** spent a day in Katlehong with volunteer peace monitor Victor Mphahleli

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called sons of God — MATT 5:9

## WEDNESDAY, May 26

6am: AFTER an early morning breakfast at home in Vosloorus, Vits Vaal volunteer peace monitor Victor Mphahleli leaves for the Bramfontein headquarters of the Vits Vaal Peace Secretariat for a regular briefing with other monitors.

7.30am: After a meeting to identify flashpoints and plan strategy, the 16-member monitoring team breaks into four groups, each under a team leader. They leave for violence-torn Katlehong on the East Rand.

11am: We arrive at the Nataspruit Hospital, where survivors have sought refuge.

The hospital superintendent offers the monitors an office for use as "a communication base".

## Rally

Here they connect a device linked to their two-way radios, operating within a 2-km range.

12.50am: "We're now going inside. Others are going to Mandela Park and to Kresna," says team leader Mr Mphahleli.

Driving through barricaded streets, we head towards Hunterfield Stadium where ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale is to address a peace rally.

1pm: A woman seizes the Peace Secretariat car with red peace stickers. Chants "Amandla!"

1.05pm: "Victor, there is a problem in Mandela Park," crackles a radio message from another peace monitor.

As we turn at the corner of Schoeman and Kurnalo streets, someone informs us there is no meeting at Hunterfield stadium. We drive through the dusty streets towards Mandela Park — a squatter camp.

A child sees the peace monitors and shouts: "Mandela! A waving pensioner chants 'peace' at us.

"We're a symbol of hope to some people. When we come here, it is as if God has come to the area," says Mr Mphahleli.

1.10pm: We enter Mandela Park where Mr Sexwale is addressing a gathering in an open field.

Mr Mphahleli, carrying a red Peace Secretariat flag, makes his way through the crowd to speak to ANC peace desk representative Mondli Gumgumbe, asking him to announce the presence of the peace monitors.

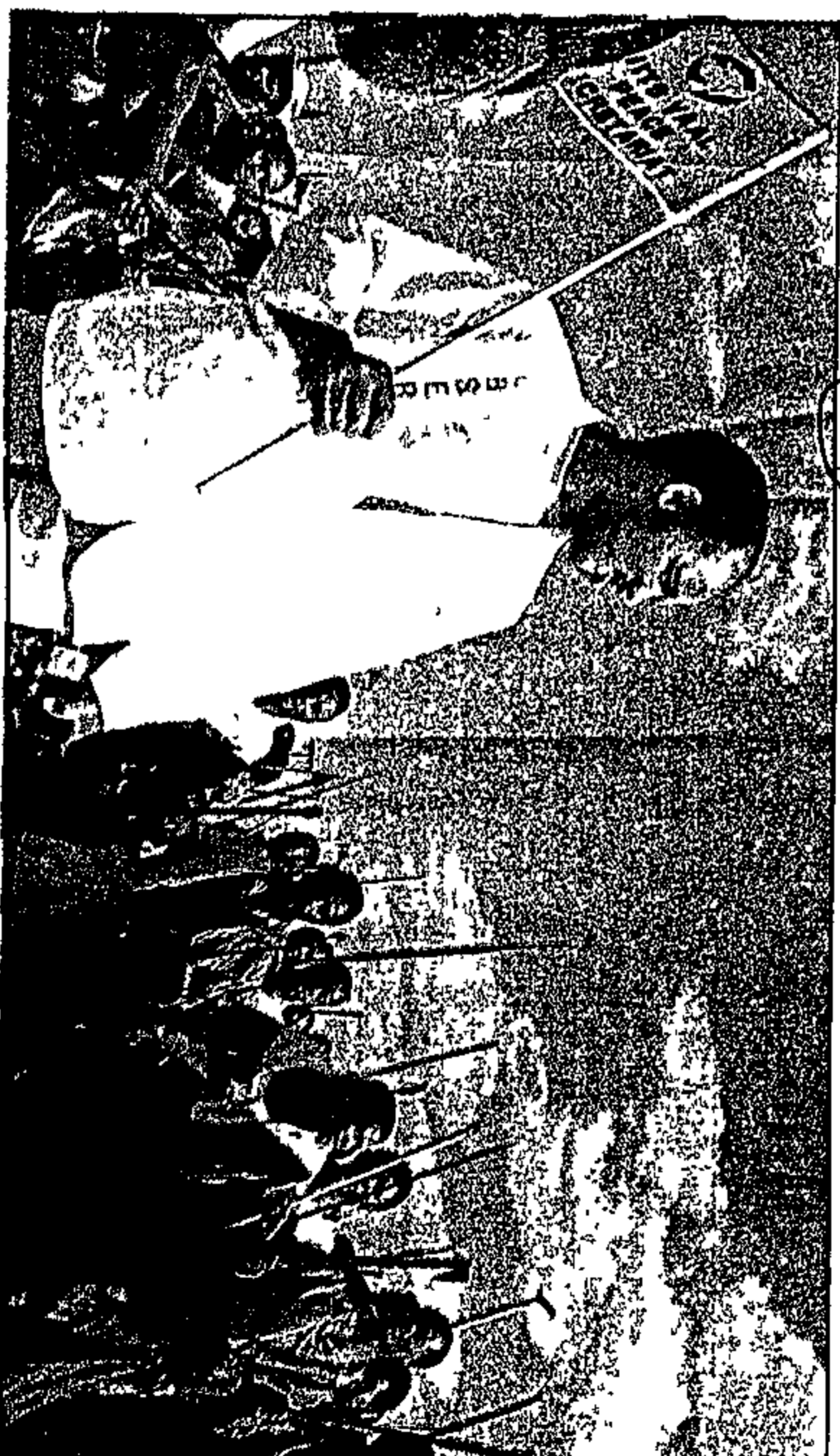
Mr Sexwale calls on residents to co-operate with them.

1.30pm: The crowds, armed with sticks, shields and spears, disperse after Mr Sexwale's address. A shot is fired, but Mr Mphahleli explains it is meant as a warning for people to take cover.

2.05pm: Driving past the crowd, we enter the Soho section, stronghold of the ANC, where 13 people died during the outbreak of violence on Monday.

2.40pm: "We must go to Skosana. The situation is tense. Police are already there," says a radio message from a monitor.

2.45pm: We move through the Tshu section of Katlehong and then to Mashik where we are met by angry youths, chanting: "One settler! One bullet!"



WATCHING BRIEF... Victor Mphahleli, waving a red Peace Secretariat flag, monitors a crowd of ANC supporters in Katlehong

They are referring to a white peace monitor.

3pm: We cross the railway line near Kweside station, an IFP-dominated area. Armed IFP supporters on the station platform look in the direction of the Soho section.

3.30pm: Following the ANC motorcade, we enter Sali section. Youths, mistaking the ANC convoy for enemies, run away. They later surround Mr Sexwale, tailing him as they are being shot at by IFP supporters. Hostel dwellers from across the railway line. Mr Sexwale's party is caught in the battle.

3.40pm: We see armed youths advancing towards the railway line, preparing to retaliate. As they prepare to engage IFP supporters in a full-scale gun battle, they ask us to leave the area because we are "disturbing".

"Go away!" and "We don't want you here!" they say.

"What do they want us to do? We're doing our work," responds Mr Mphahleli.

Seconds later we are trapped and forced to take cover as a fierce gun battle erupts. Later we patrol in search of casualties, but find none.

Monitors then chase after a police Casspir leaving the battle zone. They ask the police to interfere.

But the police are afraid, saying: "It is dangerous for us to patrol. We can be shot at." But they later return and drive through the crowd of residents.

3.55pm: We move over the bridge into the IFP territory to be met by a group of IFP-supporting hostel inmates, sporting red headbands and carrying self-made weapons ranging from petrol gas and spears to sticks.

4pm: Driving through the area, we hear a woman cry at Zuma section. Entering her home, we find the bullet-riddled body of a resident.

Witnesses say he was shot by men driving a white bakkie. Mr Mphahleli calls for an ambulance.

4.15pm: As we patrol the area, angry IFP supporters order us to leave.

"Today was tense. It could have broken into an ugly massacre had we not been present to patrol the area. The casualty figure was minimal," says Mr Mphahleli.

## 'The devil has been let loose'

SYDNEY MOSES tells why he couldn't get to work this week

I SPENT last week at home in Katlehong, trying to protect my family and property.

Not that I was able to do much else — we were virtually trapped by barricades of burning cars, tyres, boulders, tree trunks and trenches dug across the streets.

Since the clash last Saturday between ANC marchers and IFP hostel-dwellers, residents of Katlehong and Thobozana have been caught in a wild crossfire of bullets, petrol bombs and teargas canisters.

The area in which I live is a store's throw from the Mandela and Holomisa squatter camps, where intermittent gunfire and the wailing of sirens day and night has thrown residents into fear and confusion.

One woman I met in Katlehong was crying hysterically as she ran with her baby on her back. Two women following her were wailing: "Doomsday has come! What sins have we committed? We are in a burning furnace."

People peered anxiously from windows to see what was happening in the streets, while children cowered at street corners, scampering into nearby houses when police vehicles approached.

Mr Linda Mhala, who was monitoring the situation with me, was furious with the children.

"The devil has been let loose," he exclaimed as he chased them off the streets, fearing they would be shot in the crossfire or cooked by teargas fumes.

People peered anxiously from windows to see what was happening in the streets, while children cowered at street corners, scampering into nearby houses when police vehicles approached.

Mr Linda Mhala, who was monitoring the situation with me, was furious with the children.

"The devil has been let loose," he exclaimed as he chased them off the streets, fearing they would be shot in the crossfire or cooked by teargas fumes.

# Crossing the threshold

SITWEE 3015193

**STANLEY MOGOBA castigates political leaders for the lack of direction they are showing at this crucial juncture**

THE fragile peace process is being seriously threatened by a number of events that have occurred in the closing days of this month.

Those who look at South Africa from outside are beginning to have doubts about whether we are a normal country. The lack of direction and cohesion, and the way different parties and political organisations are simply "doing their own thing", is causing chaos.

At this time, there is no need for armed marches, pre-dawn swoops, Apla attacks on civilians or education boycotts when the real issue is negotiation. And the process of negotiation is so far down the line that even the most myopic of politicians and military strategists should realise that resorting to violence will only delay us crossing the threshold into a new South Africa, and further harden the hearts of those who do not desire peace, justice and reconciliation.

The sheer volume of violent incidents — all totally unnecessary — that have occurred do not speak of a nation whose leaders pledged themselves to peace, justice and reconciliation when they signed the Peace Accord.

Indeed, the manner in which the leaders who signed that accord have allowed their followers to run amok, treating life with scant regard, leads one to wonder whether they really understand the implications and consequences of committing themselves to a new South Africa in which peace will reign.

I call on these leaders, and their followers, to demonstrate their integrity by coming out strongly in favour of peace. No act of violence can be condoned, whoever the perpetrator.

Three major incidents in the last weeks could either separately, or jointly, scuttle the peace initiative:

● First, the march by ANC alliance supporters in Thokozwa last weekend. Was this really necessary? And, if indeed it was so, why were the Inkatha supporters intent on disrupting the march when they knew, based on recent history, that their actions would inevitably lead to blood being shed?

● Second, the massive swoop on members of the Pan Africanist Congress and Apla. This was done in a manner reminiscent of the worst days of apartheid. While the due process of law might uncover criminal activities,

which need to be prosecuted, the high-handed way in which the security forces apprehended the PAC and Apla members has undermined the process of negotiation. Given the peace structures in place, other methods could have been used to achieve the same ends.

● Third, the disruption of education. I question the wisdom of those involved in organising this disruption at a critical time in the country's history. Threats of boycotts and chalk-downs by teachers simply inhibit progress in the process towards change and undermine the confidence of young people who will be needed to play a full part in the future of South Africa.

Finally, I repeat my call for a joint peace-keeping unit (JPU). Criticism that such a unit is unviable and that there is no time to form it do not hold much weight. That is like saying that we only have time for violence instead of having time to put in place instruments that can ensure a peaceful transition.

The idea for a JPU was highlighted during the Bisho massacre when I and a group of National Peace Committee officials had to dive for

cover when we were caught between ANC demonstrators and firing Ciskei troops.

The root cause of this violence is fear and a deeply-rooted insecurity felt by all the people. A Joint Peace-Keeping Unit would comprise members of all the opposing armies and police forces in the country. It should operate under an agreed, experienced international command, and would be accountable to a specially created element in the National Peace Accord structures and have a clear identity, with uniforms, flags, vehicles and helicopters.

A small group of JPU members would be effective because it would include people whom the various political and ethnic groups in the country could feel they could trust.

With such a unit in place, South Africans of all races could finally look forward to seeing peace and harmony established in our beautiful country. We want nothing less.

□ DR STANTLEY MOGOBA is vice-chairman of the National Peace Accord and Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

(274)  
ARG 31/5/93

# Give up personal firearms - Anglicans

THE Anglican church has called on members to give up their guns as part of a drive to restore respect for the sanctity of life.

The call was made at the weekend by the Diocesan Council of the Diocese of Cape Town which said giving up personal firearms was in line with a Provincial Synod decision calling for disarmament in South African society.

"We further call on clergy not to provide character testimonials to church members wishing to apply for firearm licences," the council said.

Mr John Allen, Archbishop Desmond Tutu's spokesman, said the Nobel Peace Prize laureate believed in a demilitarised society, not only in South Africa, but on the rest of the continent as well.

"He says that if our church believes in a future we have to demilitarise society."

Archbishop Tutu had made a similar call in Washington two weeks ago, Mr Allen said.

NG Kerk moderator Professor Johan Heyns said from Pretoria his church did not have an official policy on disarmament.

"We have never considered calling on our members to disarm themselves."

He did not think South Africa's problems could be resolved by disarmament, he said.

"Our position is that owning a gun is not a problem — using it correctly and under the appropriate circumstances seems to create problems."

People have the right to defend themselves when their lives or those of their children and spouses were in danger.



# Crossing the threshold

SITWUO 30/5/93

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# Rumour-mongering 'should be controlled'

Star 31/5/93

By Helen Grange

There is an urgent need to control the spread of rumours, identified as a major catalyst in the violence between hostel and township residents.

This is a priority finding of Human Sciences Research Council investigation into hostels requested by the Goldstone Commission.

In its 250-page report "Communities in Isolation: Perspectives on hostels in South Africa", the HSRC researchers make 28 far-reaching recommendations, one of which is that peace structures should incorporate effective rumour-control mechanisms in their operations.

"The conflict between hostel and township residents has been



fuelled and fanned by distorted perceptions. Negative stereotypes will have to be corrected through community-based initiatives.

"Examples are local peace accords, joint community meetings, social and sport events, and the sharing of all facilities. This could lead to genuine commitment from broad sections of the communities concerned," the report states.

However, it would remain the burden and responsibility of po-

litical leaders to ensure commitment to political tolerance. This could not be brought about by the security forces.

"Obviously, strict measures banning the possession, carrying and use of dangerous weapons should be enforced. Culprits should be punished," the report adds.

The report also recommends the establishment of hostel co-operatives so residents can run the hostels along democratic lines; upgrading and formalising of hostels and surrounding informal settlements; the expansion of local peace committees to become neutral negotiating forums and the development of educational programmes in townships and hostels.

Star 3/11/5193

# Anglicans urged to hand in guns

(214)

CAPE TOWN — The Diocesan Council of the Diocese of Cape Town has appealed to Anglicans to give up their personal firearms as part of a drive to restore respect for the sanctity of life.

In a statement, the Anglican Church called on clergy not to provide character testimonials to church members wishing to apply for firearm licences.

It added there was a "strong impression" that PAC leaders had been detained because the Government wanted to be seen to be taking tough action.

"Yet when the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging indulges in inflammatory, racist rhetoric and deploys heavily armed members on the streets against protesters, the Minister of Police holds talks on security issues with its leader." — Sapa.



# focus on Bosnia

AK

**F**ROM the Far Right to the black Left, South Africa's squabbling politicians agree on one thing — war-ravaged Bosnia provides a fine metaphor for their own country.

For some, the ethnic slaughter in the former Yugoslav republic is a premonition of their worst nightmare.

Others, seize on the UN-touted concept of ethnic self-determination as a solution to their own plight.

"The people will not allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia," the African National Congress said in May response to threats of secession from the white Right.

Meanwhile the white Right, in the form of Mineworkers Union chief Peet Ungerer, said:

"We are at ease with the implementation of an ethnically based settlement similar to the UN peace plan in Yugoslavia."

President FW de Klerk, meanwhile, warned that if he gave in to the demands of the radical Left or Right "violence would increase and a bloody Bosnia-like civil war could ensue"

As in the former Yugoslavia, the issue most likely to drive South Africans to civil war is the refusal of some ethnic groups to be dominated by members of other groups.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, has hinted that he would consider secession for Natal where most of his followers live.

## Ethnic cleansing

Buthelezi, who has himself raised the Bosnia spectre with accusations that the constitutional proposals of De Klerk and the ANC amount to "ethnic cleansing", has drawn up an autonomy plan for Natal.

Early in May, leaders of the white right wing said Afrikaners would consider secession if constitutional negotiations failed to deliver on their demand for self-determination.

The threat came from a former general in the South African Defence Force, who said the white-led army would never obey orders from a black government to fight its fellow-Afrikaners.

Self-determination, or regionalism, is one of the key issues under discussion at the talks on a transition to democracy. A total of 26 groups, including the right wing, Government, ANC and Inkatha, are taking part.

Both Inkatha and the rightist Conservative Party have rejected the ANC's vision of a unitary state with a strong central government, saying their demands for self-determination are not negotiable.

In a departure from the Yugoslavia metaphor, Buthelezi said attempts to force a unitary

The former Yugoslav republic provides a chilling example of what could happen in South Africa. *Sapa-Reuter* spoke to leaders about this gloomy prospect for the country that has not known peace in the past decade.



**Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... secession a possibility.**

state on his followers would make the civil war in Angola look like a picnic.

Professor Mike Hough, a political scientist at the University of Pretoria, said those who referred to another Bosnia in South Africa were over-dramatising. But the possibility of full-scale civil war could not be ruled out

## Worst-case scenario

"People used to refer to Lebanon, now they use Bosnia — they're worst-case scenarios of what could happen in a racial, ethnic conflict like that in South Africa

"But we're still quite a way from civil war in South Africa. You have to have two armies for that and we only have one"

Hough said the defence force could split into

*Sowetan 2/6/93*

**There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on**

*(274) (ZOPA) (IFP) (SIS)*

factions that would turn upon each other if there was a government collapse or if the right wing carried out its secessionist threat

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said the right wing and black opposition would never reach consensus on regionalism

## Colour divisions

"There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on

"Things look very ugly — the damage done to South Africa by 40 years of apartheid is beyond repair."

In public at least, the ANC is optimistic it can reach agreement with the white Right on regionalism.

"Negotiations are about finding one another," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said recently

"We've developed a very progressive and reasonable position on regions — those who have listened to our policies, have found sense in them. We look forward to convincing the Conservative Party."

One of the right wing parties at the constitutional talks, the Afrikaner People's Union, said this week it had achieved a breakthrough on regionalism in talks with the Government

The AVU, more moderate than the Conservative Party, said it was greatly encouraged to hear from the Government that Afrikaner self-determination could be accommodated in its constitutional proposals

# Businessmen can help peace process

By Shirley Woodgate

Business has a stake in community stability, and businessmen must make their own services and resources available to speed up the peace process, says the Consultative Business Movement's Natal chairman, M C Pretorius.

Speaking ahead of The Star/CBM Business Conference for Active Change, to be held in Johannesburg on June 25, Pretorius said business had a role beyond the factory gates.

As proof of successful involvement in community affairs, he cited the

case of Mpumalanga, near Hammersdale, dubbed "Little Beirut" at the onset of devastating violence in the Natal Midlands in 1986. Stayaways, absenteeism and plummeting productivity followed murder and anarchy. In 1989, business intervened in the Mpumalanga peace initiative at the request of shop stewards.

"Schools were repaired and a community hall is being built by families with opposing views, now ready to work together," he said.

● To book your seat at the conference, see coupon on Page 22.

Thursday, June 2 1993

# Violence: council to probe media role

Russ. day 2/6/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The Press Council has been requested by the Goldstone commission to investigate the role of the media in the incitement and perpetuation of violence. (274)

Following hearings last week into the ill-fated Thokoza march of May 22, in which 13 people died, the commission resolved to lay a formal complaint with the Press Council concerning the local Press coverage of the incident.

Press Council registrar Ed Linington confirmed that a request for an investigation had been received from the Goldstone commission yesterday. (273)

A commission spokesman referred to the first Goldstone investigation into violence at Thokoza, completed in November last year, in which the media was urged to be "conscious of the fact that they are the disseminators of information which is frequently the trigger for violence".

The media, along with political leaders, bore a heavy responsibility in this regard, the report said.

The publication of "false rumours" and unsubstantiated allegations had contributed to the deterioration of community relations and had led to further outbreaks of violence, the commission found.

The commission recommended that criminal sanction be imposed on those members of the media who were found to have deliberately engaged in publicising potentially harmful rumours.

It was believed by participants at the Thokoza hearing last week that the media had once again assumed a contributory function in the violence.

This was reflected in the last paragraph of the commission's recent Thokoza statement in which the council was "requested to investigate the reporting by the media in SA of the events which took place in Thokoza".

The council was asked to report its findings to the commission as soon as possible.

A recommendation on November 17 1992 that a Goldstone committee be created to look into the media and its impact on violence and intimidation had been ignored by the industry, a commission spokesman said.

"I am not aware of any submissions in this regard," he said.

Linington said specific complaints about incidents or articles needed to be passed on to the council for consideration.

If these fell within the ambit of the council, and possible breaches of its code of conduct existed, the matter would be taken up with the newspapers concerned, he said.

The Goldstone commission spokesman said further details, and copies of offending articles, would be submitted to the council as soon as possible.

"While the commission abhors the idea of censorship, the media must be conscious of its responsibilities," he said.

†Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply that there was a need for the appointment of directors, I would like to ask him whether there was not a greater need for more teachers at the schools.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the fact remains that, if one takes the total number, there is also an over-supply of teachers in certain categories. I would just like to state once more that the reduction of teachers really did not adversely affect efficacy at the classroom level. It was not affected and therefore I am satisfied with this adjustment. I would just like to repeat that what the Cape is doing now is in any case being done in all three of the other provinces.

†Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply concerning efficacy, I would like to ask whether efficacy in the corps of officials on the level of director was not up to standard, seeing that he has now had to appoint more of them.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, was that not the fifth question? [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! It was. The hon the Deputy Minister may proceed.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, no. This in fact relates to the reply I gave right at the outset. There was a real need for such posts in the education category. Just as the appointment of directors does not adversely affect other departments, so it does not adversely af-

fect pupils in the education department. [Interjections.]

For written reply:

General Affairs:

National Peace Accord: expenditure

193. Mr W U NIEL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he will furnish information on all moneys spent by his Department up to 31 December 1992 in respect of (a) the implementation of the structures envisaged under Chapter 7 of the National Peace Accord and (b) operational costs of such structures at national, regional and local levels with regard to (i) infrastructure, (ii) (aa) secretariat and (bb) contract personnel and (iii) any other specified items; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant particulars?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a) The latest available expenditure figure for the 1992-93 financial year from 1 April 1992 up to 31 March 1993, as calculated on 24 April 1993, is R5 156 817,00. During the 1991-92 financial year a total amount of R866 538,00 was spent for the period 1 November 1991 up to 31 March 1992.

(b) Particulars regarding the operational costs for the period 1 April 1992 up to 31 March 1993 that were available on 24 April 1993 are as follows:

Level	Infrastructure	Staff Remuneration	Other# Expenditure
National	331 797,00	1 018 948,00	1 544 488,00
Regional	387 860,00	687 791,00	969 397,00
Local	6 886,00	100 041,00	109 609,00
Total	726 543,00	1 806 780,00	2 623 494,00

\* (aa) Remuneration: Directorate: Internal Peace Institutions: (Including salaries, pension, housing subsidies and medical aid contributions).

R768 423,00

(bb) Sessional allowances and transport and subsistence expenses: national Peace Secretariat:

R250 525,00

\*\* (aa) Remuneration: Administrative personnel:

(274) R416 744,00

(bb) Remuneration: Personnel appointed in terms of section 9 (2) of the Internal Peace Institutions Act, 1992.

R271 047,00

\*\*\* (aa) Remuneration: Personnel appointed in terms of section 9 (2) of the Internal Peace Institutions Act, 1992. (Including personnel at local committees and operational centres.)

R100 041,00

# Other expenditure includes:

- (i) Administrative services such as transport, telephone services, etc.;
- (ii) Stock such as stationery, etc.; and
- (iii) Professional services such as facilitation fees, to the amount of R349 120,95 and training to the amount of R96 452,45.

Industrial Development Corporation: purchase of business concern

309. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:

- (1) Whether a certain business concern, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, was purchased from the Industrial Development Corporation; if so, (a) on what date, (b) what is the name of this business concern, (c) what was the (i) net asset value and (ii) realizable value of this concern at the date of purchase and (d) (i) what purchase price and other considerations were paid in total to the Corporation by the shareholders of this concern and (ii) how many shares in it were (aa) issued and (bb) taken up;
- (2) whether any (a) corporate and/or (b) individual shareholders purchased more than 40 000 shares; if so, (i) which shareholders and (ii) how many were purchased in each case?

B705E

The MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY:

(1) Prior to July 1990 the assets and liabilities of the National Sorghum Beer Breweries were kept in trust and were managed by the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Limited (IDC) on behalf of the State. With effect from 1 July 1990 the assets and liabilities of the industry were transferred to National Sorghum Breweries Limited. The IDC therefore did not sell the assets and liabilities.

The net asset value on that date amounted to R130 515 000 and the purchasing price of the interest, based on earnings, brought in R44 million for the State. This amount was not determined by the IDC, but by the Privatisation Unit, based on the advice of the relevant acceptance banks.

The shares were sold in accordance with a prospectus, which closed on 19 June 1991. Since that date the State received R44 million from the sale of its shareholding in National Sorghum Breweries Limited. No other considerations were paid by the new shareholders to the State. A total amount of 44 million shares were issued on 1 July 1991

(2) The composition of the shares issued is as follows:

- Distributors . . . . . 5,5%
- Consumers . . . . . 20,6%
- General public . . . . . 34,6%
- Employees' Share Trust . . . . . 30,1%
- Underwriter: Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Ltd . . . . . 9,2%

The Employees' Share Trust was financed by means of a loan from the State. This loan has been paid back to the State since 1 July 1991 and the shares which were taken up by the IDC in terms of the underwriting agreement, were sold off to members of the public at the purchase price

On 1 July 1991 more than 40 000 shares were obtained by 42 shareholders. Because National Sorghum Breweries Limited is a public company, its shares are traded regularly and the composition of its shareholders is there-



## CP call for ban on MK, Apla

<sup>CP 2/8/93</sup>  
APLA and uMkhonto we-Sizwe should be banned immediately and members of these "terrorist" organisations hunted mercilessly, Mr Wynand van Wyk (CP, Witbank) said yesterday. (274)

In a statement condemning the murder of Mr Francois Roos and his wife, Gertrude, near Witbank on Monday, he said white resentment was reaching breaking point. — Sapa (274)

Sowetan 3/6/93

# ANC on peace moves

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

## ■ INITIATIVE WELCOMED Mugabe's attempts

to bring factions together are appreciated:

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS has welcomed initiatives by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe to bring an end to violence in South Africa.

At the same time it dismissed "insinuations" that its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, was not keen on meeting Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"The insinuation is incorrect and misleading," the ANC said yesterday

Buthelezi met Mugabe officially for the first time in Harare this week. Among issues discussed was violence in this country

"The ANC welcomes President Mugabe's

initiative to bring an end to violence, which has stalked our country and its people for many years"

It said Mugabe's move followed a decision by the Organisation of African Unity's ad-hoc committee to assist in bringing the carnage in South Africa to an end

### Concern of Africa's leaders

The organisation believed Mugabe and the OAU ad hoc committee could help accelerate a Buthelezi-Mandela meeting

"This initiative indicates the concern of Africa's leaders about the senseless bloodletting which has left many of our compatriots dead, maimed or displaced," it said

The organisation felt, however, that all initiatives taken to end violence should be influenced by present programmes within the country.

The ANC's national executive committee had, therefore, decided that Mandela and Buthelezi should meet to discuss the issue of violence only after thorough preparations had been made to ensure the success of the meeting

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## Counting the cost of making peace

CREATING the structures of the National Peace Accord had cost more than R6 million so far, said Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte.

He was answering a question in parliament yesterday from Mr Wessel Nel, the Democratic Party MP for Mooi River. *ARC 3/6/93*

Mr Nel asked what money was spent on implementing and operating the structures of the National Peace Accord. — Political Staff.

# Kriel says unrest must stall vote

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

AS negotiators rush to meet the Thursday deadline for announcing an election date, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, has warned that an election cannot be held in the current climate of violence.

The minister also dismissed claims of a split in the cabinet over negotiations strategy and the handling of violence.

Mr Kriel told Rapport newspaper that the NP had believed for some time that negotiations had to be tackled in tandem with the violence.

"But if a political settlement is reached now, I would say you could not hold an election — the climate of violence would not allow it."

Meanwhile, the PAC said at the weekend that an end to its armed struggle might be in sight if an agreement could be reached this week on an election date.

Publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai, said at a special executive meeting of the PAC that the PAC was not yet ready to suspend Apla's armed struggle.

However, it would be prepared to

discuss "the cessation of hostilities" once a date for democratic elections had been settled.

Potential stumbling blocks in the way of a swift agreement among the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on a poll date include a long list of constitutional issues that have to be thrashed out in the next few days.

Tomorrow's bilateral meeting between the government and the PAC on the organisation's stance on violence, the armed struggle and the crackdown on several of the PAC's leaders could lead to further fireworks.

## Arrests

Mr Kriel told Rapport he was satisfied that the police had briefed him properly and said the Apla raids had been aimed at clamping down on the brains behind the violence.

The police were not obliged to tell him in advance about planned arrests and he had no power or right to tell the Commissioner of Police who should or should not be arrested.

He had intended to inform his cabinet colleague and chief government negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, of the raids early on Tuesday but had not been able to contact of him.

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CT31/5/93

3899

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

### VIOLENCE

## Holding thumbs

**Political violence** is declining. The death rate from political strife has dropped to its lowest level in three years — even the post-Hani assassination killing spree in April failed to push the monthly death toll up to the level of the same month last year.

According to figures released by the SA Institute of Race Relations, provisional figures for the first three months of this year indicate a "sharp downward trend in political violence. While the daily average was 10 killed in 1990, seven in 1991, and eight in 1992, the daily fatalities averaged fewer than 4,5 between January and March. This is the first time in which the monthly fatality totals have been consistently lower than 150 since the second half of 1989."

Its observations are corroborated by the Human Rights Commission (HRC), which also closely monitors political violence levels. HRC researcher Eric Pelser says that even the tensions created by the Hani assassina-

tion failed to boost the death toll to the levels of previous years. Last year there were 3 499 politically related deaths — a daily rate of 9,6 and "we have noticed a definite decline in the level of killing since the beginning of the year."

Though the HRC's figures are higher than the Institute's sub-150 deaths a month, they reflect the same trend. Pelser says their figures show the death tally for February 1992 was 234 compared with 179 this year, in March there were 437 deaths last year compared with 181 this year, and last April there were 356 deaths, compared with 259 fatalities in April this year (the month of the Hani assassination).

Pelser says the decline is largely attributable to a substantial fall in the number of fatalities in the PWV area though the decline has been general.

Hostel violence, in particular, has dipped significantly since September, when government and ANC signed the Record of Understanding. In the five months prior to that there were 125 incidents resulting in 204 deaths. In the next five months the HRC

recorded 45 incidents of hostel related violence ending in 33 deaths.

He adds, however, that the Kati-hong/Thokoza violence on the East Rand contrasts sharply with the overall trend and will undoubtedly boost the May death toll. It is also too early to know whether or not the East Rand violence marks the beginning of a new trend or whether it will be confined.

The institute says violence in the first quarter continued to be concentrated on the Witwatersrand and in pockets in Natal/KwaZulu, which accounted for 50%-63% of all political deaths. The main flashpoints are Empangeni, Durban, Maritzburg and Richmond.

The organisation adds that in spite of the wide publicity given to white civilian fatalities in political violence, the bulk of victims are still black.

Prime targets for political violence include squatter camps and hostels, but trains and railway stations have attracted significantly fewer attacks than in the past. Conversely, however, there has been a rise in the number of attacks on taxis and buses. ■

# UN call for more local peace committees

(274)

APR 4/6/93  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — While good progress has been made in the formation of regional peace committees, the number of new local peace committees (LPCs) being established and maintained is disappointing, United Nations observer mission head Angela King has told a National Peace Secretariat chairmen's meeting.

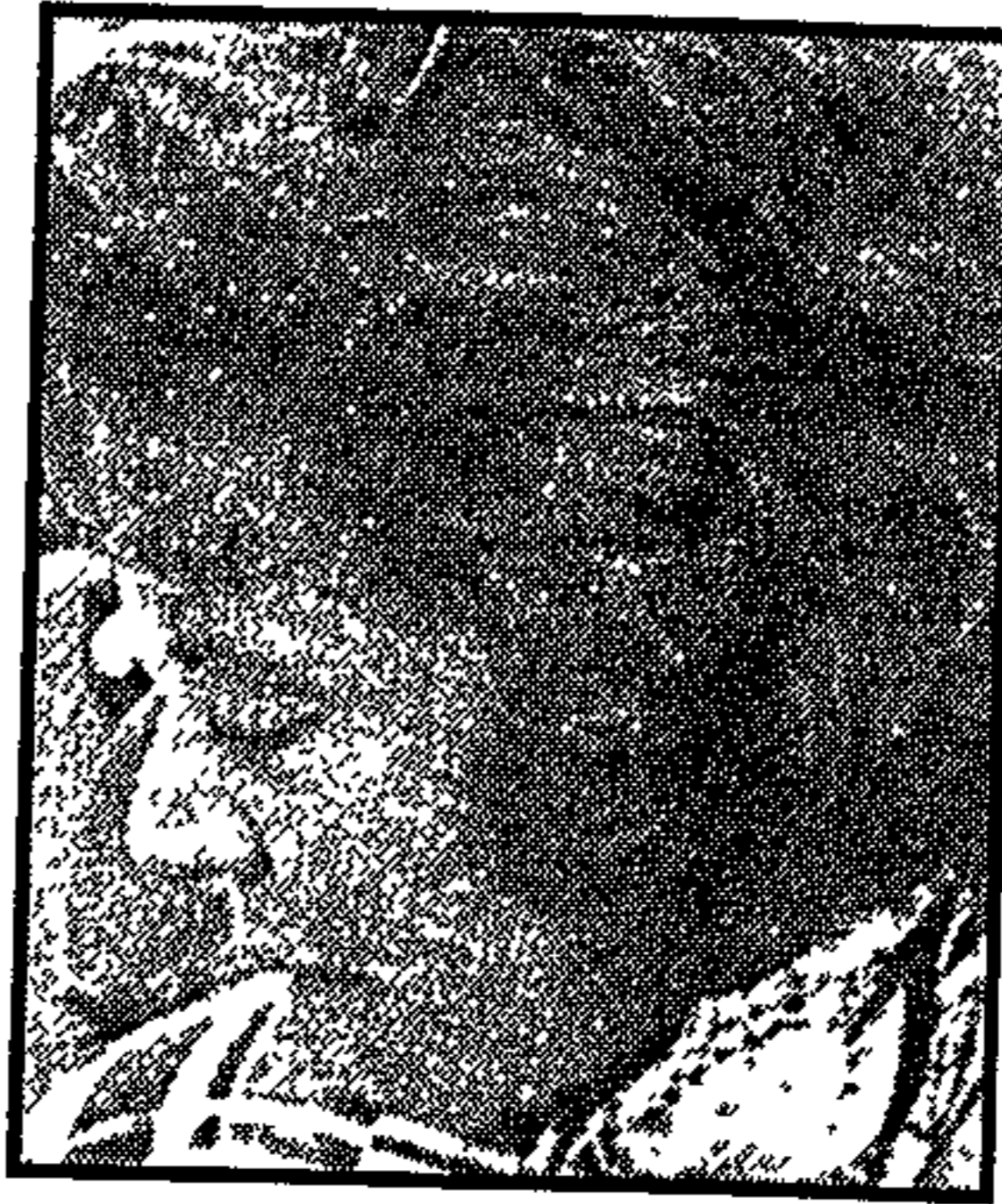
Ms King said most of the regional and LPCs were also not representative of the local population mix, political viewpoints or community groups, women and youth.

"However, we have seen some positive development and commend those LPCs which are reaching out to involve non-signatories (of the Peace Accord) such as the PAC, the CP and Transkei in its structures," she said.

But some of the regional peace committees continued to function erratically.

"Decisions taken are subject to different interpretations, depending on the political philosophy of the parties or organisations most involved. These decisions then translate into directives that lack clarity and coherence for implementation by the National Peace Secretariat," Ms King said.

To compound this situation, the sec-



Ms Angela King

retariat of the peace committees was severely understaffed.

Inadequacies at the regional and local levels sometimes led to a tendency to rely heavily on the international observer mission's attendance at events.

"Our role is to support and assist — not substitute or replace."

Ms King suggested that peace structures consider upgrading the Peace Accord's code of conduct for political parties and adapting it to the needs of an election period and issuing and publishing Mr Justice Goldstone's guidelines for the conduct of marches as part of the Peace Accord.

She also suggested the setting up of a monitoring and evaluation unit to oversee and ensure implementation or recommendations of the peace structures.

# Police methods worry OAU representative

By Isaac Moledi

Legal marches not properly handled: (274)

A REPRESENTATIVE of the Organisation of African Unity observer mission in South Africa yesterday attacked the way police were handling legal marches in the country.

Addressing a peace meeting in Muldersdrif, Legoaila J Legoaila said South Africa's unprecedented level of violence was getting out of hand and it was the duty of the police — as in any civilised society — to maintain law and order.

He said while he thought it was possible to achieve peace, he was worried by the way police handled marches.

Legoaila said two months before the assassination of the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr

Chris Hani, the OAU and the UN observer missions enjoyed the respect of the police. Police co-operated with various political organisations and the observer missions before and after marches

He said he was surprised that police did not respect marchers who had been granted permission by a magistrate.

The head of the UN observer mission, Miss Angela King, said it was necessary that national peace secretariat structures be expanded in order to take a firm hand in developing a peace initiative. She said the peace secretariat should develop guidelines for protest action.

She said children under 14 should not take part in such marches.

# Peace official saves day after court fracas

By Montshiwa Muroke

The quick intervention of the National Peace Committee and the generosity of one of its members yesterday helped end an ugly situation in the Free State town of Parys when bail was arranged and paid for five youths charged with arson.

A fight broke out in the Parys Magistrate's Court between

members of the public and policemen yesterday morning when the youths' bail application was rejected.

Later, in nearby Tumahole, angry youths burnt out at least one Post Office vehicle and stoned a number of others.

A Peace Committee spokesman said that after the violence, an urgent meeting was convened with the crisis com-

mittee, the police, the investigating officer, lawyers and the ANC Youth League. After consultations with the Attorney-General, agreement was reached to grant the five bail.

The case was reconvened and bail of R200 each was granted after a proper bail application was made. The bail money was paid by a member of the Peace Committee.

Those who appeared in court were William Nyathela (18), Theko Jacob Nakedi (19), Abel Phakoe (22) and two others aged 16 and 17.

The five were arrested on May 24 and 25 following the burning down of a Detective "Zero" Senokoane's home in Tumahole on May 23.

They were not asked to plead and the case was postponed to June 17.



Star 46/93

# Insurance for monitors

2714

By Helen Grange

The National Peace Secretariat (NPS) executive will meet today to discuss insurance cover for peace committee members and volunteers whose lives are at risk in township violence.

The matter has become urgent since last month's outbreak of violence on the East Rand, where monitors have been stoned and frequently threatened with firearms.

Speaking at a meeting of NPS chairmen yesterday, Rupert Lorimer of the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat said peace committee officials were going into dangerous situations and needed insurance.



In an evaluation of the situation on the Witwatersrand, Lorimer said the joint operational centre set up at Natal-spruit Hospital in the area was latest violence in the area was not succeeding as well as it should because there was not enough co-operation from political parties.

Natal-Kwazulu  
Peace Committee chairman

MC Pretorius told the meeting that one of the key issues of concern was the traditional leaders, whose positions had to be established because the IFP insisted on consulting them.

NPS chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said in his opening address that "remarkous progress" had been made in the 18 months since the signing of the National Peace Accord.

Eleven regional peace committees had been set up, under which there were 85 local peace committees (LPCs) and 30 more, including one in Venda, were in the process of being established.

The number of new LPCs being formed and maintained was disappointing, United Nations Observer Mission head Angela King told the meeting.

"However, we have seen some positive development and commend those LPCs which are reaching out to involve non-signatories (of the Peace Accord) such as the PAC, the CP and Transkei in its structures," she said.

Some of the regional peace committees, however, continued to function erratically in the discharge of their broad mandate. To compound this situation, the secretariat of the peace committees was severely understaffed.

Inadequacies at the regional and local levels sometimes led to a tendency to rely heavily on the international observer missions' solo attendance at events. "Our role is to support and assist, not substitute or replace," said King.

# Proposals to help curb violence in SA

Star 4/6/93

274

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

Movements to address the violence sweeping the country have been given fresh momentum with far-reaching proposals from a negotiations technical committee.

The committee proposed:

- The creation of a national peace force or youth corps, which sources said could effectively replace national service.
- A compromise recommendation on armed forces that could sharply reduce a main source of tension between the ANC and the IFP and,
- Ways to beef up the National Peace Accord.

The technical committee on violence's report was hailed by both the IFP and the ANC, but debate on it was curtailed when the Government said it wanted to consult on some issues.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said the report contained "a whole host of activities to bring about a reduction of hostilities" and paid tribute to the ANC's input to the committee.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa described it as an "historic document".

The report, tabled yesterday, suggests that the independent multiparty peacekeeping force should be established before the run-up to elections.

Sources said this could turn into one of the country's major post-apartheid projects and eventually become a new form of national service. The committee said there was an "urgent need to constructively channel the energies and anger of the youth."

The committee proposed that all parties submit views on the desirability of a peace corps.

The compromise proposal makes a distinction on the handling of "statutory and non-statutory armies on the one hand and police forces on the other", which would effectively end calls for Umkhonto we Sizwe and the KwaZulu Police (KZP) to be disbanded.

The report suggests a multiparty agency should formulate policy and oversee all armed formations, but this agency would be required to handle the armies and police forces separately.

Another implication appears to be a recognition that the KZP will form the basis for a future Natal/KwaZulu force and that MK will not be disbanded before it becomes part of SADF.

A major thrust of the report is a call for the strengthening of the Peace Accord.

Proposals for sanctions against parties transgressing the Accord's Code of Conduct and put before the committee include:

- Ordering the organisation to publicly repudiate the breach.
- Ordering the organisation to apologise to those affected by the breach.
- Ordering the organisation to suspend those guilty of a breach for a specified period of time.
- Ordering an organisation to expel those responsible for repeated breaches.
- Prohibiting those guilty of breaches from appearing on public platforms of their organisation for a specified time.

The committee recommended that "appropriate compulsory sanctions" should be developed by the committee for dealing with organisations which transgress the Code of Conduct.

**2 000 pupils in peace rally**

Star 5/6/93  
MORE than 2 000 pupils from Pretoria high schools participated in a peace rally at the city's Loftus Versfeld stadium yesterday. Peace Committee flags were hoisted during the rally while a peace song was sung. — Sapa

(274)



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# Political violence *Buss. Day 4/16/93* 'has decreased'

VIOLENCE of a "purely political" character had declined markedly in the 18 months in which the national peace secretariat had been operating, secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said yesterday. (274)

In a report to regional secretariat chairmen and international observers, he said the violence had shifted from high-profile political confrontations to assassinations, taxi wars and crime. The recent fighting between Thokoza residents and hostel dwellers was an exception to this rule.

"In the 18 months in which we have been active, we have not managed to stamp out violence ... but I think there is a marked reduction in purely political violence," he said.

Natal regional secretariat chairman M C Pretorius said ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala and his Inkatha counterpart David Ntombela held a groundbreaking meeting on Wednesday. The two had reached agreement on the return of refugees to the strife-torn Pateni area.

Gildenhuys said the secretariat had achieved "structural independence" since its R41m budget had been shifted from Justice to Home Affairs in April, and was preparing to administer its own finances.

Bophuthatswana remained relatively inaccessible to the secretariat, but agreement had been reached on establishing a peace committee in Venda and the secretariat had free access to Transkei and Ciskei.

Eleven regional peace committees and 85 local committees had been established in terms of the accord, with a further 30 local committees on the cards, he said.

UN observer mission head Angela King said in her report that most

RAY HARTLEY

regional and local peace committees were "still not representative of the local population-mix, political viewpoints or community groups".

She said key areas of the peace accord were yet to be implemented, including the code of conduct for the SADF, "self-protection units", the appointment of the "full complement of justices of the peace" and enforcing the ban on dangerous weapons.

Peace accord marketing committee head Graham Higgo said a second series of advertisements shortly be launched following the donation of R5m in media space and time.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela is to announce at a rally in Kathlehong tomorrow a plan to end violence on the East Rand.

The ANC's PWV region said violence was threatening the social fabric of the East Rand. "Schools have ground to a halt, families displaced, women turned into widows and children left without parents."

And the Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday appealed for peace during the coming funerals of the victims of East Rand violence. It also called for a meeting with the ANC Youth League.

Police said the bodies of two men who had been shot and burned to death were found in the Mandela Park squatter camp near Thokoza yesterday. Two injured people were admitted to Natalspruit Hospital and three squatter shacks had been razed by petrol bombs. The squatters said men from Holomisa Park had attacked the camp with AK-47 rifles.

The body of a third person who had been shot dead was found in Holomisa Park.

## ANC to search its marchers

*Buss. Day*  
ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Participants in mass action demonstrations or marches organised by the ANC alliance would be searched by marshals for weapons, ANC peace desk head Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday. (274)

The searching of protesters was one of the recommendations contained in a guideline mass action document being prepared for circulation among ANC regional and local offices nationwide.

The guidelines follow the findings of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into last month's Thokoza march, in which 13 people died, and were aimed at ensuring that marches remained peaceful.

An internal ANC PWV region investigation into the violence at the Thokoza march had also contributed to the new guidelines.

Mufamadi said that while all parties represented at the commission had agreed that demonstrations were a democratic right, clearer rules were required to prevent violence. 4/16/93

These included the notion of "joint responsibility" for all parties involved, weapon searches, improved preparations and closer liaison between organisations involved in the march, marshals and security forces.

"Steps should also be taken to contact any organisation possibly affected by the march to ensure its members and supporters are informed about the rights and routes of the protestors as well as to avoid a violent reaction," Mufamadi said.

Other points in the guidelines were that adequate numbers of marshals should be appointed, that regulations stipulated by authorities be adhered to and local police commanders reminded of their responsibilities.

# Police under

# fire

SI Times  
over 274

6/6/93  
checks

# system

By SHARON CHETTY

A KEY member of the National Peace Accord has accused police of lacking commitment to — and on occasions resisting — a checks-and-balances system designed to bridge the gap between the police and the community.

This has led to the failure so far of the Police Reporting Officer system in the Witwatersrand — the country's most violent area — he claimed.

Under the peace accord, attorneys and advocates were appointed as independent facilitators to ensure that complaints against the SAP were dealt with properly by a special investigative task force.

## Obstruct

But the Reporting Officer for the Witwatersrand, Advocate Jan Munnik, said this week the system was "not working" because of a "lack of commitment so far, resistance and an obstructive attitude by certain SAP men in the region"

Mr Munnik said he was concerned because:

- Reporting officers have been prevented from examining police dockets as a result of actions taken by senior police in the PWV area.

- There were only seven SAP officers — most of them part-time — allocated to these investigations and they were spread from Vanderbijlpark in the Vaal Triangle to Jan Smuts airport on the East Rand. This meant there was little or no co-ordination in their work.

## Dispute

- Since March 1, Mr Munnik has referred between 25 and 30 cases — ranging from allegations of police involvement in murder, assault, harassment, torture and bribery — for investigation. So far, he said, not one investigation had been concluded and he had not been kept informed of developments in most of the cases.

- The police often disputed whether matters referred to them fell under their ambit of investigation, despite clear provisions in the peace accord that police reporting officers should decide this. This had led to some investigations being vetoed; and

- These problems, together with a lack of commitment by some SAP members, means that Mr Munnik spends 70 percent

□ To Page 2

# SAP checks

□ From Page 1

of his time trying to get the accord to work.

Mr Munnik raised these problems with the SAP and was optimistic this week that steps would be taken to reduce the problems. SI Times

He and his colleague, Advocate Kgomotso Moroka, said most people did not have faith in the Police Reporting Officer system, so complainants were reluctant to come forward.

Many were also unaware that the system existed, they said. 6/6/93

The cases they have dealt with have been referred to them by local peace committees, groups that monitor violence, lawyers and the ANC. Less than 20 cases have been reported in the Soweto area since February.

"This manner of keeping the police in check is unique to South Africa, so teething problems must be expected," Mr Munnik said. "But, unless total commitment is shown by the SAP, no one is going to believe their claims that they want to improve their image." ~~SI Times~~

What was needed, he said, was a unit that was based in one place, that worked closely with local dispute resolution committees and was made up of people chosen for their commitment. 274

## Stressed

SAP General Vic Haynes, who is responsible for overseeing the process, agreed that there were "some" problems, but stressed that they were being dealt with.

"It is a new thing for us and we are still trying to streamline the way we work," he explained.

"When I met Mr Munnik this week we discussed the problems. I assured him that the SAP was working at sorting them out.

"It must be understood that we are short-staffed. And the men who are stationed at different places on the Reef are there so that they can cover a wide area quickly.

"Mr Munnik may not have been given written reports, but we try to keep him informed of investigations," he said.

General Haynes added that the Police Reporting Officer system was working well in other parts of the country.



# 8-point plan for peace in Natal

C/PRESS 6/6/93

IN the wake of the continued violence in Natal the ANC has come up with an eight-point plan for peace in the region.

The peace plan has been warmly but cautiously welcomed by Inkatha.

The eight steps to peace are:

- The local ANC and Inkatha leaderships must involve themselves and their members at grassroots level in the process of peace and the creation of a climate for political tolerance;
- The ANC/Inkatha leaderships must together preach the right to free political activity and an end to militarisation of politics;
- There must be transparency in all deliberations of local and regional dispute resolution committees;
- Both regional leaderships, with the assistance of dispute resolution committees, international observers and church groups must meet and engage themselves in the process of peace as a matter of urgency;
- Mandela and Buthelezi must hold an initial peace meeting with the aim of jointly instructing an ANC/Inkatha preparatory committee to complete their tasks by a set date;
- The preparatory committee present its report to the ANC/Inkatha leaderships;
- A summit meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi be held with international observers, media representatives and other interested parties - and;
- Joint peace rallies be held.

Mandela, Buthelezi to meet

# Tutu opens the door to peace

Star 7/6/93

(4/9) (S/12) (274)

## Staff Reporters

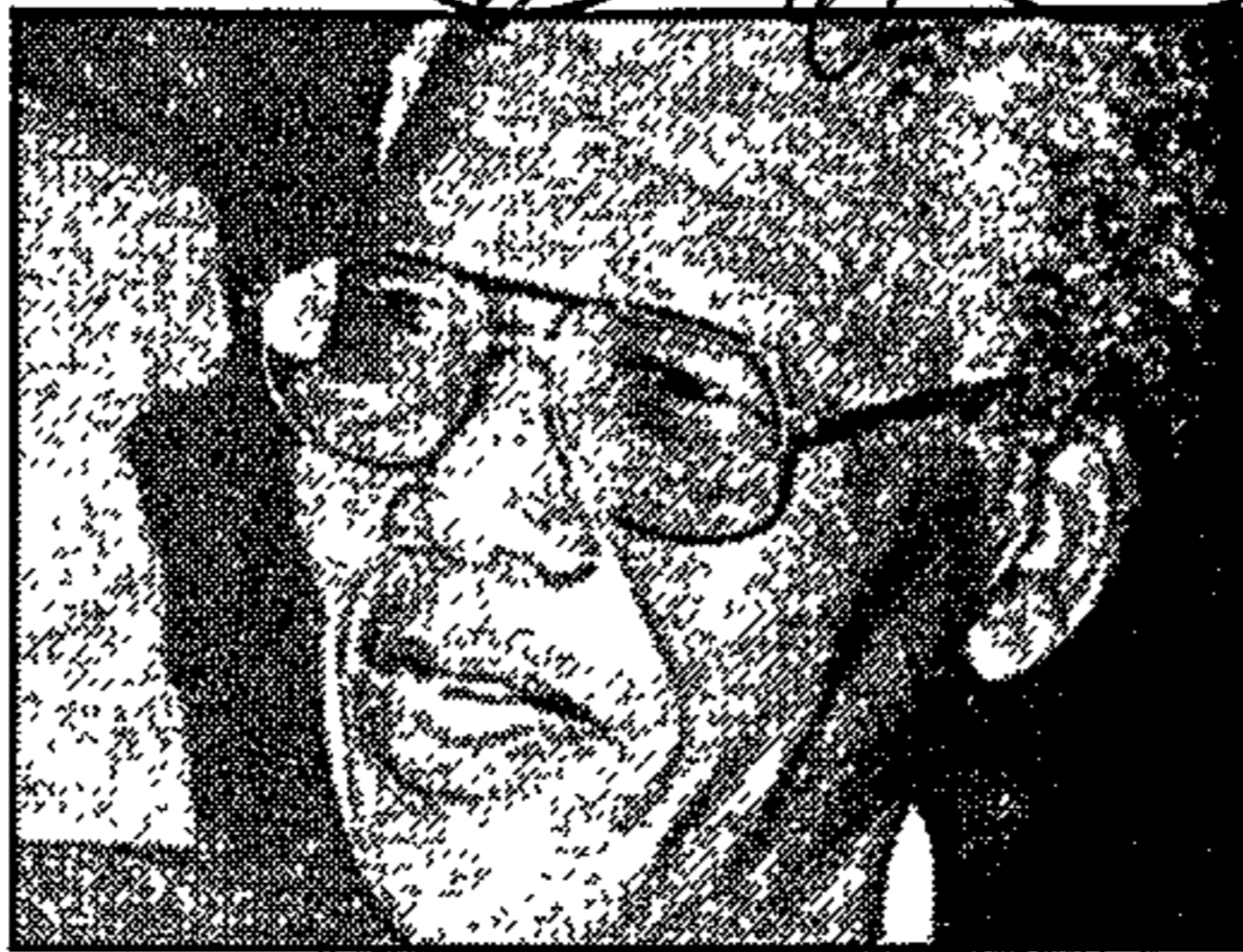
In what could be a major boost for peace, Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night that he had brokered a long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Tutu hoped the meeting would take place within weeks at his official residence, Bishopscourt in Cape Town.

He said in a statement he and the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, would chair the talks.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos and African National Congress spokesman Carl Niehaus last night could not contact their respective leaders to confirm the agreement.

Vos said should such a meeting take place it would signal movement towards a



Nelson Mandela



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

meeting of the National Peace Accord signatories.

National Peace Accord media liaison officer Val Pauquet said the Peace Accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories. The difficulty in getting Mandela and Buthelezi together had been a major obstacle.

National Peace Secretari-

at chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said last night that Tutu's "excellent" news significantly enhanced the prospects of peace.

"It will help a lot for the cause of peace. It will send a message of peace from the very top leadership of two most important organisations," he said.

Tutu said the Anglican Dean and Bishop of Natal Michael Nuttal would arrange the date of the meeting in discussion with Mandela, Buthelezi and Mogoba.

Tutu leaves today for an overseas visit, but he said he would drop everything to return for the meeting.

"I met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday at the consecration of Bishop Peter Harker, the new Anglican Bishop of Zululand. I then met Mr Mandela yesterday at celebrations organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee.

"I afterwards followed up discussions at those two meetings in Maritzburg with telephone consultations."

# Nelson Mandela calls for mass movement for peace

Buss. Day 7/6/93  
(274) (113)

MARITZBURG — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has called for signatories of the national peace accord to meet urgently to strengthen the accord and unleash a "mass movement for peace".

The ANC president also called on all South Africans to unite around the tentative April 27 election date, to begin the healing process in violence-torn SA.

Mandela was addressing several hundred people in the Maritzburg City Hall yesterday before he unveiled a memorial statue honouring Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi, who, almost 100 years ago, was evicted from a train reserved for whites at Maritzburg Station.

Mandela said in spite of the peace accord's shortcomings, the document had assisted in quelling violence.

"We can no longer delay our coming together again as signatories of the peace accord, to strengthen it and revisit the source of violence and give peace fresh momentum."

Solutions to the current violence could only be found through collective efforts by all political leaders, Mandela said.

"We need to unleash a mass movement for peace..." We can't delay a meeting of signatories of the peace accord."

The ANC president welcomed recent reports about the phased integration of armed formations in the country into the security forces, saying this could be an important subject to be addressed by signatories.

The ANC welcomed all peace initiatives, said Mandela.

He commended a recent peace plan by the ANC southern Natal region and also by the group of con-

cerned Zulus who had both called for urgent meetings between the ANC president and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Referring to the election date, Mandela said he was aware some people had reservations on the issue.

"We urge them all to look to the future and consider their reservations so that this momentous event becomes a unifying occasion in our strife-torn country," said Mandela.

Never before had there been such a moment in SA's history as the forthcoming election, Mandela said, urging South Africans to ensure it marked a time of healing, he said.

Earlier, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu reiterated the call for all armed formations in the country to come together in a joint peacekeeping force controlled by the international community. — Sapa.

● See Page 6.

## Row over witness's indemnity

Buss. Day 7/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT yesterday denied that a key witness in the investigation into the death of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe had been given insufficient indemnity to allow him to testify freely.

President F W de Klerk earlier granted SADF Col Lourens du Plessis indemnity for his role in transmitting a signal from Eastern Province Command to the State Security Council in June 1985, which is alleged to have led to Goniwe's assassination, but refused him indemnity for his role in "Operation Katzen".

"Du Plessis' lawyer Wayne Gray said in a statement he was concerned that efforts to delve into Operation Katzen — allegedly a plan to destabilise the eastern Cape in the 1980s — were being resisted."

"Du Plessis has already signed an affidavit stating that the Goniwe signal amounted to a "death warrant".

A government spokesman said De Klerk

had granted Du Plessis indemnity with regard to the signal against the advice of the board established in terms of the Further Indemnity Act.

"There are no reasonable grounds for the inference that the indemnity granted to Du Plessis is insufficient to ensure his giving evidence on any matter in an uninhibited manner," the spokesman said.

"Indemnity was not granted relating to Operation Katzen because there was insufficient material available indicating that any offence had been committed. Nor is Operation Katzen the subject of any current judicial proceeding."

Sapa reports the partial indemnity was described as a "travesty" which demonstrated that the Further Indemnity Act was a licence for murderers, DP Youth spokesman Colin Douglas said.

## Taxi group lobbies for control board

Buss. Day 7/6/93

THEO RAWANA

INDISCRIMINATE issuing of permits is the major cause of taxi wars, and only a taxi control board will curb it, says the SA Black Taxi Association (Sabta).

Ten minibuses were gutted at Baragwanath taxi rank, Diepkloof and Orlando East on Thursday.

Mike Ntlatleng, public affairs director of Fabcos (mother body of Sabta), said that since government decided on deregulating the taxi industry, the Transportation Board had been issuing permits without first checking passenger volumes or ranking facilities.

"There is no liaison even between the board and the local authorities, and this results in taxis choking up space and fighting over limited ranking facilities."

"Through a taxi control board, with which every taxi would need to register, input would be available to councils and the board and, since all members would have to follow a code of conduct, situations such as those experienced at present would be avoided," Ntlatleng said.

Ntlatleng said taxi industry leaders were talking to the Transport Ministry to have taxis subsidised.

Taxis, he said, carried 1,6-million passengers a day and buses and trains only 600 000.

"A technical committee is working on how government should subsidise the industry," Ntlatleng said.



**Kappa**

Newspaper reports carrying news of the COSATU boycott of the Pepecor Group give the misleading impression that KAPPA as a brandname is being included in the boycott.

KAPPA HOLDINGS LIMITED, the exclusive licence holders of all KAPPA products in Southern Africa, has no dispute whatsoever with COSATU or any of its affiliated organisations.

KAPPA and KAPPA FOOTBALL MERCHANDISE products are found in several hundred independent stockists which are not associated in any way with the current dispute.

Enquiries: 337-6452



# An unhealthy alliance

SITINGO b/19g

**BEN NGUBANE says members of the National Intelligence Service are acting in cahoots with the ANC**

274

THOUGH this week saw signs of constitutional progress, it would be a mistake to assume that everything is now smooth sailing. Violence in particular remains a critical problem, and the IFP insists that this be tackled now if constitutional consensus is to be transformed into concrete, institutional progress.

At the multi-party forum on April 26, the IFP demanded an end to ANC violence against the IFP (over 285 of whose leaders have been assassinated) and government connivance in the marginalisation of the IFP. Dr Frank Mdlalose made the following charges:

"But even more disturbing than the ANC's campaign of violence against the IFP is the fact that there is collusion at the most senior levels of government... we find it totally incomprehensible of the government that:

● It has seemingly failed to establish who is behind these serial killings of our leaders;

● Via the fiscus, it helps fund MK's training in Transkei;

● It has long tolerated the deployment from Transkei of trained MK assassins;

● It was party to an agreement permitting the continued training of cadres being deployed against us;

● It signed an agreement blaming the IFP for political violence while exonerating our attackers;

● It agreed to the banning of traditional accoutrements while legitimising others' military training;

● It helps others distance themselves from gun running and suppresses disclosure of information on hit squads;

● It threatens one course of action with the PAC but continues to negotiate with the ANC whose military wing has been proven to be involved in violence; and

● Its intelligence agencies are involved in providing support to those seeking our demise."

As serious as they are, these charges are merely the reflection of a more deep-seated problem. In essence, dominant sections of the regime and ANC have reached a mutual "accommodation" on key aspects of the transition, which nothing and no one is to be permitted to derail.

One of the government's major concerns is thus to help secure the image of a moder-

ate ANC as a responsible partner in government.

This accounts for the government's preparedness to help the ANC out of tight spots, its playing to the gallery over Apla, and its deathly silence over MK's activities against the IFP.

However, even more sinister in pointing to what is going on behind the public facade of "open" negotiations, is the fact that important elements within the state are actively working to marginalise the IFP — a charge corroborated by an SACP "not for circulation" document in November 1992.

The document refers to the "mutual recognition" between "advanced elements" in the regime and the ANC.

Significantly, the document refers first to the marginalisation of internal threats (within the state) "through a large number of surgical tactical blows by this 'most advanced' section"; and second, to actions against other organisations, especially the IFP.

"These actions on the part of elements within the regime extend, for example, to the continuing disruptive actions aimed by the re-

gime's National Intelligence Service against... Inkatha."

The document itemises NIS support for pro-ANC newspapers; its liaison with certain journalists; its role in building the anti-IFP Contralasa in Natal; and its responsibility for Inkathagate.

Indeed, the SACP explicitly acknowledges that "the implications of such actions have been made to us by some of these regime elements".

This kind of duplicity is deeply disturbing, not only for its impact on present violence and present negotiations, but also for the future. What strategies are being jointly pursued by NIS and the ANC's intelligence service? What kind of democracy are we bringing into being? What plans are being hatched to deal with opponents in the future?

The IFP says enough is enough. As our massive protest marches on May 15 amply demonstrate, we are sickened by the conniving, by the collusion against us, and by the implications for the future. We do not accept this agenda and we will not permit it to be implemented.

□ Dr Ben Ngubane is an executive member of the IFP central committee.

# Mandela calls for peace

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ARG 7/6/93

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A call for South Africa's peace accord to be renewed and strengthened has been made in Maritzburg by African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said the time had come for the signatories of the accord to come together again without delay.

"Some time back we signed a mutual peace accord, but we have since witnessed endless murders," he said.

Mr Mandela made his call at a function to mark the official unveiling of the newly-erected statue of Gandhi in the Maritzburg city centre.

He said peace could come to South Africa if all the country's leaders sat down together to make a commitment.

"We need unity to have true negotiations and for the elections on April 27, 1994, to become a reality," he said.

"We need unity so democracy will dawn on our country, unity so our children can live and learn in peace.

"We need unity so our aged can live out their lives in peace and dignity, unity so we can build one nation in our beloved country."

Mr Mandela said the general election next year would be a unique moment in the history of the country.

"Let us all join in making that moment a time of unity, a time of healing wounds."

He described the Gandhi statue as the first statue of hope in the country. Gandhi's experiences in South Africa had set him on a path from which he had emerged as the unrivalled champion of equality and freedom.

"I hope that once all South Africans have won their birthright to life, liberty and equality, we together may be able to forge a new non-violent society from the havoc wrought by colonial and apartheid rule."

Star 716193

# Mass movement for peace urged at Gandhi ceremony

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MARITZBURG — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has called for signatories of the National Peace Accord to meet, strengthen the accord and unleash a "mass movement for peace".

He also called on all South Africans to unite around the tentative April 27 1994 election date to begin the healing process in violence-torn South Africa.

Mandela was addressing several hundred people in the Maritzburg City Hall yesterday before he unveiled a memorial statue honouring Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi.

He said that the peace accord — in spite of its shortcomings — had assisted in quelling violence.

"We can no longer delay our coming together again as signatories of the peace accord to

274  
strengthen it, revisit the source of violence and give peace fresh momentum," he said.

Solutions to the current violence could be found only through "collective efforts" by all political leaders.

Mandela welcomed recent reports about the phased integration of armed formations in the country into the security forces.

On the election date, he said he was aware there were some reservations.

"We urge all South Africans to look to the future and consider their reservations so that this momentous election becomes a unifying occasion in our strife-torn country."

Earlier, Archbishop Desmond Tutu called for all armed formations to come together in a joint peacekeeping force controlled by the international community. — Sapa.

# 'Let peace prevail'

Sowetan 7/6/93

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called for signatories of the National Peace Accord to meet urgently to strengthen the accord and unleash a "mass movement for peace".

He also called on all South Africans to unite around the tentative April 27 1994 election date to begin the healing process in violence-torn South Africa.

**Gandhi**

Mandela was addressing several hundred people in the Maritzburg City Hall before he unveiled a memorial statue honouring Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi.

He said despite the shortcomings of the National Peace Accord, the document had assisted in quelling violence.

## ■ Strengthen and rally around Peace Accord, says Mandela:

"We can no longer delay our coming together again as signatories of the Peace Accord to strengthen it and revisit the source of violence and give peace fresh momentum."

Solutions to the current violence could only be found through collective efforts by all political leaders, he added.

The ANC president welcomed recent reports around the phased integration of armed formations in the country into the security forces, adding that this could be an important subject to be addressed by a meeting of Peace Accord signatories — Sapa.

## Hani funeral: R615 000 damage to rail property

(274) CT 7/16/93  
THE South African Rail Commuter Corporation suffered R615 000 damages through arson and vandalism after the funeral of assassinated Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani, the Minister of Transport, Dr Piet Welgemoed, has said.

Responding to a question tabled in Parliament by Mr Joseph Chiole (CP, Pretoria West), Dr Welgemoed said one first-class motor coach was gutted, a Nasrec ticket office was burnt out and a public address system was stolen. He said the damage was not necessarily caused by mourners.

**P**EACE is an elusive commodity, especially in SA where stability and security can be converted overnight into terror by a random killing or an assassination such as the murder of SACP chief Chris Hani.

Unrest statistics, freely available, lead to macabre exercises which weigh up the number of dead and injured in one month against previous months in an effort to bring science to bear on the gory reality. Yet the elimination of violence is fundamental to the success of SA's transition and the extent to which elections will be free and fair.

This is the context in which the structures of the national peace secretariat have been functioning since they were established 18 months ago. The advances made by the secretariat in this period are praiseworthy. Secretariat chairman Antome Gildenhuys says "purely political" violence — for example between marchers and hostel dwellers — has declined substantially in this period.

Eleven regional committees and 85 local committees have been established. Over and above this, 10 operational centres have been set up in "Flashpoint areas" on the Reef and in Natal. The secretariat has gone some way towards establishing its autonomy from government and now has "structural independence" in relation to its R41m budget, Gildenhuys says.

The secretariat's marketing committee has fought a moving rendition of its "peace song", which has helped improve the profile of the accord. It seems, however, that TV watchers enjoy the melody more than the message.

Peace officials and international observers have pointed to the substantially lower levels of violence before the Hani assassination and the Sebokeng shootings, which led to a renewed upsurge of killings.

This period illustrates clearly the strengths and weaknesses of peace

# Peace accord needs commitment from people who count

*Buss Bay 716143*

**RAY HARTLEY and WILSON ZWANE**

accord structures.

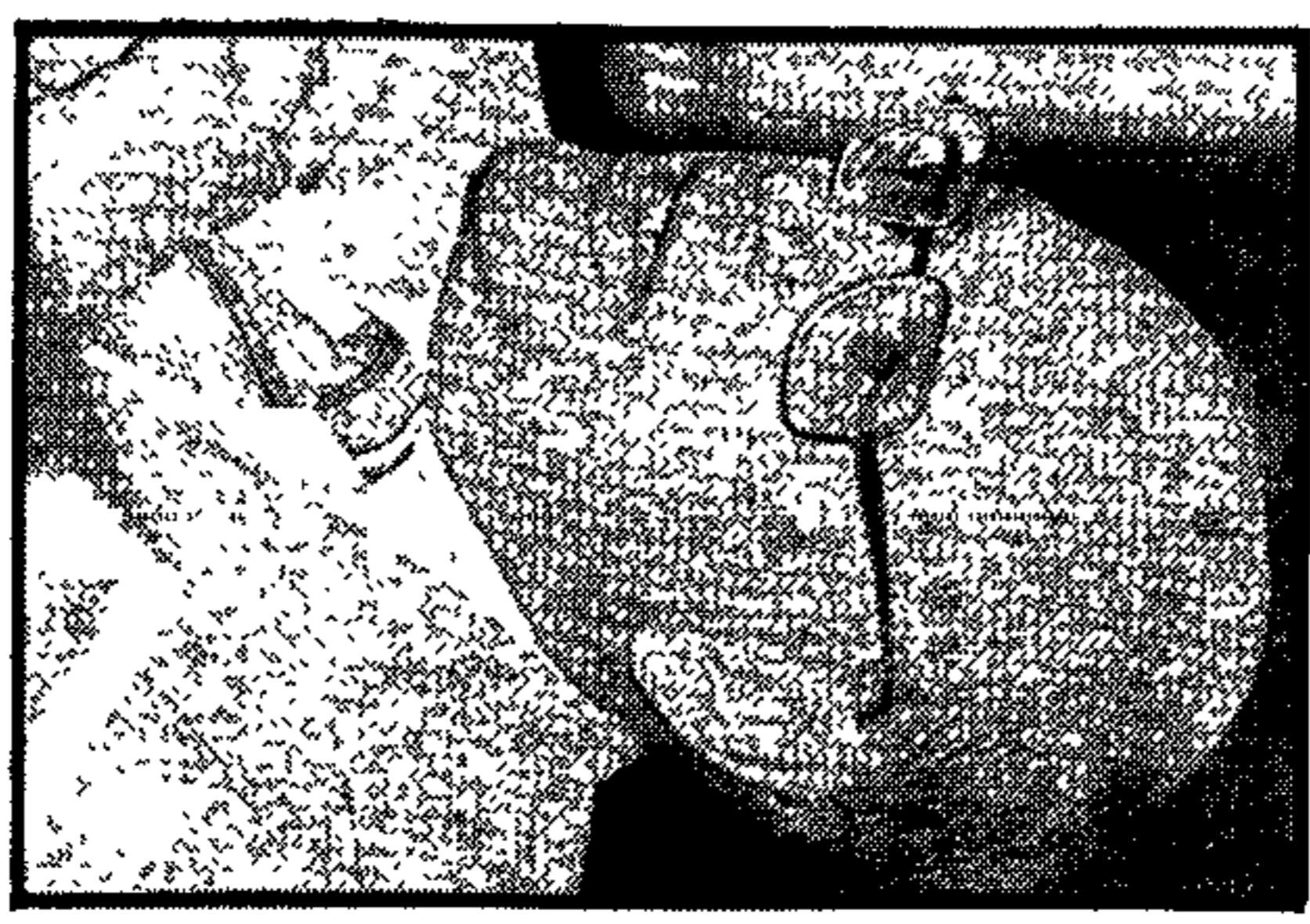
The secretariat can justifiably claim to have contributed to reducing incidents of violence at mass gatherings, through sophisticated negotiation and a high profile at public demonstrations. The relative peacefulness of events around the Hani funeral, which the secretariat expected would lead to "hundreds" of deaths, is testimony to the skills of its Wits-Vaal officials.

They managed to broker deals between police and the ANC, and deploy 240 observers across the Reef to calm tense crowds and avert violence on the ground.

But the secretariat and its structures have proved powerless against the faceless forces which drove through Sebokeng, killing 18 people, and the armed perpetrators of violence between hostel dwellers and marchers in Thokoza.

It would be too much to expect them to pre-empt this type of violence by themselves disarming marchers and hostel dwellers. All the peace accord structures can do is make recommendations to those in a position to take action.

This is the area where serious problems remain. UN Observer Mis-



□ GILDENHUYS

sion in SA head Angela King, in her report to last week's meeting of the secretariat's regional chairmen, pointed to the failure of the authorities to implement these aspects of

ness and the setting of pre-conditions by leaders. Their collective lack of enthusiasm for the meeting may conceal a shocking truth — that the major players see efforts to end violence as just another tiresome piece of politics, whatever they might say in public to save face.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park have postponed until June 15 a discussion on a resolution calling for an urgent meeting of the signatories. The proposed resolution also calls on non-signatories to sign the accord.

While PAC negotiator Benny Alexander's claim that the accord is "better known locally and internationally for its failures than its achievements" is an overstatement, he can be forgiven for questioning the commitment of key players to the document.

It must be clear to all that the peace secretariat will remain powerless to crack down on well-organised killers without a joint commitment from government and other key players to put into action a ban on weapons, and without decisive moves by the security forces to root out those planning assassinations and massacres.

A meeting of signatories and efforts to get non-signatories involved will go some way towards activating the areas of the accord which require political and security force intervention.

Such a meeting is long overdue and in danger of being bogged down in political point-scoring as it becomes part of the process of talks,

The Goldstone commission has also made recommendations on dangerous weapons and the control of violence emanating from hostels. These recommendations have effectively been ignored by government and political parties.

This is not the fault of the peace structures, which have been issuing increasingly emotional pleas for a meeting of peace accord signatories with no success. It is only at such a meeting that the political machinery to carry out recommendations can be forced into motion.

The signatories' meeting is in danger of being reduced to a political plaything, following months of coy-

**A**lso long overdue is a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the political rivalry between their organisations, which contributes in no small way to violence.

In the interim, the national peace secretariat can only continue with the treatment of the symptoms of violence in the hope that those capable of eliminating its causes get their act together.

Star 116193

## Thousands join in peace chain

BLOEMFONTEIN — There were tear-filled eyes — including those of Bloemfontein mayor André Burger — when an estimated 36 000 people turned up at a peace chain in the Free State capital which ended in a church service yesterday.

Burger said that up to 12 000 of the people gathered in the city centre's Hoffman Square for a church service while others formed a cross-shaped formation pointing north, south, east and west along the major routes leading out of the city.

He said the event was organised mainly by spiritual leaders and was well attended by people of all races.

The human chains, four people deep in places, covered a total distance of 36 km, he said.



National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys told participants that communities were now demanding that political leaders restore peace.

Also speaking was Ned Geref Kerk general synodical commission chairman Professor Pieter Potgieter, who appealed to people to practise peace in their daily lives.

Free State Administrator Dr Louis van der Watt said he hoped the message of peace would spread to the rest of the country in order to restore hope. — Sapa.

# A risky business for a cameraman in the frontline

By Michael Sbarito



With the stresses and strains, the escalating pitch of violence of the new South Africa, the life of a press photographer has become a risky business.

Indeed, with four injuries in three years at the frontline of media photography, for award-winning photographer Joao Silva (27), this time could be called "the years of living dangerously".

The Star photographer received the Medal of Merit from the Portuguese government at the weekend — the highest honour awarded to a "junior" (under 30). The award was in recognition of his achievements in the field of press photography.

He recalls a moment in Soweto, at the height of train attacks of the Reef.

"I was standing on the tracks, and this Inkatha dude was standing on the platform shooting at me with a handgun. The ground was disintegrating in front of me as he fired. All I could do was just keep taking pictures." One of those pictures won him an award.

In Somalia it was war of a different kind.

"I came out of there totally emotionally drained," says Silva. "In a normal war situation you go with the flow, gunfire, bodies all around. In Somalia it was masses of walking skeletons, little children too weak to wipe the flies off their faces.

"One moment I was pressing the shutter, the next moment the child was dead. So-



Sharp shooter . . . The Star's Joao Silva receives the Medal of Merit from Portuguese ambassador Jorge Rito in Johannesburg on Saturday night.

malia is more stressful than any other war situation."

But the photographer, who has been with The Star for the past two years, never gives the dangers of the job a thought.

"It's no use bothering with something over which you have no control," he says, staring at you mildly through granny glasses that suggest some deskbound job rather than the often tense

situations of newspaper photography.

It has been a good year for Silva. From the young man who picked up a friend's camera at Kyalami, "shot off a few frames and became instantly hooked", he has risen to the peak of his profession.

In April he was named the Ilford Press Photographer of the Year for 1992.

Born in Lisbon, Silva came

to South Africa with his parents via Mozambique when he was 10. Once he was bitten by the photography bug, he took a correspondence course in the subject before joining Reuters on a freelance basis.

He stayed with the agency for two years and covered almost nothing but violence.

"As a freelance you have to expose yourself. It's the only way to make money with an agency."

The picture that gave him most satisfaction last year was one he called "Waiting for the Dawn" Taken three days after the Boipatong massacre, it shows self-defence unit members standing under a tree with the sun rising in the background.

"I've been knocked about from all sides — from the Right, middle-of-the-road to the Left. It's part of the job," he says philosophically.



Star 816193  
**'Tensions will continue'**

Political and social tensions as well as unrest would continue as long as the majority of the urban population was excluded from normal public activities and aspirations, retiring Institute of Town Clerks president Paul Botha said in Pretoria last night. — Pretoria Bureau.

(274)

# Crackdown on firearms

Crime Reporter

AT least one person a day is being killed and about two people are being injured by AK-47-wielding gunmen in South Africa, according to statistics given yesterday at the start of a massive police crackdown on illegal weapons.

The new 60-day amnesty will give owners of illegal firearms and ammunition until the end of July to hand in their weapons without being prosecuted.

Rewards of up to R6 000 are to be given for information in what police have described as their biggest campaign ever to "rid this country of weapons of war", according to head of police public relations Major-General Leon Mellet.

At least eight million posters and pamphlets highlighting the R6 000 reward are to be distributed and the call to hand in illegal weapons will

## AK-47s kill one a day in SA, police statistics say

also be made on television and radio.

General Mellet said the AK-47 was responsible for more politically-motivated deaths — 532 — than any other weapon in the period from June 1, 1992, to May 25, 1993.

Almost 300 AK-47s had been recovered by police since the beginning of this year, but "thousands are still

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pouring into the country", he said. "Our information indicates that AK-47s sell for up to R1 800 on the black market and are bought in

BLITZ ...

One of the posters for the drive against illegal arms. The police are offering rewards of up to R6 000 for information leading to the recovery of weapons.

General Mellet said there were believed to be at least 1,5 million AK-47s unaccounted for in Mozambique alone, many of them believed to have found their way into South Africa.

The new police campaign against illegal weapons follows the promulgation last week of a tough new Arms and Ammunition Amendment Act which provides for offenders being sentenced to five years' imprisonment without the option of a fine or sentence remission options.

General Mellet said people found in possession of any illegal firearms during the amnesty period would be charged unless it was clear that they were actually handing in their weapons to police.

He said 73 people were prosecuted between January 1 and April 30 for the possession of AK-47s and 81 for other terrorist weapons.

# June 16

## rally blitz Star 9/6/93 lined up

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The ANC Youth League's nationwide June 16 anniversary services next week, which will include "defiance rallies" in Bophuthatswana and rural areas of Natal, would serve as a dress rehearsal for the ANC's election campaign, ANCYL publicity secretary Parks Mankahlana announced yesterday.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg, Mankahlana said this year's June 16 commemoration services would be bigger than any other events organised "in the history of our struggle" since the 1976 killings of protesting Soweto students by police.

Mankahlana said 78 rallies had been organised throughout the country, with ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANCYL president Peter Mokaba scheduled to address a mammoth rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium.

ANC firebrand Harry Gwala will address a rally in the trouble-torn Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng; ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale will speak at the Johannesburg City Hall; and ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa will be the main speaker at Botshabelo in the southern Free State.

# Two foreign observers withdrew as files seized

Political Correspondent 274 by the Goldstone Commission.

FRESH details have emerged in parliament of the seizure of military intelligence files by a six-man Goldstone Commission team late last year.

Two of the six men were foreign observers — one from the Netherlands and the other from Britain — but both voluntarily withdrew while the top secret files were being searched. ARG 10/6/93

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee gave fresh details of the raid in parliament yesterday in response to a question by Conservative Party MP Mr Tom Langley.

The raid led to a top-level investigation into allegations that senior SADF officers were involved in "dirty tricks" campaigns against the government's political opponents.

Mr Coetsee said the information on the raid on November 11 last year was given to him

The six-man team comprised police officers Lieutenant-Colonel H Heslinga and Detective-Sergeant P M van der Merwe, Advocate W Scales of the Pretoria Bar, attorney Mr P Botbijn and two EEC representatives, Mr Tom Laidlaw of Britain and Mr Floris Bouma of the Netherlands.

When Mr Laidlaw realised what the subject of the search was he "voluntarily, and before a dispute arose, offered to withdraw as he felt it would be inappropriate to be present".

"Mr Bouma also withdrew. The commission emphasises that the foreign representatives did not inspect any document or file."

Mr Coetsee said both the officers in command of the Directorate Covert Information — Brigadier Botha and General Erasmus — "were present when the files were seized".

ET 10/6/93  
**Violence claimed  
302 lives in May**  
(2/11)

JOHANNESBURG. — Altogether 302 people died in more than 500 violent incidents in May this year, according to the Human Rights Commission's monthly "repression" report.

This was "much above" the monthly average this year, but the total number of 1 096 deaths for the year so far was 24% lower than for the first five months last year.

The record number of 34 members of the security forces killed and 43 injured in May was "substantially higher than in any month since the HRC began keeping records in January, 1992".

● Police arrested 24 people at Ennerdale in the Vaal Triangle yesterday when residents occupied a vacant clinic, police said. Residents said they wanted to use the building as a safe haven for the homeless. — Sapa

**R50,97m set for  
farm protection**

Political Staff  
NEARLY R51 million had been made available to protect some farms and smallholdings, Law and Order Minister Mr. Hernus Kriel said yesterday. He said R50,97m would be used to pay for security measures.

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, June 10 1993

## Record death toll for police, soldiers

A RECORD number of police and soldiers were killed in political violence in SA last month. (274)

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) said 34 security force members were killed and 43 wounded in May — higher than any other month since the HRC began keeping records 17 months ago. (251)

May also posted the highest death toll related to political violence in eight months — a total 302 people.

But the HRC said the 1 095 deaths recorded this year was nearly 25% lower than at the same time in 1992.

Most deaths in May were around the Pretoria-Johannesburg area.

More than 8 000 people have died in political violence since President F.W. de Klerk began dismantling apartheid three years ago. — Reuter.

## Fedlife and Club Mykonos

CAPE TOWN — Life assurance giant Fedlife's senior personnel approved an investment scheme for Club Mykonos in Langebaan (CML) — even though this scheme was considered undesirable — and invested R27m in it, the Masterbond commission was told yesterday. (238)

Fedlife assistant GM Denis Paizes, giving evidence, said that after attending a meeting at Masterbond's offices in the Cape in November 1991 to find out more about marketing property equity participation in CML, he felt "uncomfortable about the product". (238)

Paizes said that during the meeting he "never saw a balance sheet or any audited statements of the resort" and described the scheme as "a package with little content". (238)

In a memorandum to his superior, investments GM Ian Frazer, he said that "a scheme as ambitious as CML

Own Correspondent

based on unstable financing from short-term deposits must be vulnerable".

At this point Paizes was warned by Judge H C Nel, who heads the commission, that withholding information was a contravention of the Commission's Act.

Paizes was reprimanded as he could not remember having further discussions with Frazer about the scheme supported by Fedlife, or who had given the go-ahead to implement the scheme.

He later said that it could be assumed that Frazer and marketing manager Bernard Goldman had given the all-clear for the investment scheme to go ahead.

By May 1991, when Fedlife ended its involvement, R27m had been invested in the scheme by the life assurer.

# Boost peace bodies - ANC

By Helen Grange

The ANC has reiterated its call to signatories of the National Peace Accord to meet with a view to strengthening local peace committees and giving peace structures more power to act against transgressors.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, addressing a press conference on the violence in Tumahole township near Parys, said destabilisation could be expected to increase in the run-up to the elections.

It was crucial there be multi-party control over the security forces before the elections, a process in which the peace structures



would play an important role.

Meanwhile, the ANC was pressing the SAP to take action against policemen who were not carrying out their duties properly, Niehaus said.

The ANC's Tumahole branch executive, listing several incidents of violence which took place in the

township in the past three months, said in a statement that a deliberate attempt was being made to destabilise the community.

"We warn all those forces that are against peace in our community that we will have to force peace and democracy and justice down their throats, even if it means through the sacrifice of our blood and property," the statement said.

The Tumahole ANC executive said policemen were implicated in a number of the violent incidents mentioned.

Meetings with the local police commander were currently taking place to motivate an internal investigation.





**Electing solutions**

~~SECRET~~ (274) FM 11/6/93

The PAC's decision on whether or not to abandon or suspend political violence should be known after its Tuesday meeting with government. Signs are positive. For the rest, parties at negotiations on June 3, led by Inkatha and the ANC, were full of praise for the "historic" and "very constructive" fourth report of the technical committee on violence. If its basic recommendations are implemented and adhered to, chances of next year's general election being free and fair will be immeasurably improved.

The thrust of the whole report, says the committee, is to identify conditions necessary to eliminate violence so that the election can go off freely, "without intimidation, obstruction or the fear of being killed"

Opposing the view that violence must first be ended if there is to be an election at all, the committee states. "An election is the most important moment in the democratic process and its role in eliminating the conditions causing violence cannot be overestimated."

Regarding armed formations, the committee says all proposals should be considered in the light of a single, overriding objective "to establish impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA." It proposes that parties adopt a series of "phased confidence-building measures" to achieve this in terms of the May 7 declaration of intent to level the playing field for the election. This was welcomed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, though he felt the committee could have done more on the question of creating a climate for free political activity.

The steps are proposed in three broad phases. Immediately, all parties with arms or armed formations must establish proper control over these, conduct an audit of all weapons and personnel and establish mechanisms for bringing them under the supervision of a joint multiparty agency. At the same time parties should take every step to ensure that members and supporters do not use weapons "for any unlawful purpose"

In phase two the proposed agency should formulate policy and oversee all armed formations. It will need to make a distinction between statutory and nonstatutory armies on the one hand and police forces (which will be required to continue fulfilling law-and-order functions during the election) on the other. This is especially welcomed by In-

~~SECRET~~ (274) katha and KwaZulu whose controversial KwaZulu Police is seen by the ANC as a private army. For its part, the PAC says it has problems with homeland-controlled police forces.

In the third phase it will be the responsibility of an elected government to integrate, disband and rationalise the various armed formations and integrate personnel into society. Weapons not under the control of any private army, or used contrary to agreements, should be dealt with by the ordinary criminal process.

A dissenting view by one member of the committee (thought to be the Inkatha representative) makes the point that there is no justification for the existence of private armies during this period of talks. But, since they're there, it is recommended that they be phased out in stages related to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, that unlicensed AK47 rifles in possession of such armies should immediately be placed under credible impartial control, and that transgressors be dealt with in terms of the law and not be eligible for indemnity

The committee has also proposed the establishment of an "independent peace-keeping force with a multiparty composition to function as the primary peace-keeping force for the election." It should be specially trained, have legitimacy across the political spectrum and be controlled by either the independent electoral commission or a multiparty executive.

Among the proposals parties have made to deal with breaches of the National Peace Accord are: the public repudiation, suspension or expulsion of anyone in breach, ordering apologies to the aggrieved party, and prohibiting those found guilty from appearing on public platforms.

Based on the committee's 13 concrete proposals the negotiating council resolved that

- The National Peace Committee (NPC) urgently finalise proposed amendments to strengthen the peace accord and increase its effectiveness;
- Accord signatories meet as a matter of urgency to reaffirm their commitment to the accord and approve amendments to it;
- Nonsignatories (such as the PAC and CP) sign the accord immediately (the ANC suggested a deadline be set and the DP wants ways found to get youth organisations to sign as well);
- Appropriate compulsory sanctions be developed by the technical committee of the independent electoral commission for dealing with parties which transgress the accord's code of conduct for political parties but refuse to sign the accord;
- Any party organising a public demonstration or any other form of mass action must comply with the guidelines in the report;
- The NPC urgently submit proposed amendments to the Regulation of Gatherings Bill;
- A series of phased confidence-building measures be adopted leading to the creation of impartial, legitimate and effective secur-

FM 11/6/93. (274) ity forces. A distinction be drawn between statutory and non-statutory armies on the one hand and police forces on the other and that the technical committee on the TEC and its subcouncils propose the precise mechanisms to be adopted;

- Parties among which there is conflict and which have contributed to violence should meet bilaterally to seek joint solutions;
- An independent peace-keeping force with a multiparty composition be established and placed under the control of the independent electoral commission or under multiparty executive control;
- Every party commit itself without reservation to the holding of a free and fair election and do everything possible to ensure that the electorate and leaders and candidates of parties are able to conduct their election campaigns freely and without intimidation; and
- The committee prepare detailed proposals on the desirability, financing, establishment and composition of a peace/youth services corps. ■

■ The police decision to refuse a prominent politician, Mr Joe Slovo, a license to carry a weapon is a setback for police plans to clamp down on unlicensed and illegal guns, says **JAN VAN ECK**, Independent MP for Claremont.

SIMPLE logic tells us that Mr Joe Slovo, who has received numerous death threats and who was the target in at least one attempted assassination, needs a gun to protect himself. The same logic also should tell us that if Mr Slovo cannot obtain a gun legally, he probably has a moral right to acquire an unlicensed gun, that is an "illegal" gun, to defend himself against potential assassins.

Mr Slovo's case is not an isolated one, but is shared by thousands of people in the black community in general and hundreds of political leaders and activists in the democratic movement who have been, and remain, the daily targets of killers.

The fact is that the police, in spite of commendable attempts since February 1990, to restore relations between itself and the black community, has not yet succeeded in establishing itself as a force that can be relied upon to protect them impartially from aggressors.

The reason for this lies in history when, *inter alia*, during Mr P W Botha's "Total Strategy", the police were unashamedly used as a political arm of the government to root out and destroy the democratic movement and its leaders.

Not only did the police not make any attempt to apply law and order in the townships or protect black citizens (except people such as black councillors who had been coopted by the National Party), but the measure of

# Denying Joe Slovo a gun shoots holes in plan to outlaw firearms

(274)  
ARG 12/6/93

lethal force used by the police against political activists was of such a widespread nature that black communities were actually in need of *protection from the police*.

The forces of law and order were so busy hunting down the "politicos" that gangsters and other criminal elements were left alone, while conservative black groupings like the vigilantes, who potentially could be co-opted by the state in its war against "comrades" and other progressive groups, were actively aided and abetted by the police.

This happened during the systematic burning of a large section of Old Crossroads in 1986.

Not only did the police allow the vigilante groups to continue with the carnage over several days, but they also used their guns against residents who resisted the attackers and tried to save their possessions from the fires.

I will never forget the pathetic plea for help from hundreds of refugees who were watching their homes and possessions going up in flames from the relative safety of New Crossroads:

"Please, Mr Van Eck, tonight they will come here to kill us,

please can't you go get us guns and bullets ... Please!" But I could not help them.

Today, they all have guns — illegal, unlicensed guns — to protect themselves against armed attackers because their chances of getting gun licenses are virtually nil.

The case of a prominent township leader I will call Mr N illustrates this dilemma further. (He was) Charged with possession of an unlicensed firearm. I testified in his trial in mitigation that since there had been numerous attempts on his life over many years he needed a gun to protect himself and his family from further attempts; that since he believed that the police would not grant him a license he therefore had little choice but to obtain an "illegal" gun. Expressing understanding, the magistrate gave him a suspended sentence.

But, if Mr N should be charged with the same offence today, he would be sent to jail for a mandatory sentence of 5 to 25 years — for the "sin" of protecting himself and his family.

To Mr N and thousands upon thousands of decent, peace-loving township residents, the choice is a simple one: If your life and that of your loved ones is threatened — an everyday situation in

our townships today — if the police cannot provide protection and if your chances of getting a legal gun are remote, you have no other choice but to obtain an "illegal" one — even if you have to steal it!

To deny people like Mr Slovo licensed firearms in these circumstances, and arrest people with unlicensed firearms required for self protection is a futile and useless exercise and will merely criminalise decent people.

The only solution to the problem of the proliferation of unlicensed firearms (and it is a problem since many illegal guns are used for purely criminal activities) is to ensure the South African Police is restored as a legitimate law-and-order force that can be accepted by the majority of our black people as one they can rely on for protection.

We need to address the cause of the problem (lack of protection and impartial policing) instead of the symptoms (possession of illegal firearms) if we truly are serious in our attempt to make the possession of illegal guns in the townships an unacceptable practice.

At the moment black South Africans do not view this as a crime.

# Farmers 'share blame' for 'kill Boer' slogan

CT 12/6/93  
By CELEAN JACOBSON

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan last night defended the "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan, saying farmers were not "completely blameless".

Speaking on SATV news Dr Jordan said that while farmers needed to "clean up their act" the ANC had not called for them to be killed.

Dr Jordan noted reports that some Philippi farmers flogged workers, a

practice he likened to slavery.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said last night that certain practices by some farmers were "repugnant" to the ANC and that Dr Jordan had been "quite correct in his criticism".

Mr Niehaus said the ANC executive wanted to scrap the slogan.

● ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck told Parliament the slogan only represented some individual views in the ANC.

# Call to destroy weapons

By JOHANNES NGCOBO

THE ANC and the PAC this week endorsed a call by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa for the public destruction of all dangerous weapons confiscated by police.

*S. Truies*  
UN political adviser Mr Muno Ndula called on police "to work out a programme to ensure that all dangerous weapons taken during police raids are destroyed in public". 13/6/93

Mr Ndula said: "For people to be convinced that all weaponry confiscated by police does not find its way back to killers who use them against unarmed communities, the arms should be destroyed in public." ~~(S)~~

Confirming that police did not destroy all weapons seized in townships, an SAP spokesman in Pretoria said that some of the confiscated weapons were used by the police and other state departments. ~~(S)~~

The spokesman said 9mm firearms were used, but AK-47s were destroyed. (274) ~~(S)~~

# Cops must be curbed, US warned

By JOAO SANTA RITA

274

TWO researchers have warned that the United States will continue to witness violent riots if a pattern of violent assaults on blacks by white policemen is allowed to continue.

Joe Feagin, a sociologist at the University of Florida and expert on US race relations, and researcher Kim Lersch, recently published the details of research conducted nationally, which showed a pattern of persistent assaults by white police officers against blacks and other minorities.

The survey found that blacks or Latinos were victims of 97 percent of the brutality cases documented and white police officers were involved in 93 percent of the assault cases.

In a survey of reports published by major national and regional newspapers in a 26-month period, the researchers found reports of 130 incidents of police brutality against minorities.

The typical case, they said, involved several police officers attacking a black or hispanic citizen.

Feagin and Lersch found that blacks and hispanics were more likely to be attacked by white policemen if they were perceived to be "disrespectful".

"The victims were more likely to be beaten if they failed to give an officer their identification or refused to answer questions than if they pointed a loaded gun directly at the officer," the study said.

The publication of the research follows the recent conviction of four white policemen in California charged with beating Rodney King, a black man who failed to stop his vehicle when ordered to do so.

Last year riots erupted in Los Angeles after the four policemen were found not guilty in a first local trial. The central government then charged the officers of violating King's rights. King is suing the Los Angeles Police Department for millions of dollars in compensation.

Feagin warned that the King incident was not an isolated case. He said it "reveals a dirty little secret of racism that has been repeated again and again across the country".

Cases of white police brutality against blacks have even involved black police officers.

In 1988 a black police sergeant in California was himself arrested and had his head smashed through a glass window when conducting an undercover investigation of police brutality.

# SA wants gun curb by Maputo

MICHAEL MORRIS (274)  
Political Correspondent

A COMPREHENSIVE regional strategy to curb illegal trade in AK 47 rifles tops the agenda for talks today between Minister of Law and Order Mr Her-nus Kriel and the Mozambican Minister of Internal Affairs, Colonel Manuel Jose Antonio. Police in South Africa last week launched a major campaign to clamp down on AK 47s and other weapons of war, distributing about 8 million pamphlets offering rewards of up to R6 000 for information on weapons and giving details of a 60-day amnesty for people to hand in weapons without fear of prosecution.

One of the government's chief concerns is smuggling from neighbouring countries.

There are thought to be about 1,5 million "unaccounted for" AK 47s in Mozambique. They sell for as little as R150 and fetch up to R1 800 in South Africa.

Colonel Antonio and his delegation, who arrived in South Africa yesterday, are to meet Mr Kriel this afternoon.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said the government believed there was a need for a comprehensive regional strategy to deal with the illegal weapons trade.

There was also a need for stronger control over weapons in the Mozambican army.

● Today's talks in Cape Town follow the arrest yesterday of three Mozambicans for illegal possession of weapons at Komatipoort.

# Peacekeepers will cost 'annual R 1bn'

R1bn  
14/6/93

A PEACEKEEPING force to oversee elections would cost nearly R1bn a year to run, according to the independent Institute for Defence Policy.

Responding to a recommendation by the multiparty talks' technical committee on violence that such a force be created, Institute co-director Jakkie Cilliers said on Friday a peacekeeping force would cost considerably more than the use of the existing security forces.

Addressing a defence conference near Johannesburg, he said the concept of a peacekeeping force would prove expensive. Deployment of the present SADF and SAP was unacceptable.

The institute proposed instead that full multiparty control over the security forces be established through Transitional Executive Council subcouncils of defence and law and order.

It also suggested insertion of free-ranging international observers into the command and control structures of the SADF and police. These observers should have only a monitoring function and report to the national peace accord structures.

Should a decision be taken to establish a peacekeeping force, the institute recommended that minimum entry standards be laid down, that people wishing to join resign their organisations or jobs, that international funding and training assistance be sought, and that the force initially serve as an adjunct to the SAP, and not to replace SADF deployment.

Cilliers said his institute believed full implications of the creation of such a force had not been investigated adequately.

A force of 12 000 would be inadequate to deal with escalating violence in the absence of the SADF.

"There is little prospect of such a force

taking over the primary responsibility for stability in the run-up to elections."

While the ANC had called for a corps of 7 000, IDP estimated that at least 35 000 people would be needed. The figure of R1bn was based on a force of 20 000.

To avoid a "kitskonstabel problem" of inadequate and inappropriate training, basic training would have to last at least two months. The first batch of 10 000 trained peace-keepers could be on the streets by November, and the second two months later. The force was proposed as a multiparty institution. This would require that large chunks of organisations like the SADF, MK, Apla and others be cut out and integrated.

This would require a considerable additional period of negotiation to reach agreement on criteria, selection, confidence building and possibly conversion training prior to integration.

A further complication would be the existing of appropriate chunks of the respective budgets of original mother organisations. Alternatively, mother organisations could continue paying their own people.

"These things are theoretically do-able. But at the same time they are all, practically, extremely expensive, complex, messy and time consuming. The implications in terms of service regulations bog-gles the mind.

"Since the peacekeeping force would have to have powers of arrest, etc, the force would have to be formally constituted through an Act of Parliament. The sum effect would be a drawn-out process lasting considerably longer than planned.

"We are convinced that even after all these efforts, the SADF will still be in the townships," Cilliers said.

### LOYD COURTS

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Institute for Defence Policy co-director Jakkie Cilliers speaking at a defence conference near Johannesburg on Friday. Picture: GARTH LAMLEY

## Nonracial civic body mooted

R1bn  
14/6/93

ADRIAN HADLAND  
PRETORIA — Civic associations and white ratepayer groups were discussing the creation of a nonracial organisation to represent all residents in the central Transvaal region, it was disclosed last week.

Central Transvaal Civic Association media officer Titus Matfelo said

## FW to lobby for

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk has signalled that gaining access to IMF funds would be high on his list of priorities for his meeting with US President Bill Clinton later this month.

De Klerk sounded an optimistic note at the weekend, stressing the importance of IMF funding for SA's economic development.

receive their co-liberty. De Klerk said that the IMF if the deve Gaini

## Warning on united SA army



FOCUS Anniversary of schoolchildren's revolt comes eight days before

# Triumph of the schoolboy martyrs

*Sowetan 15/6/93*  
focus on **June 16**

**T**HE 17th anniversary tomorrow of the June 16 1976 black pupil uprising comes eight days before the last formal session of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa.

June 16 is a reminder of a day almost two decades ago when Hector Pieterse became a child martyr and Tsietse Mashimani a juvenile hero of the black liberation struggle.

Hector was a 13-year-old boy in his black short pants when the first South African Police bullet, of a dozen volleys and more fired at thousands of protesting schoolchildren, killed him.

Tsietse, a Form Five pupil at Soweto's legendary Morris Hanson High School, died a lonely death in exile in Canada in 1990. He had escaped a police dragnet in 1978 and took refuge in Gambia, where he married a beauty queen.

He was the first chairman of the Soweto Students Representative Council, a group of high school pupil leaders who championed the ominous battle.

On that cold winter's day in 1976, the fear of the gun was overcome in Soweto; the National Party Government faced the inevitable — confrontation.

The combined political underground mobilisation inspired by Mr Zephania Mothopeng of the Pan Africanist Congress and the black consciousness movement had laid the foundation for the final countdown to apartheid's demise.

● 1976: Thousands of pupils demonstrate against enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction by then Minister of Bantu Education the late Dr Andries Treurnicht. Hundreds of youths flee into exile in the ensuing Government crackdown.

Unrest spreads throughout the country as demands become more all-embracing with black political groups agitating that Bantu Education be abolished.

● 1977: The first anniversary of June 16 sees heightened Government crackdown. More youths flee into exile. The student revolt continues. Hundreds of black teachers resign in protest against Bantu Education. The Government capitulates to pressure and introduces the Education and Training Act, saying Bantu Education is dead.

Mr Steve Biko dies in detention. Cabinet

On a cold winter's day in 1976, the fear of the gun was overcome. Political Reporter **Themba Molefe** relates how schoolchildren laid the foundation for the final countdown to apartheid's demise.



Minister Mr Jimmy Kruger bans 15 black consciousness organisations as well as the *World and Weekend World* newspapers.

Under Dan Montisi, the SSRC focuses on government institutions. He leads a march on a meeting of urban bantu councillors, including businessman Mr Richard Maphosa, frog-marches them out of the Urban Bantu Council chambers in Jabuham and warns them never to return there. Mass resignation of councillors countrywide.

**Blueprint**  
The Committee of 10 under Dr Ntshani Motlana draws up a blueprint for the running of Soweto and other townships.

The civic association movement is born but is suppressed by the Government, which introduces the Community Councils Act.

Mr George Thabe becomes first "mayor" in Sharpeville in terms of this Act.

● 1980-1982: Youths who fled the country post-1976 return as trained guerrillas of the African National Congress military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. Armed incursions increase.

● 1982: The Black Local Authorities Act is introduced to replace the Community Councils Act. Resistance grows.

● 1983: The United Democratic Front of organisations subscribing to the Freedom Charter is formed and becomes internal wing of the ANC. The Black Democratic

Movement, as it becomes known, grows.

● 1984: Vaal Triangle townships explode as residents rise against rent increases. The rent boycott spreads to Uitenhage, Mamelodi and Soweto.

● 1986: Influx Control Act and the Pass laws are scrapped. Blacks are no longer required to carry "dumpasse". In terms of the Identification Act 72 of 1986 blacks may obtain same identity documents as whites.

● 1989: Mr F.W. de Klerk comes to power as new NP leader and State President.

● 1990: De Klerk makes his historic speech and urban liberation movements, the ANC and PAC, on February 2.

On February 11 Mr Nelson Mandela is released after 27 years' imprisonment.

● 1991: The Land Acts of 1912 and 1936, the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act are scrapped.

● 1992: Face-to-face meetings between the ANC and Government give rise to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Negotiations for a new democratic dispensation begin...

So, on June 24 the tricameral Parliament rises in terms of the Republic of South Africa Act in what is believed to be the last sitting of the apartheid government.

And it is against this background that the commemoration of the day the children took to the streets will take place — for the last time under apartheid rule.

NEWS Leaders to address commemoration rallies ● 'Kill the Boer' slogan

Sowetan 15/16/93

# Call for calm on June 16

By Themba Molefe and Ike Motsapi

TOMORROW'S 17th anniversary of the June 16 1976 student revolt will be the last to be commemorated under apartheid rule.

And political leaders have called on their followers to observe the day with "calm and dignity". Thousands of workers are expected to attend commemoration services to be held throughout the country.

This year, June 16 is observed at a time when the country prepares for transition to democracy, with most parties locked in constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park—and a day after negotiators were poised to formally adopt April 27 1994 as election day.

## ■ The ANC dedicates the day to 'youth education'

Both the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions called on workers to take part in June 16 rallies.

Cosatu called on all young workers to take part in these rallies in a dignified way and to refrain from misusing or damaging public or private transport and property.

The two trade union federations have called on employers to treat June 16 as a paid holiday.

The South African Chamber of Business yesterday said it was up to various companies to make arrangements with employees for this day.

Sacob spokesman Mr Gerrie Bezuidenhout said: "Several companies have already made arrangements with

workers and their trade unions regarding June 16. Sacob has no official stance on the issue."

A total of 575 people, mostly school-children, died during the June 1976 riots, which began when police fired at demonstrating pupils at Orlando West, Soweto.

## Black education

African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba will address a rally at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, at 10am.

Azanian People's Organisation president Professor Mameleng Mosala will speak in London and Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Mr Johnson

Mtambo in Fort Beaufort.

The Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade is to hold a rally at Vosloorus Community Centre.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation dedicated June 16 to "youth education and training" and that Mandela's speech would focus on the current crisis in black education.

He said a new government would decide on public holidays, but said June 16 was important in the calendar of the youth.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, who is to speak at a rally at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre, said June 16 had a historical significance as a day when blacks realised their need to fight for their freedom. He said the day should become a public holiday. ● See also pages 6 and 7.



## SA to play a key role, says Dutch minister

CAPE TOWN — SA could become the economic gateway to the rest of Africa, Netherlands Economic Affairs Minister Koos Andriessen said after talks with President F.W. de Klerk yesterday.

Andriessen, the highest-ranking Dutch government minister to visit SA, said he had approached his fact-finding mission with caution, but had been encouraged by the sense of purpose he had encountered.

"Politically, there is much still to be settled ... but I have noticed, particularly in the talks this afternoon, that there is great confidence on the part of government that you will succeed," he said.

Andriessen said he would

also meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"If it emerges that everyone says the time and the circumstances force us to come to agreement, then I can see no reason why Dutch businessmen will not want to come to SA."

"Many things are in place and that makes SA interesting," he said.

After his meeting with Andriessen, De Klerk told a news conference that industrial action by right-wingers would harm only themselves and entrepreneurs.

"I do not think industrial action by right-wingers is a serious threat at all." Unemployment was the greatest problem. — Sapa-Reuters

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## Extra US aid to SA on cards

By Peter Fabricius  
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US government is likely to give South Africa an extra \$10 million (R31 million) a year in direct aid to promote elections and stands ready to help integrate armed forces once a transitional executive council is established.

US assistant secretary of State for African Affairs George Moose disclosed this yesterday during an address to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Moose said the dire levels of unemployment in South African townships made it imperative that the US Government and American investors should engage in SA "sooner rather than later".

The State Department's strong recommendation to the White House would be that once a TEC had been installed and a firm date for elections set, legislative restrictions such as the Gramm Amendment (which denies SA access to IMF facilities) should be removed.

## Peace network in place for rallies

Staff Reporters

Political organisations, peace groups and security forces are holding thumbs for peace and are braced to prevent violence during today's mass commemorations of the 1976 Soweto student uprising.

All peace monitors have been placed on standby. The ANC and IFP plan to flood rallies with marshals, particularly where the rival organisations' events come close to each other.

IFP and ANC supporters from Kaitshong and Tokoza — recently the scene of in-conflict — are to attend rallies in Vosloorus only a few hundred metres apart.

The two organisations will also be within spitting distance in Soweto, with the IFP rally at Mzimhlophe Hall near the ANC's main event at Orlando Stadium.

Wits-Vaal Peace Committee co-ordinator David Storey said yesterday there would be more than 150 monitors on the Reef.

"There is the potential for conflict where the groups come close together, but we

hope that people from all sides will make a strong effort to ensure the day goes peacefully," Storey said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation "will do everything within our means to ensure the marches are peaceful".

IFP Youth Brigade spokesman Carter Ndlovu said: "If they (ANC supporters) leave us alone, we'll leave them alone."

The SAP warned yesterday it would not tolerate lawlessness or intimidation.

SAP public relations head Major-General Leon Mellet said the SAP respected the right of people to hold peaceful demonstrations, but police had a duty to "protect the democratic rights" of those who did not wish to take part in rallies.

● Schooling will continue as normal in TED schools today. Reacting to rumours that some schools could close today, TED executive director Dr Ken Paine said that in individual cases where it was thought a pupil's life could be endangered by attending school, he or she could be marked absent.

### Tributes pour in for James Hunt

continue

FINLAND

# Mr Reconciliation studies restitution

ARG-16/6/93

(2714)

ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporter

AS the man who brought together the ANC and government supporters in the mid-1980s, Professor H W van der Merwe has probably had a greater hand in reconciling South Africa's opposing parties than his low-profile persona indicates.

Now "H W", as he is affectionately known to his colleagues at the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies, will address the issue of restitution during a year-long fellowship at the United States Institute of Peace in Washington DC.

Restitution, he explains, is a way of reconciling opposites.

"On one hand there is the need for forgiveness and on the other people want retribution and revenge. Both are human needs. The compromise I call restitution.

"There have been so many injustices in the past that it will be necessary for blacks to forgive. But whites will also have to make some sacrifices. There must also be acts of restitution.

"This is where it becomes very complicated and controversial. If you talk about restoring the land to its rightful owners, for instance, how far do you go back?"

While there are already moves to restore land to parties recently dispossessed, land will become a much bigger issue under a new government, he maintains.

Throughout Africa returning agricultural land to peasant communities frequently created greater hardship because of the wrong use of the land.

"By merely giving back the land, you decrease the chances of survival. If productivity drops, it can hardly be justified. It may be morally right to give the land back, but it may also be contrary to all economic, financial considerations."

And while this argument may satisfy some parties, he adds the rider that repossessing land at market-related prices will only "compound the injustices" because many whites obtained their land cheaply.

"There will be formulas and guidelines but these will not satisfy everybody," he says.

On the issue of amnesty, he says:



**MAN OF PEACE:** Professor H W van der Merwe, senior consultant at the Centre for Intergroup Studies at UCT, is heading for Washington where he will examine the issue of restitution for past wrongs.

**'On one hand there is the need for forgiveness and on the other people want retribution and revenge. Both are human needs. The compromise I call restitution.'**

"I support amnesty but I don't think it should ever be given without the crimes having been specified. They have to be exposed and admitted."

Professor Van der Merwe believes compromise underpins any negotiation process and because of this there are no perfect answers to South Africa's problems.

Perhaps more than anyone, Professor Van der Merwe has played an integral role in putting South Africa on the road to reconciliation. He was the first to beat a path to the ANC's door in Lusaka in Zambia in 1984 when Thabo Mbeki and Alfred Nzo asked him to set up a meeting with the government.

As somebody with good contacts in government and a "warm relationship" with the ANC abroad, he was in a unique position to bring the parties together.

Both sides trusted him to act as a kind of unofficial diplomat to open up the channels of communication.

Following this meeting, he arranged several trips north. Only two were scuttled when the newspapers got wind of them. When four National Party MPs attempted to make the journey, former State President P W Botha put a stop to it after a Sunday newspaper asked him for comment.

The other incident was the abortive attempt by Stellenbosch student leaders to meet the ANC Youth League in Lusaka.

But Professor Van der Merwe said the publicity which followed the confiscation of the students' passports did much to focus the public eye on the issue of talks with the ANC.

The only censure during his years of acting as a go-between arose out of this incident when former Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha suggested he "review his programme".

But his passport remained in his pocket, a sign his unofficial role as mediator was getting approval.

More recently, Professor Van der Merwe brokered the first meeting between a top-level rightwinger Carel Boshoff of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Avstig) and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Of the meeting, he says: "This is the kind of thing that makes me optimistic. Both sides' perceptions and attitudes have changed because of the personal contact."

In general, he is optimistic about the future, although in the short-term it is unlikely to be rosy.

He believes violence will increase because expectations will be high. Much of the anger will be directed at the government of the day. And while the new government may have more legitimacy it may also be more inefficient, he predicts.

"Many people have the simplistic view that once we are rid of apartheid we are rid of all the evils. We are moving in the direction of a new dispensation but there will be many setbacks and the path won't be smooth."

Smoothing that path is the task he has set himself.

2774  
16/6/93

# Mandela, Buthelezi meeting delayed

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon dimmed yesterday when it was disclosed that their organisations had not made enough progress on the ANC's demand for free political activity. (274)

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said a preparatory committee, consisting of representatives from his organisation and Inkatha, had made good progress towards reaching agreement on most items for the agenda for the two leaders' meeting. (17) (15)

These included the public display of dangerous weapons, the fencing of hostels and the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. (204)

The committee had, however, not made substantial progress on the ANC's insistence that the leaders' meeting should discuss free political activity throughout SA, including KwaZulu.

Mamoepa attributed this to the fact that KwaZulu

negotiator Ben Ngubane, a key figure in the discussions, was tied up in multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Hopes for an early meeting between the leaders ran high last week when Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said it would be held within a couple of weeks.

However, the organisers, who include Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba, said the date for the meeting would be set only after the two organisations had agreed on the agenda.

Tutu is currently in London for anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston's 88th birthday celebrations. Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall is standing in for Tutu in the organising of the talks.

Buthelezi reaffirmed his willingness yesterday to meet Mandela.

Mamoepa said it was the ANC's view that the meeting should be a product of work done by the preparatory committee. But there was no indication on when a meeting might take place.

Wilson Zwane



# US peace award for Gastrow

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party MP Mr Peter Gastrow has been awarded a major American peace fellowship in recognition of his work towards peace in South Africa. *Aug 11/63*

Mr Gastrow, 46, is MP for Durban Central and DP spokesman on law and order. He is a member of the National Peace Secretariat, which helps keep the National Peace Accord in place. He also serves on the National Peace Committee and is vice-chairman of the Police Board.

Mr Gastrow is to take part in the Jennings Randolph Programme for International Peace as a Visiting Fellow at the Washington-based United States Institute of Peace.

His course starts on September 1 and lasts for three months. Mr Gastrow's subject of study and research will be the National Peace Accord and Violence in South Africa.

There are 27 others on the programme, studying various peace issues around the world. The institute was created, and is funded, by the US Congress. It focuses on the peaceful resolution of international conflict.

Mr Gastrow said this was a unique opportunity for him.

coloureds in the DP's case) looking for a new political home.

ANC/INKATHA

Making a date

274 FM 11/6/93

**Anglican Archbishop** Desmond Tutu has either played a diplomatic masterstroke or boomed in announcing that a Mandela/Buthelezi meeting is to take place within a fortnight.

Within hours of Sunday night's dramatic

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

FM 11/6/93

announcement — that he would chair the meeting jointly with the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Stanley Mogoba, at Bishopscourt in Cape Town — it became clear that the endorsement of the meeting was less than universal. Even the setting of a date won't guarantee the meeting against political one-upmanship in the form of a last-minute withdrawal by one of them.

However, John Allen from the archbishop's office is confident that the meeting will proceed. He says Tutu is in no doubt that the ANC and Inkatha presidents agreed to the summit after separate discussions and follow-up phone calls at the weekend. "They even agreed to the archbishop announcing the meeting on Sunday night and are happy with the way it was done," he maintains.

But Monday saw the first signs of scepticism. While welcoming Tutu's initiative, an ANC information department statement warns that a meeting will be pointless unless certain differences are resolved. These included long-standing disputes over freedom of political association in Natal/KwaZulu, the public display of weapons, fencing of hostels and the IFP's insistence that MK should be dissolved.

These are the same issues which for months have stymied the chances of a get-together by the two leaders, in spite of the efforts to pave the way by a combined ANC/IFP task force. Known as the Preparatory Committee, its sole function is to iron out the differences and set a date for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit.

The ANC statement prompted a swift response from Buthelezi. He pointed out that though he'd agreed to the meeting, it was on the basis that there were no preconditions. This is confirmed by Allen, who says there are none. "The archbishop proposed that both leaders should submit lists of everything they want discussed. On that basis everything which concerns and worries them will form the basis for the agenda."

Wits University political studies head Alf Stadler says: "My initial reaction on hearing about the meeting was that if I were a gambling man I wouldn't put too much money on it taking place. This is partly because of the history of breakdowns in the intentions to meet, plus the fact it seems one of the two, possibly both, actually don't want to meet.

Mandela is acutely conscious that a meeting puts them on a level which might appeal to Buthelezi. However, the danger for the IFP leader is that, though shrewd, he could be upstaged by Mandela."

The problems are deeper than these official divides. There are other underlying factors mitigating against a meeting, not least of which is continued grassroots opposition in Natal, though this is generally denied.

The Human Sciences Research Council's head of conflict analysis, Tony Minnaar, explains: "Even if Buthelezi and Mandela may be keen to meet, the ANC regions are dead set against anything which might enhance the IFP or its leader's credibility — unless the IFP pays the price in terms of

274 major concessions. From an ANC national perspective, Minnaar adds, anything reasonable which could reduce violence and speed up the transition process is desirable.

"Violence has hampered this process, but the ANC is under pressure to show results and stem the growing membership flow, particularly of the youth to the PAC ranks," claims Minnaar. "Nevertheless, I will only believe that the meeting will take place when the two leaders actually sit down together."

Even if they do, Minnaar questions whether they can stop the violence. "There are on both sides too many little power bases and loose guns with a vested interest in violence. They do little more than pay lip service to the political parties and are therefore not amenable to any kind of discipline."

## 'Pressure the PAC' call

ARG 16/6/93

PARTICIPANTS in the negotiations should bring "ultimate pressure" to bear on the PAC to stop its murderous acts, Mr Ray Radue (NP King William's Town) has said. (274)

Speaking in a debate on the second reading of the Budget yesterday, he said that as long as the PAC's armed wing, Apla, continued its attacks on innocent civilians and farmers and committed bloody murders, and these were condoned by the organisation's leaders, there was no moral or legal basis for continued negotiations with them.

Peace-loving participants in the talks should put pressure on the PAC. — Sapa.





**TRUE LIBERATION ...** Azapo national executive member Lybon Mabasa told a June 16 commemoration service at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto that only repossession of the land would result in true liberation. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

# Plea to return to class

*Sowetan 17/6/93*

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

## ■ DEEPER CRISIS Mandela calls for a

### comprehensive national education forum:

**C**alls for pupils and teachers to return to school were made at several rallies yesterday to commemorate the 17th anniversary of the June 16 1976 students' uprising.

At least eight people were reported killed in violence believed to be linked with the commemorations in Durban, on the East Rand and in Soweto.

Speaking at a rally at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said: "As a new government the ANC will need educated young people with skills to take up employment.

"We are concerned that millions of our young people are out of school without work and are frustrated by the lack of opportunities

"We have to reach out to the youth through training, skills and jobs."

#### Crime entices

Mandela said black youths resorted to crime as it was the most enticing option resulting from apartheid-entrenched anger and frustration.

Seventeen years after the students' uprisings, black education was in fact in a deeper crisis, he said, and called for the establishment of a national education forum to address education.

At another rally, organised by the Azanian Peoples Organisation at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, speakers attacked the multiparty negotiations taking place at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Speakers said those attending the talks were

opting for a sell-out solution and called for "the escalation of the revolution".

Azanian Students Convention president Mark Mfikoe said Azapo was not attending the multiparty talks because it respected the liberation of blacks and accused participants as "political careerists".

Azapo assistant general secretary Mr Lybon Mabasa said: "We want freedom for our people. We've got to repossess our land and that will result in the true liberation of our people."

At a rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto, the Pan Africanist Congress made a strong plea for pupils to return to classes.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nmadzvhani called on black people to wage a struggle to achieve their liberation.

He called on people in the townships to be militant so that they could defend themselves against the "enemy of the people".

In the Northern Transvaal the ANC, PAC and Azapo held a joint rally at the University of the North.

#### Sebokeng rally

In the Vaal Triangle ANC national executive member Mr Harry Gwala urged more than 7 000 people attending a rally at the Sebokeng Sta-

dium to resort to armed struggle if their attempts to achieve liberation failed.

Addressing another rally later in Tembisa, Gwala said the ANC should guard against being complacent in the belief that political victory was assured.

#### Armed ANC youth

Groups of armed ANC Youth League supporters marched through Vosloorus on the East Rand after a rally in the township.

As the crowd left the stadium where the rally was held, there was a burst of gunfire and one faction of armed supporters marched around the streets.

In Bophuthathatswana 16 people were arrested when they tried to gain access to the Montshiwa Stadium near Mmabatho for a rally.

In KwaZulu a bus left the road and plunged down an embankment near the Pongolpoort Dam. It was reported that an unknown number of ANC supporters were killed and others injured. Meanwhile, a massive work stayaway throughout the country — as much as 100 percent in many areas — occurred as thousands of workers observed the day.

Business was hard hit and employer organisations confirmed the stayaway was almost total.

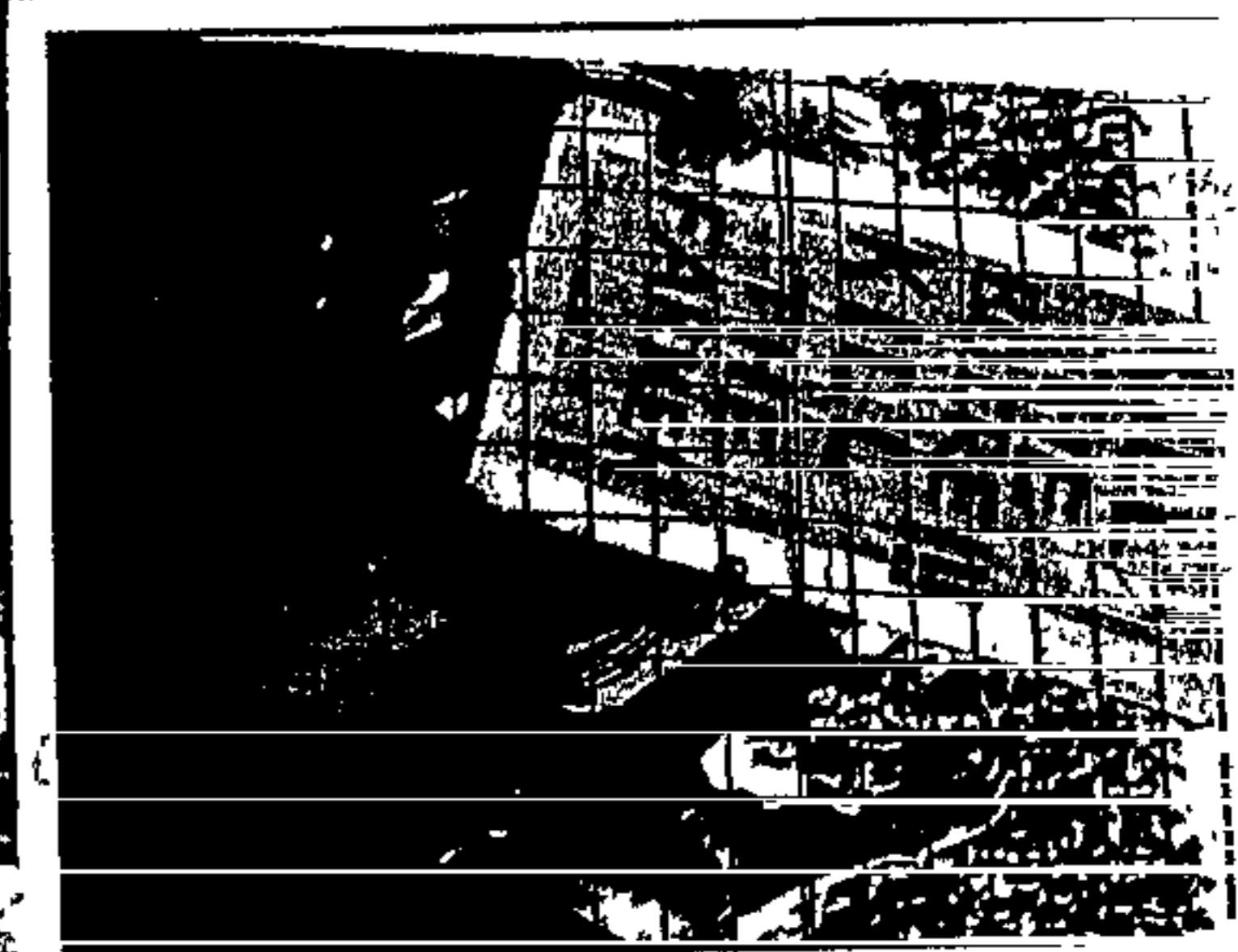
*ATAA (274)*



ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela enters Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday.



PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemaqzivanani applauds Mrs. Elen Morthopeng at a rally in Jabulani, Soweto. Mrs. Morthopeng is raising a "Kill the boere, kill the farmer" placard as Nelson Mandela arrives.



ANC support PICs: MBIZENI ZULU and PAT SEBOKO.

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# June 16

Soweto 17/6/193

# recalled

**T**HE 17TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1976 uprisings yesterday passed by in relative calm with millions of workers observing the day.

Rallies held throughout the country were attended by thousands of people and except for Bophuthatswana, where a rally was disrupted by police, no reports of serious violence had been received by late yesterday. Three people were injured in Vosloorus after a rally. Eight people were, however, killed on the eve

of the anniversary in attacks on squatter camps in Spruitvlei, Soweto, and Bhandabayi outside Durban. Three bodies were also found in Kaitlshong.

Calls for peace and unity of the oppressed dominated the rallies, some of which featured speakers from the African National Congress, Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Soweto, where the uprisings started, however, had three separate services by the three organisations.

See pages 2 and 3

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# 'Kill Boer' chant still ringing out

By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
and Political Staff

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba led thousands of cheering supporters in the infamous "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant yesterday, declaring he had never dropped the war cry and never would.

The controversial chant had the ANC divided at Soweto Day rallies. Some speakers scurried to drop the chant, changing it for more amiable slogans or ordering their supporters not to even mention Boers or farmers.

But Mokaba was unrepentant and refused to budge on the issue, despite reports that he told a rally in the northern Transvaal on Monday he would abandon the ominous slogan.

Mokaba told the ANC Youth League rally at Orlando Stadium that reports he had dropped the chant for the more amiable "Freedom in Mandela's time" were propaganda.

To roars of approval and the clatter of gunfire from the crowd, Mokaba yelled: "We will continue to defy the enemy. They will never teach us what to sing. They will never teach us how to sing."

Mokaba was criticised for the slogan when farm attacks rose sharply after he chanted it at remembrance rallies in April for slain SACP chief Chris Hani.

Mokaba explained yesterday that the gentler chant of "Freedom in Mandela's time" was not a replacement for the militant

warcry — it just expressed one of the aims of his organisation.

When told that ANC leader Nelson Mandela was about to enter the stadium, Mokaba declared: "I want us to indicate our defiance by welcoming our president with our chant."

Starting to toyi-toyi on stage, Mokaba prompted "left, right", and switched his microphone off, stopping short of chanting over the public address system himself. The fired-up crowd continued the chant as Mandela walked around the stadium.

Visibly uncomfortable with the booming slogan around him, Mandela said he understood the anger of the youths and said ANC leaders would make a decision on the matter.

ANC NEC member Patrick "Terror" Lekota urged supporters of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance at a rally in Durban to drop the chant as the ANC had to prove its commitment to reconciliation and unity.

In Cape Town, ANC officials ordered crowds to stop when they spontaneously broke into the chant. The crowds obeyed immediately.

ANC southern Natal information chief Sbu Ndebele yesterday declared the ANC's new chant for the elections to be "Recruit the farmer, recruit the Boer". He was apparently countering another version introduced by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi earlier this week — "We love the farmer, we love the Boer".

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SEA PR

# Move to end political violence

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The multi-party negotiating council is to consider adopting a declaration calling for the suspension of all forms of political violence from today.

The Declaration on Cessation/Suspension of Hostilities, Armed Struggle and Violence, was drafted by the 10-person planning committee and tabled at the 26-party council late yesterday.

The draft declaration is a follow-up to the council's instruction to the government and the PAC to resolve their differences following the May 26 police raids on PAC members.

After the council was adjourned, a senior government spokesman said there was a strong chance that the PAC would support the declaration.

It had formulated the first version of the declaration, which had been moderately amended by the planning committee.

The declaration affirms the urgent need for stability and peace as prerequisites for progress to a democratic and peaceful future, and notes that violence to resolve political differences still persists.

It states that participants in the negotiation process have a responsibility to inculcate a spirit of tolerance, and that political rivalry does not require the use of violence.

Noting that an opportunity now exists for deciding the future through peaceful negotiations, the document calls for a declaration.

"That as from the 18th day of June 1993 we, the parties subscribing to this declaration, commit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences."

Meanwhile a crisis in the constitutional talks was averted yesterday when the government and the ANC agreed, with qualifications, to Inkatha's demand that alternative federal options be examined.

The effect of the ANC/government move was that the negotiating council instructed the technical committee to examine the need for regions to draft their own constitutions and the different options for such constitutions.

However, negotiators believe the real crunch will come next week when the negotiating forum debates an election date and matters pertaining to the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Sources in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) say they will either prevent the forum from taking place or stage a walk-out

CT 18/6/93  
2714



**Goyt 'inciting  
black violence'**

PIETERSBURG. —  
"Mounting evidence"  
showed the government  
incited violence among  
blacks by arming and de-  
ploying people against  
their own kind, Major-  
General Bantu Holomisa  
said yesterday.

He alleged that Pre-  
toria "instigates this  
bloodletting in the hope  
that blacks, once tired of  
the slaughter, will  
switch loyalties and sup-  
port the NP". — Sapa

Star 18/6/93  
**Peace prize for Mpumalanga**

The community of Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale in Natal is to receive the first Africa Peace Award as part of a peace campaign launched by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes in conjunction with the Nigeria-based Africa Leadership Forum. The award will be presented in Durban today. — Sapa. (274)

NEWS Massive stayaway in most areas of SA to commemorate June 16 1976

# Accord is 'toothless'

By Josias Charlo and Sapa

Sanco president says more should be done to curb war talk:

THE National Peace Accord was toothless, South African Civics Association president Mr Moses Mayekiso said at a June 16 rally at Soshanguve yesterday.

The commemoration services yesterday coincided with a massive stayaway — close to 100 percent in several Pretoria areas.

The stayaway was almost complete in Atteridgeville, Mabopane, Soshanguve, Garankuwa and neighbouring areas, residents said.

Mayekiso, who described the National Peace Accord as "toothless", said it should be given more powers.

The NPA was not doing enough to curb war talk, he said. Spokesmen for the Conservative Party and Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging were talking freely about killing blacks and nothing was being done about it.

Peace would not prevail until racist whites stopped threatening blacks. When blacks chanted slogans such as "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" there was an outcry among whites.

Mayekiso said blacks would not stop or apologise for these slogans. The Democratic Party and the National Party would not be stopped

from campaigning in townships "but we will urge our people not to attend their meetings".

Meanwhile, about 10 000 singing and dancing people gathered at the University of Venda Stadium yesterday at a rally organised by the Black Consciousness Movement and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

The African National Congress, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions also took part.

Emphasis was placed on the time wasted during the current academic year at black schools.

## June 16 in brief

**Soweto 17/6/76**  
Industry standstill

INDUSTRY in Port Elizabeth was effectively shut down yesterday as workers headed for services to commemorate the 1976 national uprising that started in Soweto.

PE Chamber of Commerce Director Anton Vlok said the major industries, had ground to a halt. The African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation held rallies in the Eastern Cape.

The stayaway was between 80 and 90 percent effective in the Western Cape yesterday. Peak hour trains from Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain were reported to be about 20 percent full.

**Big stayaway 17/6/76**

IN the Border region the majority of black people stayed away from work yesterday to commemorate the day. The East London municipality said 97 percent of its staff did not turn up for work.

## June 16 in brief

**Soweto 17/6/76**  
Casual labour was employed for the day and all essential services were maintained. Rallies and marches held in other centres in the Border proceeded peacefully.

**Barricades set up 17/6/76**

POLICE foot patrols were deployed at Ceres in the Boland yesterday after barricades were erected and private and police vehicles were stoned.

A police spokesman said tearsmoke was used to disperse a group who were setting up barricades on the road between Ceres and Prince Alfred hamlet.

**Major businesses hit 17/6/76**

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions reported an almost 100 percent stayaway at major businesses and factories around Durban and Maritzburg. The Durban Regional Chamber of Commerce said attendance figures varied but were generally very low. — Sapa.



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How effective is the National Peace Accord? Some slam it, but the potential for its success is becoming more obvious

Photo: GUY ADAMS

**A**LMOST two years ago the National Peace Accord was launched with great fanfare at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel. The birth of the accord was accompanied by visible complications: a several thousand-strong armed impi congregated outside the signing ceremony. People were killed as they dispersed

Although peace committees and other structures of the accord have subsequently proliferated across the country, political conflict and violence continue

The result, quite understandably, has been a questioning of the effectiveness of the Peace Accord. The Conservative Party has suggested the accord is not worth the paper it is written on. The Pan Africanist Congress' Benny Alexander said the accord is better known internationally for its failures than its successes.

But those who have not signed the accord fail to understand that change in attitudes takes practice and takes time. And in recent months as the peace committees have gained resources and confidence, and the signatories to the accord have grown more accustomed to one

## A fragile peace ... Questioning the accord

274  
**MARK PHILLIPS reports on the National Peace Accord**

another, the potential of the accord to assist in the peaceful birth of a new nation is starting to become clearer

The local and regional peace committees, comprising representatives of the police, community and political leaders representing a wide range of constituencies, are the heart and soul of the accord. No peace is possible until the organisations and communities at war with one another learn to live with one another. The peace committees are South Africa's schools of consultation, negotiation and political tolerance.

Local peace agreements have been

brokered by peace committees in some of the most violence-racked communities in Natal. A fraught but ultimately successful negotiation process under peace committee auspices allowed both Inkatha and the African National Congress to hold rallies at adjoining venues in the East Rand on Sharpeville day.

The peace committees also played a vital role in restoring peace to South Africa in the aftermath of Chris Hani's assassination

It would be foolish to ignore the success of the accord. But organisations active in Peace Accord structures them-

selves recognise that the accord can be strengthened.

There have been calls from some quarters for the code of conduct for political parties which forms part of the accord to be made statutorily enforceable. The motivation for this call is unimpeachable: too often political parties have breached the code of conduct with impunity and the accord as it stands contains no effective sanctions to deal with such breaches.

But there is a majority feeling within Peace Accord structures that statutory criminal sanctions are not the best route to follow. The political significance of the accord is in the voluntary commitment which major parties have made to it. It is undesirable to move away from the principle of collective political sanction which underlies the accord.

More fundamentally, it is by no means certain that criminal penalties would have a beneficial effect. If a member of a political organisation directs unacceptable abuse at the leader of another party,

● Continued on PAGE 2

R.T.O

# Questioning the peace accord

Review/Law in W/maul 18/6-24/6/93 . (274) ~~272~~

●From PAGE 1

against whom would criminal penalties be imposed — against the individual who breached the code of conduct? Against local representatives of the organisation concerned? Against office bearers of the organisation? Against the organisation's president? The better view is that

many forms of unacceptable political behaviour require political not criminal sanctions.

The National Peace Committee (NPC) has decided to propose a series of amendments to the Peace Accord to make it more effective. At the heart of the NPC's proposals will be a strengthened arbitration procedure to deal with breaches of the code of conduct. For the first time the Peace Accord will have teeth to deal with transgressors.

It is proposed that wherever possible, disputes regarding breaches of the code of conduct should be resolved within the peace committees. If a dispute cannot be resolved there, it will be referred to arbitration and the arbitrator will be empowered to:

- Order the organisation to publicly repudiate the breach/breachor

- Order the organisation to apologise to those adversely affected by the breach

- Order the organisation to suspend those guilty of the breach for a specified period of time

- Order the organisation to expel persons responsible for serious or repeated breaches

- Prohibit persons guilty of breaches from appearing on public platforms of the organisations concerned for a specified period of time.

The NPC still has to finalise those steps which should be taken to deal

with organisations which refuse to abide by an arbitrator's order. However, it seems clear that the essence of the sanctions will be political and will be designed to place the maximum pressure on organisations to comply with arbitrator's orders.

The maturing of the peace committees and the proposed strengthening of the accord come none too soon. The World Trade Centre negotiators have set April next year as the deadline for the holding of South Africa's first democratic election. The voting public is praying that the election will also be peaceful, free and fair.

The negotiators will establish a multiplicity of structures to supervise the lead up to elections. But the greatest hope for peace still lies in the thousands of grassroots meetings between members and supporters of rival political organisations which are held under the auspices of the Peace Accord. If the birth of the new South Africa is a little more peaceful than the last few bloody years, we will have largely a strengthened Peace Accord to thank.

- Mark Phillips is an attorney with Cheadle Thompson & Haysom. He is a member of the National Peace Accord sub-committee on strengthening the accord.

# Wide peace plan could emerge today

APR 18 1993

Political Staff

274

A DECLARATION to end or suspend political violence and armed activity could emerge in the negotiating council today.

The parties would immediately put the far-reaching declaration into effect.

Ironically, the development flows from the deadlocked talks between the government and Pan Africanist Congress. The negotiating council instructed the two parties hours after the police crackdown on the PAC to start discussing their differences.

The government is insisting that the PAC suspend its armed struggle, while the PAC insists on a mutual cessation of hostilities.

But the draft declaration will involve not only the PAC and the government, and potentially could include all 26 parties in the council.

The draft says negotiating partners have a responsibility to inculcate a new spirit of tolerance.

# 'Kill Boer' referred to peace body

CT18/6/93

274

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, has called a meeting of the National Peace Council urgently to address the continuing "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chants by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba.

Political parties demanded yesterday that the ANC discipline Mr Mokaba — and there were fresh indications that key ANC leaders are fed up with the growing controversy and becoming increasingly keen to distance the organisation from the chant.

The ANC's PWV leader, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, made a personal pledge to halt the use of the controversial slogan in his region.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said on Wednesday that he wanted to discuss the chant with the ANC's national executive committee as there was no need to "frighten any community".

Mr Mokaba led a crowd in the chant at Orlando Stadium — only days after he was widely reported as saying the slogan would be replaced by "Freedom in Mandela's time".

Police announced yesterday they were investigating his new chants and previous use of the controversial ANC

"song" in Cape Town and at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mr Sexwale warned in Johannesburg that the chant could give rise to the right-wing adopting similar "dangerous and explosive" slogans.

The government and the Democratic Party expressed outrage at the latest chanting of the slogan.

The DP's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said it was impossible to reconcile a peaceful process of negotiation, with provocative and inflammatory public statements.

Mr Schutte said Mr Mokaba had used the slogan despite its being "incitement" to murder.

"If this is the conduct during the negotiation phase — one can imagine what to expect during the election phase," he said.

Continued use of the slogan raised serious questions about the ANC's commitment to a peaceful solution.

"We demand that the ANC deal with this matter credibly."

Mr Andrew said: "If peaceful negotiation and free and fair elections mean anything to the ANC, they cannot continue to duck this issue and shield Mr Mokaba from the consequences of his own actions." — Political Staff, Sapa

# Apla: 90 killed in security forces

CF 18/6/93 (274)

WINDHOEK. — A senior Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) official claimed yesterday Apla had killed 90 members of the security forces this year and said the police and army remained legitimate targets, regardless of race.

Interviewed in Windhoek after attending a southern African security and defence conference, Apla's training and manpower development director, Mr Willie Brown, said police were part of the system they aimed to overthrow.

"We reject the notion that black police are part of the oppressed — they are propping up the system, which makes them legitimate targets. We have targeted the SAP and SADF, irrespective of colour."

Apla chief political commissar Mr Romero Daniels said his movement had carried out 120 missions this year, about 80 of them in rural areas. It had lost one member and had two or three arrested.

Turning to attacks on farmers, Mr

Brown said former President P W Botha had made farmers South Africa's first line of military defence under the Joint Management Security System.

In this way Mr Botha had "essentially legitimised the attack of whites, consciously or unconsciously", he said.

Mr Daniels said the PAC would only end its armed struggle with a negotiated mutual cessation of hostilities between itself and the government.

He said where Apla's military intelligence had identified an area or target with a security force presence "then it is our mandate to hit it hard".

"The main emphasis of our attacks is on the security forces."

Civilians were sometimes caught in the "crossfire" and this was regrettable, Mr Brown said. However, civilian deaths were not too high a cost of armed struggle as "many innocent African civilians have died on our side". — Sapa



# 72-hour ultimatum to PAC

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The PAC has been given 72 hours to accept a declaration committing all 26 organisations at the multi-party talks to the suspension of the armed struggle and other forms of hostility and violence.

Unless the PAC accepts the declaration, the government will ask the Negotiating Council to suspend the organisation from the talks, government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said: "This situation (the PAC's armed struggle) has got to come to an end."

The PAC is "optimistic" it will be able to reach an accommodation with government on the issue, PAC negotiator Ms Patricia de Lille said last night.

Ms De Lille said she believed it was possible for agreement to be reached on a "total or all-round cessation of hostilities".

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also warned the PAC to sign the declaration. He said the 72-hour break given

to the PAC would be its "very last opportunity" to sign the document.

A source stated yesterday that the PAC was under enormous pressure in the Planning Committee from the ANC and the SACP to sign on the dotted line.

It is thought that the ANC believed it would only be possible to rein-in ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba — and end the chant of "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" — once the PAC suspended its commitment to

the armed struggle.

The source said there was pressure from government "but the real tough stuff is coming from the ANC and SACP".

President F W de Klerk told police cadets at a graduation parade in Pretoria yesterday that negotiators would insist that any political party that killed police and civilians stop if it wanted to be part of a negotiated settlement.

He slammed as "arrogant" an Apla announcement made in Namibia on Thursday.

## 'Civil war may be option'

**JOHANNESBURG.** — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he believed in a federal system for a democratic South Africa and warned civil war might be the only option if this goal was denied.

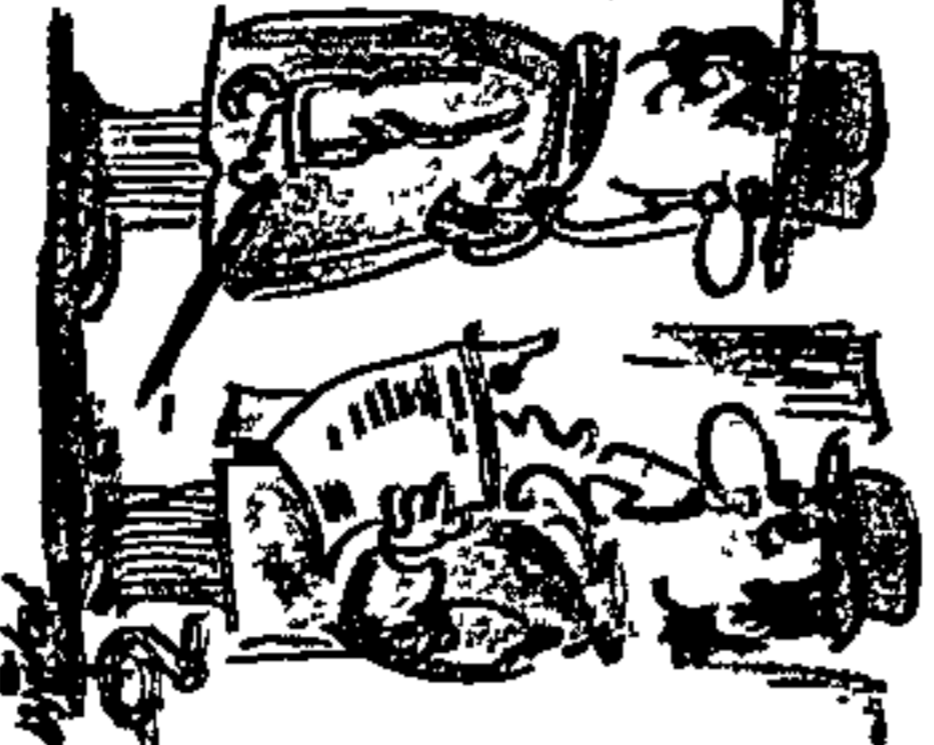
"I have never believed in violence. I never accepted violence as a way of solving problems. But what will be will be," he was quoted as telling foreign correspondents.

Asked if he was prepared to lead his people in revolt, he replied "If it is the only option, to lead my people through these dark waters, then it will be the option I will follow."

Later Chief Buthelezi denied he had said he would go to war if a federal system for a democratic South Africa was not adopted.

"What I said was there was already a low-grade civil war in KwaZulu, and that this would get worse if federalism was not considered," he said — Sapa

### crack of dawn



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### BUSINESS BRIEF

## Pagel appeal date awaited

By IAN GAULT

THE Western Province Rugby Football Union is awaiting a date for the appeal over its banned prop Garry Pagel.

WPRFU president Mr Ronnie Masson said yesterday all matters had been attended to in lodging the appeal, and only a date for the hearing was needed.

The SA Rugby Football Union is expected to respond soon.

## Mandela and Buthelezi fail to meet over dinner

**DURBAN.** — Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not attend a peace award dinner last night — dashing hopes that the dinner would see the first public meeting between the two men since 1991.

At the dinner former Nigerian president General Olusegun Obasanjo awarded the first Africa Peace Award to the Durban township Mpu-malanga — where an historic truce has held out in what was one of the most strife-torn areas in the country. Yesterday it was reported that Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba

was in the process of finalising the date for the meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi indicated at a civic luncheon in Randburg yesterday that they will meet in a few days.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who brokered the proposed meeting at Bishopscourt in Cape Town, is in the United States at the moment.

Chief Buthelezi said Bishop Mogoba who was making arrangements on Bishop Tutu's behalf had spoken to him this week. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

FOR DUMEN

# Africa Peace Prize goes to Mpumalanga

Star 19/6/98

(274)

DURBAN — Natal's Mpumalanga community — once branded as one of the most violent areas in South Africa — was last night awarded the first Africa Peace Award by former Nigerian President General Olusegun Obasanjo. The award was given for a peace pact which has brought relative calm to the township for more than two years.

It was presented by the Durban-based non-aligned African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), and the Africa Leadership Forum (ALF) based in Nigeria.

Mpumalanga's ANC and Inkatha leaders, Meshack Radebe and Sipho Mlaba, accepted the award on behalf of the community. Once dubbed "Little Beirut", the community is now being hailed as a role-model for the rest of South Africa's violence-torn townships.

Obasanjo, in an earlier address, said the eyes of the world were focused on South Africa as its security, stability and development would have implications and consequences for the rest of Africa.

"As far as Africa is concerned, peace must be seen as a continental precondition for development. If any country of Africa lacks peace, it has implications for the rest of Africa."

Obasanjo said he believed that conflict arose from injustice and "if we want peace, we must remove, or deal with the real or perceived injustices by different groups in society".

While the Organisation of African Unity was establishing conflict-resolution mechanisms, its defect was that it did not concentrate on disputes at the micro-level which could become national crises, Obasanjo said in commending the work of ACCORD and the ALF.

ACCORD has said it aims to break the cycle of violence gripping South Africa by replacing it with a culture of peace.

It said in a statement it was launching a "Partnership for Peace" campaign with the object of strengthening peace efforts and making people aware that possibilities existed for peaceful solutions in South Africa.

Last night's award ceremony marked the launch of the campaign which will run for six months.

During this time, ACCORD plans to host educational events, seminars, workshops, conflict-resolution exercises and sports events. — Sapa.

# CP plea: 'Don't make us Lebanon'

## Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party spelt out its plans for self-determination at multi-party talks yesterday, telling the Negotiation Council: "Don't make of us a modern Lebanon — a people without a country."

CP negotiator Mr Fanie Jacobs said afterwards the CP was "very pleased with the way things had gone, and the fact that the party had been allowed to present its plan for a future South Africa".

He said the CP was committed to negotiations, adding that the CP would remain a part of the talks for as long it was "in the interests of South Africa".

There was no hiding the jubilation of the CP which was finally given the opportunity to spell out its plan for Afrikaner self-determination and an independent Afrikaner homeland.

During the debate which followed, Dr Dawie de Villiers expressed concern for the majority of people in the state who were not Afrikaners, as this could lead to the freedom struggle and apartheid all over again.

The debate on self-determination is to continue next week.

# 'I NEVER SAID IT'

BY MOSES MAMALLA

Ciress 20/6/93

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba has vehemently denied that he led the controversial chant "Kill the boer! Kill the farmer!" at the June 16 rally in Soweto.

The slogan has been banned by the ANC.

This is despite reports that Mokaba led the chant during a June 16 rally at Orlando stadium.

"I did not chant the slogan," Mokaba said emphatically. "He says it was chanted by youths who were standing next to him."

"What should be clear however, is I will not abandon the toyi-toyi," he said. He accused the media of trying to mesh the chant with the toyi-toyi.

He said the ANC did not abandon the chant because of pressure by "the boers" but because the organisation was in the process of building the nation

## Reports

However, reporters who attended the rally at Orlando stadium on Wednesday maintained that Mokaba led the chant, in what was seen as open defiance of the ANC call to abandon the chant.

Asked if the ANC would censure Mokaba, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The necessary action will probably be taken."

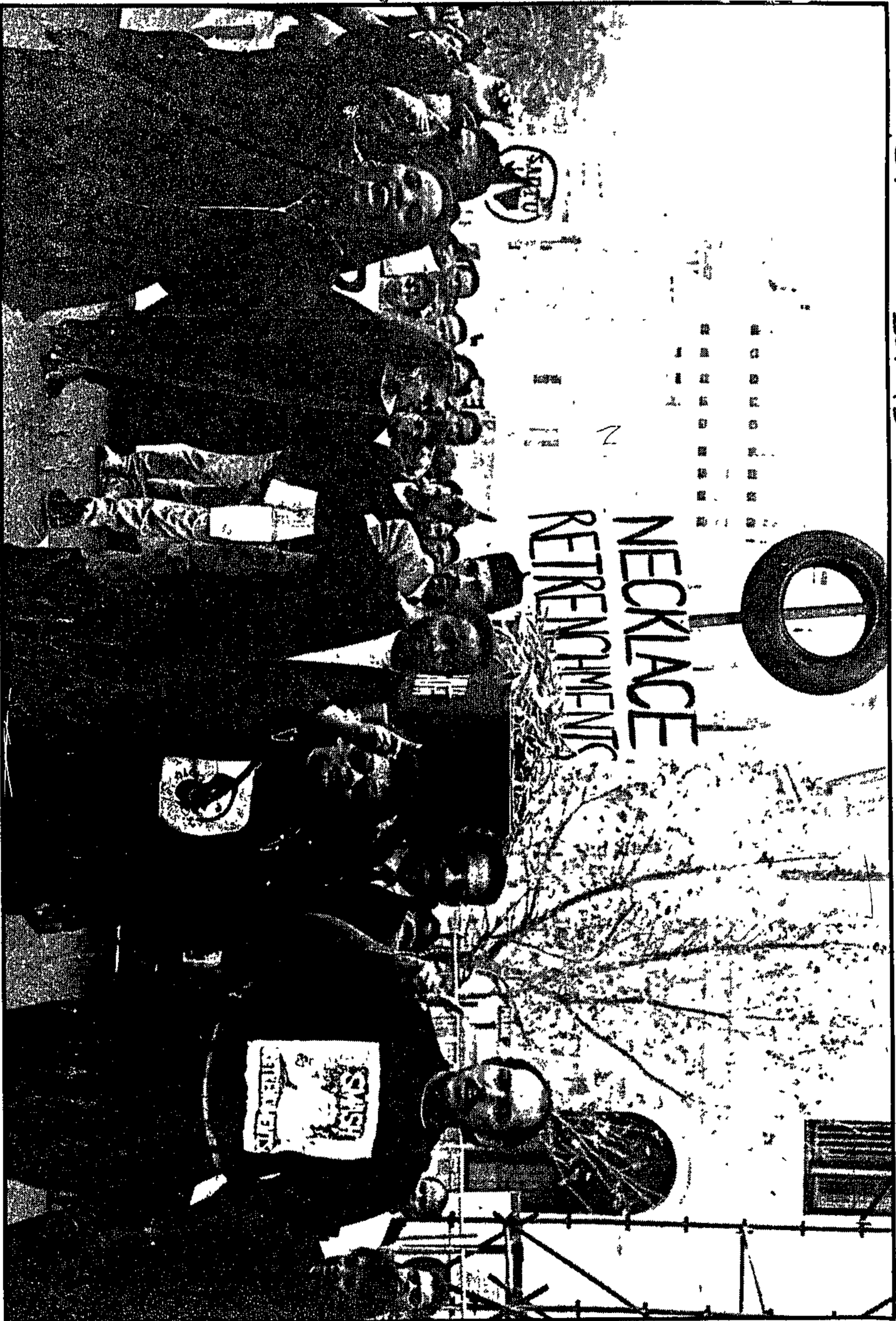
He said the matter was still under discussion.

He said the ANC leadership would meet Mokaba to discuss the issue but maintained that at this stage he could not pre-empt the outcome of the meeting.

"What should be clear is that the ANC is against the slogan."

Asked what measures the ANC would take against its members found chanting the slogan, Niehaus said that would be announced after the meeting with Mokaba.

Explaining why the chant, which is popular among militant youths, should no longer be chanted, ANC President Nelson Mandela said the move was in keeping with the spirit of building the nation.



PLACARDS BEAT BLACKBOARDS ... Throngs of teachers made their point clear when they marched through the centre of Cape Town this week.

FAMIE JASON

29 JUN 1993

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# Government Gazette Staatskoerant

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No. 5100

Vol. 336

PRETORIA, 20 JUNE  
JUNIE 1993

No. 14876

## GOVERNMENT NOTICE

### MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. R. 1073 ~~1073~~ (274) 20 June 1993

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

#### EXTENSION OF DECLARATION OF AREAS TO BE UNREST AREAS

Under section 5A (2) of the Public Safety Act, No. 3 of 1953, and with the approval of the State President, I, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, hereby extend the declaration of the areas mentioned in the Schedule, which areas were declared by Government Notice No. R. 3453 of 22 December 1992 to be unrest areas, and which declaration was extended on 21 March 1993 by Government Notice No. R. 492, for a further period of three months.

#### SCHEDULE

The Magisterial District of East London, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 2354 of 5 October 1990.

The Magisterial District of Komga, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 3237 of 27 August 1971.

The Magisterial District of King William's Town, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1877 of 4 September 1981.

The Magisterial District of Stutterheim, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 2354 of 5 October 1990.

The Magisterial District of Queenstown, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1904 of 30 August 1985.

The Magisterial District of Cathcart, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1904 of 30 August 1985.

18887—A

## GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWING

### MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. R. 1073 20 Junie 1993

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

#### VERLENGING VAN VERKLARING VAN GEBIEDE TOT ONRUSGEBIEDE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 5A (2) van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, No. 3 van 1953, en met die goedkeuring van die Staatspresident, verleng ek, Hermanus Jacobus Kriel, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby die verklaring van die gebiede in die Bylae vermeld, welke gebiede by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 3453 van 22 Desember 1992 tot onrusgebiede verklaar is, en welke verklaring op 21 Maart 1993 by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 492 verleng is, vir 'n verdere tydperk van drie maande.

#### BYLAE

Die landdrostdistrik van Oos-Londen, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 2354 van 5 Oktober 1990.

Die landdrostdistrik van Komga, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 3237 van 27 Augustus 1971.

Die landdrostdistrik van King William's Town, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1877 van 4 September 1981.

Die landdrostdistrik van Stutterheim, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 2354 van 5 Oktober 1990.

Die landdrostdistrik van Queenstown, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1904 van 30 Augustus 1985.

Die landdrostdistrik van Cathcart, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1904 van 30 Augustus 1985.

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The Magisterial District of Indwe, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1904 of 6 January 1984.

The Magisterial District of Wodehouse, as demarcated and described in Proclamation 142 of 29 June 1928.

The Magisterial District of Sterkstroom, as demarcated and described in Proclamation 50 of 28 March 1924.

The Magisterial District of Aliwal North, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1632 of 27 May 1927.

The Magisterial District of Maclear, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 297 of 21 November 1913, as amended.

The Magisterial District of Elliot, as demarcated and described in Proclamation 448 of 31 March 1917.

The Magisterial District of Barkly-East, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 150 of 10 December 1879.

The Magisterial District of Lady Grey, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 139 of 27 May 1927.

The Magisterial District of Bethlehem, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 458 of 9 March 1990.

The Magisterial District of Fouriesburg, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 299 of 18 February 1925.

The Magisterial District of Kestell, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 458 of 9 March 1990.

The Magisterial District of Ficksburg, as demarcated and described in *Government Gazette* No. 2607 of 17 February 1939.

The Magisterial District of Glocolan, as demarcated and described in *Government Gazette* No. 2530 of 27 May 1938.

The Magisterial District of Wepener, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 2435 of 6 November 1953.

The Magisterial District of Zastron, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 2435 of 6 November 1953.

The Magisterial District of Rouxville, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 4322 of 3 February 1950.

The Magisterial District of Bethulie, as demarcated and described in Government Notice No. 1550 of 25 November 1932.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister of Law and Order.

Die landdrosdistrik van Indwe, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1904 van 6 Januarie 1984.

Die landdrosdistrik van Wodehouse, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Proklamasie 142 van 29 Junie 1928.

Die landdrosdistrik van Sterkstroom, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Proklamasie 50 van 28 Maart 1924.

Die landdrosdistrik van Aliwal-Noord, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1632 van 27 Mei 1927.

Die landdrosdistrik van Maclear, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 297 van 21 November 1913, soos gewysig.

Die landdrosdistrik van Elliot, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Proklamasie 448 van 31 Maart 1917.

Die landdrosdistrik van Barkly-Oos, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 150 van 10 Desember 1879.

Die landdrosdistrik van Lady Grey, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 139 van 27 Mei 1927.

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Die landdrosdistrik van Bethulie, soos afgebaken en omskryf in Goewermentskennisgewing No. 1550 van 25 November 1932.

**H. J. KRIEL,**  
Minister van Wet en Orde.

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**IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT**

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*Closing times* PRIOR TO PUBLIC HOLIDAYS for

LEGAL NOTICES  
GOVERNMENT NOTICES **1993**

*The closing time is 15:00 sharp on the following days:*

- ▶ **31 March**, Wednesday, for the issue of Thursday **8 April**
- ▶ **7 April**, Wednesday, for the issue of Friday **16 April**
- ▶ **13 May**, Thursday, for the issue of Friday **21 May**
- ▶ **9 December**, Thursday, for the issue of Friday **17 December**

Late notices will be published in the subsequent issue. If, under special circumstances, a late notice is being accepted, a double tariff will be charged

The copy for a **SEPARATE Government Gazette** must be handed in not later than three calendar weeks before date of publication

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**BELANGRIKE AANKONDIGING**

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*Sluitingstye* VOOR VAKANSIEDAE vir

WETLIKE KENNISGEWINGS  
GOEWERMENSKENNISGEWINGS **1993**

*Die sluitingstyd is stiptelik 15:00 op die volgende dae:*

- ▶ **31 Maart**, Woensdag, vir die uitgawe van Donderdag **8 April**
- ▶ **7 April**, Woensdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **16 April**
- ▶ **13 Mei**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **21 Mei**
- ▶ **9 Desember**, Donderdag, vir die uitgawe van Vrydag **17 Desember**

Laat kennisgewings sal in die daaropvolgende uitgawe geplaas word. Indien 'n laat kennisgewing wel, onder spesiale omstandighede, aanvaar word, sal 'n dubbeltarief gehef word

Wanneer 'n **APARTE Staatskoerant** verlang word moet die kopie drie kalenderweke voor publikasie ingedien word

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# Peace descends on 'Little Beirut'

Press 2016193

By FRED KHUMALO

ONCE dubbed "Little Beirut", Mpumalanga in the Natal Midlands has become the first SA township to receive the Africa Peace Award.

The award was bestowed on Friday by the Nigerian-based Africa Leadership Forum (ALF) in conjunction with the Durban-based African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (Accord).

The award was in recognition of political toler-

ance and peace now reigning in the township - while all around is conflict. (274)

ALF president and former Nigerian president Gen Olusegun Obasanjo made the award at a glittering ceremony at a Durban hotel.

The award was the second achievement notched up by the tiny township in four months.

In March local ANC chairman Meshack Hadebe and his Inkatha counterpart Siphosiso Mlaba were offered honorary

doctorates by the University of Cape Town for their success in bringing their warring supporters to the peace table and securing peace for the township.

Said an Accord spokesman: "We believe this important event in the history of South Africa must not go unnoticed. It must serve as an example to all South Africans - and indeed people the world over - that peace is a partnership and a community effort."

Five years ago Mpuma-

langa shot to international prominence when it became the most violent township in the country, with a death toll running into thousands.

But sustained efforts by local Inkatha chairman Siphosiso Mlaba and ANC chairman Meshack Hadebe brought the fighting to an end.

The award marked the beginning of the Partnership for Peace campaign sponsored by a range of organisations and hosted by Accord.

# Mokaba defends use of 'kill' slogan

Staff Reporter

DEFIANT ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba yesterday defended his use of the controversial chant, "kill the Boer, kill the farmer", but stopped short of actually using the slogan.

Addressing about 2 000 people outside the Guguletu Civic centre, Mr Mokaba said the ANC was determined to des-

troy white supremacy and was not apologising to anyone for this.

The slogan refers to the entire system of white domination and not individuals, he said.

"I'm saying to the Boers go to the African people. That is your salvation. If you do not there is no home for you in South Africa," he said.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC

could still toyi-toyi without using the slogan and then led the crowd in a toyi-toyi.

Earlier, the ANC's Western Cape secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni, slammed Mr Benny Alexander, PAC general secretary, for accusing the ANC of selling out at the negotiation forum.

He challenged Mr Alexander to a public debate and said:

"Benny Alexander is nothing but a right-wing opportunist and a demagogue. We, the members of uMkhonto weSizwe, are tired of Benny Alexander. He must direct his anger against the enemy, not the ANC."

He asked people in favour of the controversial chant "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" to raise their hands. All the people raised their hands.

# Historic meeting set

WITH an estimated 15 000 people dead in eight years of political rivalry and South Africa's constitutional talks at a crucial phase, the face-to-face meeting everyone has been waiting for has at last been set.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are due to meet on Wednesday.

Making the announcement yesterday, Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Church of the Province Bishop Michael Nuttall called on "all people of faith" to pray for the meeting.

According to a statement the talks will be chaired by Bishop Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Archbishop Tutu, in Europe at the moment, plans to break his programme to return for the talks.

A venue for the talks is still to be announced and an agenda has not been finalised.

Meanwhile ANC and IFP spokesmen were unable to confirm the meeting.

The ANC's Mr Carl Niehaus said the issues of free political activity throughout South Africa, the carrying of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels "would clearly be under discussion".

Asked about these issues, IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said they were old politics and Mr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela should get on with things that really mattered. — Sapa

## Consumers spend more

JOHANNESBURG.

Consumers spent more in real terms and the fall in investment spending slowed down in the first quarter this year — fuelling optimism that the economy is moving out of recession.

Reserve Bank deputy governor Mr Jaap Meijer said real private consumption spending showed a small increase in the first quarter.



## Security tightened for tennis

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Security plans to deal with an IRA bomb at the Wimbledon tennis championships which start today include an emergency mortuary with 400 body bags.

The bags are stored in an indoor tennis court —

## Advocate charged

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — An advocate here, Ms Jennifer Wild, has been charged with attempted murder and dealing in cocaine after an incident in which a policeman was shot and R25 000 worth of cocaine was confiscated at her home.

● Full report — Page 3

# Rallies punt peace — and war

By ZANELE VUTELA

C Press 2016193

JUNE 16 will never be the same again.

Most political organisations said this year's commemoration would be "the last" under apartheid.

Glaring differences emerged in the liberation movement's youth about the significance of the day.

The PAC rally at the Jabulani amphitheatre was dominated by a war-like stance among the youth — T-shirts bore the slogans "Each bullet takes us forward", and

"Apla sticks to the gun".

The chant "One settler, one bullet" rang out throughout the day. Even the priest who conducted the opening service chanted the slogan.

The mood at the ANC's service at the Hector Peterson monument in Orlando West was more subdued — although the youth could not be prevented from chanting "Kill the boer! Kill the farmer".

The day's theme — "Mobilise for the next election to make sure that in 1994 Mandela is the new president" — was

clearly an exercise in electioneering.

ANC president Nelson Mandela told the packed Orlando stadium he understood the youth's anger and that it was justified, but warned the youth to play its role in such a way that it did not frighten other communities. This was in order to keep the spirit of non-racialism alive.

Mandela warned: "Those who want to derail negotiations have a fight on their hands, Umkhonto weSizwe is alive. All our youth who want to be soldiers must join."

# Armed struggle issue (274) casts shadow over talks APR 21/6/93

## Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — A showdown over a declaration on the suspension of the armed struggle looms tomorrow at the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre.

Pan Africanist Congress negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday that the PAC would not sign the declaration but was prepared to sign an amended form of the document.

Constitutional Development Minister and chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer served notice on Friday that the government would tomorrow urge the council to take a decision on the participation of parties refusing to commit themselves to the declaration.

The declaration, which flowed from the deadlocked talks between the PAC and

government, was discussed on Friday but a decision has been deferred until tomorrow.

The government is insisting that the PAC suspend its armed struggle, while the organisation has said it will discuss only the "mutual cessation of hostilities".

The declaration will not only involve the PAC and government, and may be signed by all 26 parties.

The declaration states that parties will "commit/recommit ourselves to seize/suspend any form of hostilities, arms struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

The PAC amendment added: "... parties with armed formations, including the regime, to meet within days and with a view of reaching an agreement on what happens to the soldiers

and weapons and the effective means to supervise compliance with the cessation from all sides".

The three meetings of the negotiating council last week struggled to gain momentum, but on Friday a more accommodating spirit prevailed.

In spite of a walkout by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) last Tuesday, negotiators discussed general constitutional principles, constitutional principles pertaining to regions and the right to self-determination.

The council will have to decide within the next four days on two vital issues which caused the walkout — whether the transition should be a single or a two-phased process and Cosag's demand that the multiparty negotiating forum draft a final constitution which will be put to a referendum.

Mandela, Buthelezi to meet this week

# Go-ahead for peace talks

Star 21/6/93

Staff Reporter

The meeting violence-racked South Africa has been waiting for is to take place near Johannesburg on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to talk face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to co-chair the meeting with the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The meeting was to have been held at Bishops Court, Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties suggested the new venue would be more convenient in view of time constraints.

It will be the second meeting since Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 29 1991 in Durban.

Since then, the country has been in a spiral of violence which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers. Political rivalry between the two parties, however, goes back about eight years, during which an estimated 15 000 people have been killed, Sapa reported last night.

John Allen, Tutu's spokesman, told the media last night "The objective (of this meeting) is peace."

No details of Wednesday's agenda, decided upon by a joint preparatory committee, have been released, but it is expected that issues such as free political activity, the disbandment of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, public display of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels will be on the list.

"The agenda is still being discussed and has not yet been finalised", Methodist Church spokesman Ruth Coggin said.

The ANC has until now brushed aside calls from Buthelezi for a meeting, saying it was unlikely the two individuals could solve the complex violence issue and that unless such a meeting was well prepared, it could exacerbate the situation rather than improve it.

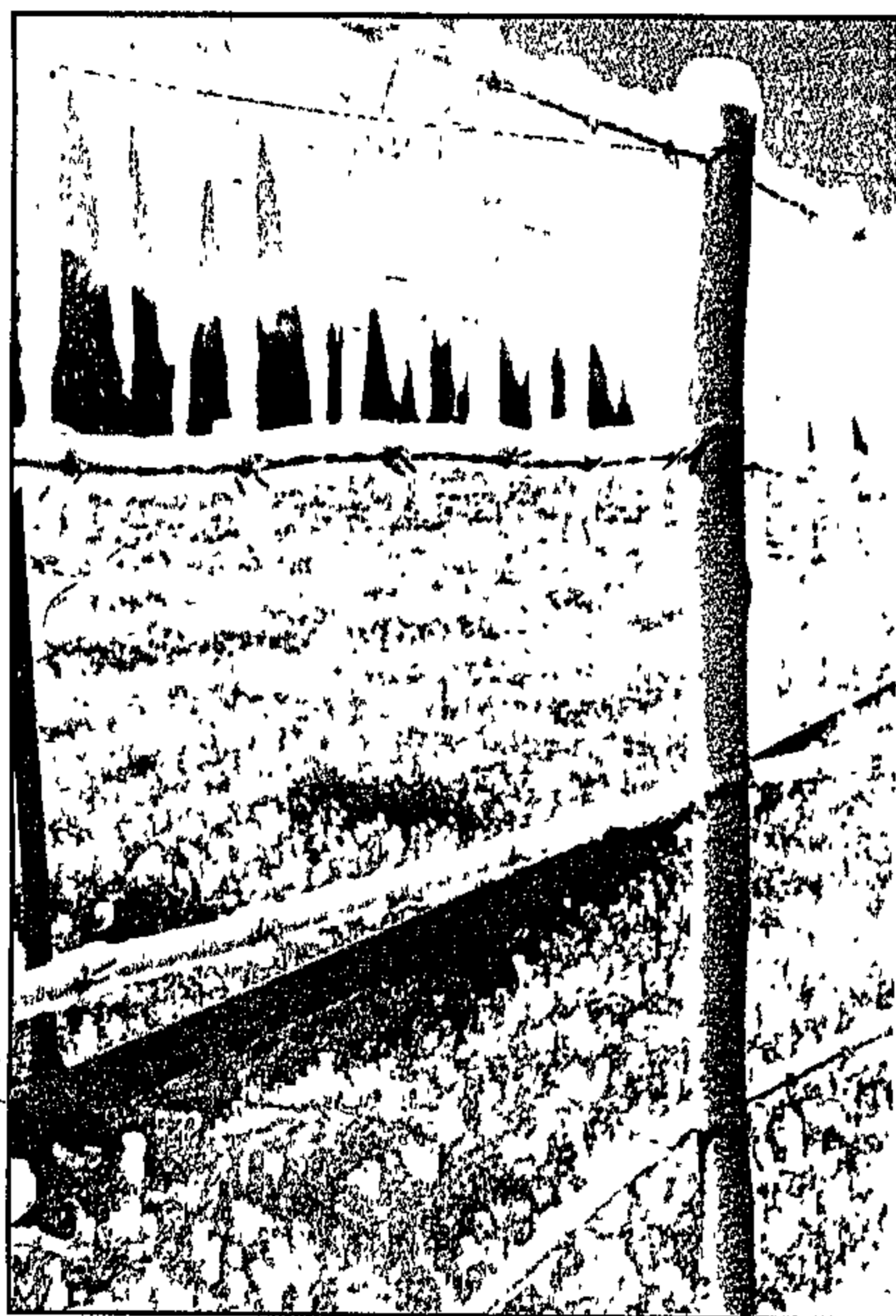
The IFP's point has been that if Buthelezi and Mandela could publicly join hands and declare their commitment to peace and tolerance, this would go a long way to convincing their followers this was the path to follow.

In their joint statement, Mogoba and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Dean of the (Anglican) Church of the Province, thanked Inkatha and the ANC for their "hard work in arranging the meeting".

ANC and IFP spokesmen welcomed the news.

Carl Niehaus of the ANC said the meeting was long in the offing and there had been a lot of preparation.

Walter Felgate of Inkatha said Buthelezi and Mandela should "get on with things that really mattered" and not "old politics" — as he described some of the expected issues on the agenda.



Frosted fencing... today is the shortest day of the year — and the sun certainly making itself felt. This scene outside Johannesburg yesterday shows just how far below freezing the mercury dropped. Picture: Joe

## Midwinter chill will linger

Sub-zero temperatures before dawn, and crisp, cold days will continue this week in the PWV area, marking the winter solstice.

It will warm up to a maximum of 24 deg C in Pretoria by Wednesday — but a Weather Bureau spokesman said the chill would be back over the region again by Thursday.

The weekend was the coldest in the central interior so far this winter, with the mercury dropping to well below

freezing at most places. The lowest temperature of -9 deg C was recorded at Trompsburg, in the Free State, early yesterday, while -8 deg C was recorded at Ficksburg, Hendrik Verwoerd Dam, Edenburg and Hobhouse, also in the Free State.

It was -7 deg C in Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom. At Philippolis, Verkeerdervlei, Jagersfontein and Bethlehem, the mercury dropped to -6 deg C, and at Hertzog-

ville, Bain's Vlei and Hof to -5 deg C. It was Klerksdorp, Postmasburg and Kuruman. Pretoria, the Cape, with 4 deg C the only place in the country where the weather office reported a temperature above freezing.

The weather office would remain cold in the next few weeks, with night temperatures ranging well below freezing at most places at least in the next few days.

## Pupil and driver killed in triple smash on N1

By Peter Davies

A school pupil and the driver of a sedan were killed in a three-vehicle smash on the N1 concrete freeway near Roodepoort early today.

A Nissan Skyline, a Mercedes and a minibus carrying schoolchildren collided at about 7 30 am on the south-bound section of the highway between DF Malan Avenue and 14th Avenue.

According to Lappies Labuschagne of the Roodepoort Traffic Department, the

minibus, while travelling north, missed its turnoff and attempted a U-turn through a traffic island.

It collided in the south-bound lane with the two sedans. A child and the male driver of the Skyline were killed. A second pupil was critically injured and 17 others taken to hospital.

Emergency vehicles from Randburg and Roodepoort were soon at the scene and a portion of the freeway was closed while paramedics freed the injured.

## Shopkeeper murdered

A Portuguese shopkeeper was stabbed to death in western Transvaal Saturday afternoon.

After he closed, police said, the shopkeeper was attacked by robbers who broke into the store.

Menezes Francis, who lives in Bedfordview, the East Rand, was at about 1 20 pm while taking the day's takings. A neighbouring shop owner found Francis lying in a back room with four stab wounds to the chest. The robber took R1 000 — Crime Rep

Star 22/16/93  
**ANC branch breaks off peace**

The ANC's Southern Orange Free State region yesterday suspended participation in all Peace Accord structures, allegedly because of "untenable behaviour" by police in the area. A spokesman for the ANC head office said last night the organisation would not comment until it received an official report from the branch about the decision. — Staff Reporter and Sapa. (274)

# Amnesty plan misfires

Staff Reporter

THE government's arms amnesty scheme has fallen flat — with only two AK-47's having been handed in in three weeks, police said. (274)

The Arms and Ammunition Amendment Act was gazetted on June 1, giving unlawful holders of weapons of war 60 days to surrender their weapons without being prosecuted, as well as imposing a strict minimum and

maximum sentence of five and 25 years respectively — without the option of a fine.

Police liaison officer Captain Sally de Beer said yesterday "at the moment the response to the amnesty is very poor". CT 22/6/93

She said the amnesty would apply until July 31, but in the meantime anyone arrested in possession of unlawful weapons would still be liable for prosecution.

## Warding off row top talks issue

Political Staff

EFFORTS are in progress to prevent a row in the Negotiating Council today over a far-reaching declaration on the suspension of armed activities.

The compromise involves a report on violence being discussed in the council before the declaration, originally scheduled to top the agenda.

The report on violence proposes two "multiparty agencies" to deal with police forces and armed formations, and recommends a phased approach to a new defence force and police force.

This means the Pan-Africanist Congress's concerns over the implementation of a cessation of hostilities will be considered.

ARG 22/6/93



# PAC bid to talk to farmers

214  
CT 22/6/93

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday invited white farmers to a summit to discuss a political solution to existing hostilities between them and the organisation's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Apla.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday that his organisation wanted to meet "as soon as possible" the representatives of white farmers to discuss "issues of common interest".

Dozens of farmers around the country have been murdered and the PAC has accepted responsibility for attacks on farmers by Apla members, saying farmers were a legitimate target.

## 'No end to armed struggle'

OFS Agricultural Union president Mr Piet Gous said that if such talks could prevent only one further killing of a farmer, it had to be regarded as a positive move. However, farmers were not prepared to negotiate across graves and the PAC would have to prove its commitment to peace before they could talk.

Mr Makwetu stressed that the PAC would not suspend the armed struggle as a precondition for the meeting.

Alluding to recent statements by the PAC that farmers were legitimate targets of Apla attacks, Mr Makwetu said his organisation was fighting anyone who was opposed to the liberation of blacks.

Mr Gous said it had always been agricultural union policy that farmers who abused labourers had to be criminally prosecuted and he called on the PAC to prove abuse in court, saying that the union would not protect such farmers.

# Mandela and Buthelezi talks 'not the solution'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

## Talkback

By Mzimasi Ngudle



with Tim Modise

SUNDAY's bloodbath in Natal was a Government's strategy to wage a low-intensity war against the liberation movement in order to thwart transition to democracy, callers told the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

The callers said the killings vindicated the nullity of tomorrow's meeting between ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Pusho of Hillbrow said the ANC, which had "pre-maturely" suspended the armed struggle, was now unable to weave its way out of the Government's strategy to destroy the liberation movement.

"Everytime there's an imminent breakthrough in talks, there's bloodshed. Do you think it's worth negotiating? We have been witnessing the same low-intensity conflict, waged by the regime since talks kicked off," Pusho said.

Other topics on last night's show included attacks on policemen, threat to multiparty talks due to PAC's

274

Sowetan

the source of violence. 22/6/93

Percy, Mamelodi

insistence on the continuation of the armed struggle and the Government's demand that it be suspended.

"The Mandela and Buthelezi meeting is not going to solve anything. It is not they but the system that instigates violence. The solution is the removal of the regime."

Aubrey, Mabopane

"The meeting will not solve any problem. The ANC and IFP are not to blame. The regime is

"The meeting is a breakthrough. Buthelezi has for long been saying he wanted to meet Mandela and that there would then be peace. When they call people to order, there will be peace."

Thabang, Thabong

"I am very happy about the meeting. Mandela and Buthelezi are the head of the train. When they get their act together we, as trailers, will follow suit."

Moss, Auckland Park



**THREAT:** ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni threatens mass action.

# 'Boer' chant ALL 21/6/93 (274) 'does not mean killing whites'

**VUYO BAVUMA, Staff Reporter**

THE controversial chant "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" does not mean individual whites should be murdered, but refers to the crushing of "white supremacy", according to ANC Youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba.

"He said the people would not apologise for their culture of resistance, opposing the "Boer" system which they equated with "evil" white supremacy

The ANC had launched a non-racial struggle and did not approve of the killing of individual whites, he said.

Mr Mokaba was speaking at a rally in Guguletu, attended by thousands to announce the handing over of Ikapa town council houses to residents from July 1.

The authorities agreed to hand over the houses after a nine-day sit-in at the council offices by ANC Women's League members last month

Mr Mokaba said: "When we say 'Kill the Boer', we don't mean that whites should be killed, but to destroy the boer system. And we won't apologise for that.

"It is the whites who should march to us, not us. If they don't like our culture, they don't like South Africa. The crux of our struggle is the liberation of the African masses."

Township councillors were not whites, but were advancing the system of the "Boers" — and the people were against them.

"We won't be threatened by our enemies' guns. We also have guns. We aren't afraid. We are soldiers. We'll return fire by fire.

"We'll continue to challenge our enemies whether Peter Mokaba is alive or not," he said.

Militant ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said people would unleash mass action if "Boers" refused to take their hands off Mr Mokaba and Mr Mandela's estranged wife Winnie Mandela.

The people would also display their anger to make their point.

Later chants of "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer," resounded through the crowd after Mr Yengeni asked them to "lift up your hands if you want to hear the slogan".



Pictures ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

**CHANT:** ANC Youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba explains the controversial chant: "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer".



**CROWD:** Part of the crowd at the rally attended by thousands of people in Guguletu to announce the handing over of Ikapa town council houses to residents from July 1.

XL E

# Bid to avoid talks row over violence

Star 22/6/93  
274

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

Attempts are being made to prevent a row in the Negotiating Council today over a far-reaching declaration on the suspension of armed activities.

The compromise involves a report on violence being discussed in the Negotiating Council before the declaration, which was originally scheduled to top the agenda.

The report on violence proposes two "multiparty agencies" to deal with police forces as well as with armies and armed formations.

It recommends a phased approach to a new defence force and a new police force.

This means that the PAC's concerns over the implementation of a cessation of hostilities will be considered.

After addressing the 10-member planning committee yesterday, PAC negotiator and political secretary Jaki Seroke said the committee was considering the compromise.

Asked if the PAC would then support the declaration, Seroke said: "We are not opposed to a cessation of hostilities but the process to arrive (at that) needs to be discussed and structured."

The Government served notice on Friday that it would urge the Negotiating Council to take a decision on the continued participation of groups refusing to accept the document.

Negotiators from the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu governments indicated last night they would accept the declaration.

The declaration states that parties will "commit/recommit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

## Farmers lay charges over chant

By Norman Chandler  
Pretoria Bureau

Angry farmers, accusing the Government of dragging its feet, yesterday laid three charges against ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba over the "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant.

The charges are in terms of the Internal Security Act, the Riot-Intimidation Act, and the Riotous Assemblies Act.

SA Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie said in Pretoria that if the Attorney-General's office in Johannesburg declined to prosecute, farmers would bring a private prosecution against Mokaba in order "to muzzle him".

Stating that repeated calls by the ANC leadership to Mokaba to refrain from using the slogan had had no effect, Fourie rejected a weekend statement by Mokaba who told a rally in Cape Town that the chant was not directed against individual farmers but against the apartheid system.

Fourie — who was last month hooped off the stage by farmers at a Potchefstroom rally — said the Mokaba chant was "vengeful" and had led to an escalation of attacks on farmers.

Asked if this meant that the SAAU believed the Government was dragging its feet on the issue of farm security, Fourie replied in the affirmative.

He also disclosed that the SAAU had written to ANC president Nelson Mandela about the chant and that Mandela had responded that he was investigating the matter.

Fourie said farmers were

angry. "The perception at ground level is that the inference of the chant is much greater than anything else concerning farmers," he added.

"When we are striving towards peace and some sort of stability, the country doesn't need slogans which provoke violence."

Asked whether the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions — both affiliates of the SAAU — would join the recently established right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront, which has called for strong action against farm attackers, Fourie declared that the SAAU and organised agriculture in general were apolitical.

He said it would be disastrous for 60 000 farmers to take a political viewpoint.

He told The Star that some farmers were leaving their land

as a result of more than 125 attacks on the farming community since January — but that this was not entirely due to the security situation. Much of it was because of economic reasons.

Fourie also said the SAAU could not see why it should meet PAC officials unless such a meeting had to do with the future of agriculture in the new South Africa.

Fourie had been asked whether the SAAU would be taking up an invitation by the PAC to talk after it was reported yesterday that the PAC had offered to meet farmers to find a political solution to their being targeted by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Fourie added that the SAAU's function and aim was to hold discussions to make people realise the importance of a strong agricultural industry.

"If discussions with the PAC are to follow that line, there would be talks," he added.

PAC president Clarence Makhulu was quoted as saying the meeting could "contribute to a relatively peaceful resolution of the many conflicts afflicting our country".

He also accused farmers of abusing farm labourers and rural black people.



Peter Mokaba . . . ANC youth leader who refuses to abandon the "Kill the Boer" chant.

# Nina Roche WINTER SALE

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Main R

# PAC still slippery on armed struggle

Political Staff

**JOHANNESBURG** — The PAC last night appeared to renege on an earlier undertaking to suspend the armed struggle, telling a news conference after negotiations ended yesterday that its agreement was just a declaration of intent.

After debate in the afternoon, the PAC accepted "in principle" a declaration on ending the struggle adopted by the 25 other participants in the Negotiating Council. "It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the

regime." PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said

Chairman of yesterday's council meeting — and chief NP negotiator — Dr Dawie de Villiers replied: "On behalf of all the parties here, I applaud the PAC."

According to the document, they had committed themselves to the peaceful resolution of conflict and "where applicable cease/suspend any form of hostile/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives."

They also committed themselves to ensuring that their conduct and messages, including chants, were

consistent with the declaration.

But at a news conference later, Mr Seroke said "I want to state it very clearly and unambiguously we did not unilaterally suspend the armed struggle. The suspension of the armed struggle is not on the cards."

He said the PAC had agreed to "a mere declaration of intent" and the implementation of a mutual cessation of hostilities would be discussed with the government at a bilateral meeting today.

The government was asked to react to the PAC, and it said the organisation "after this, has no

credibility".

Dr De Villiers and chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said in a statement: "The negotiating council will (today) have to take note of this and decide on further necessary steps against the PAC."

The proceedings began with the PAC refusing to adopt the declaration, despite having agreed to do so in a planning meeting on Monday.

Mr Seroke said the PAC supported the declaration in principle, but because the government had not yet returned all confiscated material, it would not adopt it.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril

Kamphoosa intervened and said that before the council condemned the PAC, it should also look at whether the government had honoured its side of the bargain.

"If Mr Meyer can say that government would implement its undertaking, I am sure Mr Seroke will find he can accept this and I see he is nodding right here next to me," he said.

Mr Meyer undertook to "completely fulfil" the terms.

Mr Seroke and Mr Meyer then met over an extended tea break, with assisting chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan mediating. This led to the

PAC accepting the declaration in principle.

The PAC qualified its stand by demanding that a statement be read into the minutes that it would meet the government to reach agreement that the implementation of the declaration would be done in accordance with a single clause of another resolution on violence, which the council accepted.

This stated that "a series of phased confidence-building measures, which would include the future of all armed formations, their personnel and arsenals, be adopted".

# 'SADF hid facts about Zulu training'

□ Goldstone report says De Klerk was not given full details about camp in Capriyi

Arg 23/6/93

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**Political Staff**

THE Defence Force did not give President De Klerk the full facts about its training of 200 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in the Capriyi Strip in 1986, the Goldstone Commission has said.

Mr Justice Goldstone's report on the training at the Hippo camp was released yesterday.

The IFP supporters were recruited by Mr M Z Khumalo, who was then the personal assistant to Chief Buthe-lezi, the report said.

Brigadier Mathe, then Acting Commissioner of the Kwazulu police (KZP), told the commission that there was an urgent need for personnel to protect VIPs, buildings and installations because of African National Congress terrorism.

The KZP did not have sufficient funds for training. Brigadier Mathe claimed that Mr Khumalo told him that a private company would arrange and pay for the training.

"Only later when Brigadier Mathe visited the trainees in Capriyi did he learn that the source of funds was Military Intelligence.

"The plan was to absorb the recruits into the KZP. Chief Buthelezi, who was Minister of Police, was aware of the training," the report said.

Mr Khumalo told the commission that the Kwazulu authorities had approached the SADF "and that it agreed to train the recruits".

Mr Khumalo and Brigadier Mathe "each place the responsibility on the other" over who arranged for the SADF to train the 200 recruits.

The SADF told the commission that at the beginning of 1986, the Army was approached by the Kwazulu authorities about security.

The training was financed from the Defence Budget secret account.

Although none of the trainees became SADF members, the SADF paid their salaries. After six months' training, they returned to Kwazulu and had no direct contact with the SADF.

The report said: "The evidence as to the activities of the trainees after their return to Kwazulu is highly unsatisfactory. The probability is that the majority of them were kept idle. "The majority are still employed by the KZP."

The Goldstone Commission had received information linking the Capriyi trainees with recent violence and intimidation.

"The secret training in the Capriyi in 1986 is unfortunate and has added to the suspicion and perceptions of political bias on the part of the KZP and SADF," the Goldstone report said.

It said there was "a grave error of judgment on the part of the SADF".

"The secrecy of the project had the consequence that very few members or senior officials of the Kwazulu government or police were aware of the project and this led to the inefficiency and lack of control which were the hallmarks of the whole exercise.

"When the matter became public in consequence of disclosures in the Weekly Mail, the SADF informed the State President that the purpose of the training of about 150 Zulus was for security and VIP protection. This did not reflect the full picture.



**WINTER SOLSTICE:**

Yesterday was the shortest day of the year and this scene, outside Johannesburg on Monday, shows graphically that temperatures were below freezing.

**3 in court after baby 'buried alive'**

**Ambush killing of brothers: Four in court**

The Argus Correspondent

## Union warns on prosecution

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) will have to resort to other options if the attorney-general decides against prosecuting ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba for his continued use of the "Kill the farmer, kill the Boer" slogan.

This was said by SAAU president Mr Boet Fourie at a press conference here yesterday. He said if the attorney-general decided not to prosecute the SAAU would, among other things, apply for a private prosecution.



Causes of the post-apartheid unrest are many and varied, writes Sydney Mufamane

Star 23/6/93

# Roots of violence run deep

(274)

**A**S THE Goldstone Commission concluded, there are many and complex causes of the current wave of violence in South Africa. It is also important to bear in mind the interplay between those causes — irrespective of the various ways in which the problem of violence manifests itself.

It has become fashionable to some to trace the source of violence to the "inflammatory statements" uttered by politicians in public platforms.

While such speeches may reinforce conflicts, they are not in themselves a source of conflicts. There is a super-urgent need for us to come to grips with factors which give rise to "inflammatory speeches" and to understand the reasons for the applause with which they are received by their audiences.

As a process, peace-making cannot take place in a vacuum. One of the indispensable conditions for the peace-making process to be successful is the crea-

tion of a politically enabling environment.

People want to see promises translated into a decisive break with the past. Negotiations at the World Trade Centre have not been moving at a pace which inspires them with confidence.

Those who have incumbencies to lose or doubt their chances at the ballot box appear to be responsible for stalling the process.

It is this prolonged denial of democracy which is precipitating violence and confrontation. All parties wish to win the forthcoming elections. One of the qualities that encourages a settlement of spurious conflict is the readiness to accept the possibility of electoral defeat.

It is patently clear that what is required is for peace-making to be subsumed to the process of transition. Parties in the process have to realise that in all areas crucial to the process, the concept of shared responsibility has become more compelling. One such area is the determina-

tion of the role to be played by armed formations in the run-up to elections and in the post-elections period.

That is not a matter to be resolved through trading maximalist demands such as calling for the disbandment of the SADF, Apla, MK or, for that matter, the KwaZulu Police. Apart from being inflammatory, such demands can only be made by people who are looking for deadlocks.

Precisely because of the mistrust and the role such formations are, rightly or wrongly, perceived to be playing in the violence, this issue and other issues germane to the problem of violence must be brought to the terrain of negotiations.

Above everything else, what is required is for parties to adopt an outlook which is unfettered by legal fiction.

The distinction between "statutory armed formations" and "non-statutory armed formations" which some people are so fond of making, can only be for mischief-

making rather than an attempt at a serious analysis of the South African reality.

Those who insist on making this distinction as a basis for deciding the fate of the various armed formations conveniently forget that it is the "statutory armed formations" which became accustomed to unleashing the kind of terror which obliged our people to challenge apartheid-state brutality with their own blood.

A report before the Negotiating Council (submitted by the technical committee on violence) proposes that the parties in negotiations adopt a series of phased confidence-building measures within a common framework to achieve the laudable objective of establishing impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic South Africa.

That appears to be the only logical route to follow. Commonsense dictates that yesterday's belligerents must emerge from their separate trenches to make common cause for the good of our country.

In classical democracies, mass demonstrations and protests are accepted as an inalienable civil liberty of the people. When such a democratic right is exercised by the people, certain things which lead to an outbreak of violence may occur.

- Anti-democratic elements organise themselves to obstruct or attack demonstrators/protesters.
- Anti-democratic elements infiltrate agents provocateurs into an otherwise peaceful demonstration and direct them to engage in activities which run counter to the aims of the organisers.
- The demonstrators may not be adequately organised (eg, insufficient number of marshals) to ensure that their exercising of such a democratic right does not unduly infringe upon the rights of others.

Incidents which occurred in the recent past appear to indicate that these scenarios are available in our situation. This imposes certain obligations on political leaders. After all, good quality leadership entails understanding the

paradoxical role of democracy. Political leaders have the onerous responsibility of tilting the balance away from democracy as a cause of conflict to democracy as a cure of the social malady of violence and confrontation

Needless to say, this requires special constitutional or statutory measures which may not be possible to bring about in the current stage of the negotiations process. In the interim it might suffice for any party or organisation considering holding a demonstration to ensure that:

- It has given priority to promote peace.
- This action will avoid deliberate provocation of opponents.
- The structures of the Peace Accord are kept fully informed and are utilised to maximum effect.
- Good faith negotiations occur with all interested parties and the security forces regarding the proposed action. □
- The writer is head of the ANC's national peace desk.

# Myth dispelled about violent black youth



Sowetan & Radio Metro

## Talkback

By Mzimasi Ngudle

BLACK youths are not violent. They want to study and get work, guest speakers told the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

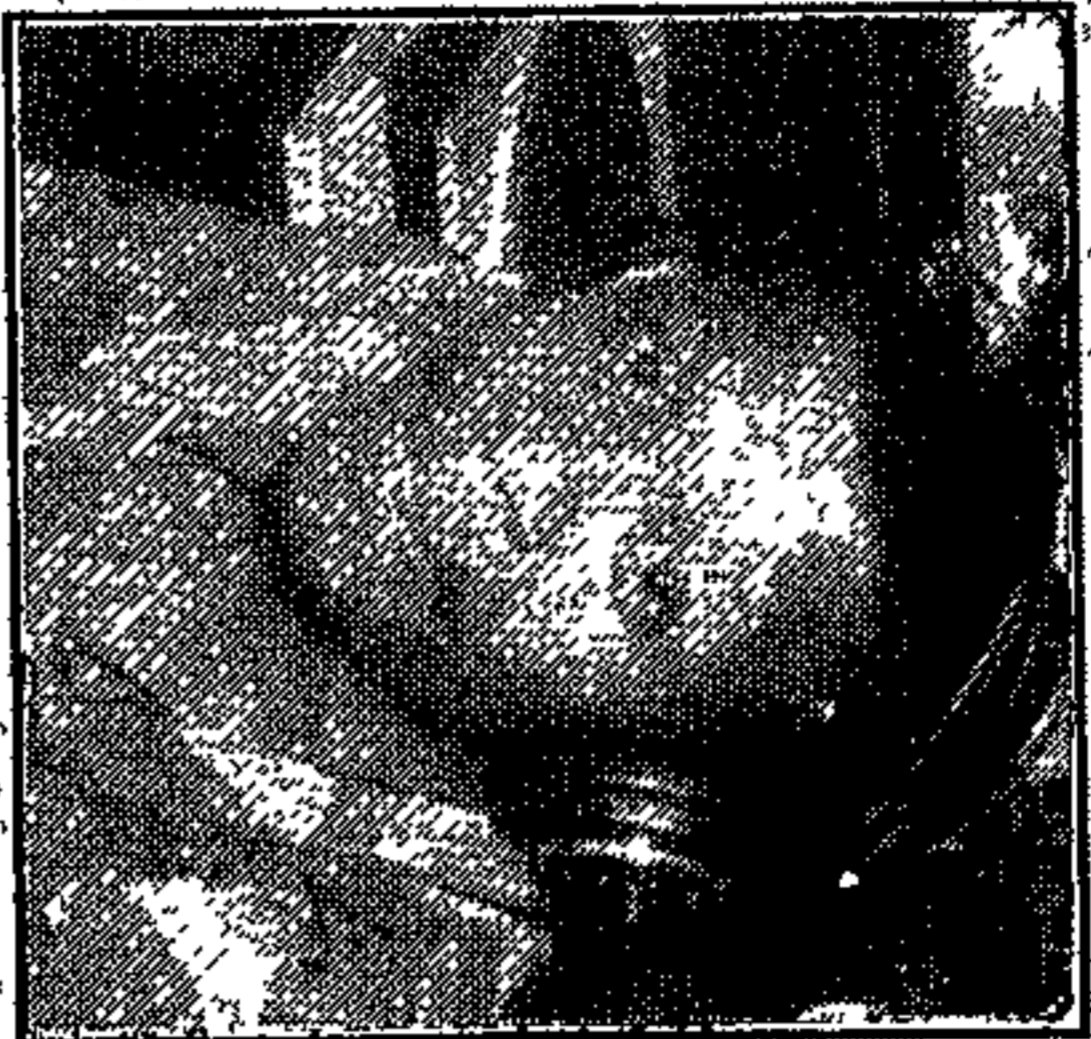
Talking on marginalised youth or the so-called lost generation, Ms Sheila Sisulu of the Joint Enrichment Programme (JEP) dispelled myths that black youths were violent, lazy and loathe to study.

Sisulu said a study commissioned by the JEP after a conference on the lost generation identified unemployment and violence as major causes of the crisis facing young people.

"Research showed that many unemployed young people were actively looking for jobs," she said. Sisulu said many youths experienced political and domestic violence.

"A frightening number of young people grow up in violent homes. Some have been beaten up and subjected to sexual abuse.

with Tim Modise



Sisulu said violence was an indictment on South African society which had a tendency to use the youth as scapegoats. She rebutted allegations that young people were used by political organisations as cannon fodder in the liberation struggle.

"They youth have felt the power of leadership since 1976 when parents stood idle and did nothing about things directly affecting their children.

"Since then the youth have felt parents tend to cower in the face of police brutality and confronted

issues on their own. The only solution is that parents and political organisations be duly responsible," Sisulu said.

Ms Na'em Jenah conceded that young people tended to be violent because violence had been shown to them as the only way of solving problems.

"We live in a highly militarised and violent society where youths see caspiis and guns daily. Some are beaten by their partners and other sexually abused and raped," he said.

"I am grateful Masisulu dispelled the myth that our youth are not interested in education."

Bogey, Springs

PHOTO: TIMOTHY M. HARRIS

# Probe rejects 'attacks' claims by 'Black Cat' gang

PRETORIA. — The evidence of three "Black Cat" gangsters did not establish claims of organised hit squads at Wesselton, Ermelo, in January 1992, according to a report of the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into public violence released yesterday.

"The situation was one of an ongoing conflict between rival gangs. The allegation of security force involvement in such attacks was not substantiated," the report says of the commission's findings on allegations published in the Weekly Mail.

The commission was unable to find

as proven that the SAP was unwilling to take action against the "Black Cats".

"It may well have been so. Whether or not, there was every justification for the perception that the SAP were working with the 'Black Cats'."

This perception was further fuelled by the SAP returning weapons to the KwaZulu government.

The "Black Cats" were a criminal group involved in violence who became members of the IFP.

● SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe has welcomed the Goldstone Commission's finding. — Sapa

# SADF: No proof of hit squads

214  
CT 24/6/93

THE Goldstone Committee has found no justification for allegations concerning the involvement of the SADF in current violence.

But in its report released yesterday, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the secret training in the Caprivi by the SADF of 200 Inkatha supporters was unfortunate and added to the suspicion and perception of political bias by the KwaZulu Police (KZP) and the SADF.

## Training

He said the perceptions of many South Africans that there was SADF involvement in current violence was hardly surprising in the light of the activities of the CCB and the Department of Covert Collection.

The report said there was no evidence to suggest that the SADF provided the training for so-called "hit squads".

"The conduct of the SADF with regard to the training at the Caprivi must be judged in the light of government policy and the security and political situation which prevailed in 1986. What does concern the committee are the perceptions created by current events viewed against the background of conduct which may have occurred prior to February 2, 1990." A good example of this was the Caprivi training and certain criminal acts committed by trainees since their

return.

The committee said it had no doubt that these negative perceptions concerning the SADF, SAP and KZP would not be removed until most South Africans believed that those institutions were conducting themselves in a lawful and open manner.

"The training of the nature given to the trainees, without regard to their subsequent control and deployment, points to a grave error of judgment on the part of the SADF." The committee did not agree with the counsel for the SADF that it could not be held responsible for trained people "employing their skills for illegal purposes".

Mr C, a recruit who testified, said his training incorporated the use of weapons. They were given lectures on the ANC as an enemy of the IFP. He denied the training was for membership of hit squads.

## That time

"Mr C, as a witness, was anything but well disposed towards the IFP, and if to his knowledge there was any truth in that suggestion the committee has no doubt that Mr C would have said so," the report said.

● The SADF yesterday said the Caprivi training should be seen in the light of the security circumstances at the time. SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg also gave the assurance that secret military activities had ceased — Sapa, Political Staff

Star 25/6/93

## World honour for Albertina

The deputy president of the African National Congress Women's League, Albertina Sisulu, has been elected the new president of the World Peace Council (WPC). She was elected unanimously in Basel, Switzerland, at the first meeting of the new 40-member executive committee, which was appointed at the WPC assembly, held from June 3 and 6. — Sapa.

(10/1) (274)

# AMNY, IFF) peace

Sovietun 24/6/93

**By Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent

**Y**ESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi paved the way for greater tolerance and peace between supporters of the ANC and IFP.

They failed, however, to reach agreement on other major issues, including the ratification of April 27 next year as an election date.

After nine hours of negotiations, the two leaders emerged exhausted, but no closer, in real terms, to each other than before the meeting.

The postponement to July 2 of tomorrow's Negotiating Forum meeting, which was supposed to have ratified the election date, has been blamed on the stone-walling by the IFP and its allies.

Political observers remarked that Buthelezi's filibustering had made the meeting of the Negotiations Forum "rather futile".

Buthelezi said last night he was not prepared to give his support for the election date before his party's demands on constitutional matters such as

federalism were met first.

"As far as we are concerned we believe that the first things should come first. If the things that should be done first are done, we'll go along with the date," he said.

Mandela said after the meeting that he had hoped to take "a confirmation of the proposed election date" to the meeting of the OAU in Egypt on Saturday and to US President Bill Clinton next week, but that this was now impossible.

"I sincerely hope that by Friday we will have been able to remove the tears and concerns of all those political parties, including the IFP, over the election date," Mandela said.

A joint resolution however, paves the way for greater tolerance between supporters of the ANC and IFP. They agreed on the necessity for free political activity throughout the country, agreed on each others' "legitimate right to exist, accepted the need for an urgent meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord to be convened as soon as possible; agreed to address joint rallies, a prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons at certain political rallies and meetings and that the two leaders would visit places and persons affected by the endemic violence in the country.

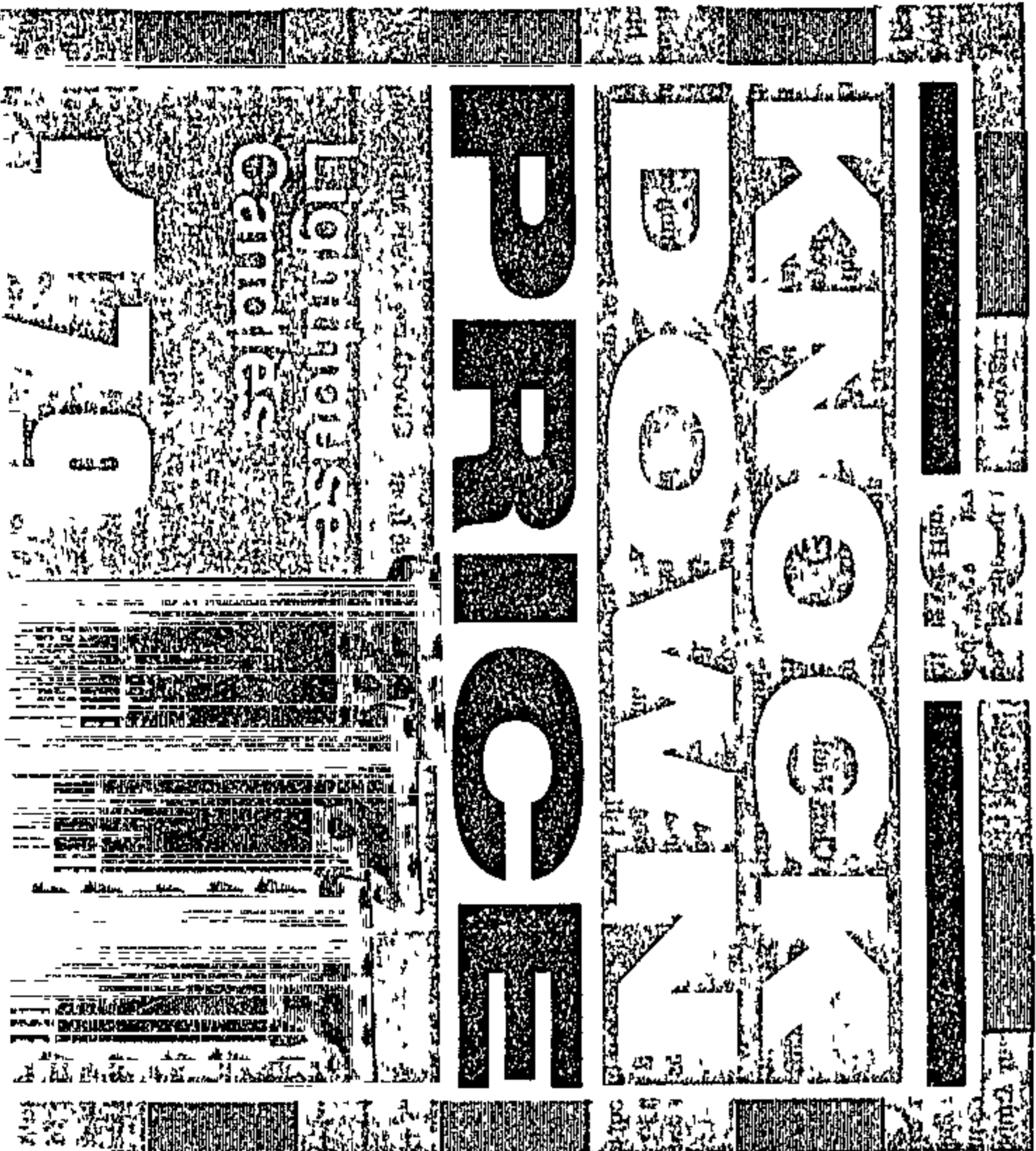
# on peace

## Shake to end bloodshed



ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands before their meeting at Kempton Park on the East Rand yesterday to discuss ways of ending the violence which has claimed thousands of their supporters' lives. Hopes for peace and a reduction in the level of violence in the country rested on the outcome of the meeting.

APIC ASSOCIATED PRESS



# PAC's armed struggle stance unclear

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Confusion over the PAC's position on the armed struggle is dragging on — the matter remained unresolved after a meeting at the World Trade Centre between the PAC and the government.

The conflict between the government and PAC stems from a difference of interpretation of a declaration on the cessation of hostilities and the suspension of armed action.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night told the negotiating council that the PAC delegation could not clarify its position on the armed struggle.

In a statement circulated in the council he said: "The PAC delegation was unable to give an answer to this, and requested time to obtain further instructions from their leadership."

But the PAC denied that it was unable to clarify its position.

"The PAC delegation, however, promised to seek further consultation as to at what stage we cease hostilities, with our leadership," the PAC said.

Talks were held yesterday between the PAC and government after all members agreed to the far-reaching declaration on Tuesday.

But the PAC indicated after the meeting on Tuesday that the organisation had not suspended its armed struggle.

Mr Meyer said the government was under the impression that the PAC had suspended its armed struggle on Tuesday when it agreed to the declaration.

The PAC told the negotiating council that the government insisted at yesterday's meeting on first clarifying its position on the armed struggle before it would respond to its non-compliance with an earlier resolution on the return of PAC property.

(274) (WA)

ARG 25/6/93

# A marshal plan for South Africa

After the deaths following Chris Hani's assassination and the announcement of an election date, the need for peacekeeping in South Africa has intensified.

**CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE** reports on an initiative to train peace marshals:

**L**ARGE-scale training in peacekeeping and marshalling is set to kick off in August to ensure peaceful demonstrations and meetings in the run-up to South Africa's first democratic elections.

(274)  
The training programme is the initiative of Professor Clifford Shearing of the University of the Western Cape's Community Law Centre. It stems from his involvement in the Goldstone Commission's multinational panel on lawful control of demonstrations.

Groups targeted for urgent training in peacekeeping include "negotiators" (police, organisers and municipal

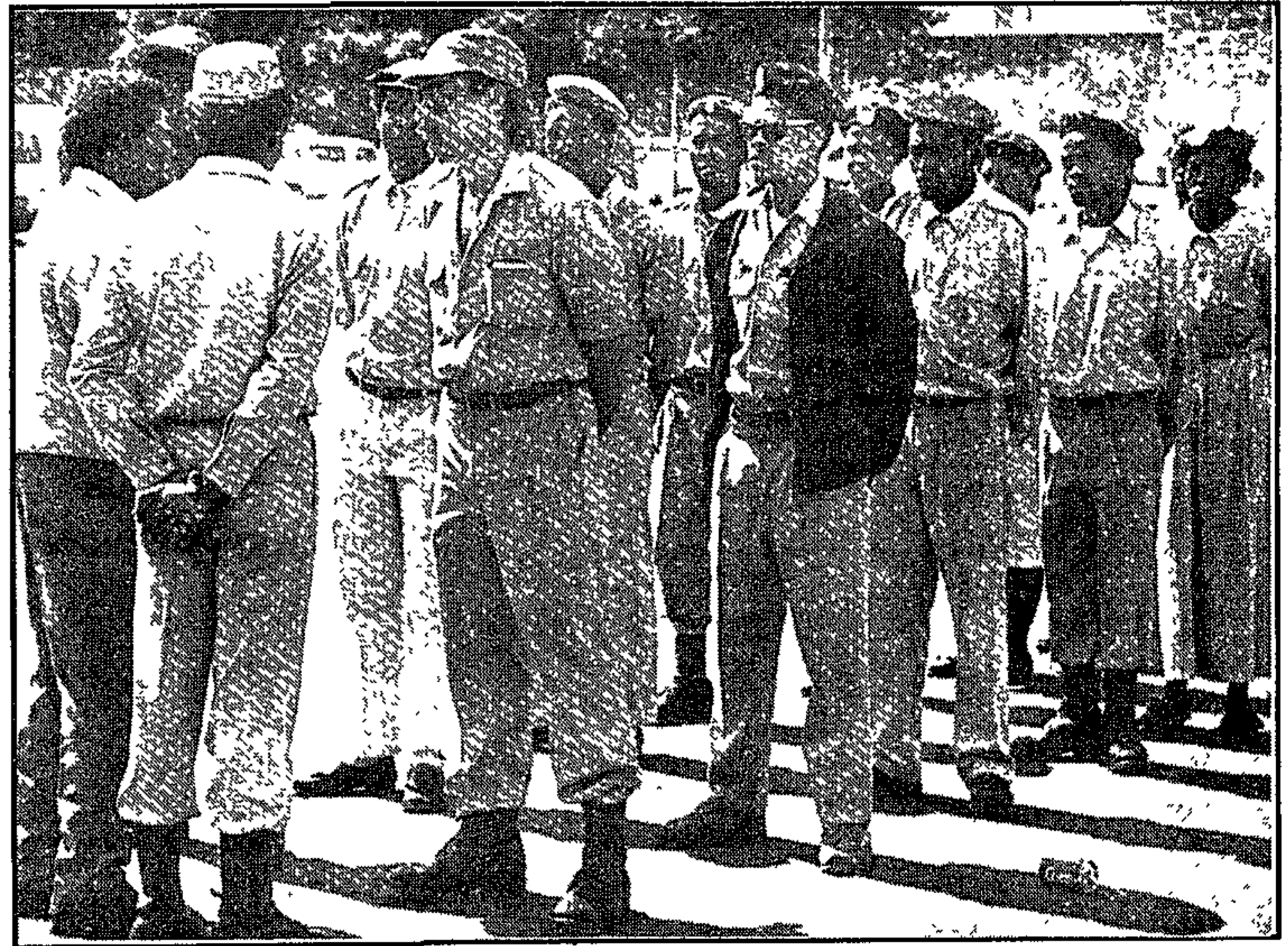
authorities), marshals and senior marshals and trainers.

"Originally, people did not seem to understand the need for this, but after the Hani funeral and the problems with the Parade gathering in Cape Town, there seems to be broad support," Shearing told SOUTH this week.

"Marshalling skills in this country are very sketchy and quite inconsistent across the country."

This is set to change with the programme that has been outlined by a multinational panel of British and Canadian academics and police officers who visited South Africa last month to come up with proposals for action.

They have already completed a report



on the needs of interim election policing, and are still looking at the issue of integrating other forces into the South African Police (SAP).

This is a more contentious issue, says Shearing, because in most places in the world where this kind of integration has happened it has resulted in disaster.

The panel's training needs analysis team consulted widely, chaired by Ms Dianna Yach, an former South African who is now a British consultant on Equal Opportunities and Community Relations.

Amongst the opinions canvassed were those of the liberation organisations, the SAP, the Goldstone Panel, academics, peace structures, and monitoring and mediating groups.

The five-person panel endorsed the Goldstone Panel's model of policing as a "safety triangle in which all the key players need to consult, liaise and prepare together for mass demonstrations and rallies". According to the model "no one player retains sole responsibility".

The lack of planning and co-operation between the police,

**AFTERMATH: A marshal and a policeman guard a body after looters took advantage of a protest in the streets of Cape Town**

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

Cape Town municipality and the organisers of the Hani memorial rally on the Parade was cited as one of the reasons for the outbreak of violence and looting.

At the time most criticism was directed against the ANC, whose members admitted they did not have enough marshals present.

Shearing believes that there might have been enough marshals, but that they were not trained to know what to do.

New draft legislation providing for marshalling has been handed to the state president by Justice Richard Goldstone.

If it is enacted soon it could help ensure professional marshalling in the run-up to the election.

Yach says the panel was unanimous that "in order to ensure that the peacekeeping initiative is sustained over time, it will be necessary in the longer term to build a viable core of skilled trainers.

"We endorse the Goldstone panel's view that political reform

is a prerequisite for police reform. But we feel that the time is ripe to seize the initiative and begin to adopt a more strategic approach to peacekeeping," she reported.

Details of the training programme, which will include members of the SAP, are still being worked out.

One section will focus mainly on marshals with the emphasis on "trainers" who can carry over their skills to marshals and other peacekeepers. Organisers, police and municipal officers will be trained together to learn their respective responsibilities and enhance co-operation.

Another module is in preparation for those who plan and organise marches.

Shearing does not foresee that this intensive training of "thousands" of peacekeepers will diminish the need for neutral observers. "It will hopefully make their task easier, though," he says.

"One must also say that this is not to undermine the SAP, but to enhance their capacity."



schoolchildren arrested in Ventersdorp

Sowetan 25/6/93

## Focusing on violence

By Joshua Raboroko

WELL-KNOWN political and economic analysts are to take part in a two-day seminar on *Armed struggle-action: its relevance to the transitional period and the post apartheid era* to be held at the Carlton Hotel from June 30.

The seminar, to be hosted by the Community Development Foundation, comes against the backdrop of violence having become an ugly feature in the political developments towards transition and final resolution of conflict in South Africa.

Speakers include Mr Eugene Nyathi of the Center for African Studies, Mr Sipho Maseko of

the Western Cape University and Mr Phil Mtimkulu of the University of South Africa.

Mr Mac Maharaj of the ANC, General Pieter Hendrik Groenewald of the AVF, Mr Molathegi Tlale of Azapo and Mr Benny Ntoele of the PAC will also speak.

CDF's board member, Mr Mbulelo Rakwena, said more lives had been lost since February 2 1990 and his organisation took a serious view of the facts.

It was particularly concerned about violence when developments were taking place during the transitional process and the likely elections for a political dispensation.

Registration inquiries should be directed to Ms Kgomotso Tlhabanyane at (011) 337-4435.

# Goldstone to investigate

## De Klerk

### 'wants raid facts probed'

PRETORIA.— State president F W de Klerk has requested Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate the right-wing occupation yesterday of the multiparty negotiations venue outside Johannesburg

Speaking at a news conference, he said "I think it will be good if the actual facts are properly investigated because allegations are made of police negligence, and it will be in the interest of the country if we get the true facts, so that we can judge them"

He condemned right wing violence as a "despicable occurrence" and said "right wingers responsible would be arrested".

Arrests would be affected as soon as last night, he said.

Asked what action he would consider taking against the right-wing organisations involved, he said the government did not take action against political movements.

Mr De Klerk strongly defended the police handling of events, saying a strong-arm approach would have led to bloodshed

He claimed police had acted no differently than they did when faced by left-wing violence

"I reject the accusation that police acted differently than when blacks are involved"

Mr De Klerk also rejected the

would have liked to include or accommodate all suggestions received, it had proved to be impossible. The commission would have to decide which amendments were to be considered desirable and appropriate, and those details would be submitted to the State President

Judge Goldstone said the commission was of the view that legislation, which was the product of full and democratic consultation on this matter, should be promulgated prior to a period preceding a national election.

The commission expressed its appreciation to the SA Police, the African National Congress-led alliance and the Inkatha Freedom Party for the manner in which they — with very few exceptions — had adhered to the interim agreement on mass marches and demonstrations which they had signed in Cape Town in July last year.

It was probable that — but for the agreement and the adherence to it — there could have been a much higher incidence of violence associated with marches and public demonstrations, according to Judge Goldstone.

The commission urged all interested and relevant parties to adhere to the terms of the agreement until legislation was promulgated. — Sapa

accusation that the government was not in control of the police.

"The government is in full control of the security forces."

● Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday that in the light of further representations received from interested parties and organisations, his commission had decided to reconsider some aspects of the Public Gatherings Bill

Since the commission referred its second draft of the bill to the State President, he said, further submissions had been received and a number of them were diametrically opposed to each other.

Even though the commission

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# Goldstone clears SADF, but 'third force' still illusive

FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Correspondent

(274)

THE shadowy "Third Force" suspected of undermining peace and stability in South Africa is as illusive as ever after the Goldstone Commission's latest findings.

The commission found no evidence of a "hit squad" presence behind a secret SADF project to train Inkatha supporters in 1986, or in other related activities that were investigated.

Political analysts said the commission's findings were significant, but did not rule out the possibility of "hit squad" or "third force" activities in areas not covered by the commission's investigations.

Pretoria political and policy analyst Dr Wim Booysse said the so-called "third force" was not a single one, nor was it necessarily part of the military establishment or security forces.

It rather should be seen as a variety of forces, not necessarily linked in any way, but working towards the same kind of goal in each case — to undermine South Africa's transition process and the country's stability. Such forces might not even be politically

motivated, but were partly activated by uncertainty during political transition, by the declining economy and by criminal lawlessness.

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Dr Booysse, now also policy analyst for the Northern Transvaal Chamber of Industries, told Weekend Argus yesterday that in many countries undergoing a process of transition it had been found that criminal elements tended to exploit situations of uncertainty and instability.

The Goldstone Commission said in its report, released this week, that it was being approached more and more frequently by journalists with unverified and serious allegations concerning public violence and intimidation.

In a substantial number of cases, the commission had been able to help in establishing the truth or falsity of such information.

The commission commented: "This experience demonstrates the need for an objective authority to investigate allegations of this nature — a body which has the confidence of all, or at least of most, of the community."

"The commission clearly does not have the capacity to establish the truth or falsity of all allegations of public violence and in-

timidation which are made daily by many people and organisations. It may be considered advisable to establish such an independent body or to increase the staff of the commission to enable it to carry out this function."

However, the committee said it was "hardly surprising" that such perceptions existed among many South Africans "in the light of the activities of the CCB (Civil Cooperation Bureau) and more recently the Department of Covert Collection."

Such negative perceptions concerning the SADF, the SA Police and the KwaZulu Police would not be removed until the majority of South Africans believed those institutions were conducting themselves in a lawful, open and accountable manner.

"That is not yet the position. The past cannot be ignored and it would be folly to expect all South Africans to forget recent history," said the committee.

In a politically divided society, openness and candour were "essential and particularly so from government departments and officials," the report said, adding that there was no other way in which confidence could be built in state institutions.

# BBPC has a success story to tell

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE past two months have been hectic for the Benoni-Boksburg Peace Committee (BBPC) after the death of SAC leader Chris Hani and ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

In its half-yearly report the BBPC said its members had to cope with crowds of mourners that attended the funeral services of the two leaders at Dawn Park and Wattville respectively.

The activities in this period included a shooting

incident at Langeberg Foods where several union members were injured.

The report said in January the situation in the East Rand was made worse by the killing of the deputy general secretary of the ANC in Daveyton, Wiseman Cebisa.

However, through the intervention of the BBPC, relative peace has returned to the area.

The committee also organised a meeting of leaders in Daveyton to try and resolve the hijacking of Eskom and Telkom vehicles by township youths.

(274) (278)

## Goldstone heads mayhem probe

*28/6/93*  
THE Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation on July 7 would hold a public preliminary inquiry into events surrounding the demonstration by right-wingers at the World Trade Centre on Friday, Judge Richard Goldstone said on Saturday *(272)*

The inquiry would concentrate on:

- The planning and organisation of the public gathering and demonstration and the persons and organisations responsible; *(274)*
- Terms of permission for the demonstration granted by the SAP and local authority;
- The respect in which the terms were transgressed and the persons and organisations responsible;
- The response by the SAP to the planned demonstration and the events which occurred; and
- Recommendations the commission should make on steps to be taken in order to avert a recurrence of such acts of public violence and intimidation as may have taken place.

Goldstone requested any person having information concerning the incident to communicate with the commission by telephone (012) 320-4640 or fax (012) 320-3812. — Sapa..

# Goldstone sets date for inquiry

JOHANNESBURG. — The Goldstone Commission will hold a public preliminary inquiry on July 7 into the demonstration by the right-wing at the World Trade Centre on Friday, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said at the weekend.

Judge Goldstone said the inquiry, to be held in Pretoria, will concentrate on the following questions:

- The planning and organisation of the public gathering and demonstration

which took place at the WTC and those responsible. ● The terms in which permission for the demonstration was sought from and granted by the SA Police and local authority.

- The respect in which the terms referred to were transgressed and those responsible.

- The events which occurred inside the WTC

- The response by the police.

● Recommendations which the commission should make on steps to be taken to avert a recurrence of such acts of public violence and intimidation as may have taken place.

Judge Goldstone said anyone having information on the incident should communicate as soon as possible with the secretary of the commission by telephone on (012) 3204640 or by Fax on (012) 3203812. — Sapa

# ANC, Apla linked says UK paper

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Damaging claims that the ANC was perpetrating violence and had forged links with the PAC's Apla were carried in a report based on documents leaked to the Sunday Telegraph yesterday. Under the headline "Dark Forces", the report gave details

of a purported intelligence dossier said to have been compiled by senior South African security personnel. The report alleged that:

- The ANC was storing weapons in Shell House.
- Mr Tokyo Sexwale, senior ANC officer, had called on members last year to use intimidation to recruit voters.
- Members of MK and Apla met

a year ago and decided to launch combined attacks.

- The ANC had breached its 1990 commitment to control military activity and had been clandestinely building its underground structures.
- Murdered SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani had been one of the architects of violence and had met former Apla

commander Mr Vumankosi Ntshinca to decide on dates for a combined offensive.

- ANC/SACP activists posing as security force members had been behind township attacks.
- In a front-page news report, the ANC dismissed the claims as another "dirty trick" by right-wing whites wanting to obstruct progress to majority rule.

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# Yengeni in call to arms at rally

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**  
Political Staff

TOP ANC official Mr Tony Yengeni, claiming it was clear the right wing was ready for war, called on the movement's Youth League not only to arm its members but to train them to use the guns

At a rally in Mbekweni, Paarl, yesterday he slated the rightwing-organised occupation of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday

"There would have been a bloodbath if members of (the ANC's military wing) Umkhonto we Sizwe had forced their way into the building, broken down doors and assaulted people," he said

"But because it was Boers, not a single one was arrested"

Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Natal Midlands ANC head Mr Harry Gwala and ANC Youth League chief Mr Peter Mokaba were also to have spoken at the rally, but Mr Yengeni was the only advertised speaker to turn up

Soon after 4pm Mr Yengeni led the big crowd, who had waited for more than two hours for events to begin, in chanting "Down with the



**WAITING:** Part of the huge crowd which waited more than two hours in Mbekweni, Paarl for Mrs Winnie Mandela, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba, Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa and Natal Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala to arrive for a rally. The four did not turn up.

right wing, down with Eugene Terre'Blanche"

He said black youths should not only be armed, but they should be taught how to use the guns

"So when the Boers try to hold a government of national unity or constituent assembly to hostage they can join MK in defending our leaders and democracy."

The ANC should not wait "for the Boers to kill one of us" because it was clear the rightwing was ready for war.

"We must be ready to defend our leaders and organisations. We are tired of being threatened and embarrassed by the right wing. We are

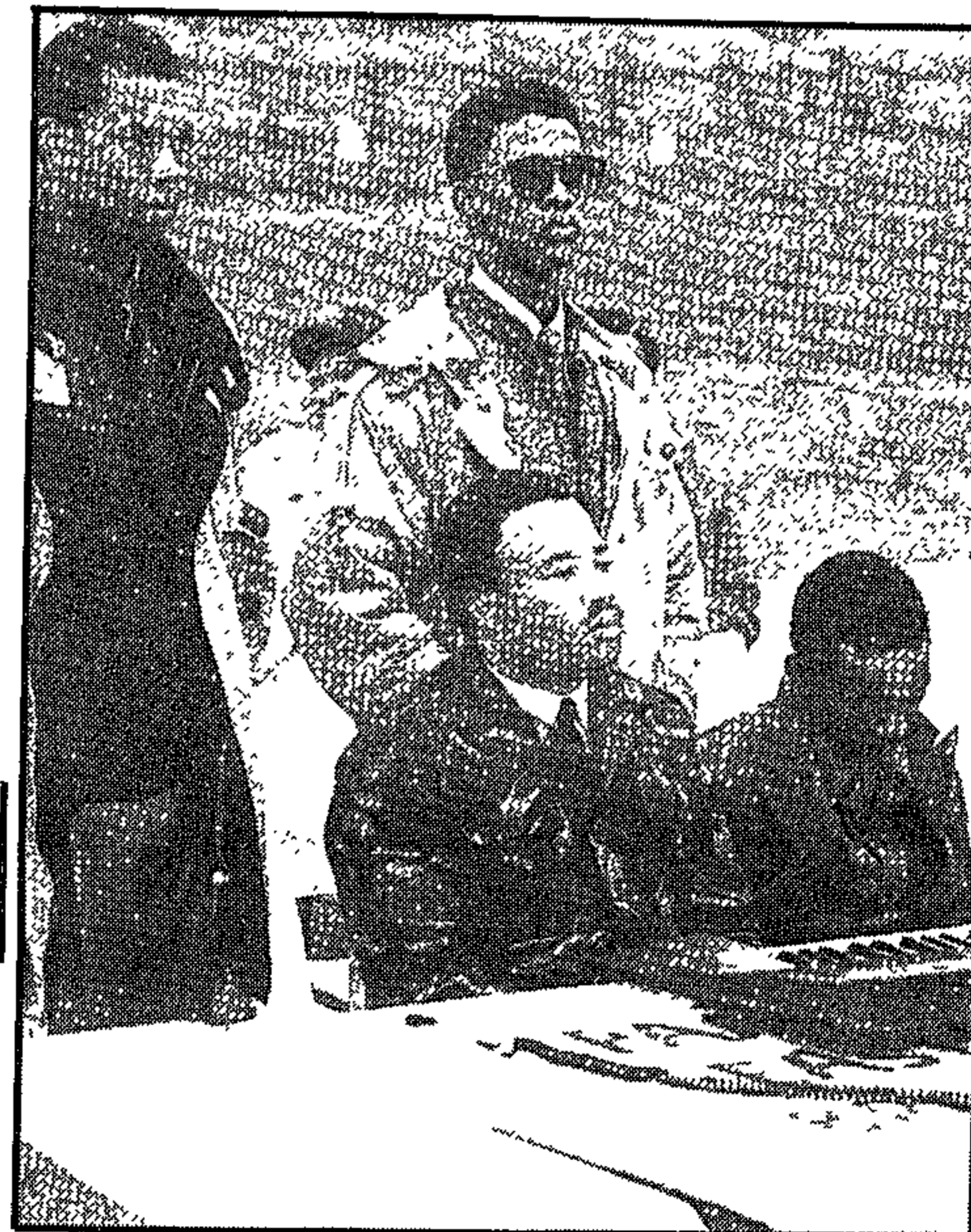
saying you must be prepared to fight back. We are not free yet."

Mr Yengeni said the Cape Provincial Administration would hand over hundreds of homes to Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga residents on Wednesday.

"These homes will be handed over free. It's a victory for us."

He said the victory was achieved through pressure on the CPA by the ANC Women's League's sit-in at the Ikapa Town Council offices.

Campaigns by the ANC and other organisations had also played a part



Pictures ROY WIGLEY, The Argus

**ARM THEM:** Militant ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, who called for youths to be trained and armed to defend ANC leaders.



Star 29/6/93

### Chance to sign peace accord

Non-signatories to the National Peace Accord, including the PAC and the AWB, will be given the chance to sign up at a peace committee meeting within the next three weeks. This was decided at a National Peace Executive meeting at the weekend following last week's summit between ANC and IFP leaders Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. — Sapa. (274)

Star 30/6/93

# National stayaway feared

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
and Paul Bell

South Africa appears headed for a potentially crippling national stayaway tomorrow, despite the reluctance of the national leadership of the ANC-led tripartite alliance to specifically call for a countrywide stayaway to mark its "day of action in defence of democracy".

But some ANC regions — including the powerful PWV body — have already indicated they will be calling for regional stayaways.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said yesterday that the "day of action", called by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance in protest against Friday's occupation of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers, would include marches and pickets on

police stations, rallies, mass meetings, church services, demonstrations, ringing of church bells and driving with lights on.

Various regions of the alliance would decide whether or not regional stayaways would be staged.

However, Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo said the giant labour federation had called on employers to support "the forces of democracy".

**Warnings**

So far the PWV, the Natal Midlands and the northern Cape regions of the alliance have called for regional stayaways, and many more regions were expected to do the same today.

Yesterday the alliance said the Government's failure to act on warnings of an imminent assault on the World Trade Cen-

tre, coupled with the security forces' lack of response, had exposed Pretoria's inability or unwillingness to defend the peace process.

The alliance demanded the finalisation of the election date, formation of a transitional executive council, multiparty control over the security forces and the arrest and prosecution of the rightwingers responsible and their leaders.

The organisations also called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe.

Sisulu emphasised that tomorrow's protests were intended to be peaceful.

"We call on all South Africans, workers, business and religious bodies, as well as civil society, to organise peaceful demonstrations," he said.

Star 30/6/93

# Only eight AKs from amnesty

Staff Reporter

Halfway through the two-month amnesty on illegal weapons, only eight AK-47 assault rifles have been handed over.

Police acknowledged yesterday that part of their publicity blitz to encourage people to hand over their weapons may instead have driven weapon-holders underground.

The amendment to the Arms and Ammunition Act came into effect on June 1 and made provision for amnesty for anyone handing an illegal weapon to the police before July 31

By yesterday, eight AK-47s, one Uzi sub-machine gun and one Russian-made pistol had been handed over.

A spokesman for SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Captain Louis le Roux, agreed that part of the problem may have been the poster.

This read: "Warning. Possession of illegal weapons could condemn you to: up to 25 years in jail, community and family rejection. Please hand it in — for the sake of your com-

274 252 301 poster

## WARNING

**Possession of  
illegal weapons  
could condemn**

**you to:**

**UP TO 25 YEARS IN JAIL,  
COMMUNITY AND  
FAMILY REJECTION**

**PLEASE  
HAND IT IN**

*For the sake of your community*

Part of the problem? ...  
the police poster.

munity."

The poster neglects to say that if people do hand their weapons in, they will escape the consequences outlined on the

Le Roux agreed the poster could be read to imply that people should hand over their guns and face the consequences.

"But it is too late — the posters have all been printed and put out," he said.

He said the amnesty did not extend to people found in possession of illegal weapons or arms caches.

"But if they come in themselves and willingly hand over the weapons we will not do anything to them," Le Roux said.

The SAP have also offered a R6 000 reward for information leading to the seizure of illegal weapons.

● The indemnity in terms of the Arms and Ammunition Act for people who have not yet applied for licences for weapons in their possession expires at midnight tonight.

Weapons of war like AK-47s, RPG-7 missiles, hand grenades and limpet mines do not fall under the indemnity as they cannot be licensed. But they can be handed over before July 31 in terms of the amnesty.

# Politicians to discuss SA's violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The armed struggle will come under sharp focus at a two-day seminar that begins in Johannesburg today.

Organised by the Community Development Foundation (CDF), the seminar, on the topic "Armed struggle/action: its relevance to the transitional period and the post-apartheid era", comes barely a week after rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park on Friday, abusing delegates and threatening war.

The seminar will bring together political analysts, academics and speakers from organisations including the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the ANC.

Also represented will be the South African Communist Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the National Party and the newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), which spearheaded Friday's attack at the World Trade Centre.

(274)  
The seminar will be held at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel today and tomorrow, according to CDF executive director Mbulelo Rakwena.

"This seminar comes against a backdrop of violence having become an ugly feature in the political developments towards transition and a final resolution of conflict in South Africa. Since February 2 1990 more lives have been lost than (at) any period preceding it.

"The CDF takes a serious view of these facts, particularly when these developments are located within the transitional process and the likely elections for a new political dispensation," Rakwena said.

Speakers at the seminar will include analysts Eugene Nyati of the Centre for African Studies, Siphosiso Maseko of the University of the Western Cape and Phil Mthimkulu of the University of South Africa.

Representing some of the organisations will be Mac Maharaj (ANC), Benny Ntoele (PAC), Motalhegi Tihlale (Azapo), Philip Powell (IFP) and General Tienie Groenewald (AVF).

ARG 30/6/93

# ANC and PAC call for end to killing of police

ROGER FRIEDMAN, Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress today appealed for "indiscriminate" attacks on police to stop immediately.

Both organisations claim many police have joined their ranks or inquired about doing so.

Last night four policemen were shot and wounded as they sat in the back of a police van leaving Khayelitsha.

Three have head wounds and the other was wounded in the chest.

They were on their way home at 10pm after finishing their shift when the gunmen struck at a stop-street near the police station.

They were rushed to 2 Military Hospital in Wynberg and two were later transferred to the Constatberg Medi-Clinic, where they had surgery.

Major-General Nic Snyman, deputy regional commissioner for crime combatting, said today. "No policeman is safe at the moment if you take the attacks this month into account.

"This was not an isolated attack. The pattern shows these attacks are premeditated and well planned."

ANC (Western Cape) assistant-secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said his organisation was "opposed to violence in all forms".

"We have condemned indiscriminate attacks on police often in the past.

"This latest incident is particularly sad in the light of the number of police who have joined progressive organisations like Popcru (the police and prison warders' union)."

Mr Hofmeyr said the ANC had recently had a spate of inquiries from police wanting to join the movement.

PAC (Western Cape) co-ordinator Mr Siza Mhambi said his organisation did not condone the shooting of policemen, but understood why it was happening as the police were doing "the regime's dirty work".

He said the PAC had investigated last night's attack.

"It was definitely not the work of the PAC.

"Many police have joined our organisation, although they don't want to shout about it," he said.

Major General Snyman said: "My first concern is the safety of policemen out there and to this end I will try to get better protection for them. This will include more armoured vehicles.

"My second concern is the arrest the people responsible," General Snyman said.

# Day of mass action

Sowetan 30/6/93

By Joe Mdhlela

**A** NATIONAL "day of action" is planned for tomorrow which will involve marches and other action in protest against the siege by rightwingers at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last Friday.

And at a Press conference yesterday, the African National Congress and its allies said they would decide today whether there should also be a stayaway.

Today's talks, which will involve the ANC, Congress of SA Trade Unions and SA Communist Party, will focus on the failure by the Government to act against the rightwingers and the lack of response by the police.

The alliance will also call for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe.

The statement by the tripartite alliance questioned the failure of the Government to act on information of an imminent rightwing assault on the Trade centre.

"The attack has exposed the true character of the ultra-rightwing. their clear intention is to hold the process of transition to democracy to ransom," the statement said.

The situation demanded that all South Africans, black and white, including Afrikaners, to rise to the occasion and to take a stand against ultra-rightwing elements, the statement said.

However, Inkatha Freedom Party commit-

tee member and KwaZulu Minister Velaphi Ndlovu said the economy was in bad shape and it was unwise to embark on a stayaway.

Ndlovu said the organisers of the stayaway, should grant those who wanted to go to work that right.

However, Azapo's assistant general secretary Lybon Mabasa, said the storming of the World Trade Centre by the AWB vindicated their position that negotiations should be taking place at a neutral venue.

Although they had not been formally informed about tomorrow's stayaway, Mabasa said they were not prepared to legitimise the process of multiparty talks by supporting calls for a stayaway.

"Any meaningful negotiations will have to take place at a neutral place, convened by neutral mediators," Mabasa said.

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa yesterday appealed to all parties to ensure the day of action programme remained non-disruptive and did not promote further violence.

In a statement, Seifa said it believed that protest actions taken by any party had the capacity to disrupt the economy and this would be harmful to a rapid and peaceful transition to a democratic government.

"This would also be harmful to investor confidence," the statement said.

Seifa has encouraged its members to try and agree with union officials at company level on "appropriate, non-disruptive forms of action such as lunchtime meetings."