

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL
1991

OCT. — NOV,

Banish traditional weapons to museum

In agreeing, tacitly, to the carrying of "traditional weapons" by Inkatha, President de Klerk appears to have put himself in an invidious position.

Historically the whole world can be said to have had traditional weapons, but they can be seen today only in museums.

In medieval times it was foolhardy to venture outside one's dwelling without a weapon for self-defence.

The North American Indian had his tomahawk, axe and scalping knife, the Scot his claymore and dagger (dunk), Europeans their varieties of swords, sabres, rapiers, poniards and stiletos. In the east were the carriers of scimitars, kris and kukri. Even the Australian aborigine carried his boomerang.

It is a measure of the advance of civilisation that these weapons disappeared from everyday open display. Dangerous weapons today are concealed in one's clothing.

In the US today it is a federal offence to cross a state line



with a concealed weapon that has not been declared.

The present open display of weapons in South Africa is therefore a regression from the norm and should be banned outright if we want to claim that we belong to a civilised society.

The walking stick became the last remnant of the habit of sword-carrying and some sticks were disguised swords.

The carrying of handguns

openly by civilians ended with the bad old "Wild West" days.

In the Western world walking sticks are now passé except for the disabled or the blind.

If we don't catch up regarding weapons, a corollary to "one settler, one bullet" will be "arm one, arm all".

Finally, since I am Irish-born, I am seriously considering, if things are not put right, dust-

ing-off my shillelagh.

David Cowan

Killarney

□ □ □

It is disappointing that people still say "the Zulu nation" while we are fighting for a new South African nation.

When President de Klerk was questioned about the issue of carrying of traditional weapons, he said "the issue was a very

emotional one, particularly for the Zulu nation".

Is it possible for more than one nation to occupy the same country? There is no such a thing as the Zulu nation: it is just a tribe like the Sotho, Pedi, Venda, Xhosa, Ndebele and Tswana tribes. If we keep on thinking that way South Africa will never be united.

Joyce Tsoka

Daveyton

Set-up for peace accord 'in 10 days'

Own Correspondent

(274)

CT 2/10/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Rapid implementation of the peace accord would follow the National Peace Committee's first meeting yesterday, where Sacob president Mr John Hall was elected chairman, a committee member said.

Interim structures would be in place within 10 days, a committee statement said last night.

The committee, which is overseeing the implementation of the accord, yesterday started the process of setting up the interim structures, including an interim peace secretariat, which would give force to setting up the regional and local dispute resolution structures.

The Justice Department would foot the bill, expected to run into several millions, for the administration and implementation of the peace accord.

The full committee and the secretariat will also give teeth to the mechanisms envisaged in the accord for monitoring political parties and the security forces in the codes of conduct the parties signed.

Peace committee meeting ends in optimism

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B/day 2/10/91
BILLY PADDOCK

bill, expected to run into several millions, for the administration of the accord.

The full committee and the secretariat would also give teeth to the mechanisms for monitoring political parties and the security forces in terms of the codes of conduct the parties signed.

The committee also drew up a short list of members to be included on the commission of inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation set up by President F W de Klerk in April.

All the signatories to the accord have said the commission of inquiry — if repre-

sentative, with widespread credibility and powers — will be the most important mechanism to deter parties from involvement in violent actions (274)

It is hoped the commission will also get off the ground within the next two weeks and the names have been submitted to government.

Matters outstanding at the signing convention, such as the code of conduct for the SADF, have been referred to subcommittees which will report back at the next committee meeting on November 7.

Sources at the meeting said the progress reports from Law and Order and Justice

□ To Page 2

Peace meeting B/day 2/10/91. (274)

□ From Page 1

about their readiness to start the process were comprehensive and well received.

Also yesterday, a delegation of church leaders met De Klerk in Pretoria on the issue of secret government funding.

The delegation, led by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, was following up on its July 23 letter to De Klerk calling on him to come clean.

De Klerk was assisted in the meeting by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Tutu said the church leaders had raised their objections to the government-appointed private sector committee to oversee and make recommendations on the handling of secret government funds,

and covert operations in the wake of the Inkatha funding scandal.

He said blacks could not trust the committee because no respected representatives from the black community were members.

The delegation members said De Klerk had heard these arguments with a great deal of sympathy and indicated he was considering broadening the representation of the committee.

Kriel had asked the church leaders to meet him soon for discussion on building up the trust of township communities towards the police.

The assassination of Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal general secretary Sam Ntuli on Sunday was raised and De Klerk had expressed his concern

Fewer unrest deaths since accord signed

Star 2/10/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

There has been a marked decrease in unrest-related deaths since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14, but police and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) cautioned yesterday that it was too soon to attribute the current lull in township violence to the peace initiative.

An estimated 163 people lost their lives countrywide last month and about 307 were injured, compared with 170 deaths and 278 injuries recorded by the HRC in August.

However, most of the deaths and injuries in September occurred in the first two weeks when Reef townships erupted and an estimated 126 people were killed and 266 injured.

In the last two weeks of the month — after the peace accord was signed — 37 deaths and 41 injuries were recorded.

A spokesman for the HRC said there certainly was no decline in hit squad activities, as demonstrated by the assassinations of ANC members in Natal on September 22 and the assassination of CAST general-secretary Sam Ntuli in Tokoza.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen said it was difficult to attribute the current relative lull in violence to the signing of the accord.

"There are times when violence decreases, then suddenly it flares up again. If things remain quiet for some time one might be able to say the accord has had an effect," she said.

In the first week of September, 61 people were killed and 93 injured, according to the HRC. The comparative figures for the second week were 65 deaths and 173 injuries, 19 deaths and 24 injuries in the third week and 18 deaths and 17 injuries in the last week of the month.

Cautious hope as number of unrest deaths decrease

Argus Correspondent

(274) Aug 31/91

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iron and will probably sell it to a Texan collector.

et Movements — Oct 1 to Oct 2



National Peace Committee chairman John Hall.

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Enthusiasm over peace accord, says chairman

3/10/91
POLITICAL groups displayed tremendous enthusiasm for the peace accord when constituting the National Peace Committee, committee chairman John Hall said yesterday.

The Sapob president said the Rev Stanley Magoba had been elected vice chairman of the committee while names of other members would be made known tomorrow.

An SAP report tabled at the first meeting of the committee on Tuesday said that Lt-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen had been appointed to head the special police investigation unit established in terms of the peace accord.

The report said that 30 units, each consisting of 16 men, had been established and that the SAP would, if possible, appoint a captain to command each unit.

The SAP would distribute copies of the Police Code of Conduct to all its members for signing. "By signing, all members would pledge to act in accordance with and to adhere to the principles..."

The report said attacks on the police had not decreased, and listed nine instances

where police had been attacked between September 15 and September 23. A policeman had died and four were injured.

The SAP had constituted a 96-member structure in terms of the Pretoria minute to assist in the curbing of violence. The ANC had so far nominated only 31 members to assist, which meant the minute's aims could not be realised, or implemented, as effectively as had the ANC nominated an equal number of liaison officials.

A permanent general would be appointed to hear allegations of police misconduct. In the interim, Maj-Gen CM van Niekerk had been appointed.

Eleven units, each of seven men, would assist in this task.

The SAP "would like to be informed" which of the ANC's self-defence units had been transformed into self-protection units, as the accord provided for, and what steps had been taken to liaise with the SAP, the document said.

Hall said that so far about 12 formal complaints of violence and intimidation had been made to the Peace Committee.

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Plans to implement peace accord (274) announced by NPC

Political Staff

ARG 3/10/91

THE National Peace Committee (NPC) has announced ambitious plans to implement the Multi-Party National Peace Accord, including steps to ensure effective policing to curb township violence.

NPC chairman John Hall told a Press conference in Sandton that several structures would formally be set up within a week to implement the peace accord.

However, negotiations on a code of conduct for the SADF were continuing, while the role of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and the issue of township self-defence units had not been discussed at the NPC's first meeting on Tuesday.

The statutory commission of inquiry into violence would be implemented within a week and a list of nominations, including several prominent judges, had been forwarded to the Department of Justice for approval.

The three main signatories, the government, the ANC and the IFP, would by tomorrow forward the names of their representatives on several peace structures, including the National Peace Secretariat, and sub-committees on communications and economics.

Mr Hall said another sub-committee would work out plans to implement the peace accord at grass-roots level, but this responsibility would be shared by the NPC and the various political parties.

Existing community initiatives to deal with the violence would also be incorporated into the national peace initiative

Peace plan blueprint unveiled

By Esmaré Star
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

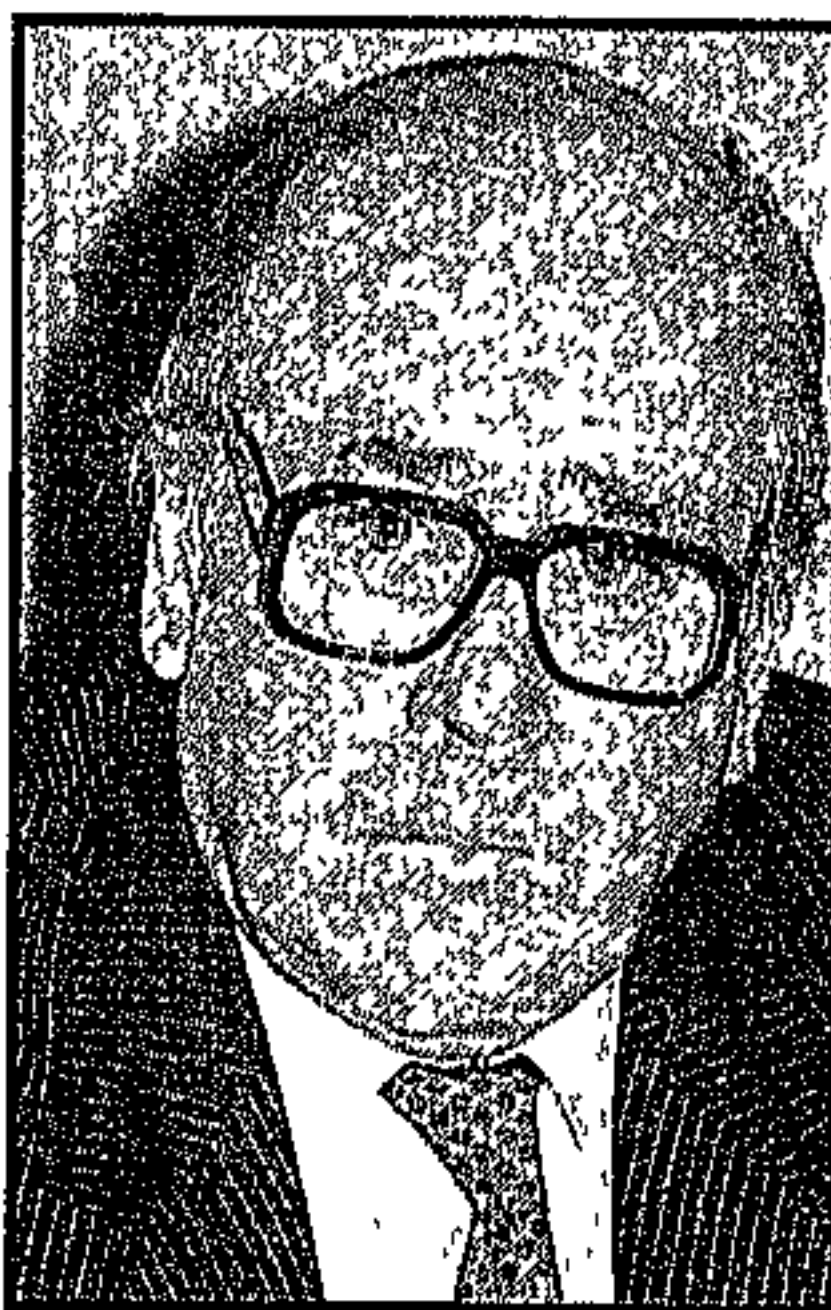
3/10/91
(274)

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NPC chairman John Hall announced in Sandton that several structures would formally be set up within a week to implement the peace accord and that the Rev Stanley Magoba had been chosen as NPC deputy chairman.

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Existing community initiatives to deal with the vio-

lence would also be incorporated into the national peace initiative.

Mr Hall said numerous complaints on violations of the peace accord, signed on September 14, had already been received.

The NPC also released a memorandum drawn up by the SAP and the governments of the self-governing territories to implement the peace accord and the code of conduct for the police.

Among the steps taken or proposed were:

- The establishment of a co-ordinating committee for policy-making, training, re-training, financial planning and the drawing up of a staff policy for the police.
- The expansion of the police force to ensure effective policing.
- The integration of training for the various police forces as from January 1 next year.
- The inclusion of all relative aspects of the peace accord into the training curriculum of the various forces.
- The speedy implementation of the peace accord provision for disarming people who carried dangerous weapons at gatherings.

4/10/91

Focus on violence

AN interim government, an all-party congress and the on-going violence will be among the issues that will dominate discussions during a meeting of the PWV region of the African National Congress in Johannesburg this weekend.

Regional secretary Barbara Hogan told a news conference that the organisation's membership had more than doubled - from 34 000 to 85 000.

A total of 250 delegates would attend the conference, Hogan said - Sapa.

SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

Cultural boycott a weapon - callers

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE cultural boycott should stay, "because it is a weapon to fight apartheid" callers to the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show* said yesterday.

However, there was a sharp difference between Azapo, ANC and PAC on the issue.

Representatives of the three organisations gave different explanations.

PAC's spokesman, Mr Fitzroy Ngukwana, said the cultural boycott should stay. (00) 274

Azapo's spokesman said there should be a "monitoring body to 'oversee' the matter". *Sowetan*

Mr Charles Mabaso from the ANC's South African Music Alliance, said artists coming to the country should commit themselves to "development projects to assist the deprived black majority". 4/10/91

Mxoliswa from Protea North, Soweto said most people were "confused about the cultural boycott".

"There is a lot of confusion regarding the matter.

"It should be cleared up by all concerned because blacks view this as a weapon against apartheid."

Likanse, from Pretoria said the cultural boycott should be "maintained at all costs" because it was the only "thing they have to fight the Government to remove apartheid".

Eric said: "Blacks have been denied many things and the cultural boycott is not a new thing."

'Activist killings endanger negotiations'

(274) ARS/10/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has warned that continued assassinations of its activists posed a grave danger to the negotiating process.

The organisation urged in a statement issued here that the commission set up in terms of the Peace Accord immediately begin probing the assassinations.

"The figures revealed by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) that Sam Ntuli (recently assassinated East Rand civic activist) was the 61st person to be killed since June, 33 of whom were killed in the past three months — 11 people a month!" the ANC said.

The organisation said the HRC figures excluded an attempt on the life of ANC east-

ern Transvaal official Mr Joe Nkuna, who was reportedly lying in a coma.

"His attackers openly acknowledged they were members of the South African Police," alleged the ANC.

The ANC continued. "It is intolerable that members of the ANC, unionists and civic activists continue to be eliminated

by death squads operating with impunity."

The HRC also reported that at least 11 people were killed by vigilantes in Bophuthatswana recently.

The ANC statement called for a full public disclosure of all covert operations, "past and present", and the public disbanding of the CCB and other paramilitary forces. — Sapa.

Mine boss quits after clash

8/10/91
MATTHEW CURTIN

THE MANAGER of one of SA's richest gold mines, West Driefontein, had resigned after an altercation with a black mineworker, Gold Fields of SA and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said yesterday.

Gold Fields head of group public affairs Michael de Kock said an incident involving West Driefontein manager J S Brownrigg and Mazwi Dalasile occurred at the mine on August 1.

He said a charge of assault was laid against Brownrigg in terms of the mine's disciplinary procedures.

After a full inquiry by senior management, "the alleged assault was not established", he said.

Brownrigg had since resigned.

NUM Carletonville regional organiser Godfrey Ntlakana said Dalasile, a truck driver, had driven out of the gold plant shortly before Brownrigg arrived to find the main gate had been left open.

A foreman suggested to Brownrigg that Dalasile had left the gate open. Brownrigg had approached Dalasile, an argument en-

sued, and then the incident took place.

Ntlakana said the NUM had followed up the incident at mine level, but had received no response from Brownrigg's office to a letter asking him to make a formal apology. The union had then approached Gold Fields head office.

De Kock said Gold Fields had started an investigation and "disciplinary proceedings were in process" by the time an NUM fax arrived.

Replaced

Ntlakana said that in the meantime Dalasile had been given a final warning after a disciplinary hearing, a matter the union was in the process of taking up with Gold Fields head office.

Ntlakana claimed it was not the first incident of its kind involving Brownrigg.

Brownrigg, manager at the mine since 1988, has been replaced by the manager at the Kloof gold mine, Sidney Kaddy.

Peace secretariat to start its work soon

8/10/91

BILLY PADDOCK

(274)

THE interim peace secretariat, enabling the peace accord to be implemented at grassroots level, has been set up with representatives nominated by the three major parties.

A spokesman for the national peace committee yesterday said the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC alliance and the government alliance had all nominated their members and the secretariat could start operating within the week.

Inkatha has spokesman Sue Vos, Robert Conway and Ben Ngubane on its team, with the ANC nominating Cosatu member Jayendran Naidoo and Sipho Gcubashe. The government members are Justice Deputy Minister Danie Schutte and Justice chief director Theo Rudman.

The secretariat is to set up the regional and local dispute-settling and monitoring mechanisms.

The national peace committee overseeing the implementation of the peace accord hopes grassroots implementation will start within 10 days.

The only other national structure that has been set up is the peace committee and its executive committee.

The executive committee has Barlow Rand director John Hall as chairman, Methodist Church president Stanley Magoba as vice-chairman and two representatives each from the ANC, Inkatha and government.

The ANC representatives are Cosatu's John Copelyn and Sydney Mufamadi.

Inkatha is represented by National chairman Frank Mdlalose and Sue Vos with Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and Constitutional Development adviser Fanie van der Merwe government representatives.

The Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation is still to be set up. The Justice Department will name five judges to head it up. The other four members of the commission, to be nominated by the peace committee, are expected to be chosen within the next week when the executive committee meets for the first time.

MITED

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Killings of police soar in SA

The Argus Correspondent

(274) 9 AUG 9/10/41

JOHANNESBURG. — Constable Steven Oosthuizen was the 97th policeman to have been killed in the line of duty this year.

Just hours before Constable Oosthuizen tried to apprehend a gang in Sandton, a 25-year-old traffic policeman, Mr Richard Cousins, was shot dead by the occupants of a mini-bus when he pulled their car off the road in Germiston.

As the crime-rate soars, an increasing number of policemen are being killed. Statistics are expected to soar.

INTERKIM

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GOVERNMENT

'Shootings stress need for interim govt'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC's Mr Patrick Lekota said yesterday that President F W de Klerk's failure to ensure the security of the South African population underlined the urgent need for an interim government.

Interviewed by BBC radio here following Monday's shootings at Thokoza, Mr Lekota said Mr De Klerk and his ministers were in control of the police and "they take ultimate responsibility for whatever activities these people carry out".

"must exercise control over the police."

"If he can't control the police he must say so. Because it means that he is not fit to be trusted with the security of the people in the country."

The massacre, he said, underlined the fact that it had become "more than urgent for us to get an interim government in place, because then we don't have to point a finger at President De Klerk".

The ANC would then be "part of that

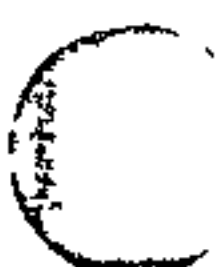
administration and we can then effectively attend to the issues that arise".

Mr Lekota said at the moment Mr De Klerk wanted neither to attend to the issues, nor to move towards an interim government.

But he said the war of words between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk was unlikely to derail the peace process.

Although both sides could "explode and blow off their emotions", in the end the ANC "wants them sitting down to talk about the mechanism of getting that interim government in place".

Dunhill brings a new dimension of lightness to the gentle art of smoking



Who's the boss, asks peace committee

By PAT SIDLEY

THE National Peace Accord, signed almost a month ago, has become bogged down in bureaucracy, indecision and a marked lack of urgency because government departments are supplying all the logistical back-up for mechanisms set up by the agreement.

While some of the government support is catered for in the accord and some has been decided by agreement within the National Peace Committee, sources close to the accord have expressed the worry that the government is controlling the process and the political parties involved may not have anticipated the negative effects of this.

Disquiet has been expressed within the peace committee that the government may not entirely understand it is merely one of the parties to the accord and is not "running the show".

The story is told by one source (and confirmed by another who did not want to be quoted) that during one of the meetings last week, Inkatha's representative, Walter Felgate, wanted clarification on a point and the government's representative, Danie Schutt, impatiently interject-

ed, saying the government had the issue in hand and would clear it up.

Schutte had to be reminded by chairman John Hall that that was not the way issues were dealt with in the committee; they were dealt with by consensus.

One source who worked closely with the setting up of the accord said he believes the parties may have been co-opted without knowing it. He said it was hard to believe that the African National Congress would have accepted the government's role in providing so much logistical support.

He asked why it has taken nearly a month to appoint political nominees: "When is this thing going to start working?"

At last week's committee meeting, the group decided to hire the secretarial services of the Department of Constitutional Development and Aid. Though this was agreed by all the parties, it is understood that certain executive members of the ANC did not know of the move and were disquieted by it.

Constitutional development representative Marius Kleynhans explained to *The Weekly Mail* that his

department was only providing an interim service which may include others at a later date.

But he said the accord provided that logistical and financial support was to be provided by the Department of Justice for the running of the Peace Secretariat (which will be the body which carries out most of the work related to the accord) and the dispute-resolution committees.

Kleynhans said support was to be given by the ministries of Law and Order and Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprise for other sections of the accord.

He said this was all catered for in the accord. However, although financial support by the government is committed, no references to other government departments giving logistical support are mentioned in the text of the accord.

Inkatha spokesperson Suzanne Vos said all parties were likely to be particularly vigilant to be sure that none gained an edge over the others.

The peace committee has met only once, last week. Its executive committee convened an urgent meeting for Friday October 11 to discuss the violence.

LEARNING Nation



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Organising Defence 8

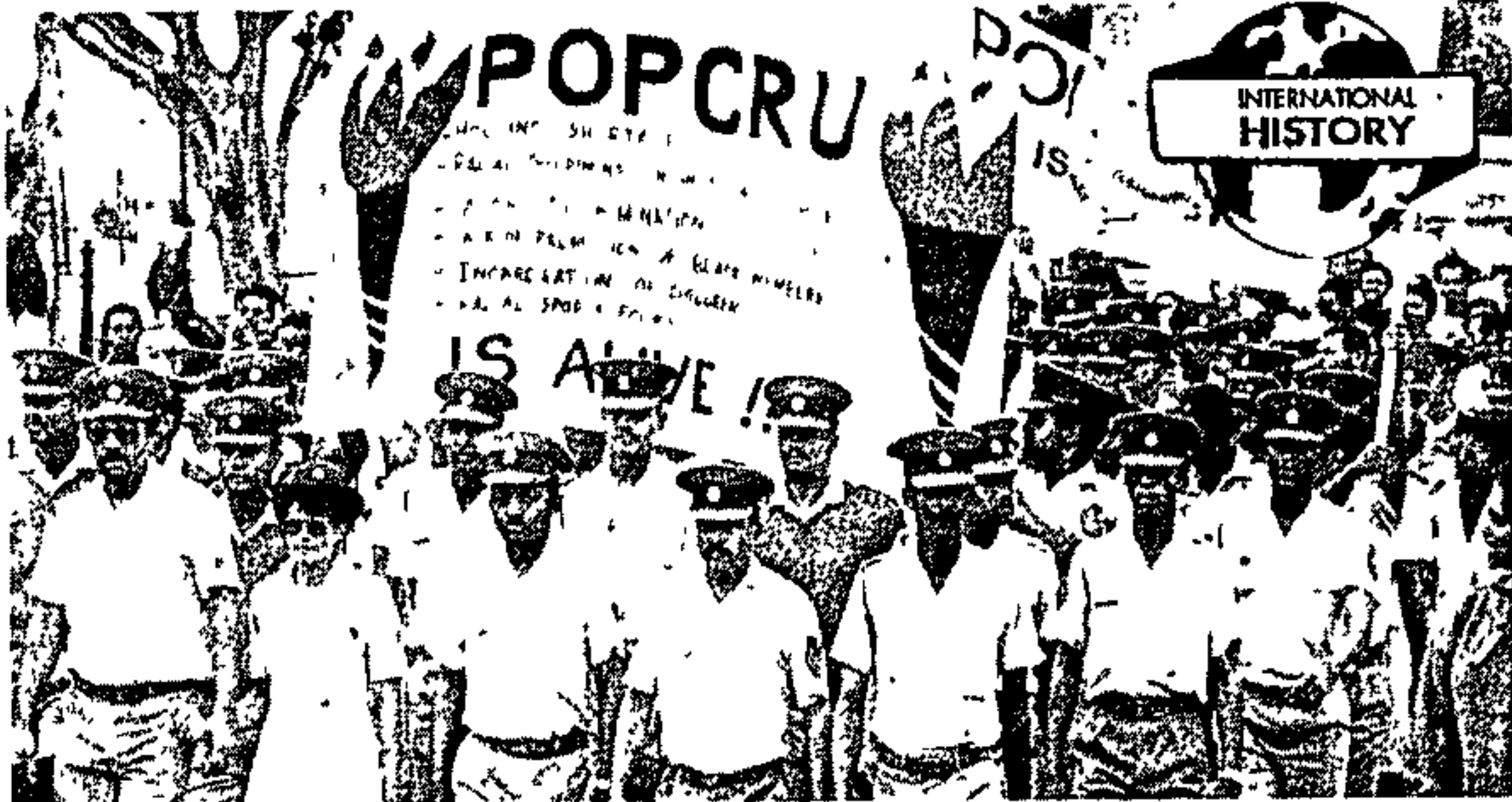
New Nation (Learning Nation) 11/10 - 17/10/91.

The Struggle for Defence Units in South Africa

This is the last article in our Organising Defence series. In our previous articles we looked at lessons arising out of the experience of German, Russia and Nicaragua. Some of these lessons were:

- * The importance of a clear identification of the sources of violence.
- * The relationship between defence, mass action and other political campaigns in general.
- * How defence units should be built and what problems we can expect in this process.
- * How the building of defence units relates to the workers' struggle for power.
- * How the struggle to build defence units relates to the emergence of a new kind of army and the defence of the gains of popular power.

In this article we will look at the implications of the German, Russian and Nicaraguan experiences for the struggle to build defence units in South Africa. The lessons gained from these countries must be applied in a way that shows that we are sensitive to the history and traditions of our struggle in South Africa and to the current conditions of struggle here.



Since the middle of 1990 there has been a fall in the level of mass action. Marches are attracting fewer and fewer people. There are fewer struggles at local level and in factories. One of the main weaknesses of the organisation of mass action has been poor coordination at a national level. Even the large-scale slaughter of people on the Rand has failed to produce any coordinated national response. Not only is this leading to demoralisation, but it also raises the following questions:

- What must our approach be to the building of defence units in this period?
- How do we ensure that the units do not substitute for weakening mass action?
- Are people becoming reluctant to engage in mass action because they feel they cannot be defended against violence?

It is clear that any strategy to relate mass action to defence must look at how defence can make people confident of taking part in mass action, and also look at how the revival of mass action can ensure that defence is subordinated to the general political struggle. When mass action is weak it is easy for defence to lose its political direction and for defence units to be turned against the people.

Building the Units

A key political issue in the building of units is the need to break down political divisions within the working class. In the series we saw how a politically divided working class was defeated by right-wing violence. The coming Patriotic Front can therefore be seen as an important step towards unity. This will deprive the ruling class of its weapon of dividing the oppressed and setting various sectors against one another. The Patriotic Front will also make possible the formation of units that will draw in all progressive organisations. Strong organisation and a united front in the factories are important steps in the building of factory defence units. Such units are important not only to defend workers in the factories, but also in trains and busses.

In our series we saw that the problems of building units are not just confined to training, getting arms and preventing infiltration by enemy agents. The questions of the collection and control of arms, of security, of education and training in the units are themselves political questions. We also saw that the supply of arms is made easier if the revolutionary movement has influence in the armed forces and in the police. Our strategy for defence

must therefore be linked to efforts to organise in the army and in the police. In many townships in the East Rand during 1985 the municipal police engaged in militant struggles and linked up with the community in their struggle against the corrupt Black Local Authorities. During February and March 1990, the armies in some of the Bantustans joined the people in their struggle against apartheid and exploitation. Our struggles to build defence units and win support amongst armed forces are helped by the recent exposures by some army people of the role of the SADF in the violence.

Defence and the Struggle for Power

In our series, we also saw that the struggle for the defence of the working class against ruling class and middle class violence cannot be separated from the struggle for power. The fact that the De Klerk regime is opposed to majority rule and intends protecting minority privilege has clearly been shown by its latest proposals for a new South Africa. It is clear that the defence of the people cannot be separated from the struggle against apartheid oppression and capitalist exploitation. We learnt that although defence units begin by focusing on defence, they become important in the struggle against reactionary sections of the armed forces who will attempt to preserve minority interests violently. What this future role of defence units raises is the need to do political work in the armed forces.

In South Africa, there has been a lot of talk about the formation of a new army. Although the series did not look closely at this, we saw that in defending the gains of a revolution defence units can play a very important role. The role of defending a revolution clearly lays the basis for the emergence of a new kind of army. Because of the participation of ordinary workers and youth in defeating reactionary sectors of the army and in defending the revolution, it becomes possible to develop an army that is not separate from ordinary people. The armed people themselves become the army.

The National Peace Accord

In the past few weeks the government, the ANC and Inkatha signed a National Peace Accord. The Accord has dealt with issues like a code of conduct for the Police and political parties and it has also dealt with the issue of social and economic reconstruction of areas affected by violence. The Accord has also set up structures to deal with violations of the agreement. The important question that faces our organisations is: Does the signing of the accord mean that we should no longer build defence committees?

As we know, the violence which erupted in Thokoza during the weekend of the 7-8 September, happened when the negotiation of the Accord was at an advanced stage. What this shows is that although the struggle for peace is important and that accords with the State and other vigilante forces can be useful in providing us with space to organise, the accords in themselves cannot bring peace. In our series Organising Defence we saw that our attitude to organising defence must be influenced by our analysis of the sources of the violence.

The building of defence units must therefore proceed side by side with the attempts to bring about real peace in the townships. The experience of our struggle with peace accords, like the one in 1988, confirms the fact that these must be seen as only part of our struggle against violence. The building of strong organisations, and functioning defence units is an important part of our strategy. This comes from the fact that the source of the violence is the ruling class's attempt to preserve the apartheid capitalist system itself.

Mass Action and Defence

Mass action has always been seen as an integral part of the struggle against violence. In fact, in South Africa most efforts have gone into organising mass campaigns against violence. Very little attention has been given to how armed defence is to be organised. In the period since February 2 1990, the state has attempted to prevent the formation of defence units and mass action by saying that they lead to violence.

Did you find this series relevant? Write and tell us at:
LearningNation, P.O. Box 11350, Johannesburg, 2000.

2 Cape Times, Friday, October 11 1991

JOHANNESBURG. — Violence in South Africa's turbulent townships claimed the lives of seven people overnight, police said yesterday as fighting broke out in isolated incidents all over the country.

A police patrol found five bodies in a burnt-out vehicle near Katlehong, outside Johannesburg.

"Lying outside the vehicle in the grass was the seriously injured driver and another body," said Captain Eugene Opperman. "Both had stab wounds and had been shot."

Meanwhile, another body with stab wounds was found outside a

7 killed as violence sweeps SA

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hostel at Thokoza, also near Johannesburg.

The latest deaths bring to at least 28 the number of people killed by gunmen since Monday in apparently motiveless attacks.

At Maokeng, Kroonstad, 26 people were arrested after an illegal march. Police used teargas

to disperse the stone-throwing crowd.

At Thabong, Welkom, extensive damage was caused to a shop at a hostel when it was set alight.

At Diepkloof, Soweto, a policeman's house was damaged in a petrol-bomb attack.

In Natal, fighting between Inkatha and ANC has left dozens homeless and put at least 200 people to flight in Malagazi, south of Durban.

The situation in Malagazi was tense yesterday morning following renewed clashes on Wednesday.

And at Kanan, Orkney, a minibus was set alight and extensively damaged. — UPI and Sapa

Opinion

THE run-up to negotiation is entering a dangerous muscle-flexing and chest-beating phase as the main protagonists, the NP and the ANC, square up to each other in fierce adversarial style.

And both parties are neglecting to maintain the minimum discipline and order in their ranks which will be needed if negotiations are to prosper.

The NP, in its role as custodian of the State, has failed to keep the peace in the townships, despite the forces at its disposal, and appears to be looking resolutely in the other direction as killer gangs do as they please at Thokoza under the noses of the SAP and the SADF.

Yet all the transgressions are not on one side. Both sides will need to re-think their tactics if negotiations are not to run aground.

The peace process could be seriously jeopardised by militant Cosatu and SACP elements who would like to push anti-VAT protests and labour unrest to the point of confrontation. While these pressures from the Left may also be expected to sharpen in the coming weeks, they offer rather less of a threat to the peace than the continuing township violence and the State's failure to curb it.

In his thunderous anti-ANC speech to the Cape Nationalist congress, the State President, Mr De Klerk, scored a popular success with his own constituency, lambasting the ANC for its contradictory and damaging economic pronouncements while threatening to put negotiations on hold.

Political opening

This is hardly a credible threat. There is no rational alternative to keeping the momentum of negotiation going. To do otherwise is to unleash the Furies, playing Samson and bringing the whole show down around our ears.

It is likewise unrealistic to expect the African National Congress to ignore the political opening given it on a plate by the NP's spectacular bungling of the introduction of VAT. Mr Barend du Plessis, in failing to consult all interested parties in adequate fashion, has given the ANC the opening it needed.

The failure to exempt foodstuffs and medical services from VAT united lower-income South Africans

Violence is the major threat to SA economy



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

across the political and ethnic spectrum as the angry meetings of pensioners around the country are demonstrating.

Mr Nelson Mandela and most other leaders agree that VAT, as a taxation system, is an improvement on GST. It was the inclusion of the necessities of life in its scope which caused the uproar.

The ANC could hardly have passed up such an opportunity. Would the Nationalists, with their own unerring instinct for the political jugular, have let slip such a chance in their days in opposition in the political wilderness? Of course not.

It is one thing to exploit a good issue to mobilise support. It is another thing entirely to stir up labour unrest to the point of destabilising the country. So Mr De Klerk may be expected to denounce the instigation of labour unrest. His strategy is to drive a wedge between the pro-negotiation element in the ANC and the extremists in the SACP and Cosatu particularly who want to push mass action and the withdrawal of labour to the hilt, even if such tactics rock the negotiation boat more than somewhat.

Remarkably relaxed

Yet it needs to be emphasised again that it is the township violence rather than the threat of labour un-

rest which is delivering the most dangerous blow to confidence and the economy. Incredibly, there has been another massacre at Thokoza, with gunmen in a white minibus raking a funeral crowd with AK-47s.

How do the killers get away with it, time after time? Mr De Klerk and his government seem remarkably relaxed about it. If the State cannot protect citizens from murderous gangs it is inevitable that people will arm themselves in self-defence. On that route lies anarchy on the lines of Lebanon — which is precisely the aim of the gunmen and their promoters who are determined to wreck the negotiations. They are getting bolder by the day and they are evidently confident they will never be arrested or brought to trial.

No one suggests that Mr De Klerk himself is a party to this sort of thing. But who can blame Mr Nelson Mandela when he concludes that Mr De Klerk is indifferent to the loss of black lives. Imagine the NP government's very different reaction if mystery gunmen were killing white suburbanites by the score, month after month.

The NP rightly expresses concern about injudicious ANC pronouncements which undermine the investment climate. The NP points to the alarming figures of mass unemployment. Yet the continuing violence is much more devastating, economically speaking, than imprudent ANC rhetoric. The violence is destroying any hope at all of reviving confidence. Who wants to invest in an incipient civil war?

Whatever the ANC says, until Mr De Klerk shows that the State is in control it is idle to expect a revival of confidence and economic growth — or any real headway in negotiation.

Clegg on the myths of 'Zulu-ness'

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Johnny Clegg is back in the country after an extended trip overseas. In an exclusive interview with **CHRIS DU PLESSIS**, he uses his rich insights into Zulu culture to challenge certain myths about Zulu nationalism

DU PLESSIS: You are back in South Africa after a hectic world tour that lasted nine months. How do you feel?
CLEGG: In the past three years I spent more time overseas than in my own country. I felt left behind.

I was away when Nelson Mandela was released. I felt removed from the political dynamics that were taking place and I decided that I would come home and try to find a place where I could continue to develop my perspective and aspirations in the context of the emerging "new South Africa".

I want to be part of the growing pain. One of the important aspects of my music is that it has always tried to reflect this, and in a way even been dependent on it.

DU PLESSIS: Like a lot of other things, popular opinion about Zulu people has changed in your absence — in many cases negatively. Do you feel that your status as musician and cultural spokesman has been affected by this, as it has been so intertwined with Zulu culture?

CLEGG: The status of the Zulu people at the moment is fraught with ambiguities and ambivalences. The perception of what has unfolded equates Zulu-ness with the Inkatha party, which is in fact what the Inkatha party was aiming to project.

They (Inkatha) would like to have the world see them as the sole representatives of the Zulu people, but this is clearly not the case. Somehow people forget that there are many Zulu-speakers and practitioners of the Zulu culture who are not members of Inkatha and such an equation is not only over-simplified, it is dangerous.

When I returned, I entered into a series of informal discussions and arguments with people I knew at the George Goch Hostel in an attempt to understand what is going on.

I disagreed with them strongly about many things, but at the same time I was distressed by the fact that there was not any direct attempt by the African National Congress and the mass democratic movement at the time to counteract the events that were taking place at the hostels.

For example, there was a pamphlet campaign that contained a call to evict Zulu people from Johannesburg, written in Zulu with the ANC's logo on



Lifting the mask ... on the "long-standing build-up of urban and rural stereotypes"

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

top. This was supposed to serve as evidence that the ANC was isolating the Zulu people and the Zulu workers.

Clearly this was the work of some kind of a third force stirring trouble. But I was distressed that no one was addressing this and no one was counteracting it or even taking it seriously — and these pamphlets had a huge mobilising effect.

DU PLESSIS: How would you have had this counteracted?

CLEGG: By the ANC issuing statements saying it's not them. Or even sending Zulu representatives into the hostels to say, "This is not our work — we have no quarrel with the Zulu people per se."

DU PLESSIS: Where would you say the tension in the townships has essentially been coming from?

CLEGG: The tension exists because there are all sorts of hidden agendas where ethnicity has been manipulated and exploited — by conservative forces on the one side and the incompetence of the progressive movements to address genuine cultural dynamics of tribalism on the other side. And that incompetence has been severely amplified by some of the analyses that the left wing has traditionally adhered to.

It is extremely simplistic and dangerous to make a one-to-one correlation saying tribal culture is bad, reactionary, etc, and write it off. Even if you have this viewpoint, you still have to deal with the consequences of culture and ethnicity as some South Africans experience it. Whether you want to

call it a false consciousness or not, you cannot simply dismiss it.

Culture per se is not inherently reactionary or progressive. It is all the experience of a group of people through time — all the techniques they use to solve their problems and all the forms of expressing their common experience and ways they look at the world.

The experience throughout Africa during the various liberation struggles shows tribal cultural involvement. The Shona majority in Zimbabwe also utilised traditional songs (Chimurenga music) and other tribal cultural activities (the use of diviners and sangomas) in the liberation struggle.

DU PLESSIS: How does all this reflect on the use of cultural weapons?

CLEGG: Look, I don't think the banning of cultural weapons across the board is the answer. They should only be banned from being used in public places.

Fighting sticks, blocking sticks, shields, etc are part of traditional ceremonies. In that context I have no problem with them — only when they are taken out and manipulated for political purposes. This whole cultural weapons issue has become a huge red herring which has been abused and manipulated by everyone.

DU PLESSIS: When you see the clashes on TV, for instance, do you feel any sense of solidarity with the Zulu or Inkatha groups, or any sense of responsibility to support them because of your tribal affiliation?

CLEGG: No, I don't. I am not a tribal-

ist and I don't feel any responsibility to support the way in which that particular set of values has been manipulated.

I feel affiliated to those values in the Zulu culture which have informed me and helped me to understand who I am, and where my place is in the universe and my country. Certain aspects of the Zulu warrior tradition have given me strength and helped me grow: the quality of *ukuzimisela*, the Zulu value which basically means "to cause yourself to stand firm", and *inkant*, which is stubborn determination. It is a personal thing.

DU PLESSIS: What other major factors would you say are attributing to the violence?

CLEGG: The long-standing build-up of tension between urban and rural cultures. It's a critical dynamic.

Urban culture today consists of a vibrant mixture of African cultures, with a multiplicity of tribal inputs all contributing to a general amorphous urban identity. This is overlaid with a growing acceptance of Western values, which has created a unique neo-traditional culture.

I believe the majority of the South African black population consists of this group, which is still an emerging group. These people live in the city. They speak English, have a rudimentary formal education, may be Christian

This group also has a stereotyped view of the rural person, whom they

see as a country bumpkin, an ancestor-worshipper, an ignorant, uneducated, non-Christian person very much involved in the traditional forms of social life and belief systems, including witchcraft.

This has caused a major divide in South Africa and it is a contradiction which the government has over the years understood and used and exploited to its advantage.

For the majority of Zulu migrants, the current violence is beyond the realm of simple political, ideological or organisational tension. It has an overriding element of clash between *isilokishilisithanshipi* and *isikhaya* (the locations/townships against the rural-based communities).

Furthermore, many of the older, conservative rural people harbour a deep-rooted and incoherent resentment of the younger, urban-based generation because they believe these kids have had better opportunities to further themselves but do not utilise this benefit properly. They see the younger generation showing them up as not having challenged the system, whereas the elders feel, "we have worked through the system, we have paid for your education, we have suffered just as much as you have and still tried to raise you".

The *umbokodwe*, the *kwaat-toppies*, the *rooidoeke* and some of the others who were clearly criminal elements thought they were given a kind of unofficial mandate to disrupt progressive communities. In fact, the whole vigilante phenomenon can be seen as a revolt of the dispossessed — they are regarded by their own age group as having given in to the system. It is partly this scorn that the vigilantes are reacting to.

In every township where there are hostels, there are myths and stereotypes of the hostel-dweller versus the township-dweller.

Because the hostel-dweller has no wife with him, township residents have built up a mythology that most of the rapes that take place on the weekend are by hostel-dwellers. This stigma of anti-social behaviour has been created because they don't have their families with them and the calming temperance that it creates.

So what is built into this equation is not simply a clash between Inkatha and ANC, but a long-standing build-up of urban and rural stereotypes.

One can generalise to a certain extent and say rural cultures tend to be conservative and show a natural propensity to be suspicious of change. The migrant worker is usually a rural-based worker and the rural-based worker tends to be a tribal-based person. But all the groupings have stereotypes of one another. The government used this to its full advantage.

Who's the boss, asks peace committee

By PAT SIDLEY

THE National Peace Accord, signed almost a month ago, has become bogged down in bureaucracy, indecision and a marked lack of urgency because government departments are supplying all the logistical back-up for mechanisms set up by the agreement.

While some of the government support is catered for in the accord and some has been decided by agreement within the National Peace Committee, sources close to the accord have expressed the worry that the government is controlling the process and the political parties involved may not have anticipated the negative effects of this.

Disquiet has been expressed within the peace committee that the government may not entirely understand it is merely one of the parties to the accord and is not "running the show".

The story is told by one source (and confirmed by another who did not want to be quoted) that during one of the meetings last week, Inkatha's representative, Walter Felgate, wanted clarification on a point and the government's representative, Danie Schutt, impatiently interject-

ed, saying the government had the issue in hand and would clear it up.

Schutte had to be reminded by chairman John Hall that that was not the way issues were dealt with in the committee; they were dealt with by consensus.

One source who worked closely with the setting up of the accord said he believes the parties may have been co-opted without knowing it. He said it was hard to believe that the African National Congress would have accepted the government's role in providing so much logistical support.

He asked why it has taken nearly a month to appoint political nominees: "When is this thing going to start working?"

At last week's committee meeting, the group decided to hire the secretarial services of the Department of Constitutional Development and Aid. Though this was agreed by all the parties, it is understood that certain executive members of the ANC did not know of the move and were disquieted by it.

Constitutional development representative Marius Kleynhans explained to *The Weekly Mail* that his

department was only providing an interim service which may include others at a later date.

But he said the accord provided that logistical and financial support was to be provided by the Department of Justice for the running of the Peace Secretariat (which will be the body which carries out most of the work related to the accord) and the dispute-resolution committees.

Kleynhans said support was to be given by the ministries of Law and Order and Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprise for other sections of the accord.

He said this was all catered for in the accord. However, although financial support by the government is committed, no references to other government departments giving logistical support are mentioned in the text of the accord.

Inkatha spokesperson Suzanne Vos said all parties were likely to be particularly vigilant to be sure that none gained an edge over the others.

The peace committee has met only once, last week. Its executive committee convened an urgent meeting for Friday October 11 to discuss the violence.

11 1991

Police adamant about units.

By IKE MOTSAPI

THEIR appeals to communities to help curb crime did not mean the police were going to recognise so-called self defence units in black townships.

Captain Craig Kotze, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman, was reacting to stories that the police were "about to recognise" these units.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, was reported to have told the Cape National Party Congress:

"We are investigating whether we can make use of specific people in communities, who would be recommended by those communities to become involved.

Confused

"This would also give the so-called self-defence units in the townships an opportunity to become involved," he said.

Kotze said this should not be "confused" with the idea that police were now beginning to recognise the self-defence units called for by the ANC.

He said: "The police are calling on communities to get involved in helping police combat crime within the ambit of the law."

Bop hunger striker 'put on weight' Minister

BOPHUTHATSWANA's Justice and Prisons Minister Godfrey Mothibe said yesterday hunger striker Johannes Simelane had gained 8kg since he embarked on his hunger strike — a claim immediately denied by the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum (Maref).

Mothibe denied that Simelane was in a very bad condition.

"The facts are that Simelane gained 8kg during his hunger strike," he said, and added that the hunger striker weighed 63,8kg when he embarked on his hunger strike on August 24.

He said the prisoner was transferred to Bophelong Hospital in accordance with his department's policy to afford prisoners the best medical attention.

Mothibe said the request to transfer Simelane to GaRankuwa Hospital was not considered as the facilities at Bophelong Hospital were felt to be adequate. He said the prisoner refused to undergo any further medical examinations as from September 30.

He emphasised his government would not be blackmailed into bowing to the demands of any hunger

striking prisoner.

In a statement Maref dismissed Mothibe's statement as "lies" and said it was a blatant attempt to discredit Simelane.

The statement said Maref members had been visiting Simelane on a regular basis and had access to his medical records. He had lost 20,4kg, it said.

The forum called on President F W de Klerk to use "decisive action" against President Lucas Mangope's administration to secure Simelane's release, reports Sapa.

Meanwhile, Bophuthatswana police spokesman Lt-Col Frank Short dismissed claims by a Black Sash supporter that the cells in the homeland were "dark, gloomy, cold and horrible".

He said he personally had inspected the cells and found them to be "clean, well-lit and well-ventilated".

"It was unfortunate that the Black Sash should have opted for breaking the law when they had a perfectly legal way to become unbanned," said Short, without specifying how the Black Sash should do so.

ANTHONY NDLOVU

Police breached accord — claim

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's western Cape regional executive committee is to submit a formal complaint to the national peace committee over an alleged breach of the peace accord by riot police at the KTC squatter camp last weekend. *B Day 11/10/91*

The ANC and other organisations will meet Regional Police Commissioner Maj-Gen Nic Acker today to discuss the issue and will submit evidence of the alleged breach of the accord to a special police investigation unit.

The ANC said it was in possession of photographs which showed that police were not wearing name tags as required by the accord at the KTC squatter camp on Saturday. It rejected a statement by Acker that the riot policemen were wearing name tags on their camouflage uniforms.

The ANC also claimed the police refused to give their names to its officials as required by the accord.

Two ANC members alleged that some policemen were involved in the burning of shacks in KTC on Saturday.

TASTE ALL OF ITS OWN.

ity of elections".

The names of 15 other office bearers are to be announced.



Peace committee to meet on funeral

8/10/91 244
AN URGENT peace committee executive meeting has been called for today to discuss violence which erupted at the funeral of community leader Sam Ntuli in Thokoza on Monday.

But the committee would not take any action on the matter other than to "voice its concern to the authorities", peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday.

In a statement, Hall said neither the peace secretariat nor the Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation had been constituted. "It is difficult for the peace committee, at this stage, to do anything other than voice its concern," he said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus expressed worry that the process of setting up the structures was taking so long.

She said there was "too much hot air being spoken" and too many people hailing the accord but not enough urgency directed at making it work.

Hall said his committee had nominated members to both bodies and hoped that they would be in place within 10 to 15 days.

The regional and local monitoring and dispute settling mechanisms, including extra justices of the peace and special courts, could not be set up until the "enabling body", the secretariat, was in place and functioning.

Marcus said it was imperative that the local and regional structures got going if the accord was to isolate perpetrators. She

BILLY PADDOCK

complained that no publicity campaign had yet been started to carry to the rank-and-file the terms of the accord.

"What are people to do if some incident occurs in front of them? How should they respond and to whom should they report information? So far it is just a piece of paper. The SAP say they are going to have all their members sign the code of conduct, but the accord has not even been distributed to the security forces, and they will just operate as they have in the past," she said.

It is understood that the delay in setting up the national structures, the secretariat and the commission, is at the Justice Department, which has to select representatives on the respective bodies from a short-list prepared by the peace committee.

It is also understood that today's meeting will examine complaints about members of parties and organisations breaking the terms of the code of conduct they signed by making inflammatory statements. Among these are ANC president Nelson Mandela claiming President F W de Klerk was the chief warlord, and SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo and Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal spokesmen casting doubt on the accord, saying defence units had to operate in townships and that residents should arm themselves.

Peace committee releases names

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The National Peace Committee has announced the names of National Party/Government, ANC alliance (Cosatu/SACP) and IFP nominations for several structures to be set up within the next two weeks in terms of the National Peace Accord signed last month.

Top officials of the three organisations will serve on the structures, aimed at ending protracted township violence which has erupted on the Reef.

The National Peace Secretariat, set up to establish and co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees, would consist of Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte and Department of Justice director Theo Rudman, both of the NP, Jayendra Naidoo and Sipho Gcabashe of the ANC and Suzanne Vos, Robert Conway and Dr Ben Ngunjane of the IFP.

The NP members on the National Peace Committee executive are Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and constitutional expert Fanie van der Merwe. The ANC nominations are Johnny Cope-lyn and Sydney Mafumade and the IFP representatives are na-



Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte ... a member of the National Peace Secretariat.

tional chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and Ms Vos.

Nominations have also been received for representatives on three sub-committees.

On the committee for publicity and communications, the NP will be represented by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delpoort and J A Rabie, the ANC by Saki Macozoma and Ronald Bernico, and the IFP by Suzanne Vos and well-known communications expert Dr Denise Bjorkman.

On the sub-committee for socio-economic reconstruction and development, the NP representatives are Dr Tertius Delpoort and Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Development Aid Johan Scheepers, the ANC representatives are Alex Erwin and Trevor Manuel and the IFP representatives Liz Clarke and Walter Felgate.

A committee has also been established to finalise a code of conduct for the SADF, still to be agreed upon after months of sensitive negotiations. Top military experts of the three political groups will serve on this committee.

The NP nominations are Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach and Mr Scheepers. The ANC's nominations are Jayendra Naidoo, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and Sphiwe Nyanda. The IFP's nominations are Alasdair Macauley and Walter Felgate.

HERE are three ways of looking at political violence in South Africa. One is to see it as almost exclusively the work of revolutionaries, terrorists and so on, orchestrated, at least until a few years ago, from Moscow. Few serious analysts advance so one-sided a view.

Commanding wider support is the view that violence is largely the work of rightist forces seeking to replace overt state oppression by covert action (sometimes called "informal oppression"), derail the negotiation process and deny liberatory forces the right to take over the country.

This theory sees violence as the work of a mysterious "third force" containing "hit squads" of professional assassins.

Allegations that the violence is being orchestrated by the government, or at least some senior elements within it, have been made repeatedly over the past year or two.

They have been repeatedly denied, and the government has challenged its accusers to produce the evidence. Documents purporting to be such evidence have been put forward but rejected by the government as hearsay.

Of course, if the state were involved in such activity, it would take care to cover its tracks.

Further, the South African government, like most others, no doubt has been involved in covert political activity of various kinds. Some of this has been exposed over the years, but we do not know how much still lies buried.

Even with these reservations, however, one can only observe that no hard evidence of a state-backed "third force" has been produced. If such evidence did exist, it would long since have been published worldwide.

THIS is not to gainsay the fact that members of the police force have all too often shot people indiscriminately and without justification, sometimes in the back, or that policemen may be guilty of murdering political activists (some have been convicted of this and, more recently, 24 were suspended from duty pending trial on such charges).

Nor is it to deny that the police have stood by while some groups have attacked others, or that police have incited people to violence against their opponents, or that the squads of professional killers of railway commuters may include members of the security forces.

It is possible that such criminal activity is not wildcat, but orchestrated by the government. However, when one examines some of the allegations that have been made, one is struck by two things.

One is their flimsiness. The other is the large amount of supposition on which they rely to make the case that there is some sort of conspiracy — called "the new total strategy" — between the South African police, the South African Defence Force, municipal police, homeland

Violence: Now we are reaping the whirlwind

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police and armies, vigilantes, hit squads and the government to stifle protest and destabilise the forces of liberation.

This, we are told, mainly by the Human Rights Commission, is being done "at the government's command".

The report provided no hard evidence as to the identity of the attackers or the victims, and the attacks that were attributed to vigilantes could just as well have been perpetrated on vigilantes by groups opposed to them, or by political or ethnic rivals, or by criminals.

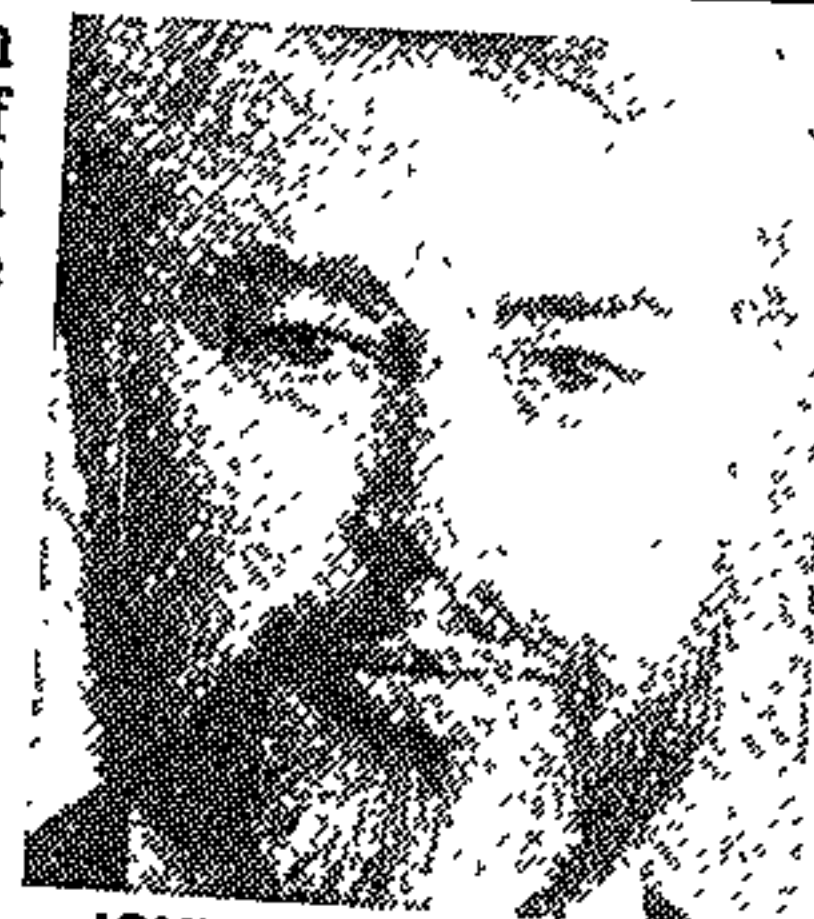
In its most recent report the commission focused on 3 180 fatalities in political violence between July 1990 and June this year.

Of these, 2 932 (92 percent) were attributed to vigilantes, security forces, hit squads, etc. (One murder so attributed was that of a prominent black journalist, Mr Sam Mabe, about whose death there are several widely differing theories but apparently no evidence one way or the other.) The other 248 were said to be uncertain.

EQUALLY interesting about the commission's latest report is what it does not say. Thus it fails to mention the assassination of 10 black local councillors during the period on which it is reporting.

It records the names of 10 members of the ANC, the SACP, and Umkhonto we Sizwe assassinated in a four-month period this year, but omits the names of 12 people that the IFP says were assassinated in that same period.

It refers to 44 attempted assassinations of mainly ANC and



JOHN KANE-BERMAN

ANC-associated people, but makes no mention of 84 violent attacks on black local councillors.

In short, the problem with the commission's report is that it looks at violence with one eye shut. The resulting distortion is frequently reproduced elsewhere.

One has to recognise that the police are not only the perpetrators but also the victims of violence.

In the past 30 years — most notoriously in Sharpeville in 1960 — they have killed several hundred black people in riot control, but last year alone they were themselves subjected to 1 650 attacks with firearms or petrol bombs.

ABOVE all, perhaps, it necessitates recognising that ungovernability is the same as anarchy, and that when anarchy occurs law and order disappear along with respect for human life.

Some of the associates of various groups, while not necessarily themselves directly involved in violence, have nevertheless helped to legitimise it.

Right-wing political parties have been less than outspoken in condemning violence on the right, and some of the churches are similarly guilty when it comes to violence on the left.

It is necessary to bear all this in mind if one is to understand that violence in South Africa is not simply the work of wildcat individuals and groups, or of ANC and IFP supporters murdering one another, but also a whirlwind sown by revolutionary strategies.

● John Kane-Berman is executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations. This is an extract of a speech made in Bavaria yesterday.

KEN OWEN IS ABROAD

robbers are to be hanged, then crucified in El-Fashar, capital of Sudan's Darfur region, which has been plagued by armed robberies and tribal conflicts. — Sapa-AP.



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23 more killed in unrest

MONICA OOSTERBROEK
The Argus Correspondent

(274)

14/10/91

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 23 people have been killed and dozens wounded in unrest-related incidents across the country since Saturday night — with nine dead and 12 wounded in the East Rand township of Vosloorus.

Five men and a woman were wounded when gunmen opened fire on a taxi at Nyanga, near Cape Town.

Police said 10 people, including two women, were shot dead in the Mapatla district in Soweto by about 20 attackers, all with automatic rifles.

The men burst into a tavern and shot three people dead and wounded three. Six were shot dead in the street and four were wounded.

At midnight police were controlling the volatile situation.

Terrified residents said gunfire began at nightfall. They were too scared to move from their homes.

Lettie Ntombela, 27, Fransie Makganya, 20, and Thabo Ntombela, 13, were shot dead at point-blank range in Khari Street, Vosloorus, on Saturday night.

Fifteen of the Ntombela family were watching television when there was a knock at the door. Thabo opened up and a

man with an automatic rifle shot him in the stomach.

The gang of six pushed the door wide open and fired, killing the two women and wounding 10.

Nearby, gunmen stormed the home of James Skosana and shot him dead — with his wife Clementina and a friend, a Mr Maisela. Lucky Twala, 19, was shot dead as he ran down the street.

Also in the area a Benoni teacher, Brian Mashazi, was killed and his two friends wounded when gunmen fired on their car.

An off-duty municipal policeman was shot dead by a gang with AK 47s late on Saturday while travelling in a minibus.

Another shooting victim was found lying outside the Ngeni hostel in Vosloorus.

Police found the body of a man who had been shot dead at Katlehong, near Germiston. Another body was found on Orange Farm near Vereeniging.

In Natal a man was shot dead by two gunmen in Umball. Three men were wounded and four arrested when police used shotgun fire to ward off a stone-throwing and petrol-bomb attack in Umzinto.

● War on taxi strife, page 5.

Make a date — save a free half

Violence dominates church leader's talks with De Klerk

WORLD Council of Churches (WCC) secretary general Emilio Castro yesterday met President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss the church's role in SA's political transition

Speaking at a news briefing after his meetings, Castro said mechanisms for ending the violence featured high on the agenda of the meeting with De Klerk. He described the meeting as "positive and constructive".

Castro is the first WCC leader to visit SA since 1960. He said he had stressed to De Klerk the need for a speedy release of political prisoners. He said he was confident De Klerk was doing everything in his power to expand the police force in an attempt to bring

violence under control. "I cannot believe a sophisticated country like SA is unable to curb the violence," he said.

Meanwhile, SA Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary Frank Chikane said the church's role in bringing the political parties together would be a fundamental one.

Sapa reports that Mandela yesterday said the ANC was going ahead with preparations for an all-party conference, despite the latest wave of countrywide violence.

"Negotiations must go on," he told reporters after meeting Castro.

Mandela said the ANC had appealed to religious and business leaders to

take the initiative in convening the all-party conference. He said, should he be held before the end of the year, "I am now engaged in discussions with the various political organisations" because that initiative can only succeed if all political parties, all shades of political opinion, are involved in the process.

"That is a manifestation of our appreciation of the central role that the church is playing, and will still play in a normalised political situation in the country," he said.

Castro expressed his joy at meeting Mandela. He said he wanted to reassure Mandela of WCC solidarity with the "people who are searching for a democratic and just SA".



SACC general secretary Frank Chikane shakes hands with President F W de Klerk while World Council of Churches general secretary Emilio Castro looks on outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Violence will drive away hope for future

WHILE there may be a degree of uncertainty and upheaval when rapid change is taking place, there should not be complacency about the current level of violence in SA, says Sacob director general Raymond Parsons.

In a recent speech, Parsons said that although the violence was confined to certain areas in SA, it had national and international implications.

"Sacob, through its widespread advertisements, has expressed the concern felt on this issue.

"The potential for conflict is high and the State President himself has warned that SA could slip into civil war.

"The violence is unacceptably high in terms of human costs as well as having a damaging impact on investors' confidence both here and abroad."

The endemic violence, from whatever quarter it comes, was undermining confidence in the prospects for peaceful change, he said.

It could eventually lead SA on a downward path to poverty and despair unless it was reversed.

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

Capital

"Without an inflow of long-term capital, the ceiling on SA's economic growth rate on the most favourable assumptions is likely to be about 2%, far too low to meet the needs of our population," he said.

There was a risk the economic upturn would be delayed if the level of violence was not reduced soon.

"This is not only because of the negative impact which the perceptions of violence is having on investment decisions, but also because consumer spending is being adversely affected."

SA had to guard against replacing external sanctions with an internal sanction — violence.

This, Parsons said, would equally place a ceiling on SA's economic performance in the years ahead.

"All South Africans should be concerned with the elimination of violence and its multi-faceted causes, which must be addressed by means of a total strategy enjoying wide support.

"Broad support is essential to implement strong security action successfully and to underpin a total strategy against violence," he said.

A major role in the creation of peace

BUSINESS is playing a major role in creating peace in the emerging new South Africa, says Barlow Rand mining and mineral beneficiation division chairman and Sacob president John Hall.

He was recently appointed chairman of the National Peace Accord.

The greatest contribution business can make is an intellectual one.

"Business has a role to play in economic terms and this is evident in the fact that its voice is being heeded to a greater extent than ever before.

"With the shortage of skills, collective wisdom will be needed and business can make a contribution

here," he says.

The expertise business has to offer has to be brought to bear in all spheres of life, both nationally and locally, both in settling political issues and in resolving social problems like education and health care.

"Sacob has already proven its worth and as it becomes more representative of business it will attract even greater weight in the business community," he says.

While it is true that business is motivated by self interest, this interest translates into national interest as well.

"Anarchy in the country will mean a sharp down-



JOHN HALL

turn in the economy, which is bad for business.

"Business therefore has a vested interest in attempting to achieve a winning situation in the country.

"One would like to say business has tremendous credibility, but politicians have their own agenda.

"We can only bring people together if they wish it."

Accept responsibility, urges Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The government must accept responsibility for the assassination of civic leader Mr Sam Ntuli and the deaths of all anti-apartheid activists, said ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Speaking at yesterday's launch of journalist Jacques Pauw's book on death squads "In the

Heart of the Whore", Mr Mandela said: "This book is a sombre reminder of what a desperate government can do to a country. It is also a reminder of how fragile our commitment to a new South Africa is whilst the state security apparatus has limitless power."

There had been 225 assassinations since 1981, and nine activ-

ists were missing without a trace. To date no killers had been brought to trial, said Mr Mandela.

"Suddenly the government cannot muster the investigative expertise of its police to bring to book assassins, but it could pick people out of crowds and sentence them to death in common-cause trials."

(274) CTS/10/91

Let's give the Peace Accord a chance

Don't be too quick to dismiss the Peace Accord as a nine-day-wonder. It's still warming up, says DENIS BECKETT, and considering where it comes from that's not surprising.

complex structures.

One part of the answer is to acknowledge that miracles don't happen on order. Other parts might, indeed, involve mistakes, which, as always, the wisdom of hindsight finds easy to see.

For one, the Accord could use a good deal of simplifying. The aim was to grip public imagination, but it reads like a technical manual. With 350-odd paragraphs, some refined down to sub-sub-sub-sub-clauses like 3.2.3.1(f)(a), it is not about to be inscribed on the average mind like a modern-day Lord's Prayer.

It's clear, too, that steam has been lost since the signing, and some of that loss is hard to explain. For instance, a key feature was to set up Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committees. So far, none exist.

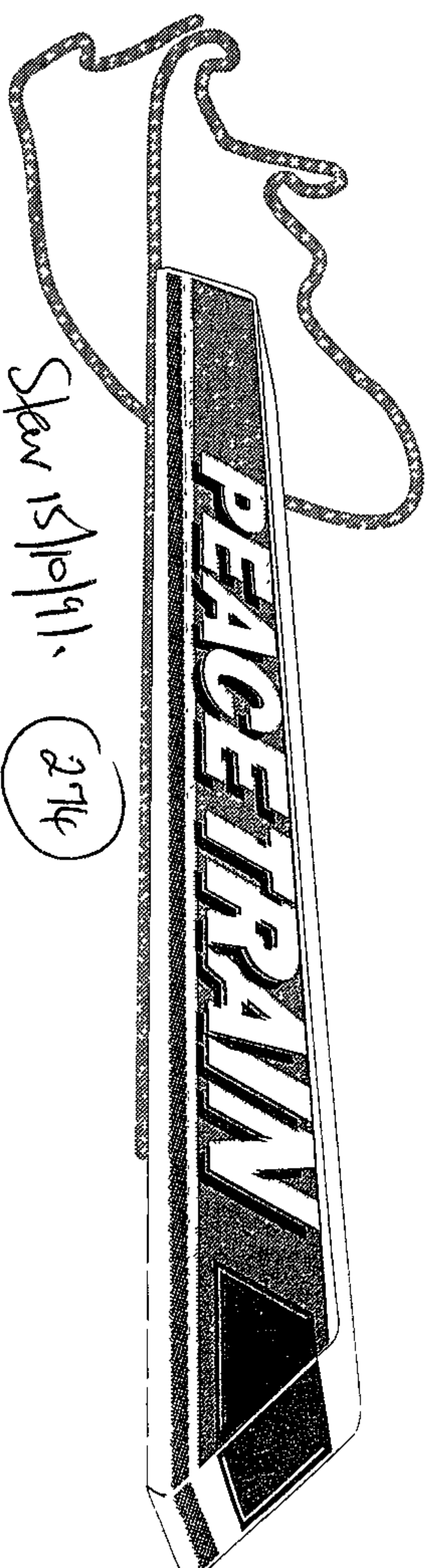
Waging

But even if there is room to jog the elbow of the National Peace Committee, that doesn't mean they're asleep on the job.

Waging peace is far from the peaches-and-cream pastime that outsiders often take it for. From the start, the Peace Initiative has been through a series of ulcer-inducing twists and tensions.

The founders opted to work behind closed doors, to limit public position-taking and avoid creating overnight celebrities.

With hindsight this may have been unfortunate. What could



have been a gigantic shift in national consciousness sneaked up on the public at the hands of what is often seen as a faceless cabal, and is easily taken as a passing blip on the media screen.

Had the build-up been exposed to the public now wondering why calm has not yet descended, patience might have been greater.

The curtain-raiser was a church meeting at Rustenburg a year ago. Mainliners and charismatics, conservative and liberation theologists, mavericks and all, many of these people looked upon one another with little more warmth than Saddam Hussein looks on George Bush. But they had God and peace in common, and they hung together.

In May after President de Klerk's peace conference flopped,

he rather magnanimously ate humble pie. He asked Dr Louw Alberts, who had done much to initiate the Rustenburg exercise, to try for a restart and draw in the no-shows — notably the Conservative Party and the ANC alliance. Dr Alberts and seven churchmen, mainly Rustenburg veterans, gave it a go. They brought in a business component to broaden the base, and went to work on the politicians

Diplomacy

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) distrusted the South African Council of Churches presence in the Rustenburg group. There was also a feeling that Inkatha had obliged first time round, when the ANC ducked, and once

was enough. Heavy shuttle diplomacy culminated in the historic June meeting where the Government, ANC and Inkatha at last sat together.

The CP remained absent but with the ANC on board it was no longer a matter of Hamlet without the prince. Tweedledum without Tweedledee would be closer. Even so, fireworks were anticipated.

Fireworks didn't happen. It was harmony all the way. No one could believe it. Delegates were left in a euphoric daze, variously ascribed to the Hand of the Lord and to the agency of the co-chairmen, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Barlow Rand's John Hall.

Archbishop Tutu was in peak form. In Mr Hall, delegates felt

they had struck gold. Further oiling came from unexpected sources like Cosatu's Jay Naidoo (not the one you see on TV, but a namesake). To add to it, the original churchmen, once at loggerheads, were now virtually a joint force, keener on their shared watchdog role than on preening the prejudices of their separate political leaders.

Triumph

It was by all (regrettably off-record) accounts a triumph of human hope, and the spurt survived the months of drafting.

A week before signing, Inkatha called for Archbishop Tutu's replacement as co-chairman for the big day by Bishop Stanley Mogoba, a Methodist. Up roar ensued.

Bishop Mogoba, well enough regarded in his own right, had not been involved and it seemed Inkatha was invoking him in vengeance for its past differences with Archbishop Tutu. Delegates, many having known their own past differences with Archbishop Tutu, rebelled.

Stories are told of a long and dramatic Thursday night when it appeared the Accord would crash on its very eve. Friday dawn, Barlow's executive jet was on the Ulundi flight-path. Saturday saw the signing, not without some last-minute bated breath when Chief Buthelezi arrived late. His spectacles had been broken.

It was a day of surprises, and not only from the much-publicised imp. The assembly was bemused to have Buthelezi recite Genesis 1 to them, and at the end he declined the outstretched hands of Messrs De Klerk and Mandela (although he shook both individually later). Archbishop Tutu did not take the chairman's seat, but did deliver the closing prayer.

Up to the signing, rifts had been largely between the IFP and the rest. Not without foundation, some of the IFP people suspected they were viewed as the rogue elephant of the scene and, perhaps in consequence, put up some prickly behaviour.

Other straws have come to the fore, since Continuation is in the

hands of the signatories, who include not only the main players but also such people as Pregson Padayachee of the Merit People's Party, and who have been less than active in follow-up

The church role has come under fire, with at least some of the politicians trying to elbow it into the background. The original secretary, headed by Dominique Theuns Elloff of the Consultative Business Movement, has been largely displaced by the public service, leaving general mystery as to who has what job.

Absent

Above all, propagation of the Accord has been dismally absent. When a police officer said he knew nothing of it, critics pounced on State half-heartedness with all the vigour of the pot calling the kettle black. In fact, everyone is at fault. At least one top IFP man has said the Accord doesn't apply to him. I have heard a senior Cosatu official take pride in destroying a branch of Uwuza, Inkatha's union. ("The Accord is fine, but if we let them in they'd end up killing us.")

In the Accord, South Africa has an instrument capable of erasing the violence we're getting to know too well and like so little. It will need push and shove, faith and follow-through. This series in The Star will attempt to help. □

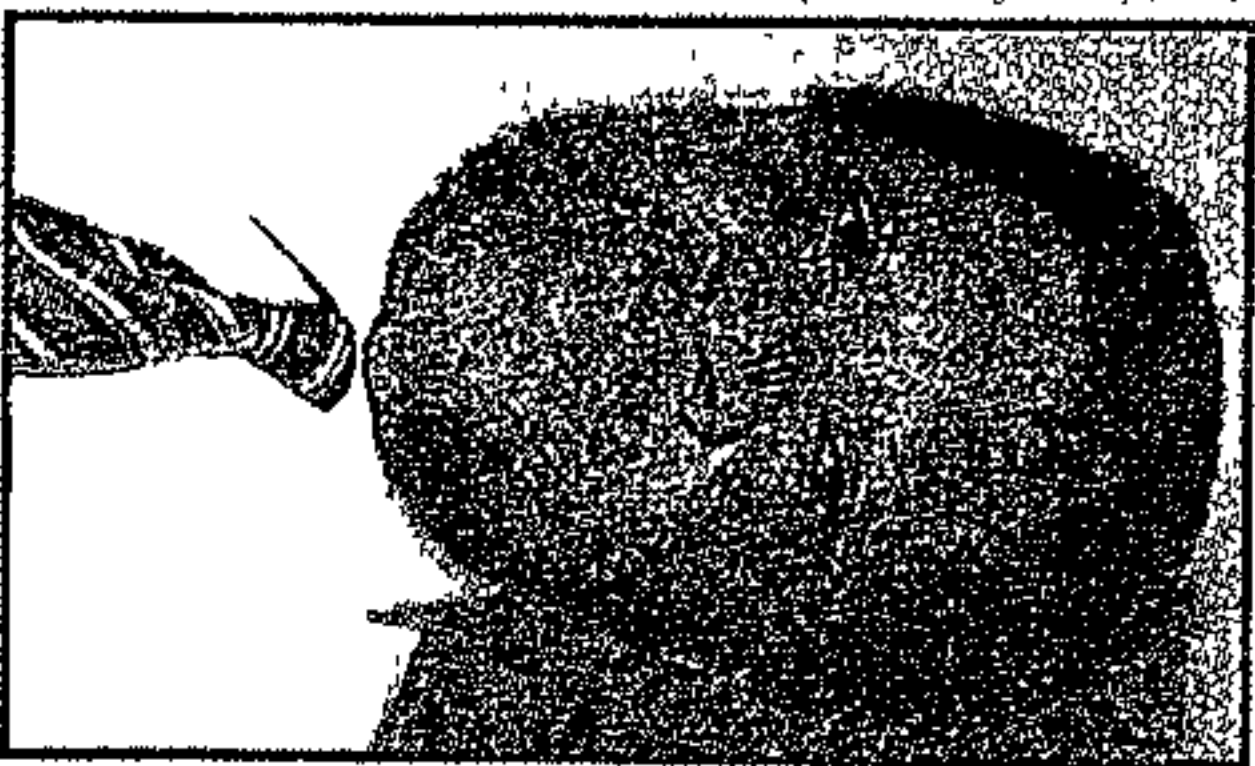
A

T its big moment 31 days ago, the Peace Accord was all banner headlines and great expectations. A month later the name of the game is disillusion. Press and public want to know where is the promised peace. Players accuse each other of everything from hijacking to blockheadedness. What's happened?

A combination, of course. Over-expectation is part of it. In those heady moments of the signing, the idea prevailed that some sort of miracle had been wrought. The omnipresence of plain old human frailty got lost among the sighs of relief.

In fact, the National Peace Initiative is still working out what it is. It has nothing in the bank. There's no little confusion as to staff and secretariat and who is meant to be initiating which of its

The Peace Train team



Joe Latakgomo

Senior Assistant Editor of The Star. He is formerly Editor of The Sowetan, and has just returned from a year's study at Harvard University in the United States as a Nieman Fellow. PHONE: 633-2772.



Denis Beckett

Editor of Frontline and a Sunday Star writer. He presents "Talk at Nine" each Monday on Radio 702 and has authored two books: "The Fallacy of Heroes" and "Permanent Peace". PHONE: 633-2768.

There is light at the end of tunnel of despair

JOE LATAGOMO

PEACE is not just the absence of war. It is a process that has to come from the hearts and minds of all the people of the land; a process that ensures that people live their lives to the full without fear of attack from any source whatsoever.

That is basically what each of us want for South Africa. The majority of the people of the land are inherently peaceful, and seek only to go about their lives in a peaceful way. But the violence that has enveloped the country has brought despair. Where once there was hope, there now is fear. Fear of our neighbours. Fear of anybody who looks suspicious. Fear of each other, black and white. Fear of members of rival political organisations.

Residents from the townships where violence has occurred, expect attacks at any time. In Alexandra. In Sebokeng. In Tokoza. In Soweto. The question is when, and where. The random nature of the killings, as happened at the weekend when 10 people were killed in a shooting spree, has everyone nervous. Social life has all but come to a standstill. Night vigils, which in the past have been targets for attacks, are experiencing dwindling attendances. Passenger numbers on trains are down, and taxis are doing roaring business. But even these are not safe any longer.

There is a problem, however. Each one of us hopes that the others will do something about the violence. We speak in whispers about how we have had enough of the killings, the rapes, the muggings, that have become commonplace. On the day, last week, when 18 people were killed after the funeral of civic leader Sam Ntuli, the main news bulletin on SABC-TV, our national television network, carried the item 20 minutes into the bulletin. It followed an item on how the flowers of Kirstenbosch, in the Cape, were threatened by developers who had



Child's play . . . young South Africans, potential passengers on the Peace Train, seeing eye to eye.

Picture: Alf Kumalo

bought land adjoining the reserve.

That is what is wrong with our country. That we are able to relegate such a tragedy to the expected, to make it non-news. It is almost as if we are saying, ah, well, what can we do. Yes, we can do something. Not just

witnessing the signing of pieces of paper which declare, in fancy language, what the parties concerned pledge to do, but something practical, starting with our neighbours, our friends in the hostels, our colleagues in the workplace, no matter their colour and political affiliation

That we are able to live reasonably sane lives in the black townships, that our white friends are spending more and more from their income on high-tech security systems to protect themselves from me, but manage a reasonable life in spite of that, speaks well of our

resilience as a nation. It is that which we must tap, and so build the blocks of peace that are so desperately needed now. Peace is not something that just happens. People have to make it happen.

The train commuters who challenged, and overpowered, gunmen who attacked passengers last week and made a citizens arrest. The residents who accept hostel dwellers as friends and neighbours, instead of isolating them, and creating an us and them culture in the neighbourhood.

The taxi owners who accept that they cannot claim sole use of a taxi rank, and have to eliminate anybody else who tries to use the facility. The realisation that peace can only work if given a chance to work.

The politicians may have their own agenda, and will invariably say the wrong things at the wrong time. But even they have to realise that peace is more important than political victory. Democracy cannot thrive in a culture of violence. Politicians, though, have a clear responsibility, too. It is to them that people turn for advice. It is they who have to show direction. Any misplaced words, in these sensitive times, could lead to violence.

The security forces, too, have a role to play. There is much suspicion about the involvement of some elements in these forces in the violence. Indeed, some organisations believe that this is the major cause of violence, and has overtaken the ANC-UDF-Inkatha fighting. Professional hitmen are suspected of involvement, and these are seen to be responsible for the random killings that take place. There is an urgent need for the security forces to rid themselves of this image. If there are, indeed, elements within the forces responsible for the killings, then such elements need to be brought to book urgently.

But much depends on what each one of us does to make peace. Our contributions, no matter how insignificant they may seem, could help us out of the spiral of violence and get us on track in the peace process. We want to hear about what you are doing, and we want you to be as serious as we are about making our country peaceful. We know it is not going to be an easy road. We know there will be bumpy rides. But peace has never come easy. So join us on the Peace Train today. □

What YOUR peace accord is all about

Star 15/10/91 (274)

THE National Peace Accord, a 33-page document, is nothing less than a social contract signed by South Africa's political leaders.

It contains 10 sections, which set out principles and codes of conduct, and describes in detail the proposed workings of a national network of structures which will seek to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

As part of The Star Peace Train campaign, we will be publishing important extracts from the Accord over the coming months — this is to try to ensure that the public, and not just the political leaders, are familiar with its contents and regard it as *their* document.

These are the agreed principles which form the basis for the National Peace Accord.

"The establishment of a multi-party democracy in South Africa is our common goal. In order to ensure democratic political activity all political participants must recognise and uphold certain fundamental rights and corresponding responsibilities underlying those rights.

"(These rights include) freedom of conscience and belief; freedom of speech and expression; freedom of association with others; peaceful assembly; freedom of movement; and free participation in political activity.

"(In addition) the process of reconstruction and socio-economic development aimed at addressing the causes of violent conflict ... must not be controlled by a political organisation ... at the expense of an-

□

Peace can mean walking the dog, too

DENIS BECKETT

Star 15/10/91

IF all the peace-words floating around South Africa were laid end to end, you'd have a track to make Spoor-net look like a toy in a playroom. Yet when you look for the reality of peace, let alone confidence in more peace to come, there's not a lot on which to hang your hat.

Something's out of gear. Sel-don in human history have more people talked peace with more vigour than South Africa is doing now, but seldom with less faith in seeing peace happen. How come?

That's what Joe Latakomo and I are going to focus on in this series. We'll look very broadly at peace, and not only at the full-frontal question of whether rival political lunatics are managing to refrain from blowing each other away. Peace is also being able to

walk the dog without getting mugged; catch a train without getting massacred; drive to town without getting hijacked; take a trip without armed guards babysitting the house.

It's acquiring a society where all get a square deal and none expect more; where it's standard to obey the law and blow the whistle on people who don't; where you respect the next man even where you oppose his views.

All that fits into the ambit of the Peace we're going to write about for the next two months, until Christmas draws on and everybody wants to forget the analyses and hang loose.

We'll look at the efforts being made to make South Africa a better place — at the big central efforts and also at the little ones that little people are making all over the country, often with better effect.

Where we can, we'll congratulate, and hope to encourage patriots in diverse corners of the nation to take up routes that are proving worthwhile in other corners.

Where we can't congratulate, we'll klap. We don't intend to take a rah-rah roses-on-the-road line, but to offer hard-headed reports and thoughts on the quest for better times and the obstacles in the way.

Nor will we present ourselves as a united phalanx. We have different views. Joe's is that 40 years of apartheid has crippled us. Mine, that apartheid was never as crippling as the ill-ill-and-resentment fashion makes out and is now less crippling than the power-crazed irresponsibility of the opposition.

We'll debate where relevant, and hope thereby to drop some pebbles into the widening pond of search for the kind of South

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Africa you'll want to live in. We'll agree too, for instance in the belief that 99 percent of our countrymen are fine people with fine potential to share a fine society, and it's more than a little ridiculous that we have such trouble getting there.

So we'll look for ways of getting there, and you're invited to come in on the act. You know of examples — in your town, your church, your company, wherever — of endeavours being made. Tell us. Maybe of errors being made. Tell us that, too.

Best, write your own story and send it to us. Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000 or Fax (011) 836-6186 — for us to publish under your name. Second best, ring one of us — Joe on 633-2772 or myself on 633-2768 — and put us to work.

Peace be with you. It's about time. □

The Star

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The Star launches campaign for peace

"The obstacles to hope are large and menacing. Yet the goal of a peaceful world must, today and tomorrow, shape our decisions and inspire our purposes."

These words were spoken by John F Kennedy at the height of the Cold War.

In this country, 30 years later, we are being challenged as never before by the urgent need to put an end to violence and set the nation on the road to peace.

The obstacles to hope are large and menacing indeed. But they can be overcome — if enough people

make up their minds to make peace a reality.

To keep the goal of peace before us, to shape our decisions and inspire our purposes, The Star launches its own contribution towards peace today.

As regularly as possible between now and Christmas, we will devote editorial space to peace-making efforts at all levels of society.

As a public service, we will explain to readers

Sign the peace pledge which appears on Page 19 today and send it in to The Star.

what the National Peace Accord is about and monitor its workings.

We invite readers to sign, as a symbol of individual, active commitment, a peace pledge on Page 19.



All signed pledges will be acknowledged and sent to the secretariat of the National Peace Commission.

In these ways we hope to add momentum to the efforts of political leaders,

the churches and business to bring about peace.

The motif we have chosen to identify the Star's campaign is an express train — with its connotations of climbing on board, forward movement and

keeping the process on track.

Two senior Star journalists, Joe Latakomo and Denis Beckett, will be on the train. They will tell you what is being done — and not being done — to advance the cause of peace.

They will be informative, unconventional and entertaining. They will invite you to join them — and all other people of goodwill — on their peace-

advancing mission.

We believe that real, lasting peace can only be achieved if ordinary South Africans — not just the politicians — involve themselves in efforts to pursue this goal.

Ours is not a party-political campaign, it is a people's campaign.

We invite you to climb aboard The Star's Peace Train. Sign the pledge on page 19 today, and join us on the journey towards a better, safer, peaceful South Africa.

Richard Steyn
Editor-in-Chief

Anti-violence action by weekend

All groups ready to roll on Accord

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Star 15/10/91

A month after the signing of the National Peace Accord, officials are struggling to set the proposed peace mechanisms in motion amid a growing clamour for action.

More than 80 people have died in township violence since the signing of the accord on September 14.

After weeks of negotiations, indications are that several structures to monitor township violence and prevent more bloodshed will finally be set up next week.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday the Standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation would hopefully be set up by the weekend.

But several other structures in terms of the National Peace Accord have not yet started functioning.

Spokesmen for the peace committee and the main signatories yesterday defended themselves against growing criticism of the limited impact of the accord on grass-roots level.

Mr Meyer said it could not be expected that the accord would bring an immediate end to the violence.

"The accord was nothing more than an agreement between various parties to address the causes of the violence in terms of mutually agreed guidelines and codes of conduct."

He said substantial progress had been made in set-

ting up mechanisms, but it was a time-consuming process.

"On a national level much can be done, for example by advertising the accord. But chances are that the ordinary Tokoza citizen has not heard much about the accord. The message has to be spread on a local level, for which local and regional dispute-resolution committees first have to be set up," Mr Meyer said.

He said he was satisfied that the peace accord had ensured co-operation between the main political groupings to strive towards peace.

Bloodshed

Among the first concrete steps to have been taken by the commission is a meeting of Tokoza community leaders today to set up a local dispute-resolution committee following ongoing violence in the East Rand township since the funeral of murdered civic leader Sam Ntuli.

The latest wave of violence which has swept the Reef has led to criticism from township residents and political commentators on the lack of progress which had been made in efforts to curb the bloodshed.

Democratic Party spokesman Douglas Gibson said his party was disappointed that the peace accord had not produced substantial benefits.

"One must be realistic that political leaders are not necessarily in control of all their hotheads. And there are

people with a vested interest in continuing violence.

"Peace accords can only go so far. But I don't get the impression that there is a sense of deep urgency. It seems that the participants feel they have plenty of time."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus reacted more cautiously, saying the escalating violence — and the form the violence had taken — had made it imperative that there should be no delay in implementing all the provisions of the accord.

"We hope to see the main aspects of the accord published in the media nationally, the codes of conduct implemented and the entire process up and working. Any delay is very costly."

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said: "No group of people can work harder. This is the equivalent of setting up a huge national company."

"It is not an easy task, given the polarisation, the level of distrust and the ongoing violence. Each and every decision has to be taken by consensus. All of us would like to step up the pace. If you see the death and destruction, you obviously cannot be happy."

She cautioned the media not to create a negative perception about the implementation of the peace accord by "continuing to set sides against each other and heightening tensions".

The Human Rights Commission said it would be possible to assess the success or failure of the accord only once all the proposed structures were in place.

ANC has no wealth tax plan

ANC president Nelson Mandela has dismissed reports

Star 15/10/91

Message of peace not reaching its target

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star
15/10/91

By Thabo Leshilo

More effort is needed to ensure that the message of the month-old National Peace Accord reached people on the ground, The Star found yesterday.

The accord, signed principally by the Government, ANC and the IFP calls for extensive grassroot involvement in the quest for peace.

At least 21 people died and 19 were injured in the Witwatersrand area alone at the weekend in the latest orgy of violence.

A Dobsonville grandfather of six and Inkatha supporter said none of the signatories had done anything to explain the accord in the area.

"The last time I heard anything about it was when (IFP chairman) Dr Mdlalose appealed on TV to Inkatha supporters to uphold the accord."

"What about people who do not have TVs? As you are aware, some people don't even own radios. Just how are they supposed to get the message?" asked Mr Zwane.

He also criticised the tendency of leaders to address their supporters in English.

"They are just talking to themselves. People do not hear what they are saying."

Covertly

A Naledi man who gave his name only as Sean said there was "absolutely no sign of the treaty being taken to the grassroots by the factions".

Seen against the background of the recent Tokoza and Mapetla killings, the treaty meant: "Kill but do it professionally and covertly," said Sean.

His friend, who gave his name as Vincent, said despite the publicity it received, the accord had "simply become a useless piece of paper".

Pimville resident and City Advice Centre consultant Crosby Molefe said: "The signatories do nothing to make the accord practical. They are only too keen to be seen talking a lot about peace. The calls have just become endless rhetoric."

"It's just a piece of paper signed by Mandela, Gatscha and de Klerk saying: 'Let there be peace.' Well, as you know, it takes more than magic to build peace," said an ANC supporter, who gave his name as Don.

A Soweto taxi driver said most taximen were not aware of the peace message.

"The latest taxi war is the most sinister because the killers are unknown hired hitmen."

Peace group meets for second time

THE interim secretariat of the National Peace Committee met at Barlow Park, Sandton, yesterday for the second time since the signing of the Accord.

A spokesman for the NPC said one representative from each of the three main parties - the ANC, Inkatha and the Government - were expected to attend. *Sowetan*

Representatives included Mr Dion Rudman, from the Department of Justice, Mr Sipho Gxabashe of the ANC, Mr John Copelyn from Cosatu and Ms Suzanne Vos of the IFP. *16/10/91*

The chairman of the NPC, Mr John Hall, was not expected to attend as he was attending a meeting of the SA Chamber of Business. *(2.14)*

No details about yesterday's discussions would be made public.

NPC spokesman Mr Marius Kleynhans said a joint meeting of the secretariat and the NPC had taken place last Friday.

Kleynhans said the full meeting of the NPC would be held at Barlow Park on November 7. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Code binds party followers

Star 16/10/91. (274)

One of the most important sections of the National Peace Accord is the code of conduct for political parties and organisations.

It is this six-point code that obliges the various parties to do everything in their power to ensure that their followers behave in a way that promotes peaceful political activity, not violence.

Observers agree that if ordinary party-supporters can be made familiar with the code — and aware that they will be disciplined by their leaders if they breach it — there might be a chance of curbing maverick action.

Some key clauses of the code are:

Condemn violence

All political parties and organisations shall actively contribute to the creation of a climate of democratic tolerance by publicly condemning violence and encouraging a culture of political tolerance.

No intimidation

No (one) shall intimidate any other person, misrepresent the symbols of their party, threaten any group attending political gatherings, seek to compel any person to join or leave any party, or interfere with any representative of a party.

No incitement

No language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, nor any wilfully false allegation, shall be used at any political meeting.

Awareness

All political parties and organisations shall take into account local sentiment and foreseeable consequences when arranging political meetings.

Co-operation

All shall provide full assistance and co-operation to the police in the investigation of violence and the apprehension of individuals involved.

The Star



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WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 16 1991

CITY LATE.

Staff Reporters

Proposals to combat violence by curbing the carrying and use of firearms were published yesterday.

Proposed amendments to the Arms and Ammunition Act, published for comment in yesterday's Government Gazette, effectively make it more difficult to possess and use firearms legally.

A significant effect of the draft Bill will be that gun owners who are not defined

Govt crackdown on firearms set out in draft Bill

as collectors will not readily be issued with licences for a second firearm of the same type.

"For example, if you own a pistol and apply for a licence on the grounds of self-defence, and then apply for a licence for another pistol, you will have to give sufficient reasons why you need it," a police spokesman said.

"If you've got a number of firearms, the Commissioner of Police can declare you a collector, and then you might be compelled to take stringent safety measures such as installing a special safe."

Owners declared collectors by the Commissioner would have 60 days to appeal to the Minister of Law and

Order.

In the proposals, definitions of arms and ammunition — over which stringent rules apply — have been widened to include teargas cartridges, gas rifles of 4.5 mm or larger, gas pistols, air rifles of 4.5 mm or larger, and machineguns.

If passed by Parliament, the Arms and Ammunition



(274)



Amendment Act would oblige gunsmiths to carry an official identity document issued by the State, and a prescribed fee would have to be paid for permission to possess a firearm for a prescribed period of time.

Authorisation for possession could also be withdrawn at any time by the Commissioner of Police.

Prior written consent would have to be issued by a licensed firearm owner for anyone else to be in possession of his or her firearm.

Anyone carrying a firearm would have to carry a licence at all times.

Stricter rules would apply to negligence and the loss of a firearm.

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Enthusiastic readers climb aboard

Political Staff

The Peace Train will not be short of passengers, judging by the immediate response to yesterday's launch of The Star's campaign for peace.

From the AWB man who said he was "going to chuck away his gun and try to do something more positive", to the township organisations which welcomed the opportunity to tell the media that good, as well as bad, things were happening in their areas, callers to The Star put across a common message.

They hoped the Peace Train would be "booked out", and would prompt many similar initiatives involving ordinary people in the quest for peace — instead of just the top-echelon politicians.

"I think you should make the delegates at the Commonwealth conference in Harare — as well as President de Klerk and his Government — read these stories about the positive side of what is happening," said a caller who identified himself as a "ware Afrikaner" from the northern Transvaal.

"Then maybe they'll realise what a wonderful effect

it can have on the country if they sound like they have the same dream, instead of swearing at each other. I think we're all ready for a bit of optimism."

A reader from Atteridgeville said she hadn't been "sure what ordinary people could do about the bloodshed" until she heard of the recent "citizen's arrest" of alleged train-killers. "Now I know we can stop all this."

Sylvester Thahane, secretary for finance and projects of the northern Free State branch of the ANC Youth League, said the Peace Train was an initiative that needed the support of the youth throughout the country.

"Although our area has not experienced the same level of violence as the Transvaal and Natal, we suspect that efforts are being made to set hostel residents up against each other in our areas.

"This has to be stopped and we believe The Star's initiative can help us do that," said Mr Thahane.

A caller who identified himself as Mr Dwyer said money needed to be raised to pay people to hand in weapons such as AK-47s. He said he had been told that the police had offered up to R6 000 for people to hand in such weapons.

Jan Lister, a school principal, said The Star's initiative was long overdue and she hoped political leaders from across the spectrum would get together and engage in something positive to create an atmosphere of peace.

"Talking across tables often just results in hot air, but if people work together on something it creates a bonding," she said.

● More reports and Peace Pledge — Pages 2, 5



Principles of the peace accord

Star 14/10/91

(274)

The National Peace Accord sets out "general principles" for the South African security forces; these should be seen in the context of the parallel codes of conduct agreed to by political parties.

The key principle which underlies the *modus operandi* for the security forces is one of neutrality.

The accord states: "The police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and shall do so in a rigorous-

ly non-partisan fashion, regardless of the political belief and affiliation, race, gender or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts."

The clear intention is to try to recast the image of the police, to remove the taint of partisan attachment to the intentions and actions of the Government.

"The police shall be guided by a belief that they are accountable to society in rendering their services and shall therefore conduct themselves

so as to secure and retain the respect and approval of the public," the accord continues.

The police are bound, in terms of the peace accord, to "expect a higher standard of conduct in the execution of their duties than they expect from others".

In addition, the various political parties agree that "they too have a contribution to make in the process of sustaining, developing and encouraging a police force of which all South Africans can be proud".

Time to abandon sinking ship?

274 CT 19/10/

ONGOING violence nationwide is slowly eroding faith in the future of this country, especially among white South Africans. It is rekindling debate about whether, and when, to abandon the sinking South African ship.

I do not share this pessimism about the future although I have, as chairman of the Western Cape Urban Monitoring and Awareness Committee (UMAC), been in the position daily to witness the carnage caused by violent conflict in our region: the bodies, the gutted houses, the brutalised and alienated youths, the lack of law and order, the growing collapse of the social fabric of township communities, and so on.

To put the violence in a proper perspective, I believe we must identify the underlying — frequently hidden — reasons for its spiralling cycle.

- The violence in the black townships is not a true reflection of the level of conflict within the black communities. It is primarily caused by outsiders who, in an attempt to make the townships ungovernable (for a future ANC government?), launch nightly attacks on unsuspecting communities, killing and wounding people while they are sleeping, setting homes alight, and then — having achieved their objective of creating havoc and terror — withdraw from the area.

- South Africans in general have also — as a result of decades of National Party repression of freedom of thought and association — developed a culture of intolerance where differ-



Can the mindless, sapping violence in South Africa be stopped, or is the country destined to sink deeper into the morass of chaos? One person especially qualified to answer these questions is **JAN VAN ECK**, MP for Claremont, Democratic Party spokesman on Law and Order and chairman of the Western Cape Urban Monitoring and Awareness Committee (UMAC).

'The black violence is everybody's problem'

ences are resolved by getting rid (by virtually any means) of those who disagree with them instead of dialogue and robust political debate.

While most people obviously reject out of hand the use of violence — the "quick fix" — to address problems and differences, we have to realise that black communities were denied virtually every avenue of resolving political disputes by one of the most ruthlessly repressive governments in the world.

- Pontification by so many whites about the horror of so-called "black-on-

black" violence and "the blacks' lack of political tolerance" is quite useless and nothing but dangerous escapism.

Only once black communities have had time to rebuild the socio-political fabric of their societies, only once political, educational, religious and other leadership and organisations — virtually wiped out by National Party repression — have been restored, will the black communities be empowered to restore tolerance and effectively counter violence as a "solution" to resolving conflict.

- The violence will not end unless South Africa's police force becomes a politically neutral agent enforcing law and order instead of being the tool of government repression.

Bearing in mind that the SAP was instructed by its National Party masters over many years to be just that, it is obviously going to take time to create a new ethos within the police force.

Until that happens we will not be able to identify the real causes and the real instigators of the violence, for example those — whites, policemen and officials — who are the real instigators of the Western Cape taxi war and the so-called "black-on-black" violence.

The new code of conduct for the police, as spelled out in the National Peace Accord and in agreements reached between the Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape and community leaders, is a good start towards making the police a positive part in the political process instead of remaining the destructive force it has been for so long.

- Unless we — whites specifically — try to understand the nature and causes of the violence, we will not be able to play a constructive role in bringing it to an end.

For as long as whites see the conflict in Khayelitsha and other black townships as not being *their* problem — before it spreads and starts spilling over into white suburbs — and for as long as we do not treat the killing of 10 blacks as seriously as the killing of 10 whites, the spiral of violence that is dragging the townships into anarchy will continue.



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BILLY PADDOCK

THE violence engulfing SA was a direct result of apartheid and the continued existence of a minority government, and would persist until an interim government was in place, ANC legal and constitutional member Penuell Maduna said yesterday.

Speaking at the Witwatersrand branch of Lawyers for Human Rights, he said the CCB might have been disbanded according to President FW de Klerk, "but there is ample proof that the CCB, or the CCB as something else, is still active".

This kind of violence worried the ANC and it believed De Klerk could

De Klerk 'helpless against violence'

do nothing about it. 274

No one in government could explain to the ANC the inaction of the police in townships, especially during the night when most of the residents were at home.

There was a crisis of policing when the police did not do their work.

No one had been able to explain the inaction of the police at Swanieville, when squatters were attacked.

"The police can only say to us: 'We found it quite appropriate to escort these people, with their spears dripping blood of the people they had murdered, back into the hostel'.

"No one can explain to us why the police are failing to capture the people that murder in the townships and on the trains, yet ordinary unarmed civilians can capture at least two."

It was crucial that at the multi-party talks the parties should decide who governed the country in the interim and how, "because we are not going to get out of the crisis we are in if we pin our hopes on the De Klerk government".

The ANC was not being irresponsible in calling upon government to accede to an interim government.

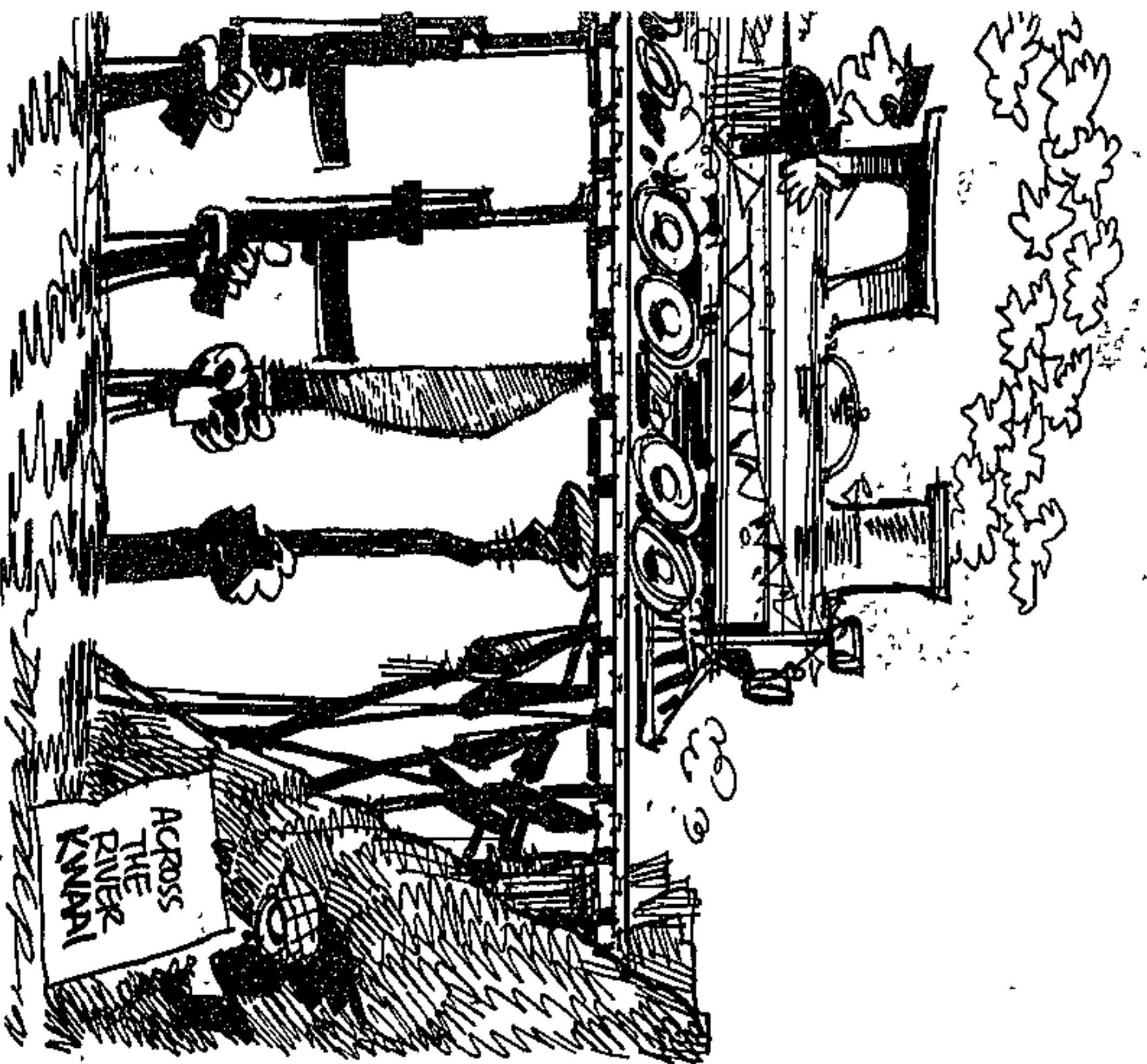
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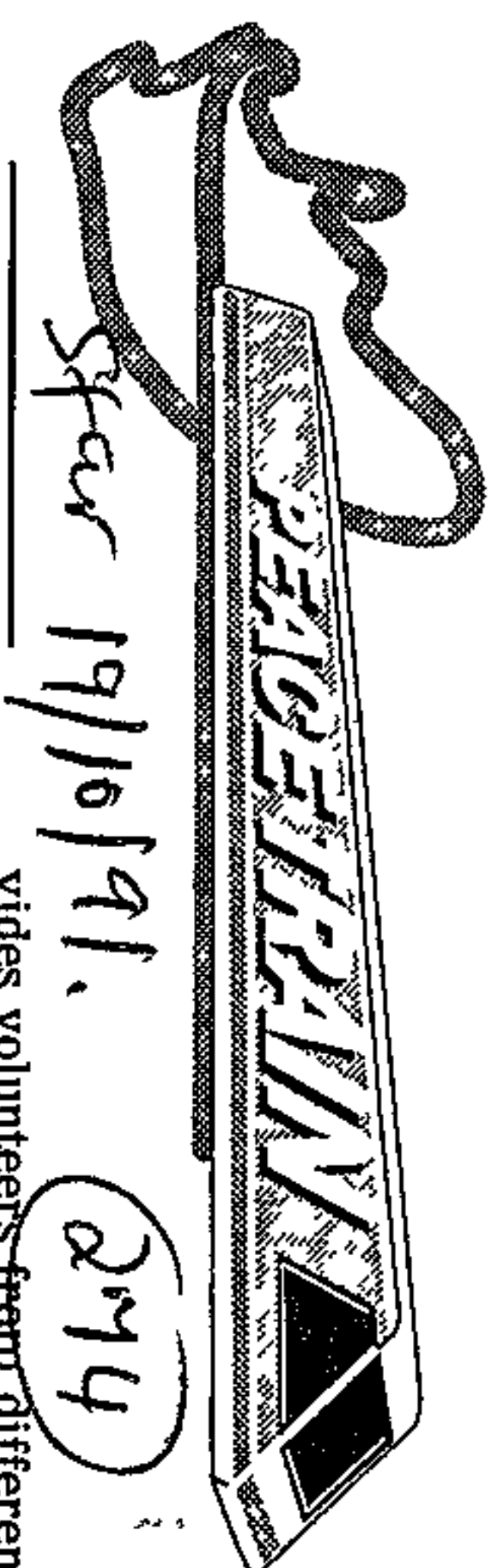


THE sound of machine-gun fire and the screams for mercy have just died down. The scene is one of chaos, as people scramble to and fro, trying to save the lives of those whose appealing eyes are staring at them. And they hope that the lifeless bodies lying around are just a bad dream. Survivors are helped. Ambulances are called.

This could be anywhere: Mofolo, Phola Park, Sebokeng. Angry residents stand about, fearing another attack. There is an almost resigned acceptance of the violence. The killings no longer shock people. Concern, yes. Fear, yes. But what can be done?

Somebody suggests telephoning Peace Action — a 24-hour monitoring group set up by various organisations in response to the violence.

At least 30 organisations came together in April to found Peace Action. Among them were the Black Sash, Catholic Religious Sisters, End Con- scription Campaign, Five Free-



JOE LATAKGOMO

doms Forum, Human Rights Commission, Idasa, and Jews for Social Justice.

The reason for setting up a monitoring structure was based on the success of such structures in Natal, at the height of the Inkatha-UDF clashes.

"It is still early days, and one cannot measure our success. Our role has been to respond when communities call us in. We provide monitors, and often take statements from witnesses to the violence," says co-ordinator Venitia Govender.

The most important areas of intervention are in relief and monitoring. Peace Action pro-

vides volunteers from different organisations to go into areas where violence has erupted.

The monitors will then observe the situation, assess, and finally take statements.

"Where necessary, there is a clear need to provide people with psychological services, where members of one of our supporting organisations, like the SA Black Social Workers Association, will provide the services."

Sometimes, the experience is very traumatic for the volunteers who are exposed to the effect the violence has had on the victims and their communities. "Whether it is a community which has just been forced into homelessness by a landowner,

as happened in Sandton recently, or people who have been displaced through violence, as has happened in Mshenguvile, the effect is generally the same," says Mrs Govender.

Peace Action plays a largely intermediary role where specific services are required and it has referred cases to the Red Cross, Lawyers for Human Rights and other affiliated organisations.

According to Mrs Govender, Peace Action intends to record accounts of violence so that trends can be determined and preventive action taken.

It has a 24-hour pager number which has a volunteer or volunteers in attendance on rotation. The number is (01) 339-5674 code 27030.

● The Star Peace Train campaign intends to highlight peace initiatives at all levels. If you are involved in an initiative, please tell Joe Latakgomo (633-2722) or Denis Beckett (63-2768) about it.

ANC has violated accords, says SAP

THE SAP says members of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe have committed 44 violations of the Pretoria Minute, the DF Malan Minute, the Groote Schuur Minute and the National Peace Accord since August last year. (276)

In a document issued in Pretoria yesterday, the police said 65 trained members of Umkhonto had been arrested in connection with the incidents. Star 19/10/91

The police seized 29 AK-47 rifles, 48 handgrenades, 12 limpet

mines, 56 pistols and 2 376 rounds of ammunition.

Many of those arrested had said during interrogation they had been ordered to recruit people and to train them in the use of firearms, handgrenades and limpet mines to enable them to serve in so-called self-defence units.

The intention was to incorporate the units in Umkhonto if talks with the Government failed or if the talks yielded results that dissatisfied the ANC. — Sapa.

FW takes Mandela to task on violence

PETER FABRICIUS
Political
Correspondent

PRESIDENT de Klerk has rejected what he calls a "vitriolic" attack on him by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

A Reuters report says Mr Mandela said some police had turned themselves into a "killing machine" acting on Mr de Klerk's wishes.

Mr de Klerk, strongly defending the police, said in a statement yesterday that Mr Mandela's attack on him at the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare — as reported by Reuters — was "irresponsible, unfounded and unjustifiable".

"Mr Mandela should know better than to constantly denigrate the SA Police force without whose dedicated service it is impossible to curb violence and bring it to an end."

The "irresponsibility"



CONFRONTATION: FW (left) objects to statement by Nelson Mandela (right).

● See Page 2 and "Our fragile peace" on Page 10.

of Mr Mandela's statement was aggravated by his having made no effort to submit any substantive evidence to support the allegations.

Mr Mandela's constant "defamatory" public attacks on the SAP were in "stark contrast to the facts".

"A person in Mr Mandela's position is surely aware of my repeated concern about the violence in the country and of the true facts concerning the Government's numerous and concrete actions which adequately prove its commitment to the termination of violence and the senseless loss of life and property it entails."

Mr de Klerk outlined what the Government

● TO PAGE 2.

De Klerk

● FROM PAGE 1

had done to combat violence. Some of the points he made were:

● A total of 5 950 people had been arrested this year for involvement in violence and unrest.

● Police had confiscated large quantities of lethal weapons, including more than 2 300 rifles — over 1 000 of them AK-47s; almost 2 000 handguns; 1 200 rounds of ammunition; and about 250 cases of hand-grenades, limpet mines and explosives.

● A total of 410 emergency police stations had been established and R20 million had been approved to establish more, including 250 new police contact points and 59 satellite stations in high-crime areas.

● To try to prevent violence,

the SAP had appointed 96 officers to liaise with the ANC, as agreed in the Groote Schuur Minute. The ANC had appointed only 31 matching officials.

● Between January 1990 and October 19 this year, 130 policemen had been killed and 868 injured combating political violence. This year there had been 548 terror and unrest-related attacks on the police.

● Whenever there had been justifiable suspicion of police irregularities, intensive internal, interdepartmental and public investigations had been held, including two judicial commissions chaired by Justices Goldstone and Stafford.

● Since April this year a special police team had been engaged full-time in investigating political violence, including allegations of police, security force and "third force" involvement in violence.

Successful future requires common vision

SOMERSET WEST — There are no security walls high enough to protect affluent whites from what is happening at the grassroots in black communities, says former Perm chief Bob Tucker.

He was speaking yesterday at a University of Stellenbosch Institute for Futures Research workshop/seminar on redesigning South Africa's future.

Justice and peace went beyond law and order, security forces and a sound legal system.

"It is a broadly defined condition which brings about stable, fair and just relationships between people and between the people and the State," he said.

After sketching a dismal picture of the country's current socio-economic state and minimum future needs, he said the criteria for successful redesigning, in his view, required a common

IF THERE were to be any hope of reshaping South Africa and achieving the long-hoped-for peace, there would have to be a pact between First and Third World sectors in order to produce an annual growth rate of at least 10 percent for the next 20 years, according to a former top executive. PIERRE CLAASSEN reports.

vision in three key areas. It demanded:

- Security of the State, with "State" defined in the broadest terms as the combination of all the people in a single nation.
- Economic prosperity with the First World component — the predominantly white enclave — being integrated economically with the Third World — predominantly black — grassroots.
- Freedom, equity and justice.

Elaborating, he said the security of the State would not come about unless it were integrated and in harmony with sub-Saharan Africa politically, economically and in health terms.

It also needed to have the same relationship with the world at large in capital, trade and ecological terms, and it needed to have a legitimate and stable government.

The latter did not imply only democracy. The government could

be authoritarian, as long as it were legitimate and stable.

Regarding economic prosperity, Mr Tucker said a 4,5 percent annual economic growth rate was needed just to deal with the annual labour force growth; a further 3 percent growth was required to match the annual improvement in labour wages and capital interest.

"Before we start to address the problem of 5 million unemployed, we already need 7,5 percent growth. It would be irresponsible to set a growth target rate of less than 10 percent, a minimum required every year for the next 20 years," he said.

Equity was seated in the distribution of income and services. Those who considered themselves not "In" would destroy that which was essential for building the new South Africa. — Sapa.



BOB TUCKER: Stability requires co-operation.

FW slams Mandela again as rift over violence grows

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday challenged the ANC's commitment to the recently signed National Peace Accord amid an increasingly bitter row over violence in the country.

Speaking at a public meeting in Hartswater, near Kimberley, Mr De Klerk criticised ANC leader Nelson Mandela for his persistent claims of police partiality and involvement in violence.

It was the second such attack on Mr Mandela in two days and was immediately countered by an ANC accusation that it was Mr De Klerk who was contravening the peace accord with his "irresponsible tirades".

At the same time, the National Peace Committee, set up in terms of the peace accord, has hit its first snag. The ANC has refused to accept a proposal by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee that an attorney-general be appointed to serve on the standing commission of inquiry into public violence.

The ANC and SA Police are also at loggerheads. Last night the ANC described as a "propaganda ploy" police claims that ANC militants have been responsible for 44 violations of the various peace agreements signed since the Groote Schuur meeting last year.

Incitement

Mr Mandela raised Mr De Klerk's ire when he said in Harare this week that some elements in the SA Police had turned themselves into a killing machine which acted in accordance with the President's wishes.

Mr De Klerk told the meeting in Hartswater he resented the allegations and regarded them as "unfair, unfounded and malicious".

The ANC, in making these allegations without submitting evidence, was acting in direct contravention of the National Peace Accord, he said.

contravening the peace accord with his "irresponsible tirades".

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Mr De Klerk told the meeting in Hartswater he resented the allegations and regarded them as "unfair, unfounded and malicious".

The ANC, in making these allegations without submitting evidence, was acting in direct contravention of the National Peace Accord, he said.

He pointed out the peace accord stipulated that all parties would refrain from incitement to violence or hatred and from making wilfully false allegations. It also stipulated all parties should provide full assistance and co-operation to the police in the investigation of violence.

"The question arises whether the ANC is at all serious about the peace accord," he said.

He welcomed the ANC's resumption of talks on a multi-party conference this week as a renewed expression of commitment to negotiations. But he added: "I am not convinced this commitment is irreversible."

An ANC spokesman said in response to Mr De Klerk's statements that the ANC was totally committed to the peace accord.

Evidence

He said the ANC called on Mr De Klerk to refrain from issuing irresponsible tirades against the ANC which put the peace accord and the structures which were being set up under pressure.

It was incorrect for Mr De Klerk to say the ANC had not presented evidence to substantiate its claims.

Before and after the signing of the peace accord the ANC had made all its information about police and other parties' involvement in violence available to the police, the government and Mr De Klerk himself.

● See Page 2

Att col

By SHARON
KROST and

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Hall aims to harness conciliatory

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Star 20/10/91

Ivor Powell

NATIONAL Peace Committee chairman John Hall has no quick fixes on peace in South Africa.

The task of making the peace accord effective is not a tiny one," he says. The realism of his perception (along with his sense of humour) makes you think that maybe, just maybe, under his guidance the national peace agreement — signed barely a month ago on September 14 and already reached in nearly every particular — could still be made to work.

The thing to realise, Mr Hall insists, is that it is a process, not an instant or magical solution.

"We have been given certain powers, but it's up to the committee and the secretariat to make it work. The proof of the pudding is in the eating."

As yet, of course, the peace accord pudding is not even cooked. The Peace Committee — representing all 32 signatories to the peace accord — has

met on various occasions over the past month, but still to be formally constituted are the Peace Secretariat — the committee's executive arm — and the Peace Commission — its judicial function controlling investigations of breaches of the accord and the setting up of special criminal courts.

"Hopefully the interim peace secretariat, which has been meeting over the past month, will become official within the week," says Mr Hall.

And as far as the commission is concerned, we are waiting for the State President to nominate four members from a list of nominees already submitted. I know he is very anxious to get it done as soon as possible.

"It's a chicken and egg situation, you need to have the people in place to get a budget, but you need a budget to appoint people to find out exactly what is needed."

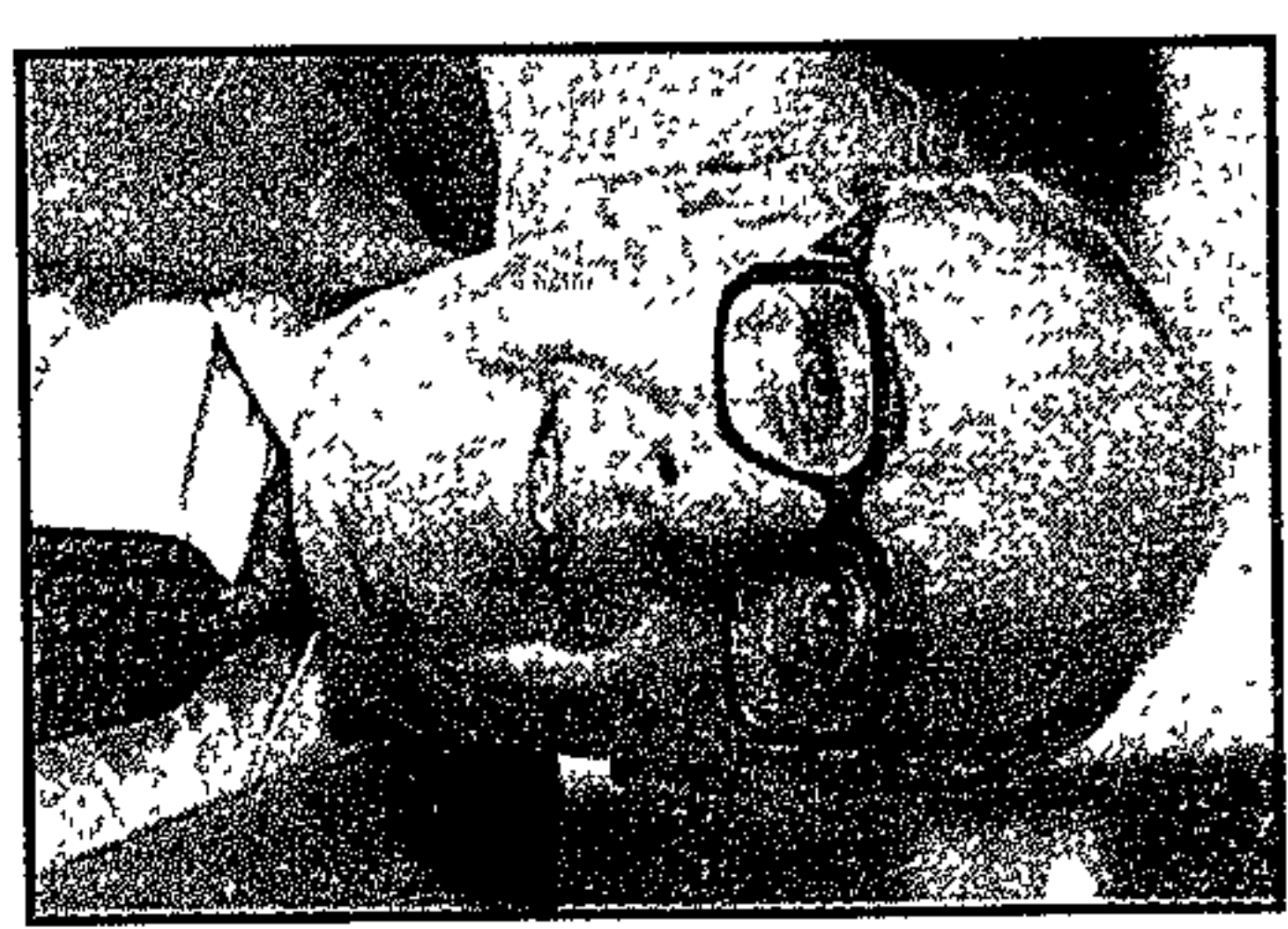
Mr Hall explained that his vi-

sion of implementing the peace accord was one in which the secretariat harnessed conciliatory energies already existing in the various communities where trouble is brewing.

"You don't say that because a peace secretariat has been formed, all other initiatives have to stop. It's the task of the peace secretariat to absorb all these initiatives."

"The way I see it, South Africa is made up of 2 000 mini-economies — Tokoza is part of the East Rand, Alberton, economy, for instance. Now if the area economy goes down the tubes then the community goes down the tubes, and if 2 000 economies go down the tubes, then South Africa goes down the tubes."

"So I believe it behoves community leaders, whoever they are and wherever they are, to become part of the forum. Communities do have leadership. We have to identify in every in-



NO QUICK FIXES . . . chairman John Hall.

stance who those leaders are, rather than simply coming in from the outside. I don't believe that anybody wants to live in a state of anarchy."

The interim secretariat has also been busy laying the

ground-work for setting up the so-called dispute resolution committees, which will function at local and regional level to iron out problems and which constitute one of the key elements in the machinery of the peace process.

"The secretariat has to make it all happen. All the committee can really do is try to see to it that the code of conduct for political parties is being adhered to."

However, as Mr Hall notes, the secretariat is not a tiny task either. The Sunday Star has confirmed that the pilot dispute committee formation meeting, planned for strife-torn Tokoza this weekend, had to be postponed because ANC/IFP tensions in the area continued to run too high to even begin to talk of peace.

"We just don't know who is responsible for the recent killings, but I am convinced that all parties including the Govern-

ment are deeply committed to making this thing work," said Mr Hall. He insisted that "this is not a Government-driven accord. If we discover that any element, including Government departments, is functioning as a spoiler in the process, well . . . then the battle is on. We have the power and the ability to put that right and I am proceeding from the belief that the accord's credibility is what will make or break it."

When Mr Hall says "the battle is on" you recall his record in the business world as the man who made Middleburg Steel into a profitable and stable operation in the middle of what he in another context described as a Beirut situation, who in his 1990-91 tenure as chairman turned the South African Chamber of Business into a force for change in South Africa, who was named as both Human Resource Man of the Year and as one of five

Sunday Times Businessmen of the Year in 1988, who has been a key figure in healing deep labour rifts in the Barlow Rand group where he operates as an executive director. But he doesn't want to talk about any of this. Mr Hall — as has been well-documented by journalists driven to extremes of irritation by his reticence — is quiet and self-effacing, almost to a fault. When the Sunday Star's photographer comes in to take his picture this super-powered executive, literally squirms, begging that this cup be passed from his lips.

He notes with as much real resentment as humour that "those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first put their pictures in the newspapers". But he is not to be underestimated — and neither, in the face of all the difficulties and ill omens, is the peace process he is gently midwifing into the light of day.

energies

ANC is breaking accord, says FW

Star 20/10/91

David Breier

STATE President F W de Klerk this weekend accused the African National Congress of breaking the National Peace Accord (NPA) signed last month.

This is the first time a member of the Government has directly accused the ANC of contravening the accord.

Mr de Klerk was speaking at a National Party meeting at Hartswater in the Northern Cape, where he said the NP was one party that did not indulge in violence at all.

Reacting to the latest attack, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus called on Mr de Klerk "not to make irresponsible attacks that can undermine the NPA".

Mr Niehaus said: "The

Peace Accord and its structures are still in the process of being set up and the ANC reaffirms its total commitment to the accord. We reject Mr de Klerk's accusation that we have broken it."

Mr Niehaus said the ANC declined to make any counter-accusation against the Government, saying the ANC did not want to become involved in mudslinging.

Speaking at Hartswater yesterday, Mr de Klerk said the ANC had contravened the accord in two ways:

- The "unfair, unfounded and malicious" allegations about police involvement in instigating violence contravened the NPA clause which prohibits "any wilfully false allegation" or inciting language.

● The failure to submit evidence of their allegations contravened the clause which states that all political organisations shall provide full assistance and co-operation to the police in investigating violence.

"The ANC continues to do exactly the opposite," said Mr de Klerk.

"They continue to use inciting language to a degree which must, inescapably, lead to hatred and the justification of violence."

He said it was an indisputable fact that quite often ANC supporters are the aggressors. They are of course not alone in this.

"However, I know of one party which does not indulge in violence at all — the National Party," Mr de Klerk added.

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PRINTS

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Mandela denounces FW

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The bitter war of words between Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk escalated at the weekend.

Mr Mandela, in an interview with the SABC on Saturday, said that perhaps the ANC had been naive to trust Mr De Klerk.

And addressing a crowd of about 4 000 at Fort Hare University on Saturday, he blamed Mr De Klerk for not ending the violence and claimed that those responsible for killing ANC members were either friends of or were "working jointly with the National Party".

Yesterday, while welcoming a group of American VIPs to South Africa, Mr Mandela accused Mr De Klerk of complicity in alleged security force involvement in violence.

Commission to probe violence

— PAGE 5

His remarks followed a weekend interview in which he told the SABC in Harare that Mr De Klerk was not the man of integrity he had believed him to be.

Addressing the visiting Americans, he said: "De Klerk criticised me for remarks I made at the Commonwealth conference in Harare, where I referred to the SA police as the country's killing machine. It is no use for De Klerk to squeal now, because that is the position."

He was responding to Mr De Klerk's questioning the ANC's commitment to the national peace accord.

"We have lost 10 000 people since 1984. The security forces have allowed this carnage to continue, despite the fact that I have taken advantage of confidential meetings to brief De Klerk on the situation. It is clear he has either lost control of the security forces or else they are doing exactly what he wants them to do."

LINDA VERGNANI, who attended the Fort Hare rally, reports that Mr Mandela said Mr De Klerk did not care when blacks were killed. Mr Mandela described the president as "a master of evasion" when it came to responding to his statement that the police were "the killing machine".

The police issued a statement last week claiming that 65 trained uMkhonto weSizwe members had



STAR HERE... Music star Quincy Jones (right) is greeted at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. Jones is part of a "Demo-Now" tour invited here by Mr Nelson Mandela. Picture: AP

From page 1

Mandela

been arrested in connection with violations of the Pretoria Minute, the DF Malan Minute and the Groote Schuur Minute since August last year.

Mr Mandela told the Fort Hare audience of more than 4 000 that the statement about the arrests was likely to be "untrue". He claimed it had been made "for the consumption of the Commonwealth conference".

Mr Mandela said Mr De Klerk had announced that the police force had been increased. "But since the signing of the Peace Accord many people have been killed, including people who are killed when they come from funerals. Where were his police?"

Mr Mandela said: "So many of our people have died, sometimes 30 people died in one day. De Klerk has never made a single statement in which he has condemned such attacks and has called for the arrest and punishment of the criminals. He has never even extended his condolences to the bereaved. What kind of head of state is this? I'll tell you what type of leader he is. De Klerk is a man who is concerned solely with the whites, with his people. He doesn't care for the lives of black people at all and that is why you've never heard him condemn this violence."

Mr Mandela said the real reason for the violence, which the president was "not prepared to stop", was that "the ANC should be destroyed, that everybody should fear to have anything to do with the ANC".

Speaking at Hartswater in the Northern Cape at the weekend, Mr De Klerk accused the ANC of acting in direct contravention of the National Peace Accord with "unfair, unfounded and malicious" allegations about police involvement in violence.

Govt to launch violence probe

(274) CT 21/10/91

HARTSWATER. — The government intends appointing a commission of inquiry into public violence in terms of the National Peace Accord early this week, President F W de Klerk said.

Addressing a National Party meeting in this Northern Cape town at the weekend, Mr De Klerk said it was at his initiative that legislation was passed enabling the establishment of a commission of inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

This commission now formed an integral part of the National Peace Accord and would, among other matters, deal with any allegations of police irregularities.

Mr De Klerk said the real cure for the culture of violence lay in the start of real negotiations on a multi-party basis.

He said that now, more than ever, South Africa should have one education department funded by the Treasury.

"Humanly speaking the next two years, like the past two, will determine our country's course

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's statements about an interim government were misplaced and without substance, General Magnus Malan, chairman of the National Party's Witwatersrand North branch, said on Saturday.

"The government has no intention of yielding to claims of an interim government," he said. The ANC repeatedly talked of taking over the government, which was unacceptable.

He also criticised the ANC for its "doubletalk" about nationalisation, repayment of loans and redistribution of "people's possessions". — Sapa

for the next 50 years. If ever there was a time for the supporters of our party to be steadfast, then it is now."

Mr De Klerk said the Conservative Party was trying to create an image of an NP which had "supposedly become soft about communism — nothing is further removed from the truth".

About 30 khaki-clad members of the Afrikaner Weer-

standsbeweging, bearing their organisation's flag, left the meeting on Saturday afternoon soon after Mr De Klerk began his address.

"They are even scared to listen," Mr De Klerk commented.

A large police contingent guarded the hall and frisked people as they entered.

A sprinkling of coloured people also attended.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa had no alternative but to walk the road of negotiation and power-sharing.

The old dispensation had become a "certain recipe" for massive uprising, revolution and total international isolation of South Africa.

There was only one alternative which could work for the country — power-sharing and equal treatment and opportunities for all.

"Nonetheless, I believe South Africa, as well as the world at large, has the right to expect a more constructive approach and greater restraint from the ANC and its allies and associates than we are experiencing at the moment." — Sapa

Fingers point, but who's to blame for the killings?

POLITICAL groups are locked in a bitter quarrel over claims that a Government-backed "third force" is behind a wave of massacres in which hundreds have died.

The ANC and allied opposition groups allege that mounting violence in black townships is the work of the police and army. But the ANC has yet to provide conclusive evidence, and the Government vehemently denies that the security forces are involved.

Shootings

Since the Government and leading black groups signed a peace treaty on September 14, more than 100 blacks have been killed. Three mass shootings have accounted for more than a third of these deaths.

The ANC also says it suspects a police role in a spate of attacks by black gunmen who kill blacks on trains and buses and flee without a trace.

Township fighting, which often pits ANC supporters against Inkatha, has claimed 11 000 lives since 1984. The ANC — mindful that the Government secretly

funnelled money to Inkatha at police request — contends the Government backs Inkatha in the fighting.

"I did not imagine the Government would willingly sacrifice the lives of thousands of South Africans through allowing the police and army to instigate township violence," ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela has said.

Failure

Evidence of police involvement was "overwhelming and such evidence is accumulating," he said.

The ANC says the apparent skill of the gunmen indicates trained military elements are involved.

It points to the failure of the security forces to catch the attackers as proof of collusion.

Other observers say the causes of the violence are varied and complex, part of a spiral of lawlessness pushing black townships toward anarchy.

Evidence

"No hard evidence of a State-backed 'third force' has been produced. If such evidence did exist, it would long since have been published," said Mr

Still in the dark

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Sowetan 21/10/91



The violence carries on - so does the finger-pointing.

John Kane-Berman, head of the Institute of Race Relations, an independent think-tank.

Some police may be involved or indifferent to

township violence, but they are just one factor, other observers maintain.

"The causes for these mini-wars are often hard to establish — skirmishes between political factions, revenge attacks involving hostel dwellers and residents, ethnic and family rows and even personal disputes, which, in conditions

of poverty and despair, rapidly blow up into full-scale wars," *The Sunday Times* said last month.

Before President F.W. de Klerk came to power in 1989, security forces were involved in a "dirty war" against the ANC, which was then outlawed. De Klerk has conceded past excesses by security forces, but says they are now impartial.

Risk

ANC leaders maintain the Government wants to demoralise and weaken blacks with violence so whites can retain substantial power in the political system that will replace apartheid.

De Klerk has repealed all major apartheid laws, and despite the violence both the Government and the ANC both say they want to begin talks this year on a constitution to give blacks political rights.

Although a conspiracy as claimed by the ANC probably would reach the highest levels of Government, the ANC has not explained why De Klerk would risk sabotaging negotiations on which his political future may rest. South African newspa-

pers and human rights groups, which have exposed past Government misdeeds, have turned up many claims of police complicity. But like the ANC, they have failed to produce any substantial evidence.

ANC accounts of alleged Government attacks do not stand up to close scrutiny. The group tends to ignore the possible role of its supporters in the killings of scores of policemen and blacks who work with the Government in the townships.

Policy

Critics say the ANC policy of making the country ungovernable in the 1970s and 1980s is responsible for much of the violence. The policy produced a generation of politicised young blacks who are now bitter, disillusioned and prone to violence.

"Violence in South Africa is not simply the work of wildcat individuals and groups, but also a whirlwind sown by revolutionary strategies," Kane-Berman said. — *Sapa-AP*.

Seeking solutions via prayer and music

By Zingisa Mkhuma

An innovative Soweto pastor, Victor Phume, has joined the ranks of those South Africans seeking peaceful solutions to the present violence engulfing the country, by composing a peace song.

Pastor Phume, in conjunction with the African Gospel Music Association and several prominent Gospel musicians, has put together a prayer song, which will be titled "Prayer for South Africa".

The lyrics of the song are in Zulu and English, and should appeal to most South Africans. Gospel artists from other African states will be invited to contribute.

"Prayer for South Africa" will be a universal prayer on behalf of all peace-loving South Africans and will be part of a "spiritual outreach" to the troubled people, Mr Phume says.

He feels it is important for Christians to start praying for the country in these troubled times.

All peace-loving South Africans are concerned about the number of lives being lost through violence and crime. The encouraging news is that most people are looking for solutions rather than just being passive.

"People should realise that the Gospel industry is also involved in peace initiatives, and our part in this process is to communicate to God," he says.

executives were now visiting Tokyo "in droves", sources said. — Sapa-Reuter, Star Foreign Service.

Sole survivor . . . Shaun Hodgkinson (left) was orphaned the lives of his parents, Colleen and Patrick (himself)

Minister, SAP chief sign up

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The country's two top law enforcers, the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the SAP, have come out in support of The Star's Peace Train campaign by committing themselves to peace.

Their pledges were among a flood of letters received since the campaign was launched on Tuesday.

Minister Hernus Kriel and General Johan van der Merwe bought their tickets for a permanent ride on the Peace Train by sending in their pledges on Friday.

Also securing a seat was the Democratic Party's Yeo-

ville MP, Douglas Gibson, who wrote: "I commend The Star's Peace Train initiative. We need the peace-loving people in our country to stand up and be counted, and you have given them a wonderful opportunity of doing so. I urge all readers to send in the pledge."

A pledge was also received from Supreme Court advocate William Huma.

Scores of readers have responded to the campaign —

and have made valuable suggestions on how the peace effort could be extended.

One suggestion was that the pledge, which condemns violence and binds the signatory to the principles contained in the National Peace Accord, should be translated into black languages and inserted into other newspapers. The Star will gladly investigate the possibility.

● More reports — Page 7



27 killed in political violence

Star 21/10/91

Crime Staff

(274)

At least 27 people, including two policemen, died in political violence nationwide this weekend — bringing the toll to more than 200 unrest-related deaths since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14.

Eighteen died in townships on the Witwatersrand and nine burnt to death in Western Cape townships.

In unrest over the past 24 hours, 15 people died and dozens more were injured across the country.

A man was shot dead and nine others were seriously injured when unknown gunmen driving past in a minibus opened fire on hostel dwellers at Selby, West Street, Johannesburg, yesterday afternoon.

Hand-grenade

Two people died in Alexandra township near Sandton. One man was killed when a group of people set a private dwelling alight and another was killed when a hand-grenade exploded in his hand late last night.

Two men died in Meadowlands, Soweto, when gunmen fired a number of rounds at them from a train.

Nine people burnt to death in the Western Cape area when houses and taxis were set alight.

One man died when his house was set alight by a group at Nyanga. At Phillipi, in the Cape, three youths and a man died when a home and a taxi were set alight, and at Old Crossroads four men burnt to death when a house and a taxi were set alight.

● Two killed by shots fired from train — Page 2



Members of the Democracy Now Tour, Service Employees International Union international vice-president William Stodghill, left, United Steel Workers of America international vice-president Leon Lynch and United Auto Workers Union international vice-president Ernest Lofton at a "sector to sector" private working session held in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Waters not impressed with changes in SA

AUTHOR of the California Disinvestment Bill and staunch apartheid critic, congresswoman Maxine Waters said yesterday she was not convinced real progress had been made towards a democratic society.

"Nelson Mandela has been released from prison, a few petty apartheid laws have been scrapped, but there is still no interim government and no constituent assembly," said Waters, who is in SA with the Democracy Now Tour. (274) (307)

"The violence appears to be the real obstacle. The peace accord does not seem to be working."

She said the tour would help her reach agreement with the ANC on what the US should be doing to halt the violence.

"We did not come here with answers, we came to offer our assistance," Waters confirmed she would not be meeting representatives of government or Inkatha.

She said she believed government and Inkatha were linked, but did not know in what way, and said she did not know what was at the root of the violence in the country.

DAVE LOURENS

21 Dec 22 10 9
**Weekend toll
reaches 35274**

PRETORIA — At least 35 people died and 21 others were injured in one of the bloodiest weekends of political violence that threatens to wreck the national peace accord, Sapa reports.

The deaths in Johannesburg, Natal and western Cape townships pushed the unofficial unrest toll to more than 200 nationwide since the signing of the pact on September 14.

Police said 19 people died in Johannesburg townships, nine in the western Cape and eight in Natal.

Three of the victims were policemen, two killed in Soweto and one in Natal.

Police arrested three men suspected of taking part in an attack on a Soweto tavern last week, one of the bloodiest attacks since the accord. Ten people died in a hail of gunfire.

Knife-wielding attackers stabbed to death an off-duty policeman in the Maritzburg city centre and two policemen were gunned down in Soweto, police said.

Four people have been killed and scores injured in vicious conflict between the ANC and Inkatha in the Groutville area, near Stanger, since the weekend, our Durban Correspondent reports. Gangs still patrolled the areas yesterday.

200 deaths since accord signed

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 36 people died and 21 injured in political violence at the weekend.

The death toll in Johannesburg, Natal and the Western Cape has risen to more than 200 since the signing of the national peace accord on September 14.

In the official unrest report yesterday police said 19 people died on the Reef, nine in the Western Cape and eight in Natal at the weekend.

In the Western Cape nine people burnt to death on Sunday when houses and taxis were set alight. One man died when his house was set alight in Nyanga.

At Phillipi four people died when a home and a taxi were set alight. At Old Crossroads four men burnt to death when a house and a taxi were set alight.

On the Reef a burnt-out car

with the charred bodies of two members of the Dobsonville Taxi Association was found at the Doornkop Squatters' Camp yesterday. Police are investigating.

Seven people were killed and two wounded at Phola near Ogies, on Sunday in an attack by about 20 gunmen.

Two Soweto policemen were shot dead and two people died in Alexandra — one after a mob set fire to his shack and another when a grenade exploded in his hand.

A man was shot dead and nine others were seriously injured when unknown gunmen in a minibus fired on hostel dwellers at Selby.

Two men died in Meadowlands, Soweto, when gunmen fired from a train. A body with gunshot wounds was found in Katlehong.

Nurse Eva Mathala, daughter

of former Diepmeadow mayor Johannes Mathala, died in Baragwanath after an arson attack on her home last week.

Police arrested three suspects after 10 people died in an attack on a Soweto tavern last week.

In Natal, a 21-year-old off-duty policeman was stabbed to death in Maritzburg. Another policeman was stabbed to death and his gun was taken.

A 30-year-old man was killed when gunmen opened fire on a shack in Cliffdale.

At Groutville near Stanger, three people were shot dead in a weekend clash between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

A 19-year-old man raked a Hammarsdale taxi rank with gunfire on Friday, killing two people and wounding two.

A delivery truck and a post office van were set alight in Diepkloof yesterday.

Tutu: Stop violence to end sanctions

Political Staff

(274) 23/10/91 ARG

FINANCIAL sanctions should remain in place until the South African government shows it is serious about dealing with violence, says Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

He told a meeting of religious leaders in Cape Town, organised by the World and South African councils of churches, that he would have liked to call for sanctions to be lifted.

"But if we have to choose a non-violent strategy we would call for sanctions to stay."

He added: "For myself I'm not going to call for the lifting of financial sanctions until the government shows it is serious about

dealing with the violence that is eroding our community. I don't think they are serious."

Archbishop Tutu said the government should demonstrate it was not going to have a kneejerk response each time the police were mentioned in a negative light.

He called on the police to patrol flashpoints and to engage in pre-emptive policing.

On the Peninsula taxi war, he said he would have thought it would be fairly straightforward to provide protection for commuters in Khayelitsha and Crossroads.

Archbishop Tutu said the

Church had to maintain critical solidarity with the people, but should not allow itself to be co-opted by political organisations such as the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

"For we are the agents of God. Even if we have a truly democratic dispensation there will always be the marginalised and the dispossessed."

He and the Anglican bishops agreed that at the present time party-political alignment would adversely affect the capacity of a priest to minister even-handedly to all his parishioners.

HRC alleges vigilante killings

JOHANNESBURG. — A total of 28 people died and 37 were injured in vigilante-related action during the week ending October 20, the Human Rights Commission reported yesterday.

The HRC's weekly report said nine of the vigilante-related deaths were recorded in the PWV area, and the rest in Natal.

One "right-wing activity" death was recorded for the period — a Mr Aaron Khwebana, 28, was allegedly shot dead by a man who had accused him of refusing to "take instructions".

The alleged killer also reportedly threatened Mr Khwebana's brother. — Sapa

(274) CT 24/10/91

2 Cape Times, Thursday, October 24 1991

Peace plan under strain

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Political squabbling over the nomination of one person to a key position is preventing the National Peace Accord being implemented at grassroots level, a source close to the peace initiative said yesterday.

As parties to the accord wrangled over final composition of the peace secretariat, there were more killings on trains and at stations in Soweto yesterday.

At least nine people died and 36 were injured in attacks on commuters in Soweto yesterday.

The ANC and Inkatha blamed each other's supporters for yesterday's killings at Nancefield station.

However, yesterday the ANC and Inkatha both re-affirmed their commitment to the Peace Accord.

The two mechanisms crucial to the implementation of the peace accord have still not been set up, despite the urgency publicly expressed by the peace committee overseeing the process, and a resurgence of "revenge" attacks.

The source voiced concern that the "very

'Squabbling' has delayed 'accord plan'

thing the peace accord was designed to prevent — attacks and counter-attacks between parties — has resurfaced this week, and the mechanisms designed to combat this are not yet in place because the politicians cannot agree on one person.

He said the four nominees of the political parties and the Department of Justice official for the peace secretariat were not a problem. But of the four additional names put forward by the peace committee one was regarded as unacceptable to one of the parties — believed to be Inkatha.

"This is delaying the whole process getting off the ground, while people are dying out there," he said.

The longer it took to get the accord fully implemented, the more chance there was that

the whole settlement might collapse or become merely a piece of paper for use as a political football, he said.

He said there were already signs that people at the grassroots had lost faith in the ability of the accord to contain violence.

Even signatories were not being careful enough in their public statements.

The peace secretariat was designed to set up local and regional dispute resolution committees and special courts.

Twelve days ago peace committee chairman Mr John Hall said the commission would be set up "within 10 days".

Mr Hall was not taking calls yesterday "because he is being inundated with inquiries about the peace accord and what he is doing about it every time something happens in the townships", his secretary said.

Meanwhile the ANC and Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) yesterday called for an intensification of self-defence measures by township residents.

Cast deputy president Mr Kgabisi Mosunkuti told a press briefing residents would be encouraged to "use whatever means necessary" to protect themselves from attack.

● 'Revenge sparked massacre' — Page 5

Security role questioned

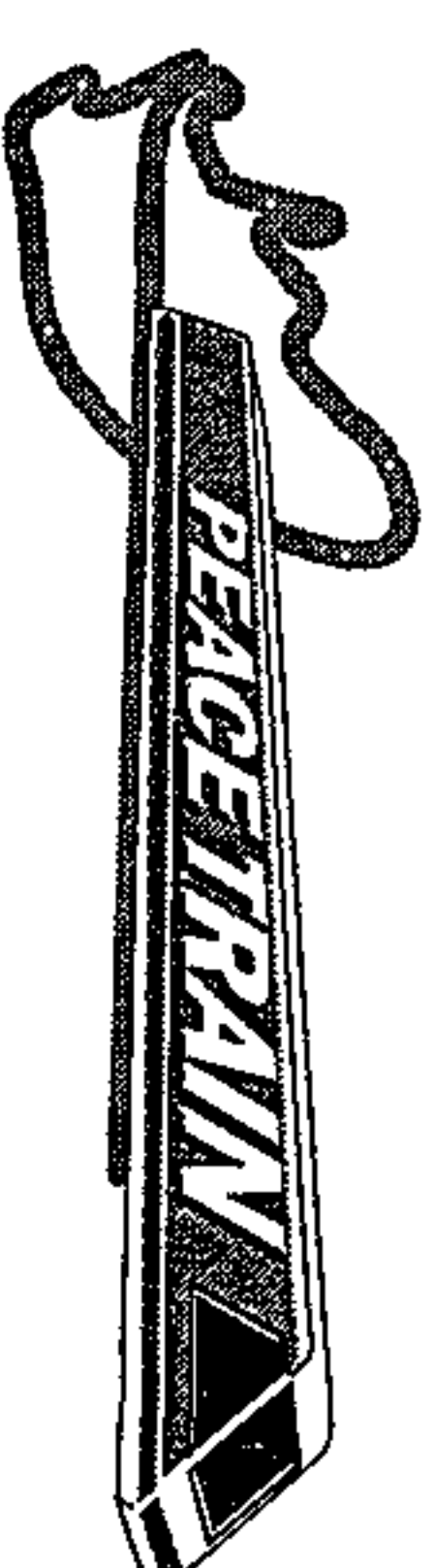
CT 24/10/91

IT was difficult to understand the inability of the security forces to protect everyone in South Africa impartially, the general secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr Emilio Castro, said yesterday.

Addressing a press conference at the end of a two-week visit to SA at the head of a WCC delegation, he also said the lifting of basic economic sanctions now would give the wrong signal both to those who had profited from apartheid and to the poor of SA.

While there had been the beginning of a change towards democracy, it was clear that apartheid was still very much alive.

"Justice demands that the economy be adjusted to meet the needs and rights of the poor and oppressed," he said. — Sapa



Accord faces disastrous slide into oblivion

Star 24/10/91. 274

Seven weeks on. The ink on the National Peace Accord is dry as a Karoo winter. Momentum has dwindled to a level not far from standstill.

Imminently, perhaps today, the position will change somewhat with the appointment of the National Peace Commission under the chairmanship of Appeal Court judge Richard Goldstone. However, for immediate purposes this will not mean very much. Five prominent legal people will be named as commissioners, but until they have a back-up staff to process complaints, they will be little more than names.

For the commission to get into full swing, the law may need to be amended. The peace accord specified that the National Peace Committee would propose amendments "as soon as possible". Amendments have not yet been considered.

The peace accord agreed to establish a Police Board, of equal numbers of civilians and police representatives. It has not yet been set up. Public involvement in monitoring police activities continues to consist of the liaison committees set up by the Pretoria Minute, which have been largely inactive.

The National Peace Initiative has the skeleton, all right. But plenty of speed needs to be put into the fleshing-out.
By DENIS BECKETT.

The National Peace Secretariat is to be the co-ordinating hub of a network of dispute resolution committees (DRCs) and justices of the peace (JPs).

To date, no DRCs or JPs have been appointed. The secretariat has not yet been formally constituted although its members have been agreed upon. They are to be Daine Schutte and Deon Rudman from the Government, Jayendra Naidoo and Sipho Geabashe from Cosatu/ANC, and Suzanne Vos and Walter Felgate of Inkatha.

The staff composition of the secretariat is still to be worked out. Discussion is currently under way as to whether the secretariat will be based in Johannesburg or Pretoria.

Last weekend saw some 35 political murders, in ones and twos, at more than 20 points of the national compass. Yesterday saw the most vicious railway massacre yet. The accord has the potential

to become SA's Magna Carta. On current showing, it risks vanishing into oblivion.

The full National Peace Committee has met once in the last seven weeks. The next meeting is scheduled for November 7. Its potential to exert effective suasion has barely been scratched.

The seven-strong executive committee — two representatives each of the Government, ANC and the IFP, with chairman John Hall — has met frequently and worked feverishly. For its members, 18-hour days are the norm. They must fit the peace initiative into nights and stolen moments within their normal jobs.

The peace accord has both the content and the signalories to fly like an eagle. To date, it's stumbling like a turkey. The fault does not lie with the people involved. It is a matter of scale and resources. For the leadership, the venture cannot be a moonlight activity; it must be thoroughly fulltime.

The central figures cannot afford to be bashful about over-prominence, they need to be up front and highly visible, shouting out loud at breaches wherever they find them. The principles are intact. Follow-through has to be magnified far and fast.



Prayer beats violence . . . that's Masechaba Mabaso's firm belief. She brings opponents together and inspires them to seek peace through prayer side by side. Picture: Alf Kurnalo

Masechaba fights violence with prayer

By Zingisa Mkhuma 274

Masechaba Mabaso, leader of the Inter-Denominational Prayer Women's League, has been relentlessly fighting and praying for peace since the country was engulfed by violence.

Masechaba, as she is affectionately called, has fearlessly led groups of women into strife-torn areas to pray for peace and unity.

"When I led a group of women into Merafhe hostel, the men lowered their clubs and spears, and together we knelt down and prayed. Afterwards we had peace for a long time in the area," she said.

Masechaba was once nominated as The Star's Unsung Heroine for her generosity and hard work in helping unskilled people in the township, and has continued to do so because un-

employment and displacement were caused by the on-going violence, she said.

Recently, she led Mshengulle squatters to the Soweto Council offices to pray and to ask for alternative accommodation.

The Women's League will meet wives of Cabinet Ministers in Pretoria next week to discuss the peace accord and the continuing violence.

Masechaba has also arranged a meeting with the Reet taxi association to pray with it for peace and reconciliation after the violence this week.

She said this could be the beginning of more violence in the township and she feared that passengers could get hurt in the process.

Masechaba strongly believes that her role in this "violence-torn" society is to pray for peace and to unite everybody irrespective of their political affiliations.

Violence 'threat to exiles' return'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Ongoing violence might threaten the rate of return of thousands of exiles to South Africa, the new head of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) contingent in South Africa warned on his arrival yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport, Kallu Kalumiya said he hoped initiatives to curb the

Star 24/10/91
violence would be successful because it would be impossible to create "islands of protection for returnees".

His team would take very seriously its task of facilitating the safe and dignified return of exiles as agreed with the Government.

The arrival of Mr Kulumiya and his deputy, Bob White, signals the official start to the repatriation process after months of sensitive negotiations.

About 30 UNHCR staff, most of whom will be based in Johannesburg, arrive in December. Smaller offices will be set up in Pretoria, Cape Town and East London.

Mr Kalumiya said the first group of exiles would arrive early next month, and UNHCR offices in other countries had begun the process of registration for the estimated 30 000 exiles wanting to return voluntarily.

Call for national reconciliation

By Stan Hlophe (244)

All concerned South Africans should spread the gospel of peace and national reconciliation wherever they are and whatever they do, and tell themselves that this is "our peace accord", Institute for Multiparty Democracy chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Dr Dhlomo was speaking as a guest of the Reconciliation Forum — a group striving for peace and reconciliation.

The former IFP secretary-general urged all citizens to hold small discussion groups to talk about the terms of the peace accord, not in a spirit of destructive

criticism, but in a spirit of finding ways to implement its terms.

"In our churches we must preach about and explain the terms of the accord to all members of our congregations.

"In our forums and institutions we must hold regular debates and workshops focusing on the problem of violence. Together with other groups we could even plan regular solidarity visits to areas engulfed in violence, such as hostels and informal settlements.

"We all need peace. But what we need more is peace which comes with reconciliation. Peace without reconciliation is no real peace —

it is armed peace," Dr Dhlomo said.

Dr Dhlomo said the peace accord was undoubtedly one of the best peace documents seen in the country thus far. However, it had shortcomings:

- Members of the committee were all busy people who were not likely to devote their full attention to making the accord work.

- Political party representatives in the National Peace Committee would not objectively monitor their own members who flout the accord's terms.

- The document was in English, and needed to be translated into African languages.

PEACE PLEDGE

'Struggle continues' for former exile

W/Week 25/10 - 31/10/91

NAT SERACHE has been on the move ever since his return from exile in June. Finding accommodation is a major problem for most returning exiles — but Nat's nomadic existence has more to do with fears for his life and those of the people around him than the chronic housing shortage.

A former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist, he experienced two attempts on his life after fleeing to exile in Botswana in 1977.

The first was in 1980, when a car with South African registration plates which witnesses said was driven by a white man, rammed the van he was travelling in, forcing him into a ditch.

The second, in 1985, was more determined: the house in which he was sleeping was reduced to rubble by an explosion heard kilometres away. Sixteen neighbouring houses, a shopping complex and a school were damaged, but Serache and his housemate escaped — injured, but alive.

A former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent later admitted planting the bomb when he gave evidence before the Harms Commission of Inquiry. He said he thought that Serache had died.

On leaving hospital, Serache realised the threat he had become to his neighbours. "I saw the extent of the damage and thought how many lives it could have cost. I didn't feel my presence in Botswana did any good for the people around me," he

His life is no less threatened in South Africa than it was during his days in exile. Nat Serache — and many others — have no one to turn to, reports GAYE DAVIS.

recalled this week.

Vigilance was a part of life, he added, citing the instance of a car which was on the way to collect him for work one day when it narrowly avoided travelling over a mine. Fortunately, the driver had taken the precaution of travelling another route.

"One had to be concerned about one's security on a daily basis. But on joining the struggle, you knew to expect this."

For Serache and countless others like him, being back in South Africa means being more vigilant than ever.

Two weeks ago Serache went home with African National Congress official Gill Marcus, who had told him her Hillbrow flat was being watched by unidentified men. They split up before approaching the building, which was when Serache spotted first a waiting yellow combi, then a man concealed in the shadows signalling to its occupants.

"When I realised this person had seen me, I instinctively ran towards him. He pulled out a pistol from under his jacket and cocked it. I stopped and pretended to reach for a gun myself. This made him hesi-

tate, giving me time to jump off the stairs and head down a dark alley between the buildings.

"About 100 yards inside the alleyway, I saw four men coming into it. They were arguing about something, about whether or not to shoot me... but I was running for dear life."

Serache duly made a statement to the police, but he believes this has achieved little more than "putting my name up front".

Some time after this incident, he was followed to the house where he was staying. It was time to move again.

"I'm a nomad, with no fixed abode," he said. "It's more out of concern for my neighbours than my own security."

Serache said he feels less safe back home than he did in exile, where certain ANC members were issued with handguns for their own protection: "Outside, one could take precautions — here one cannot."

He believes that a hit-list exists, "partly because I have no reason to believe there isn't one and partly because of the pattern of attacks we are seeing. The victims are mainly middle-level to senior cadres, not only of the ANC but other organisations as well."

For Serache and other activists, the phrase "the struggle continues" is no empty slogan.

In a dossier compiled for delegates at the recent Commonwealth

summit, the ANC noted that Kallihong civic leader Sam Nhuli's recent murder was the 61st assassination of an ANC or community activist since June last year.

"Serious investigation under the auspices of the commission established in terms of the peace accord should begin immediately to determine the circumstances, causes and extent of this clear policy of eliminating political activists," the dossier stated.

"It is increasingly clear that this government is talking peace while waging war against the people. This strategy is disastrous and likely to dash all hopes for peace."

Commented the ANC's media liaison officer, Saki Macozoma: "The impact on people's ability to function is serious. It would be stupid of me to get into a bus or a taxi, though I'm lucky to have a car."

"In my opinion, there has been a qualitative change in the violence: away from random killings and towards targeted assassinations."

"People don't understand the level of intimidation or the oppression it gives rise to. It's particularly a matter of concern for those of us with high profiles, whose names appear in the press."

"It's impossible for the ANC to safeguard everyone — we have limited resources — and the people we are dealing with appear to have superior organisational capacity and training, in some instances."

'Campaign to kill ANC activists'

W/Week 25/10 - 31/10/91

AMONG the 61 people said by the African National Congress to have been assassinated since June 1990 are civic leaders, unionists, ANC activists and community leaders.

A common denominator appears to be their effectiveness within their communities, which gives rise to the ANC's conviction that a campaign to eliminate activists is under way.

The ANC's eastern Transvaal regional secretary, Joe Nkuna, was attacked by assailants on October 3. Publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu said the attack came a week after the office received a hoax call "from a known member of the police", saying Nkuna had been shot.

According to the ANC, those who have died since June 1990 include: Jeff Wabena, national organiser of the South African Domestic Workers' Union, who was shot by a gunman in East London; Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, an ANC activist in the western Cape, who was shot in June; Joseph Thwala, vice-chairman of the ANC's Mhlayi branch, shot on September 19; Christopher Nangalemba, Youth League organiser found strangled in Sebokeng in January; and Sam Nhuli, general secretary of the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal, gunned down in Thokoza on September 29.

Appeal judge to head violence commission

(274) CT 25/10/91
PRETORIA. — Mr Justice R J Goldstone of the Appellate Division has accepted the appointment as chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, President F W de Klerk announced last night.

He said other members of the commission were Mr Niel Rossouw, SC, Miss Lilian Gugu Baqwa, Mr M N S Sithole and Mr Gert Steyn.

In terms of the Act, the five members of the commission had been appointed for a term of three years, and the commission would be assisted by officials of the Department of Justice.

Mr De Klerk said two of the commission's functions would be to make recommendations to him on the general policy to be followed in respect of the prevention of public violence and intimidation and other related matters, and to investigate the incidence of public violence and intimidation. — Sapa

Rossouw in No 2 violence probe post

Staff Reporter

CAPE attorney-general Mr Neil Rossouw has been appointed vice-chairman of the Commission of Inquiry concerning the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

The appointment was announced yesterday by President F W de Klerk.

The appointment is for three years.

The commission was instituted under Act 139 of 1991 and is supported by the Peace Accord.

Mr Justice Richard J Goldstone was appointed chairman, Mr Rossouw vice-chairman, with Ms Lilian Gugu Baqwa, advocate Mr Maakazi Sithole and Mr Gert Steyn as members.

(274) CT 26/10/91

4 more Peace appointments

PRETORIA. — The Ministry of Justice yesterday announced four appointments to the Interim National Peace Secretariat. (274) CT 25/10/91

They are: Advocate and MP Mr Gert Myburgh, Mr Jayrendra Naidoo, Ms Suzanne Vos and Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

The ministry said the appointments had been made in terms of the National Peace Accord, and further appointments would be made soon. — Sapa

Grassroots peace plan put in action

Billy Paddock

THE Justice Ministry last night acted to implement the peace accord at grass roots by announcing an interim peace secretariat to start setting up local and regional structures provided for in terms of the accord.

The setting up of the secretariat has been delayed by squabbling among political parties over the members of a permanent secretariat.

Meanwhile President F W de Klerk last night announced the Appellate division's Mr Justice R J Goldstone had been appointed chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

Yesterday a ministry statement said the permanent secretariat needed legal force to give it permanency and statutory recognition. This could only be done with parliamentary approval. In the meantime the interim secretariat would operate and be transformed into the permanent body.

The executive officer of the interim secretariat is Justice Department chief director Deon Rudman.

In an interview last night he said he would "ensure that the interim secretariat got down to work" very soon and got the necessary regional and local dispute resolution and monitoring mechanisms going urgently.

He said the interim nature of the committee was merely a legal technicality as required by the peace accord.

The Justice Department also announced four other members of the secretariat. They are: NP MP Gert Myburg, Cosatu's Jayendra Naidoo, Inkatha's Sue Vos and Dr Antome Gildenhuys.

Further appointments, to a maximum of four members, would still be made.

Rudman said it was vital that the secretariat started functioning immediately and that there would not be any delay while the other members of the secretariat were being decided on.

It is understood that the squabbling among the political parties was over this issue and was delaying the process.

It is understood that at least two facilitators will be appointed to work closely with the secretariat.

One of these is Robert Conway of Safcon, an organisation working on peace initiatives in Natal, nominated by Inkatha.

De Klerk said in a statement that other members of the commission of inquiry were vice-chairman Niel Rossouw, SC, Lillian Gugu Baqwa, MN Sithole and Gert Steyn.

In terms of the Act, the five members of the commission had been appointed for a term of three years, and the commission would be assisted by officials of the Justice Department.

He added that the commission may:

- ☐ Appoint committees to assist it in the execution of its duties and investigations;
- ☐ Make use of institutes for the purpose of providing it with research, information and advice;
- ☐ "Make recommendations to me on the general policy to be followed in respect of the prevention of public violence and intimidation and other related matters; and
- ☐ "Investigate the incidence, occurrence and prevention of public violence and intimidation, as well as any other matter which I or any member of the public may refer to it in this connection."

● Comment: Page 10

Vital steps as key bodies 'with teeth' are finally appointed

Peace Accord on the move

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

274

Sfr 25/10/91

President de Klerk announced that Mr Justice Goldstone would chair the Standing Commission on Violence and Intimidation. The long-delayed implementation of the National Peace Accord finally began yesterday with the appointment of the two key bodies in the peace strategy — the Standing Commission on Violence and Intimidation and the Interim National Peace Secretariat.

He is perhaps best known for his inquiry into the police shooting of protesters at Sebokeng on March 26 last year when he was sharply critical of police conduct. Mr Justice Goldstone said today the commission would get to work as soon as possible. He would meet the four other commission members in the two cities.

Mr de Klerk said the commission would see to it that allegations of police complicity in political violence were properly investigated. He referred to his statement in July when he said: "I will be prepared to use my powers in terms of the Act concerned to have concrete allegations of security force involvement in violence investigated."

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

"However, the investigation of rumours is to no avail. Therefore, I wish to issue a personal invitation to everyone who may dispose of such concrete evidence to come forward."

National Peace Accord Committee chairman John Hall said last night the appointment of the commission was the vital step in the implementation of the Accord.

"This is the body that has teeth," he said. He would meet Mr Justice Goldstone on Sunday for discussions.

The other members of the Commission on Violence are Pretoria advocate Msakazi Sithole, a former lecturer at the University of the North; Lillian Gugu Bagwa of Newcastle, who was the first black woman admitted as an attorney by the Natal Division of the Supreme Court; and Port Elizabeth Regional Court president Gert Steyn.

Meanwhile, the vital interim National Peace Secretariat also got off the ground as the Justice Ministry announced the names of four people appointed to the body, which must establish dispute-resolving committees at regional and local levels. They are Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, the Inkatha Freedom Party's Suzanne Vos, National Party MP advocate Gert Myburgh and Dr Antonie Geldenhuys.

● Multiparty talks — Page 3

Don't miss this week's latest...
SUNDAY...
...in all the...
...places...
...say...
...day...
...of

Eleven die, 38 injured in unrest

(274)
ET 25/10/91

PRETORIA. — Eleven people were killed and 38 wounded in unrest incidents, according to the latest police unrest report.

Nine of the 11 deaths were from the attack on Wednesday morning at Nancefield station. Altogether 36 people were injured in the attack.

No one has been arrested in connection with the incident.

The body of a man was found at Westgate station in Roodepoort, and police also found the body of a man with stab wounds at Thokoza, Alberton.

A seriously wounded man with gunshot injuries was found at Phola Park in Thokoza.

In Richmond, Natal, a man was slightly wounded when gunmen fired some shots at a private vehicle.

ANC-supporting residents of Mooi River's troubled Bruntville township entered their 11th day of a stayaway from the Natal Midlands town yesterday.

Mooi River policeman Lieutenant Jon Dewing yesterday said three people had been arrested earlier in the day in Bruntville.

He also said the Riot Unit had fired six rubber bullets at a crowd of about 50 ANC supporters that were trying to free the arrested people from a police vehicle.

Meanwhile, the impasse in Mooi River over the carrying of dangerous weapons and the stayaway has not been resolved. DP MP Mr Wessell Nel has been meeting the police as well as the IFP and ANC, but a DP spokesman said the situation had reached a "stalemate". — Sapa

Violence 'claimed 200 lives' on farms this year

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — About 200 people have died so far this year in incidents of unrest, robbery and murder on South African farms, and livestock worth R30 million has been stolen over the past 12 months, the SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) congress heard yesterday.

Introducing a motion that the SAAU collaborate more closely with the government, the SAP and the SADF, Mr E C A Hiemstra of the Transvaal Agricultural Union claimed that murders of whites rose by 48% and of blacks by 28% last year.

In the same period, robberies increased by 27% and break-ins at white homes by 22%, he said. Veld fires had increased by 500% in some areas, leading farmers to suspect arson.

The situation created "a vacuum which is going to be filled by private security forces and organisations", he said.

Delegates voiced fears that the government was "unable to stem the tide of squatting".

New labour legislation that extends industrial relations law into the agrarian sector was rejected by congress as disruptive of "the sound labour relations that exist on farms".

YET another week of harrowing violence has gone by, with those of us who are fortunate enough not to be touched by it becoming more inclined than ever to avert our eyes.

Who wants to pick up a newspaper or switch on the news day after day to be confronted with yet another bloody massacre? Or a statement by the police that there is nothing they can do to stop the slaughter on Rand commuter trains? Or yet another account of the heart-rending hardships of people left homeless after their shacks have been fire-bombed in the middle of the night?

The Mayor of Cape Town, Frank van der Velde, pleads in a radio interview for more effective policing to stop the taxi war. But where is this kind of policing to come from?

The under-manned SAP cannot cope with its current case load of investigations of murder, arson and other serious crimes. The load is growing by the day. Killings go unpunished

and the deterrence which effective law enforcement imposes is fading.

Here in Cape Town the Mayor, with Archbishop Tutu, is heading a determined drive by community leaders to bring about peace.

On one level at least, the Cape conflict seems to be a straight battle for turf, reminiscent of the Al Capone era. But here it is the most lucrative taxi routes which are in dispute rather than distribution networks for bootleg liquor as in Chicago in the 1920s.

Questions abound

Commercial rivalry alone does not really explain the intensity and recurrence of the conflict or its stubborn resistance to a negotiated compromise. Questions abound. Who killed ANC activist Pro Jack, a peacemaker who was trying to mediate between the warring taxi factions? Why was he killed?

It is easy to brush aside such questions. Most people whose lives are untouched by the violence, being human, would rather not be reminded of the horrors which their township-dwelling fellow-citizens are enduring at first hand almost every day, rather than merely experiencing the discomfort of reading about it in the newspapers.

Township dwellers can find themselves running a gauntlet of gunfire on the way to and from work, and at

SA looking the other way as townships burn

(274) CT 25/10/91



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

times must walk for miles at the end of a hard day because a new flare-up of violence has stopped the buses running and disrupted the taxi service to the townships.

The taxi war is a particularly nasty manifestation of the culture of violence which is steadily enveloping this country. Yet the National Peace Accord has not yet taken shape on the ground. The monitoring and peace-making structures are not yet in place. Violence rages on.

Evidently there are some individuals and organizations dragging their heels. But everybody, including the State, is to blame for allowing reliance on force to assume such devastating proportions in this country in the first place, ousting tolerance and negotiated compromise from our political culture.

How did this come about? Historically, it all goes back to the violent clashes over land between the indigenous peoples and the Dutch and English colonists as they penetrated inland. The frontier wars of the 19th Century took the process further, until ultimately the indigenous inhabitants had succumbed to conquest by the newcomers and had been largely, if by no means entirely, dispossessed of the land. Superior technology and firepower prevailed.

The police culture which grew out of this background, relying on the use of force to suppress intermittent

rebellion or agitation against the established order, endures to some extent to this day. It is a punitive, repressive style of policing because this is what successive governments have required of the SAP.

Not enough thought has been given by government to re-orienting and re-training the police to function effectively and impartially in an era of negotiation. If the old colonial order of white supremacy is finally giving way, it is idle to expect that the culture of the SAP can be easily or quickly adapted.

It does not help to slang the police. As recently as in the last state of emergency the use of the old divide-and-rule tactics was still established practice in counter-insurgency operations, being employed to particular effect in 1976 in Cape and Transvaal townships to bring the widespread unrest of that year to a halt by unleashing "witdoek" traditionalists against rebellious "comrades". The same techniques were seen in Crossroads in 1986. This is what was expected of the SAP.

In Natal, SAP support of Inkatha against pro-ANC elements was high-level policy before the unbanning of the ANC and this continued to a degree afterwards, with massive security police funding of Inkatha, with money provided by the De Klerk government out of clandestine funds. So it is hardly surprising that SAP impartiality is questioned in the community.

Until a new SAP culture has been purposefully created by government it is idle and unfair to expect miracles from the police. They are in the middle, with their lives at risk. Meanwhile, we can all do our best to promote a culture of tolerance and respect for the law.

Cops vow to work for peace

25/10/91 274
SO often
THE ongoing violence in South Africa had placed heavy demands on members of the South African Police, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Kriel was speaking during the signing of the police code of conduct at the Diepkloof Riot Unit in Soweto.

The signing of the code of conduct was probably the first since various parties signed the National Peace Accord in Johannesburg a few weeks ago.

Kriel said all signatories

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE



HERNUS KRIEL

to the code of conduct had vowed to pursue peace. The police were, however, required to maintain law and order.

He said it was necessary for them to be an example of impartiality and professionalism at all times.

"The high ethical code, which the police pursue, and the objective to protect all residents of this country, have been encapsulated in a code of conduct applicable to police countrywide," he said.

He said the signing demonstrated a willingness by police to elevate their tasks and objectives above po-

litical beliefs.

While the accord aimed at ensuring that police performed their tasks properly and impartially, it also provided for mechanisms which protected them against unfounded allegations and unreasonable demands.

"It is, therefore, necessary that each member of the SAP approach the accord and the code in this spirit. It is hoped that members will dedicate themselves enthusiastically in support of the accord and the code," Kriel said.

Peace accord gets teeth to begin job

ALAN DUNN
Political Staff

(274) ARC 25/10/91

THE Commission on Public Violence and Intimidation will begin work as soon as possible, says its chairman, Mr Justice Goldstone.

He said today he would meet the four other commission members in Pretoria early next week, and would probably issue a statement. The commission would have offices in Pretoria and Cape Town, from which most of its business would be conducted.

The National Peace Commission chairman, Mr John Hall, said last night the appointment of the commission was a vital step in the implementation of the peace accord signed on September 14, and "this is the body that has teeth".

It was vital it swung into action as soon as possible. He would meet Mr Justice Goldstone on Sunday to discuss this.

The other commissioners are: Mr Niel Rossouw SC, Attorney-General of the Cape (vice-chairman),



Mr Justice Goldstone

a Pretoria advocate, Mr Masakazi Sithole, a Newcastle attorney, Miss Lilian Gugu Baqwa, formerly of the Johannesburg legal resources centre, and the retired president of the Regional Court in the Eastern Cape, Mr Gert Steyn.

President De Klerk said when he announced the commission that its appointment would allow allegations of police complicity in political violence to be properly investigated.

He said in July: "As soon as the commission is functioning, I will be prepared to use my powers in terms of the Act concerned to have concrete allegations of security force involvement in violence investigated."

"However, the investigation of rumours is to no avail. Therefore, I invite to everybody who might have such concrete evidence to come forward."

The commission's aims would be to inquire into the phenomenon of public violence and intimidation, its nature and causes and who was involved. It would also recommend steps to prevent violence and intimidation.

It would be permanent, and would also recommend to Mr De Klerk any other steps it considered necessary or expedient, including new laws, to prevent violence and intimidation.

Slow headway (274)

Grassroots democracy is a slow process. That is one reason offered for the delay in setting up the various structures needed to get last month's National Peace Accord going.

But there is some progress. By the end of this week, permanent members of both the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation and the National Peace Secretariat, are expected to be announced and the two bodies formally instituted.

Setting up regional and local committees under the National Peace Secretariat will take longer. As one of the players close to the Accord notes: "You can't just appoint committees, they have to emerge. This has to be a bottom-up process."

That's fine, but probably not appreciated by communities and township residents in strife-torn areas, who might take some comfort from seeing the Accord start working

and violators brought to book.

An interim Peace Secretariat has been in place since the beginning of the month and is hearing complaints, says National Peace Committee chairman John Hall. Lawyers have been appointed to investigate where alleged perpetrators of violence have been apprehended, he adds.

"The interim peace secretariat is doing what it can to cope and is starting to set up structures with communities. That's the most urgent need at this moment and, where possible, the interim committee is working with existing structures in the communities."

Hall expects the present six members of the interim secretariat to be on the formal body. These are Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte, Justice official Deon Rudman, ANC-Cosatu representatives Jayendra Naidoo and Sipho Gcabashe and Inkatha Freedom Party representatives Sue Vos (alternating with Walter Felgate) and Robert Conway (alternating with Ben Ngubane).

In terms of the Accord, three more members can be on the secretariat. Of course it is vital to get the right person to head the body — something that seems to have bogged down the process in the past.

Certainly the secretariat will be important in establishing regional and local dispute committees and communicating with them. This will be the nuts and bolts of keeping the Accord going.

But in the long run, it is the commission that could have a greater role to play. It will have more teeth and, among other duties can make proposals for the passing of laws to prevent violence or intimidation; enlist the help of other institutions, such as the SA Police, in its investigations; and order investigations and people to give evidence in these investigations. ■

Strife probe in go

star 26/10/91 (2M4)

WITH the launching of the permanent Commission of Inquiry into Intimidation and Violence and the interim National Peace Secretariat this week, the National Peace Accord can at last be tested, reports Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.

IF ANYTHING is to help find solutions to the violence devastating the townships, it will be the permanent Commission of Inquiry on Violence and Intimidation which President de Klerk appointed on Thursday.

Since the National Peace Accord was signed by most major parties on September 14, the political violence has, perversely, flourished and a swelling chorus of voices has cried that the Accord is failing.

But all along the architects of the Accord have pleaded for patience and argued that the Accord could not be tested until its main structures were in place.

With the launching of the commission and the interim National Peace Secretariat this week, that moment has now arrived.

As National Peace Commission chairman John Hall said yesterday, this commission is the body in the entire peace initiative "which has teeth".

And in its chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, and vice-chairman, Cape Attorney-General Niel Rossouw, it has formidable bite.

Mr Justice Goldstone brings to the task a reputation for fearless exposure of official misconduct where he finds it and a sympathy for the underdog which does not augur well for the "third force" (or forces) if any such exist out there.

The South African Police felt the sharp lash of his whip when he reported last year on the results of his commission of inquiry into the police shooting of protesters at Sebokeng on March 26.

He found that policemen in the line-up had fired unjustifiably and recommended the prosecution of key policemen involved.



CHAIRMAN: Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

YET NO ONE could easily accuse Mr Justice Goldstone of bias against the police. In February 1990 he was chairman and sole member of the first judicial inquiry into a death in detention — that of Clayton Sithole, who had been found hanging in a shower cubicle at John Vorster Square.

The police were widely suspected of having murdered Mr Sithole, especially as he was believed to be a close friend of Zinzi Mandela, daughter of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Justice Goldstone found that Mr Sithole had committed suicide.

But if there is no bias against authority in his judgments, there is a sympathy for society's losers. This is evidenced by his position as national president of the National Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Rehabilitation of Offenders.

He is also well-known for his habit of personally visiting prisoners and detainees. "It serves to reassure not only the prisoners, but the administration as well, that someone is taking an interest," he once said.

Mr Justice Goldstone revealed the crusading side of his nature most clearly in the Gladys Govender ruling, which effectively put a stop to Group Areas Act prosecutions and probably signed the death warrant for the Act itself.

He set aside an order for the eviction of Mrs Govender from her home in the "white" suburb of Mayfair, Johannesburg, ruling that a person convicted under the Act could be evicted only if there were alternative accommodation.

In a graduation ceremony address this year to his alma mater, the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Justice Goldstone argued strongly for affirmative action to overcome the unequal opportunities that blacks had for education.

In 1986 he gave one of the first rulings that an emergency detainee should be released, and ruled in another case that there was a difference between what was law and what was fair and equitable when the Marieval Mine took an industrial-court action on review.

Mr Justice Goldstone was born in Boksburg and matriculated at the King Edward VII school in Johannesburg. He obtained the degrees BA and LLB (cum laude) at Wits. He was admitted to the Johannesburg Bar in 1963, and in 1977 Senior Consultus status was awarded to him by the State President. From 1978 to 1980 he held an acting appointment as judge of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court. In 1980 he was appointed as judge. After a short period as Acting Justice of Appeal, he was appointed as Justice of Appeal last year, as well as a member of the Council of Wits University.

Cape Attorney-General Niel Rossouw also comes to his new job with respectable testimonials.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said yesterday: "I have worked with him and regard him as a very competent Attorney-General. His appointment will benefit the commission because he brings to it a vast experience of prosecution and investigation which judges and advocates don't have."

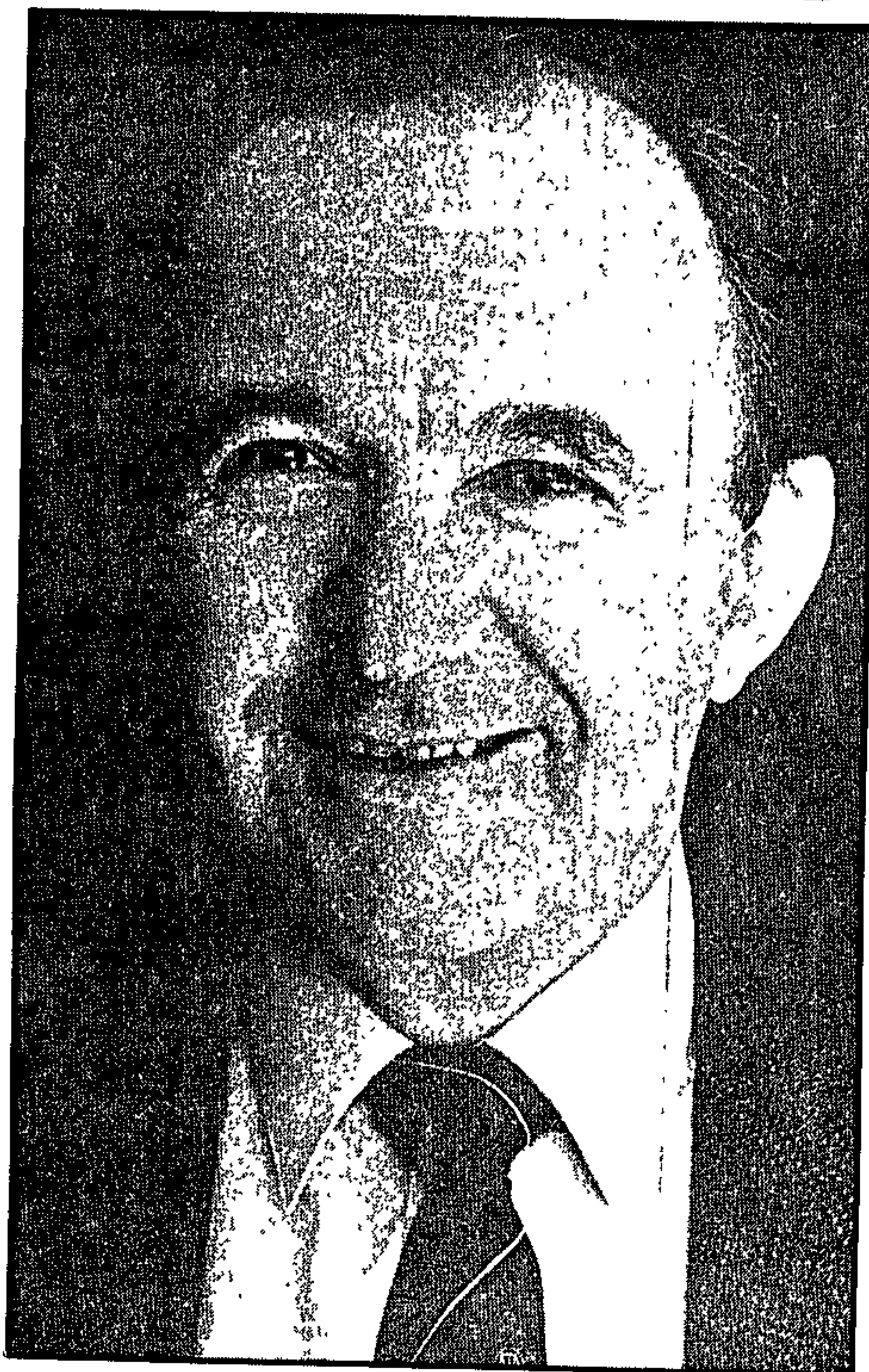
Mr Rossouw has also taken on the security establishment during his career by launching a major probe this criminal activities of the sinister Civil Bureau of the SA Defence Force.

But he has not entirely escaped criticism. In May 1988 he was criticised for prosecuting the "Trojan Horse" police three young protesters when they took them from the back of a truck in Alberton.

ADVOCATE Rossouw was born in Porterville, matriculated at Porterville High School, and obtained the degrees BA and LLB at the University of Pretoria. He joined the Department of Justice and served as Public Prosecutor and Advocate in Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Kimberley. In 1976 he was promoted to the status of Senior Counsel and in 1980 to that of Attorney-General. He was promoted to Attorney-General of the Republic in 1981 and has three children.

The three ordinary members of the commission on violence are not well-known, political circles, and this apparent lack of publicity may have accounted partially for their

probe in good hands



CHAIRMAN: Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.



VICE-CHAIRMAN: Cape Attorney-General Niel Rossouw.

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Mr Rossouw has also taken on the dark side of the security establishment during his career, most notably in launching a major probe this year into the criminal activities of the sinister Civil Co-operation Bureau of the SA Defence Force.

But he has not entirely escaped controversy. During May 1988 he was criticised for deciding not to prosecute the "Trojan Horse" policemen who killed three young protesters when they opened fire on them from the back of a truck in Athlone in 1985.

ADVOCATE Rossouw was born in Parow and matriculated at Porterville High School. He obtained the degrees BA and LLB at the University of Stellenbosch. He joined the Department of Justice in 1959 and served as Public Prosecutor and later as State Advocate in Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Maritzburg, Johannesburg and Kimberley. In 1976 he was appointed Deputy Attorney-General in Maritzburg. In the same year the status of Senior Consultus was awarded to him by the State President. In 1980 he was promoted to Attorney-General of the Cape. He is married and has three children.

The three ordinary members of the standing commission on violence are not well-known, especially in political circles, and this apparent political neutrality may have accounted partially for their selection.

Newcastle attorney Lilian Baqwa was the first black woman lawyer admitted as attorney by the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court. Although she once worked for the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg, she does not concentrate on political cases now.

In 1987 and 1988 she served as a member of the committee of the South African Law Commission which investigated the legal aspects regarding black marriages. At present she is a member of the advice council for small claims courts.

Pretoria advocate Msakazi "Solly" Sithole has also not shown any predilection for political cases, according to his colleagues.

He lectured at the University of the North from 1973 to 1987 and joined the Pretoria Bar in 1988. During 1987 he spent some time in the US as a fellow of the United States-South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme.

Gert Steyn resigns as Regional Court President of the Eastern Cape at the end of this month.

He was born in Ventersburg in the Free State and matriculated at the Brandfort High School. He joined the Department of Justice in 1949 and served, among others, in Thaba Nchu, Benoni, Ficksburg, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

Mr Steyn obtained the Diploma Juris in 1959 and in 1961 the Diploma Legum. He also served at the head office of the Department of Justice.

In 1974 he was appointed Regional Court magistrate and in 1981 was promoted to Regional Court President.

PEACE TRAIN IS HIJACKED

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
and **MONWABISI NOMADOLO** 27/10/91

TERROR and despair have replaced the premature optimism of the National Peace Accord (NPA), signed two months ago, as violence continues in the troubled townships and on the trains.

It seems there will be no easy walk to peace.

And the ANC and IFP leaders are once again at each other's throats with accusations and counter accusations over the slaughter.

Nearly 200 people have been killed since the signing of the accord on September 14.

The renewed war of words between the two organisations came in the wake of the Bloody Wednesday morning train massacre in which 13 commuters were butchered, allegedly by IFP supporters from the notorious Nancefield hostel in Soweto.

The police say nine people died and 26 were injured, six of them seriously.

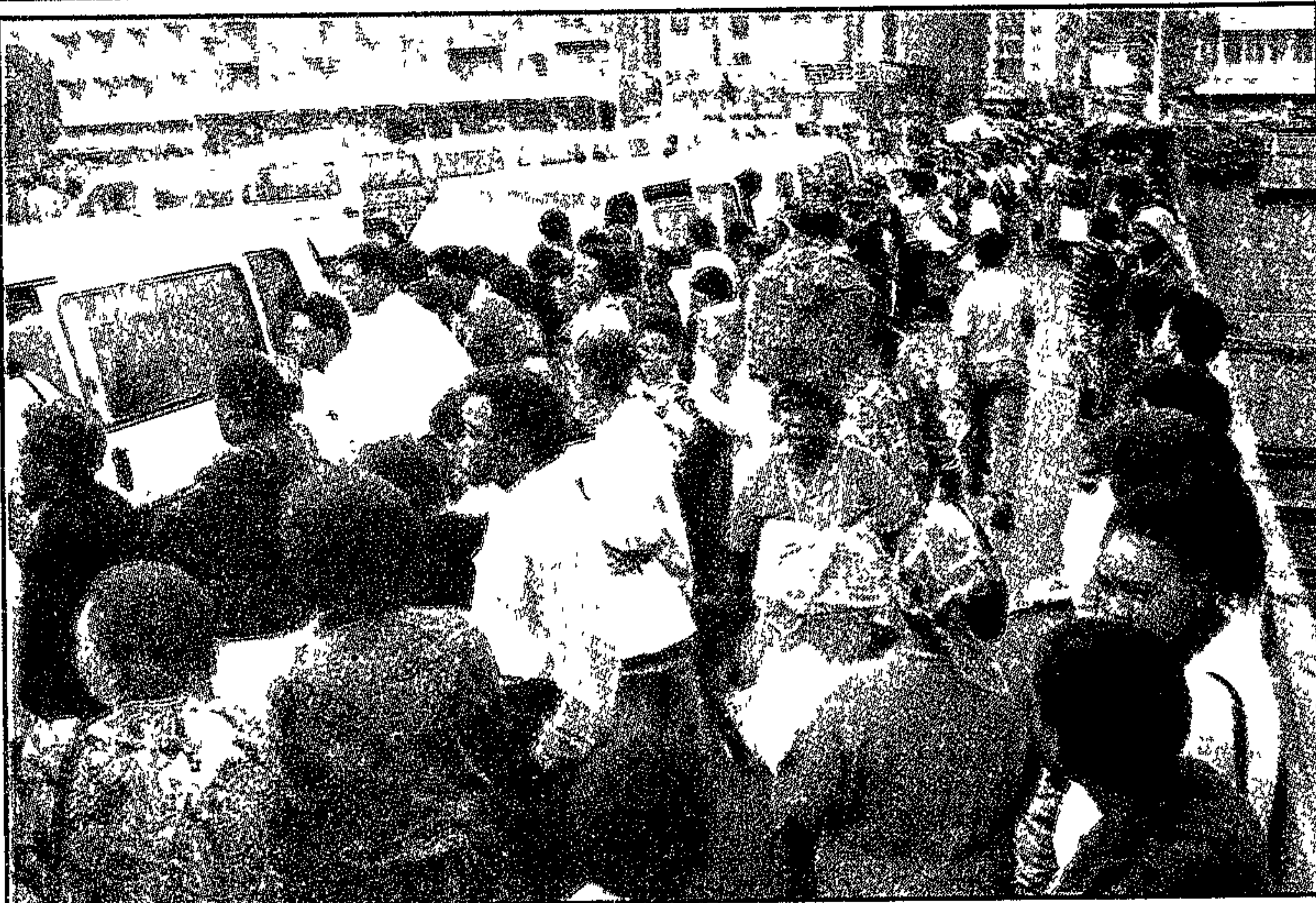
The ANC put the number of the dead at 13, saying nine bodies were found at Nancefield, and four at Orlando.

The ANC and IFP called press conferences within hours after the attack and blamed each other for the killings.

The ANC said the attackers came from the Nancefield hostel.

The IFP said the attackers were armed ANC supporters.

"In all attacks, the assailants waited for commuters to board the train and then started attacking



DEATH RIDE . . . Commuters (above) would rather stand in endless queues at the taxi rank than take the death train. A lay preacher (below) pleads for peace on a moving train.



with an assortment of weapons, which included firearms, spears and pangas," the strongly worded ANC statement said.

Soweto police liaison officer, Colonel Jac de Vries, said Wednesday's

attack was sparked by the death of a Zulu inmate of Nancefield who was found stabbed in his car. He died while being taken to hospital.

Asked why the police were unable to arrest the

train attackers, he said police were usually not in the trains when attacks took place, and the killers made sure there were no policemen around before going into action.

The police were unable to guard all the trains because there were so many of them, he said.

He would not say why plainclothes policemen were not posted in trains to protect passengers.

The ANC said the government had "massive state machinery at its disposal" to enable it to prevent such events happening.

The organisation said the attacks came at a time when the democratic movement was bracing it-

self for the Patriotic Front conference in Durban, and the planned strike on November 4 and 5.

The attacks were aimed at demobilising the masses against the strike, and terrorising those who supported the PF.

The Transvaal leader of the IFP Youth Brigade, Themba Khoza, denied allegations that IFP supporters were responsible for the Wednesday attacks.

He said the attacks came after a bloody fight between ANC and IFP supporters.

However, his version of the massacre differed from those of the survivors, the police, the ANC and Cast.



PEACE CALL . . . Soldiers put up a poster which says, "Give peace a chance", but the random slaughter of train commuters just goes on and on.

What does Accord say?

Signatories to the National Peace Accord have also agreed to a code of conduct for political parties and organisations.

The signatories recognise that political parties and organisations play an important role as mediators in a democratic political process.

They also recognise that political parties and organisations have a right to organise their respective structures — canvassing for support, arranging public meetings and encouraging voting.

All parties and organisations shall contribute to the creation of a climate of democratic tolerance by:

- Publicly and repeatedly condemning political violence and encouraging among their followers an understanding of the importance of democratic pluralism and a culture of political tolerance.

- Acting positively, also *vis-a-vis* all public authorities, including local and traditional authorities, to support the right of all political parties and organisations to have reasonable freedom of access to their members, supporters and other persons in rural and urban areas, whether they be housed on public or private property.

(274) Intimidate

No political party or organisations or any official or representative of any such party shall:

- Kill, injure, apply violence to, intimidate or threaten any other person in connection with that person's political beliefs, words, writings or actions.

- Remove, disfigure, destroy, plagiarise or otherwise misrepresent any symbol or other material of any other political party or organisation.

- Interfere with, ob-

struct or threaten any other person or group travelling to or from, or intending to attend, any gathering for political purposes.

- Seek to compel, by force or threat of force, any person to join any party or organisation, attend any meeting, make any contribution, resign from any post or office, boycott any occasion or commercial activity, or withhold his or her labour or fail to perform a lawful obligation.

- Obstruct or interfere with any official or representative of any other political party or organisation's message to contact or address any group of people.

- The printing of the Pledge Certificates which will be sent to people and institutions who sign the peace pledge has been made possible by a generous donation by the Canadian government.

Star 28/10/97.

Peace team in a hurry

By Peter Fabricius (274)
Political Correspondent

The interim National Peace Secretariat appointed last week is expected to get down to work immediately.

Although at least two more members have still to be announced, informed sources said that the secretariat would move into offices very soon.

The secretariat's main task will be to establish a countrywide network of regional and local dispute-resolving committees to monitor, prevent and curb violence.

The sources said that even before the formal appointment of the secretariat, informal discussions had been held to establish dispute-resolution committees in eight or nine flashpoints.

Four people — Cosatu's Jeandra Naidoo (not Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo), Inkatha's Suzanne Vos, National Party Port Elizabeth North MP and advocate Gert Myburgh, and Transvaal Law Societies president Dr Antonie Gildenhuys — were appointed to the secretariat yesterday.

● Peace Train — Page 6

Council bows out of taxi talks

THE Lingeletu West City Council has withdrawn from all peace moves to end the Cape Peninsula taxi war.

This follows the arrest of a councillor for allegedly shooting a Lagunya taxi driver at the weekend.

So far the councillors maintained they were unbiased in their efforts to settle the dispute between the two warring taxi associations. *Sowetan* 30/10/91.

However, it has since come to light that at least four councillors have interests in the taxi business.

The town clerk, Mr Graham Lawrence, said that until due process of law had taken place, his council would not participate in further negotiations.

He said the individual actions of one councillor did not represent the council's policy of trying to bring peace to the community. - *Sapa*

Dorflina off the hook

Police study links ANC and violence

8.12.90 31/10/91 DAVE LOURENS (274)

THE SAP said yesterday an 18-month survey of political violence it had conducted showed the ANC and its supporters were the main perpetrators of violence.

Details of the police study, which focused on 643 cases of politically motivated violence between February 2 1990 and July 31 this year, were released to counter a claim last week that Inkatha and the SAP initiated most incidents.

The study found that ANC members or supporters were the aggressors in most instances, SAP spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said yesterday.

In 143 cases both aggressor and target were identified by police as politically affiliated. Of these attacks, 56% were carried out by ANC members and supporters, 40% by Inkatha members and supporters, and the rest by PAC/Azapo members and supporters; 73% of the attacks were aimed at political opponents, 22% at security forces and 5% at schools.

In 168 cases only the aggressor was identified as politically affiliated. ANC members and supporters carried out 86% of the attacks and Inkatha members and supporters 12%. These attacks were aimed at innocent people (65%), security forces (13%) and third-tier local authorities (11%). In the remaining 332 cases it was impossible to identify aggressor or target as politically affiliated.

Innocent people (89%) were the main

□ To Page 2

Violence

8.12.90 31/10/91

victims of these attacks. Police rejected a Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) document which attributed most acts of violence to Inkatha and police. Van Rooyen said: "It is the respectful submission of the police that the Case researcher (David Everatt) did not use any scientifically recognised method to come to all the conclusions and assumptions published in the report."

The Case statistics indicated Inkatha members and supporters were responsible for 51% of attacks and police for 23%. Other groups were ANC members and supporters (4%), vigilantes (5%) and Azapo, PAC and criminals (1% each).

274 □ From Page 1
Van Rooyen said the SAP had concluded that the Case document was inaccurate and that its researchers had merely "analysed" media reports.

Police researchers had personally interviewed complainants, witnesses, investigators "and various other relevant people". Several court cases and inquest judgments had also been studied.

Everatt's figures dealt with cases reported between July 22 1990 and July 31 this year in the media and by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Human Rights Commission.

ANC blamed for violence

CT 31/10/91

274

Own Correspondent

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Dr Everatt last night defended his study. His survey had been total, while the police had selected only 643 incidents.

The SAP, he said, failed to identify the source of their data or how they had analysed it.

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PEACE TRAIN



Are unions striving for reconciliation?

By Aaron Makhari

Many organisations including the trade union movement have declared their total commitment to peace.

Stories are related how leading unionists played instrumental behind-the-scenes roles to help the signing of the National Peace Accord.

Without casting doubts on the unions' commitment, I wonder how much they are doing on the ground to implement their work in this direction.

Therefore I recently decided to test the waters and see whether

union members were practising the spirit of tolerance and accommodation of dissenting views.

The best way to go about it was to approach a shop where a strike was under way, pretending I was coming to pay my instalments.

There have been strikes at Ellerines furniture stores, and I went to Ellerines in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

I was told in no uncertain terms that I was not at liberty to take my business to Ellerines until the company had met workers' demands.

I said the matter was an issue between El-

lerines and the workers. My concern was only to "pay my instalments, which are long overdue".

The answer was clear and threatening. "If you insist on entering the shop you had better stay in there forever or else your family will refer to you in the past tense."

For me it was a test but how many customers have been intimidated and threatened with death?

In this fashion, trade unions — or their members, at least — are not encouraging peace.

● Aaron Makhari is a businessman and freelance journalist.

Police claims 'aim to discredit ANC'



CT 1/11/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday said allegations by the police that the organisation was the perpetrator of violence flew in the face of reality.

The organisation said it appeared that now that the SA Police command was confronted with irrefutable evidence of its partiality and aggression — "as evidenced in the inquest into the assassination of Chief Maphumulo" — the police had decided to discredit the ANC and thus justify what the police have been doing.

The organisation said if the SAP figures were based on their investigations into political violence they must be taken with a pinch of salt.

"Firstly, if they were correct and representative figures, the SAP would, by virtue of having access to such information, have a greater success record in the arrest and conviction of perpetrators of violence.

"Secondly, if the police figures are based on their failure to apprehend perpetrators of violence they are worthless as a scientific sample of who is responsible for the violence," the ANC said.

ANC slams SAIRR statement on violence

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC said yesterday it viewed with concern recent statements on violence by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

SAIRR director Mr John Kane-Berman reportedly said Inkatha Freedom Party members sometimes repaid violent attacks against them with an extremely high rate of counter-attacks.

The ANC said the statement implied IFP violence was only retaliatory and "legitimises revenge killings".

"This, together with police statistics that accuse the ANC of being responsible for 86% of the violence, reinforces the perceptions by all the communities that the police are biased and do not have the interests of the victims of violence at heart," the ANC said. — Sapa

The police claim illustrated the police's "prejudice, hostility, aggression and obstruction" which ANC members had experienced.

The ANC added it recognised there were dedicated individual police officers serving in the SAP who wished to perform their jobs professionally. "Unfortunately these are constrained by an institution that sees its mission as smashing the ANC. Only thorough restructuring of the SAP will convert it into an institution that serves the nation as a whole," it said. — Sapa

It's time to pull together

IF THE National Peace Accord fails — if violence in our land continues to escalate in spite of it — it will not be the fault of any one party or group, but of all of them. It will not be the fault of any one section of the population, but of all of us.

The Peace Accord may have its weaknesses, but it is a remarkable and unique enterprise and its signing was a deeply moving event. Millions of people watching the ceremony unfold breathed a prayer of thanksgiving.

If it fails, it will not be because of legal imperfections but because too many of its signatories lacked the moral will to make it work and too many ordinary South Africans thought that making it work was the concern of someone else.

Evidence of that lack of moral will was right there at the ceremony with a display of political opportunism outside the Carlton Hotel and unseemly bickering between political leaders at the press conference afterwards.

Evidence of our buck-passing was seen soon after: some of the press cast a question mark over the exercise almost from day one, and are now pronouncing it a lost cause. People in general are sitting about waiting for someone else to do something about it.

The double dilemma

The dilemma facing the Peace Accord is partly that none of the main players know very much about peace, because they have all had a stake in violence. All of them are trapped by their endorsement of violence in one way or another.

Some signatories see peace not as a desperate necessity but as a strategy to be pursued only if it brings advantage, and to be abandoned if things don't go their way.

Others know that violence is the only way to prove a support they don't really have — the only strategy that can possibly make things go their way.

Yet others oscillate between needing stability for economic progress and stirring chaos for political advantage, and they have become expert at turning violence on and off when it suits them.

All of this may be clever politics but it stinks of hypocrisy because each group, in spite of protestations of peace, still holds open the door to violence.

Certainly, when it comes to apportioning the degree of responsibility, there may be a difference. I am persuaded by the almost irrefutable mounting evidence that some are more culpable than others, but the 10 corpses killed by one group are just as dead as the 20 killed by another, and the widows and orphans we have to comfort are no less bereaved.

The other part of the dilemma is that we are all implicated in the violence.

Whites must bear responsibility because the present violence is a step-child of the years of



BISHOP PETER STOREY of the Methodist Church pulls no punches in this plea for reconciliation made at a branch meeting of the ANC.

apartheid. It was we whites who for years supported a system which robbed and sometimes murdered black people.

We were mostly silent when the death squads were doing their work and when police ran rough-shod over the lives of so many. The law became a thief, so it became a virtue to break the law.

There is a sense in which the wave of wanton killing in the northern suburbs is not unrelated to the township violence. These killings have a dimension to them which has as much to do with vengeance as with crime. It is almost as if the motive is to wreak cruel punishment as well as to steal, and this is an ominous development.

The first population to arm themselves to the teeth were the whites (quite uselessly, as it turned out) and unless we are willing to do something about our arsenals, we can kiss goodbye to any hope of township people getting rid of their newly acquired weaponry.

meony was that of De Klerk, Buthelezi and Mandela sitting together. This needs to happen at every level. Wherever there is trouble, we want to see the leaders standing, not with their constituencies, but between the warring factions — together. If they cannot do this, they must not expect to be believed.

They can make bold symbolic gestures.

Let them begin with a few gestures which will leave their followers in no doubt about their sincerity.

Inkatha can ban the carrying of "traditional weapons" as an act of commitment to peace. All the rationalisations in the world will never justify the hypocritical and threatening message conveyed by someone talking peace with a spear in his hand. That is cultural hogwash.

The ANC can ban the toy-toy as a similar gesture. The toy-toy, and the often insult-

by the bankruptcy of this response. It is like saying that the only way to avoid nuclear holocaust is for everyone to have their own little hydrogen bomb. The political organisations must make up their minds whether they want a civil society or an armed camp.

The options are either that everyone will end up toting a gun, or we will limit possession of arms to the civil power — and focus our energies on civilising that power so that everyone can trust it.

They can show they mean business.

A few firm actions would speak louder than a thousand words. The ANC could deal with their bully-boys in Lydenburg who blocked DP supporters in their school from writing exams and burnt some of their homes. They could expel the local ANC representative who refused to lift a finger to stop it. President de Klerk could stop

“The priority now, however, is to create the climate for a just dispensation to be born. That is why peace now is so important.”

Blacks, on the other hand, are being asked right now to demonstrate a political tolerance they have never experienced. A whole generation has grown up in the belief that the only way to advance any cause is through intolerance, intimidation and coercion — the very opposite of the ethos required for peace.

They learnt this culture first from the apartheid regime and then were encouraged in it by their political leaders in the struggle.

And both blacks and whites are still mesmerised by a Messiah syndrome, believing that either De Klerk or Terre-Blanche, Mandela or Buthelezi will deal with the situation.

Breaking out of the dilemma

If the Peace Accord is to work, we need a combination of statesmanship from political leaders and pressure for peace from the people.

The leaders:

They can be seen together.

The most powerful image at the Peace Accord signing cer-

ing songs which go with it, is an invitation to mob hysteria. Its association with some of the worst political violence in the past makes it a liability. It, too, has no place in post-Peace Accord South Africa.

Let the Government play their part by ridding the security forces of the camouflage uniforms and armoured vehicles which evoke bitter memories of the civil war that was so narrowly averted. The police have a long way to go to project a new, human image. Their sloppy military fatigues convey an image of loose discipline and readiness to fight, rather than that of well-controlled protectors of the peace.

These may seem small things — symbols only — but symbols move people more than we know, and they send a powerful message.

They can disarm.

The knee-jerk response to every threat right now is, "We must arm ourselves," and those of us looking for something new for South Africa are saddened

ignoring the mounting evidence of security force implication in hit squads, ferret them out of their shadowy hiding-places and bring them to trial.

The IFP could nail a couple of the warlords who are walking free, boasting of the murders they have committed, and hand them over to justice.

It is only when we see the main players dealing firmly with their own troublemakers, rather than pointing fingers elsewhere, that the message will get through.

They can call in help.

The only time real progress towards peace has been made has been with the help of outside agencies — in this case, the churches and the business community. Already, however, in the implementation of the Accord, there is a growing fear that Government departments will dominate, holding the power to block its progress if they wish.

We need people on the spot who will see through attempts by the Government or any other

Responsibility of all to make Accord

party to manipulate the Accord to their political advantage — and who will hold all parties accountable to peace.

The people:

People-power is the new word in politics. The urgent need now is to use it for peace.

Mass peace action.

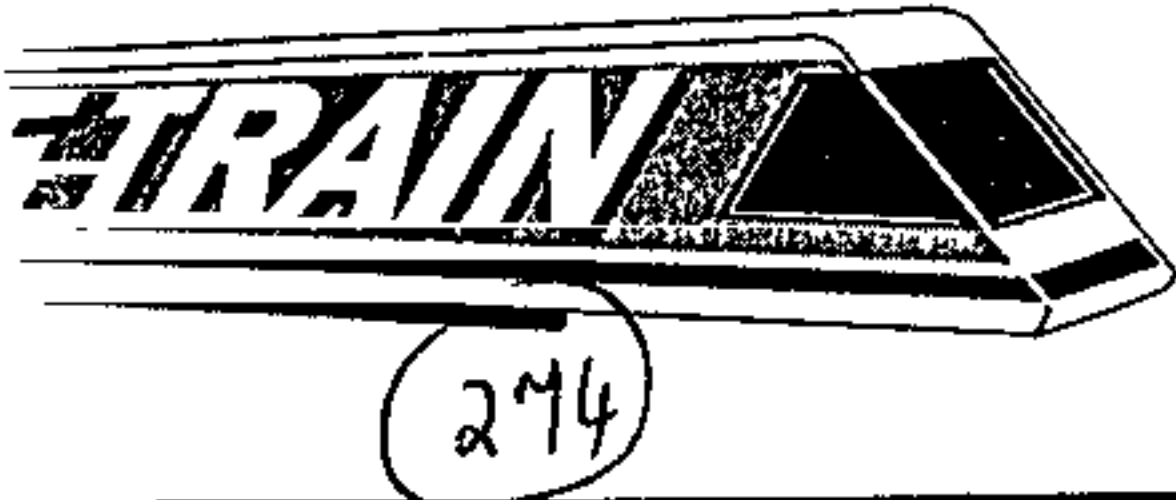
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What has happened to that

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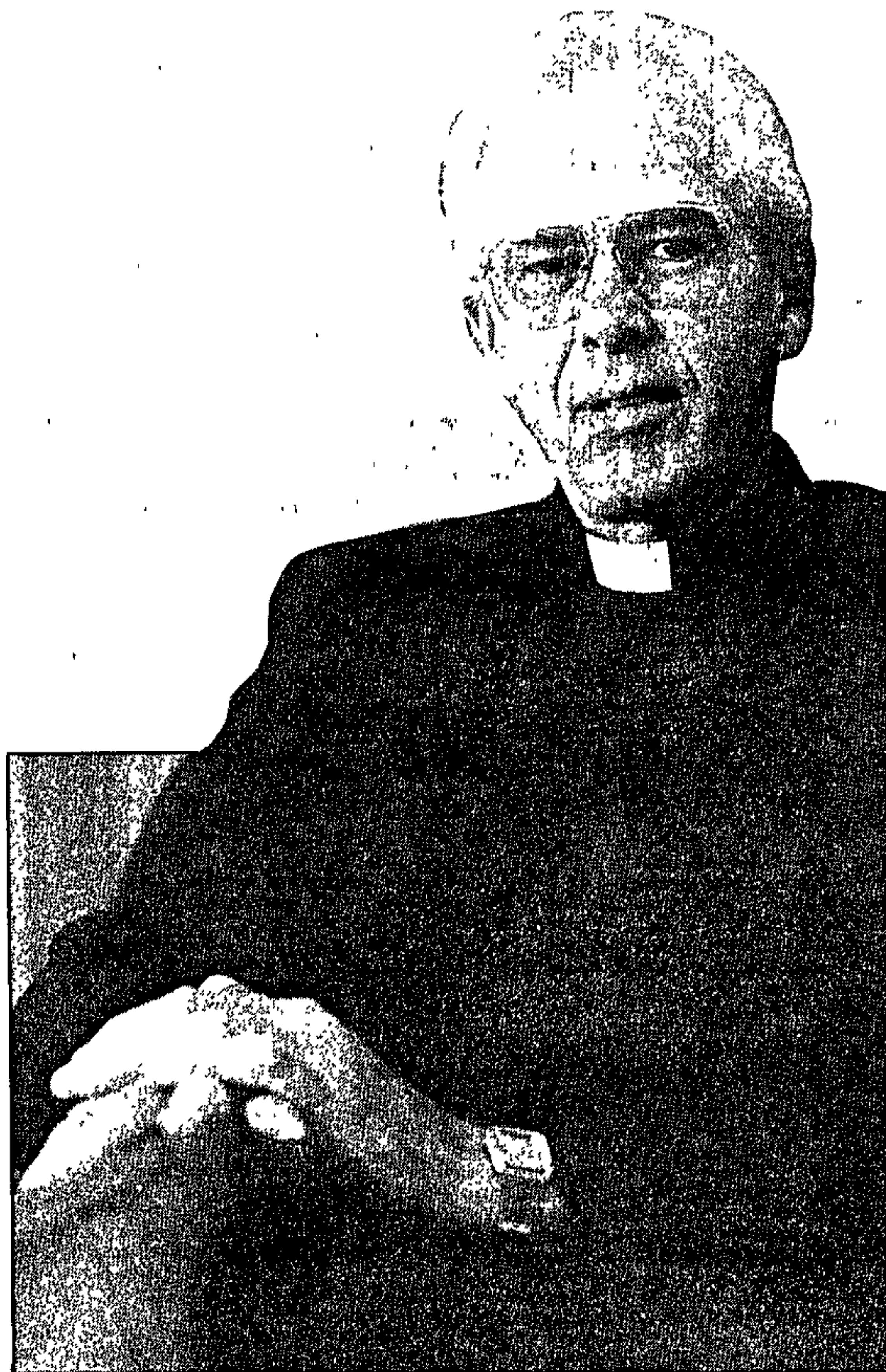
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Responsibility of all to make Accord work . . . Peter Storey.

Picture: Sean Woods

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The people:

People-power is the new word in politics. The urgent need now is to use it for peace.

Mass peace action.

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What has happened to that

energy? Can it not be harnessed to spread a message that is one of life or death for the future? Mass rallies in every area, featuring the leaders together, should be a regular feature. The message always should be "We are not together because we agree, but because democracy is about disagreeing in a civilised way."

Peace education.

The time for peacemaking is upon us, with pitifully few people equipped for the task. Peace education — training in non-violent conflict resolution, mediation and problem-solving — must become a priority for schools, churches, community organisations, the police and Government agencies.

The people should demand

that political leaders receive this training — how can they be equipped to lead us to peace when they are often peace-illiterate? They need to discover the very wide range of options, other than force, which are open to them.

Standing up to terror.

The present violence is still being practised by a relatively small group of people — certainly the worst incidents are sparked off by groups as small as two or three gunmen.

We have seen what can happen when people, with incredible courage, say "enough is enough." The apprehension of some train killers by angry commuters was a case in point.

Right now, murderers — whether of right or left-wing

persuasion — are being sheltered in communities who know they are there. They are being fed and hidden out of misguided political allegiance and they need to be exposed. Their names are known by people and they need to be identified.

A confidential hot-line needs to be set up to the Peace Secretariat so that killers, whether linked with the State or with any of the political organisations — or simply acting out of self-interest — can be brought into the open.

The broad population must be given ways of saying their adamant "No" to this small minority who want to bring us all to the abyss. They must get the message that there will be nowhere to hide.

Become evangelists for tolerance.

The time has come for the ordinary people to call the bluff of leaders who exploit differences in our land. The oldest political trick in the book is to whip up the feelings of one group against another and to make capital out of threat and fear.

We must spread the word that our leaders will be judged by a new criterion — what they have to offer towards unity rather than their ability to attack others. We need to demand a new maturity in political debate. We must particularly convey the message to all of them that sabre-rattling is out of season now.

Anyone who aspires to leadership in our land must hear the message from the people — loud and clear. "The degree to which you need violence or threats of violence to achieve your aims is the degree to which the people of South Africa don't need you."

I believe that these actions, by leaders and people, could make the difference.

There is one other crucial issue that must be addressed. Unless the civil powers charged with keeping the peace can be trusted, all these measures will be to no avail. Right now, and for good historical reasons, the police and security forces in our land do not enjoy that trust. We can argue endlessly about how many bad apples taint the whole barrel, but that doesn't change this fact.

The time has come for a multiparty peace force, incorporating right into its structures members of all the main player organisations as well as groups who are not in the power game. If we haven't the creativity to know how to do this fairly, let us call in an international agency like the Carter Institute or some similar body to help us.

Lasting peace will only come to this land when the people — all the people — are free to decide their daily destiny in a just dispensation. The priority now, however, is to create the climate for that dispensation to be born. That is why peace now is so important. □

Sithole - a big man for a big mission

Someone 11/11/91 274

A BIG man with a big mission - that is Mr Msakazi Nteku Solomon Sithole, better known as Solly Sithole, the Pretoria advocate who has been appointed to the Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

"My mission, in terms of the Act establishing the commission, is to seek the truth about political violence, the causes of the violence and who is responsible for the violence.

"It is an honour for me to serve on the commission, and it is the one contribution that I can make to the peace initiative in this country. I believe there are great challenges lying ahead in seeking the truth as to the causes of political violence."

As chairman of the sub-committee investigating the recent violent clashes in Tokoza, Sithole will be at the head of the team trying to unravel allegations and counter-allegations about just one of the

Own Correspondent

outbreaks of violence.

"We have already started meeting to prepare the ground for the hearings, which we expect to start soon after November 18," he said.

Sithole was born on June 14 1941, in Pretoria. He went to St Peter's Primary School and Lady Selborne High School in Pretoria before obtaining a BA degree in Political Science and Philosophy at Unisa.

The University of the North was his next stop, where he completed B.Juris and LL.B degrees.

He lectured in law at the University of the North for 15 years before returning to Pretoria to practise law. He was admitted to the Pretoria Bar in 1988.

He prizes his independence as a practising advocate, which he believes won him his seat on the commission.

INKATHA's central committee at the weekend urged authorities to ensure that peace mechanisms specified in the National Peace Accord be put into place "as soon as humanly possible".

"We are aware of the extent to which levels of violence in South Africa are prohibitive of the process of consultation necessary for the launching of negotiations," the central committee said in a resolution.

Decisive

"(We) therefore call upon the National Peace Committee to take immediate steps to ensure that peace mechanisms envisaged in the National Peace Accord are put into position as soon as humanly

Move on peace: IFP

Sowetan 11/11/91
possible and to call upon the South African Government to act decisively."

The committee also expressed "deep alarm" at the extent of national violence "and the inability of both the South African Government security forces and political parties to break its upward spiral".

The committee passed a resolution suggesting the

Chief Justice be asked to act as convener of a multiparty conference and to chair the event "until a panel of chairmen can be chosen from the floor".

A multiparty conference, the committee said, "should be one of the country's highest priorities".

Anthem

On the issues of a national anthem, flag and colours for sports events, the committee passed a resolution urging that these be left intact "until such time as they are subjected to negotiation by all interested parties".

It demanded withdrawal of the colours and "anthem" for the country's Olympic athletes, saying these were imposed without consultation. - Sapa.

SA'S PSYCHE: Is there hope for peace in a society where violence is normal? By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

Giving violence the rubber stamp

W/Mand. 111-111191

METHODIST Bishop Peter Storey launched a scathing criticism this week on the leaders of the main political parties, accusing them of knowing little about peace because they had all had a stake in the violence.

"All of them are trapped by their endorsement of violence in one way or another," he said.

But if the politicians are ignorant of peace, how much more the ordinary South African in the street?

In East London, there is an indignant chorus against the high level of violent crime. But security guard Sybrand Louis van Schoor, on trial for 19 murders and 21 attempted murders, has his name splashed after "I love" hearts on bumper stickers.

Soweto residents deplore the violence from the migrant workers' hostels. But at a people's court in the township, an elderly man suggests that if two youths who have been caught stealing are not put to death, they ought at least to have their eyes plucked out. Hundreds murmur assent.

The director of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for the Study of Violence, Lloyd Vogelmann, has stopped using the term "culture of violence" that he himself coined several years ago.

He now speaks of "mass endorsement of violence" — a more helpful concept in getting to grips with why exactly South Africa has become one of the most violent societies in the world.

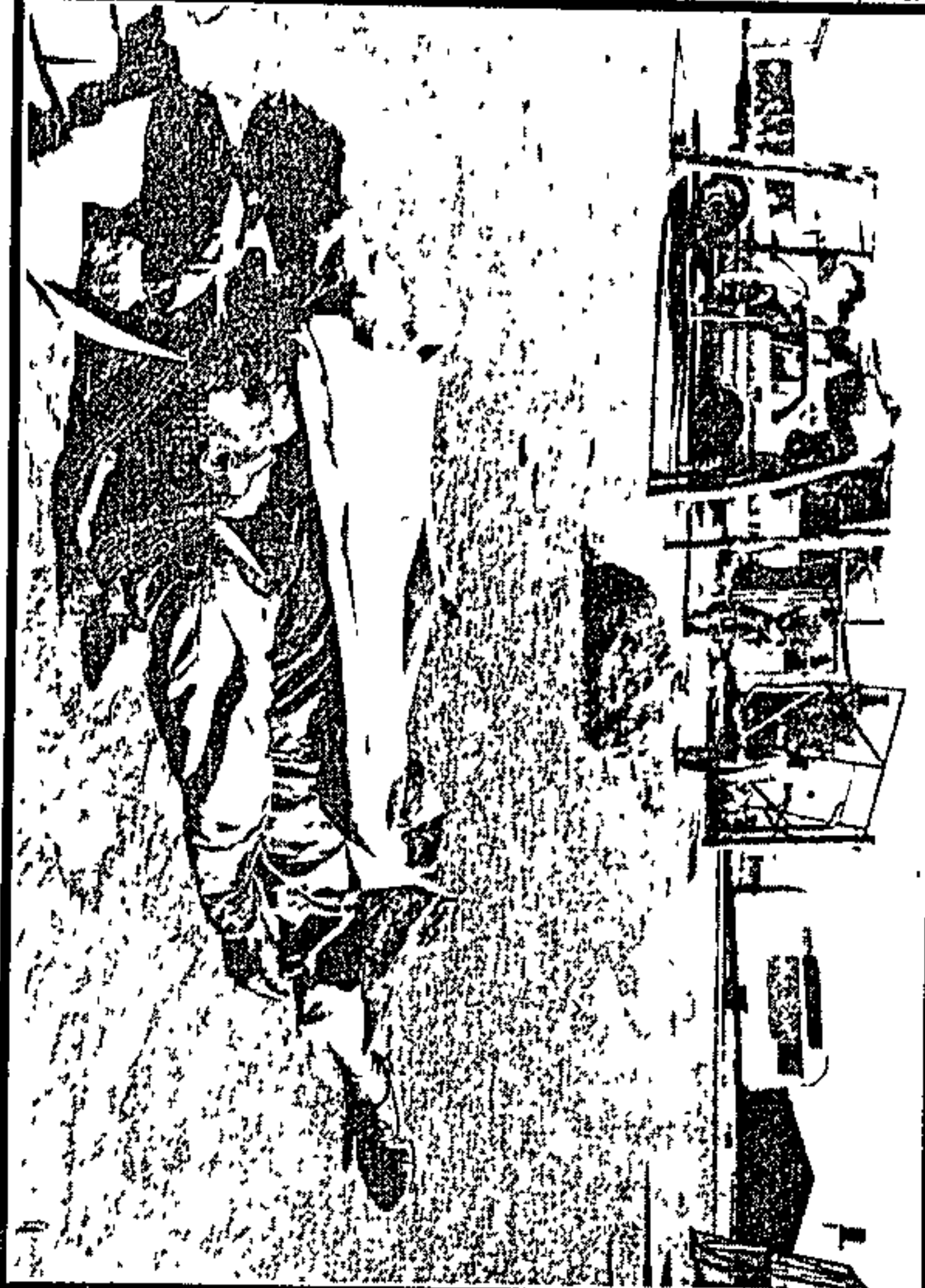
The ever-rising, mind-numbing statistics on rape, robbery and murder are becoming commonplace. Colonel Johan Mostert, of the South African Police, says that 22 000 people were murdered in the 15 months to February this year.

That's the entire population of a small town the size of Lydenburg.

A daily look at crime reports in the newspapers leads one to the depressingly easy conclusion that there is something psychotic in the collective mentality of this country.

Last week, on the same day that hostel dwellers twice attacked Soweto trains bound for Johannesburg, massacring nine people and injuring scores others, a 17-year-old Soweto school pupil, Phillip Khumalo, tried to blow his father up with a hand-grenade. He had just got the pin off when he himself was blown sky high.

On the same day, 18-year-old Richard Bester was released on parole after spending less than four months in jail. Bester, the leader of the Kaffir-bashers secret society at Dale College, had been convicted of beating to death a 70-year-old tramp found on the school grounds.



A shabby death for one more victim ... 22 000 people have been murdered in 15 months

Photo. KEVIN CARTER

Stories like this seem to corroborate the notion of a uniquely South African pathology, the heart of darkness scenario that put crime writer Rian Malan on the best sellers lists.

But our corrosion is moral rather than organic. Trapped in the mental ghettos that apartheid created, South Africans are selective in their condemnation of violence.

The moral tone was set decades ago by the physical violence that has always accompanied apartheid, either in the form of forced removals, daily abuse of Africans or the *kragdadige* iron fist crushing all dissidence.

The people who implemented these policies went to church on Sundays and imagined themselves to be God-fearing.

Most whites ignored the fact that Pretoria was supplying and backing Mozambique's rebel movement, Renamo. They had no way of knowing that the same AK47s that reduced the peasantry of Gaza province to beggary in the slums of Maputo would one day be used to hijack the BMWs of Sandton.

Those on the left who advanced noble reasons for not condemning necklace killings — or still advocate the wholesale slaughter of Inkatha members as a means of ending the war — are guilty of as great a moral lapse.

They miss the real lesson of those who are reaping the social dislocation and violence that apartheid sowed in the form of an unprecedented crime wave: peace is indivisible. You cannot make war, even by silent proxy, and sleep easily at night.

Political parties put forward two solutions this week to the violent crime wave — better policing and a longer-term socio-economic upliftment. Indeed, both are essential.

The temptation to steal will remain as long as there are so many riches next to such grotesque poverty. We are not unique — it happens like that in Brazil and other developing countries.

Burglary in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, for instance, has become almost political, justified as a means of redistributing wealth.

"There is a sense in which the wave of wanton killing in the northern suburbs is not unrelated to the township violence: these killings have a dimension to them that has as much to do with vengeance as with crime," says Storey.

But socio-economic conditions on their own don't create crime, even if they offer explanations. For a start, most poor people are not criminals.

Drink, drugs, the collapse of the family and parental discipline and the availability of

weapons go some way towards an explanation. Putting 57 000 criminals — released in the amnesty earlier this year — back on the streets doesn't help either.

There is also the low level of personal esteem that apartheid has created. For many, the only route to achievement has become a perverted sense of masculinity. The same machismo that drives the jack-rollers to aspire to rape every woman under 26 years of age in Soweto drives a car-load of drunken bootleggers from Welkom to go on the streets of their town after dark.

But ultimately it is what Vogelmann refers to as the social endorsement of violence that has to be dealt with. If a peace movement in South Africa is to have any chance of success.

Vogelmann says we should be seeking to close down the avenues people use to endorse violence by making it socially unacceptable. He points out that most South Africans are non-violent. "An enormous amount of caring and compassion exists. There is another level of creation and interaction that is not often pointed to."

"In looking for solutions, we have to examine those communities that aren't as violent to understand why."

But the lead and the example has to come from the politicians. Storey spelled that out in clear terms this week.

"The African National Congress can deal with their little bully boys in Lydenburg who blocked Democratic Party supporters in their school from writing exams and burned some of their homes. They can expel the local ANC representative who refused to lift a finger to stop it."

"President F.W. de Klerk can stop ignoring the mounting evidence of security force implication in hit squads, ferret them out of their shadowy hiding places and bring them to trial."

"The Inkatha Freedom Party can nail a couple of the warlords who are walking free, boasting of the murders they have committed, and hand them over to justice."

The majority of South Africans want peace because they are potential victims — the elderly who cannot walk to the shops without being assaulted, women who are the victims of rape and abuse, people who just want to get on with their lives.

There is a desperate need to create a countervailing culture of non-violence in South Africa. But to do that, violence has to be seen as an absolute wrong, and the use of force sanctioned only in the most extreme cases when no other remedy is available.

Nearly 60 ANC, IFP activists assassinated

Political Reporter

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Almost 60 ANC and IFP activists and leaders have been assassinated by unknown gunmen this year.

An estimated 25 IFP leaders — branch chairmen, vice-chairmen and secretaries or organisers where branches had not yet been formed — had been assassinated since the signing of the ANC/IFP peace accord on January 29, the head of the Inkatha Institute's Violence Study Unit, Kim Hodgson, said yesterday.

About 30 ANC activists including office bearers and youth and community leaders, had been killed by professional hit squads since January, according to Human Rights Commission figures.

The IFP blamed the ANC for most of the killings while the ANC suggested that a Government-related "third force" was responsible.

Mr Hodgson said seven IFP leaders had died in 17 assassination attempts in Natal in August only, while three leaders had

been murdered since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14.

He said there was no doubt that the ANC had been involved in most of these killings, either in attacks co-ordinated by ANC leaders or in attacks by ANC-supporting vigilantes.

"Unknown" gunmen, which could involve a "third force" had been responsible for some assassinations

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation totally rejected allegations that ANC

leaders orchestrated attacks on political opponents.

"The majority of our members are committed to our undertaking to conduct our politics peacefully and allow others to do the same. We have repeatedly said that we condemn any elements which don't adhere to that policy and we expect the state to take action against anyone who undermines peace."

The IFP had stopped recruiting members in "areas where the ANC is dominant"

APRIL 1990 TEST

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

ANC refutes police view

Star 1/11/91 274
Police allegations that the ANC was responsible for most incidents of political violence went a long way to explain the experience of ANC supporters, of police prejudice, hostility, aggression and obstruction, the ANC said yesterday.

In a statement, the ANC's department of information and publicity (DIP) said the SAP's allegations "flew in the face of reality".

The DIP said the ANC recognised there were dedicated individual officers who wished to perform their jobs professionally. But unfortunately they were constrained by "an institution that sees its mission as smashing the ANC".



The Peace Accord will be put to its biggest test on Monday, says Kaizer Nyatumba

More at stake than a quarrel over new tax

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MANY South Africans have concluded that the National Peace Accord has failed to bring about peace in the country. They point at the on-going carnage on the Reef and other parts of the country, and say if the accord had been effective it would have stemmed the violence.

But the signatories — the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — argue, quite logically, that the accord was not a magic wand which could put an instant end to violence. It is a process and the various organisations' members have yet to be familiarised with the accord's contents.

What needs to be remembered is that the leaders of the three parties have, without fail, repeatedly condemned any outbreaks of violence and distanced their organisations from violence.

Also to be remembered is that it was not until about two weeks ago that the implementation of the NPA finally got off the ground with the appointment of the two key bodies in the peace strategy. These were the Standing Commission on Violence and Intimidation and the interim National Peace Secretariat.

The real test for the NPA will come on Monday and Tuesday, when the anti-VAT general stayaway will take place.

The NPA has a lot of commendable and nice-sounding provisions and principles, including a commitment to the "basic principles" of freedom of conscience and belief, of speech and expression, of association and movement, of peaceful assembly and peaceful political activity.

The specific provision which will be put to the test is the one which calls upon signatories not to "apply violence to, intimidate or threaten other people".

Coercion, physical and verbal, has long been synonymous with stayaways and consumer boycotts. While previous stayaways and boycotts have no doubt had their advocates and supporters, it is also true that not everybody who participated in them did so voluntarily.

Often calls for stayaways and consumer boycotts simply had to be heeded because failure to do so invited all kinds of physical and verbal abuse.

Already there have been disturbing reports this week that some people in Soweto have been threatened with death if they go to work on Monday and Tuesday.

The ANC has dissociated itself from "such acts", saying such behaviour was "symptomatic of agents provocateurs" and condemning the reported incidents "as acts of hooligans designed to demobilise our people against VAT".

Although political leaders have always said the people are free

to respond to their calls as they see fit, the truth remains that boys and girls — who should have been at school — have often manned barricades and roamed around taxi ranks in the townships in the mornings to prevent people from going to work.

Similarly, in the evenings they have monitored the streets to catch out those who had sneaked to work. In cases of consumer boycotts, those who defied the boycotts have had their groceries strewn all over the ground or have been made to eat raw, and sometimes dangerous, items such as paraffin.

Unsympathetic employers who have penalised their employees for not coming to work on such days, sometimes adopting the "no work no pay" attitude, have done so under the impression that all those who did not go to work did so voluntarily.

They have also done so because they have failed to realise that for their employees to try to go to work on stayaway days sometimes resulted in death for those who were perceived to be "against the people" in the mid-80s.

Will Monday and Tuesday be different? If the NPA is observed, the answer should be yes. The accord protects both those who want to exercise their democratic right to stay away from work and those who want to exercise their equally democratic right to go to work.

The former, says the accord, should "not apply violence to, intimidate or threaten" those who want to go to work. That is the test facing the accord.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is, as a rule, opposed to stayaways and all forms of mass action — including sanctions against South Africa — arguing that these result in IFP members losing their jobs.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and the United Workers' Union of South Africa have already criticised the stayaway, with Chief Buthelezi warning ominously that it will fail and that some people will lose their jobs, their remuneration or even their lives on the two days.

Indeed, many IFP members will seek to go to work on the two days, and they will expect to be able to do so without any harassment or intimidation. The IFP's Krugersdorp office has written to employers in the area, offering "well-disciplined and hard-working people" to employers expected to be hard hit by the stayaway.

And so next week's stayaway will provide the biggest post-NPA test of political tolerance. The different organisations' leaders would do well to ensure that their respective followers respect their rivals' democratic right to differ, and save South Africa a likely but unnecessary confrontation. □

A whole life goes by on

Wheels

Township trains are for playing, praying, drinking — and dying

Star 2/11/91

(274)

MOST people, especially white South Africans, use trains merely as a mode of transport to their workplace.

But there is a different view of trains among black South Africans. For them trains have become a more intimate part of their lives, a place to play or a place to pray.

On a train to Soweto you can buy a meal or a beer, talk politics or religion or, more recently be killed.

Black commuters spend a lot more time in trains than the average motorist stuck in the 5 pm gridlock on the M1, often boarding a train to work before light and alighting from another after dark.

In the process they get to know one another, even make friendships that last. Over the years this camaraderie has aided the emergence of the train sub-culture.

As the sub-culture gained momentum, it resulted in certain carriages taking on a character of their own as they were frequented more and more by people with specific interests.

For example, many thugs met each other for the first time on trains and began to congregate in a specific coach called *dumane*.

It is either the last or the first, depending on the direction the train is going. Drinking alcohol on trains first started in *dumane* — making ordinary commuters fear it.

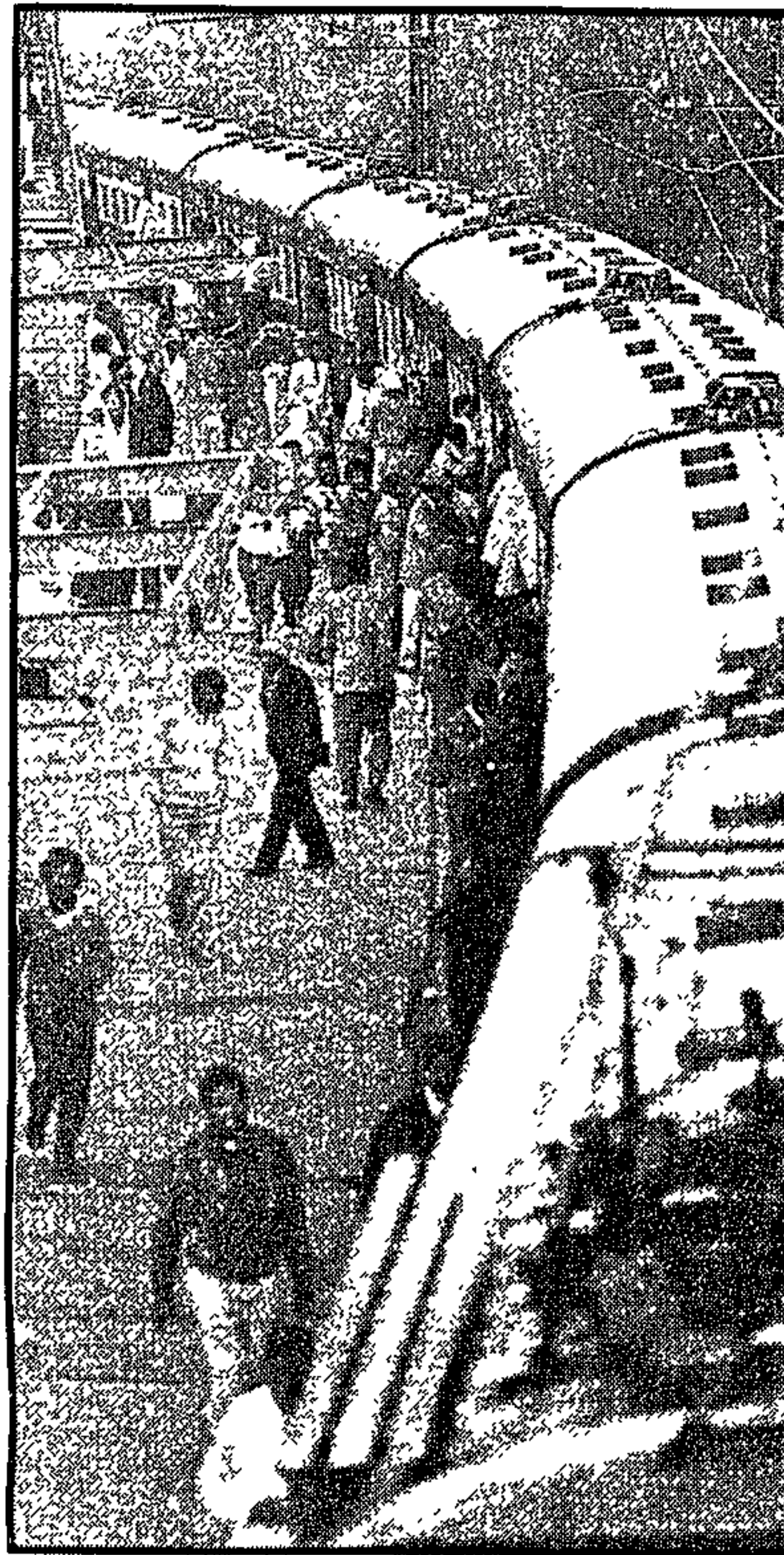
Before the escalation of political violence on the trains, *dumane* used to be associated with such things as throwing people off the train while it is still moving.

Strangers who found themselves in *dumane* would be mugged and their belongings "confiscated" by the occupants. Many women have been raped in the *dumane*.

Other practices that characterised life in *dumane* were gambling and smoking dagga.

Policemen never used to enter

THE little-known sub-culture that flourishes on suburban township trains has been overshadowed by the spread of political violence. ABBEY MAKOE reports.



A LIFESTYLE ON WHEELS: Certain carriages take on a character of their own.

the *dumane* alone because resisting arrest there was fashionable — a way of gaining "respect".

Originally, *dumane* was a check point for hawkers, known on the trains as smockers.

'Be famous'

Dumane continues to be the most notorious coach. It is an appropriate name. In Zulu it means "be famous".

Another coach, called *esontweni*, is used for church services. It is usually frequented by elderly people who do not want to mix

with disrespectful youths.

The emphasis there was on singing, and young people, particularly females, attended for their love of singing gospel songs.

There is no fixed coach for *esontweni* as there is for *dumane*. Church goes simply congregate in any coach which then becomes known as *esontweni*.

The *mzabalazo* coach is the one frequented by activists. This coach existed long before the unbanning of political organisations and was influenced by the popularity of trade unionism.

Occupants would normally be people working for the same company, or at least working in the same area.

There was discipline in *mzabalazo*. There would always be a leader of the coach and any unruly elements were dealt with by issuing *banning orders*.

Some young people would go into the coach for their love of political songs while others would go inside with the sole purpose of politicising commuters. Unlike *dumane*, *mzabalazo* is not found on every train.

First class coaches also existed: in fact as well as in folklore, the actual first class coach. Its counterpart was the third class coach.

Occupants of first class would be people working for insurance or banking companies — clerks in the big business around town. Nursing sisters were also a familiar sight.

This coach was very peaceful. Curtains hung in the windows and security was tight. It was the one coach one could sit and read a paper or a book.

In this coach individualism was espoused.

Then came the *shebeen* coach, which was also not to be found on every train.

It was mostly occupied by delivery people, messengers and cleaners — those people who occupied what some might call the lower rungs of life.



MAKING A CONTRIBUTION: Pretoria advocate Solly Sithole says he is honoured to serve on the commission.

OWN CORRESPONDENT

A BIG man with a big mission: that is Msakazi Nteku Solomon Sithole, better known as Solly Sithole, the Pretoria advocate who has been appointed to the Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

"My mission, in terms of the Act establishing the commission, is to seek the truth about political violence, the causes of the violence and who is responsible for the violence.

"It is an honour for me to serve on the commission, and it is the one contribution that

Solly seeks to unravel truth's twisted skeins

I can make to the peace initiative in this country.

"I believe there are great challenges lying ahead in seeking the truth about the causes of political violence."

As chairman of the sub-committee investigating the recent violent clashes in Thokoza, Mr Sithole will be at the head of the team trying to unravel allegations and counter-allegations about just one of the outbreaks of violence in

Transvaal this year.

"We have already started meeting to prepare the ground for the hearings, which we expect to start soon after November 18," he said.

Mr Sithole was born in Pretoria on June 14 1941. He went to St Peter's Primary School and Lady Selborne High School in Pretoria before obtaining a BA in political science and philosophy at Unisa The University of the North

was his next stop, where he completed B Juris and LLB degrees. He lectured in law at the University of the North for 15 years, before returning to the city of his birth to practice law. He was admitted to the Pretoria Bar in 1988 and has been a practising advocate, specialising in human rights cases, since then.

He prizes his independence as a practising advocate, which he believes won him his seat on the commission.

"If the commission had been a full-time job, I would not have taken it.

"I will remain an independent, self-employed advocate."

Leaders should be big enough to call the whole thing off

IN RESPONSE to The Star's commendable Peace Train initiative, it must be asked: why has there been a prevailing silence on the greatest current threat to peace?

If the ostensible leaders of the oppressed were committed to the Peace Accord, they would call off the planned VAT strike.

This is not to deny the right of the voteless to forcefully impress on the Government their views about the new tax system. It is an appeal to the proponents of the strike to serve their constituents — the poor — better than they are now doing.

I listened with sadness to an NECC spokesman trying to explain on radio why they could not move the strike to a date after matric exams.

The strike organisers' feeling was that after exams the country will be in holiday time, and therefore less impact would be had.

I read with relief, but scepticism, that the strike proponents have "exempted" teachers and students.

Relief because there is at least some awareness of the plight of students, scepticism grounded in experience of mass mobilisation in the past.

Will the troops on the ground heed their leaders' calls (or even be aware of them) to exempt teachers and students when the barricades are set up?

In terms of Professor Lawrie Schlemmer's incisive position paper on the violence in South Africa, the

ANDRIES LATEGAN

VAT strike will provide a triggering event that may flare into violence.

In 1990 when the call was out for teachers not to cooperate with DET structures, a principal on the East Rand went to his school to prepare for an enrichment programme. That evening he was visited by teacher activists who remarked on his nice house. Then came the chilling warning: "You know this house is only standing because we did not bring our matchbox."

Intimidatory tactics of this nature are consistently under-reported. One remarkable exception was the

article by Jon Qwelane in the Sunday Star, describing in detail how self-appointed representatives of "a certain teacher organisation" dictated the course of events in some Soweto schools in tandem with "a certain student organisation", according to decisions made elsewhere.

Qwelane's decision not to name the organisations concerned is itself eloquent testimony to the level of coercion.

Exempting teachers and students from the strike is unrealistic. Experience indicates it is unlikely that the exemption will be heeded by activists on the ground. Further, many teachers and students themselves will be hesitant to isolate them-

selves from community action.

A tradition of democratic voicing of political viewpoints is still too weakly established in society at large to risk another disrupted matric examination.

The strike proponents should be big enough to call off the whole mistaken project. If they cannot do that, they should at least be sufficiently responsible to take it well out of school time.

If they act responsibly, they will surely benefit when the time comes that they put themselves to the test of the free vote.

● The author is former Free State director of the Urban Foundation.

FOCUS ON THE VAT STAYAWAY

REPORT: CHARLES LEONARD PICTURES: DAVID SANDISON

Keep the kids out of it, Kriel tells Cosatu

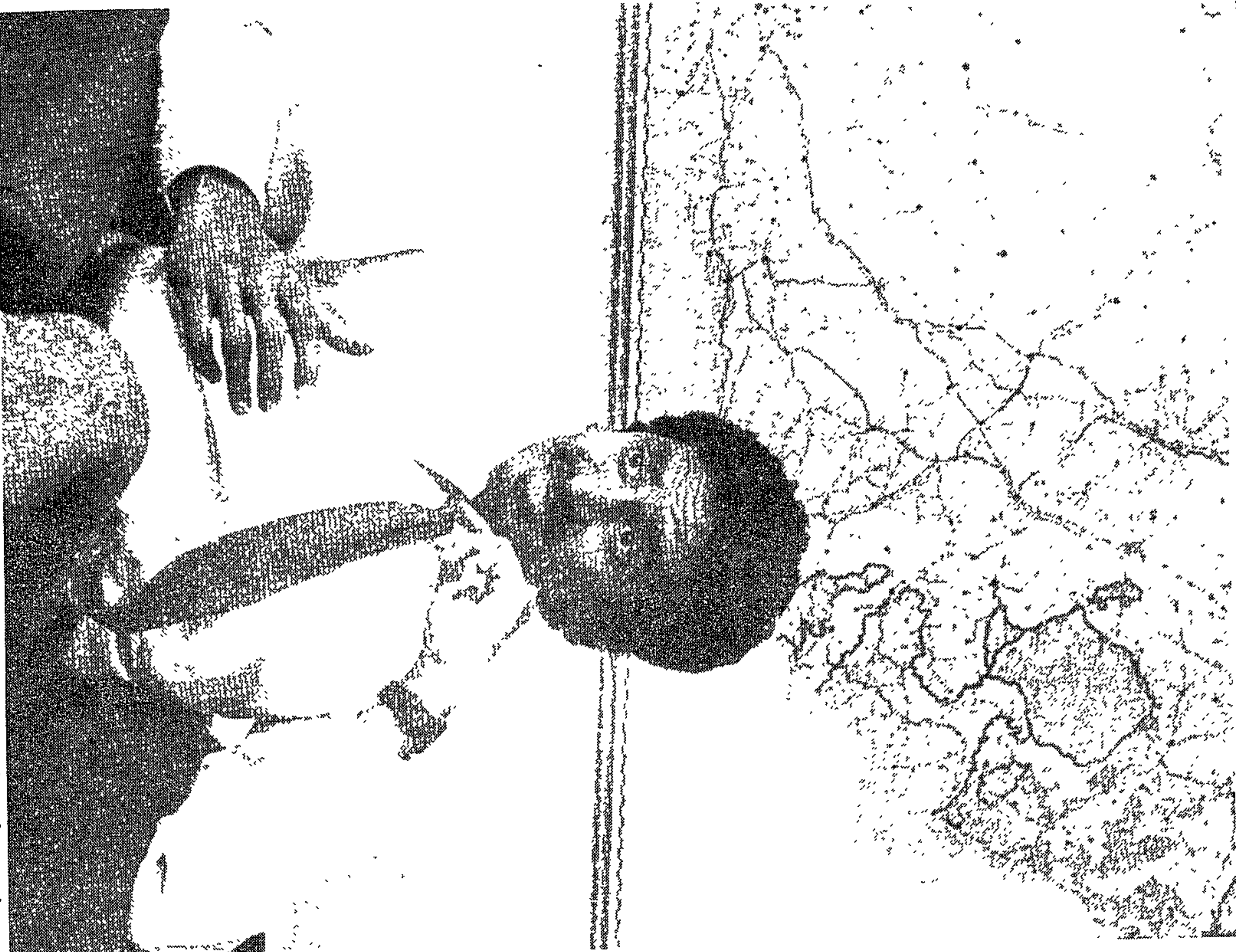
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DON'T BLAME THE POLICE... Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, who has warned the ANC not to use children to front marches

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has accused Cosatu of planning to use children in the frontline of some demonstrations during the two-day stayaway.

Mr Kriel said the police had information that children would be placed at the forefront of illegal marches and accused Cosatu of using children to "get sympathy if they are hurt in clashes with police".

He said: "We give fair warning that children should not be used in this manner. If clashes occur they could get hurt, and if this happens the police should not be blamed."

Furious Cosatu secretary general Jay Naidoo said yesterday the minister's charges were an "insult to our integrity".

"Our marches will be peaceful

and on a completely voluntary basis," he said. "We had discussions with (deputy law and order minister) Johan Scheepers and senior police officers to set up a co-ordinated strategy to avoid and defuse any violence."

"In this context, hardline and provocative statements by Mr Kriel are especially unhelpful. They leave the clear impression that there is a cabal of securocrats in the government determined to provoke confrontation, and then attempt to lay the blame at the door of the democratic movement," said Mr Naidoo.

The two sides agreed to set up liaison committees on national and regional levels to ease communication about incidents on Monday and Tuesday, Mr Naidoo said.

Tomorrow's Cosatu-initiated stayaway — expected to be the biggest in South Africa's history — could cost as much as R2,5-billion if all sectors of the economy grind to a halt.

Mr Kriel warned that police would take a hard line on illegal marches and gatherings during the strike.

He said police had been told their own safety was their priority, but they should not hesitate to act against illegal marchers, rallyists and intimidators.

Mr Kriel said the first objective of the police would be to stop illegal marches and rallies.

"Only a few applications for mass gatherings have been received and all others will be considered illegal."

"If there are too many people

involved and the action cannot be stopped, we will film it with a view to prosecution afterwards," said Mr Kriel.

Police had also been ordered to act against people taking part in sit-ins at government buildings.

"We have information that several of these are planned and I have given instructions that such people should be arrested immediately. There will be no negotiation on this," said Mr Kriel.

All available police will be on duty in the next 48 hours and additional police will be on duty at government buildings.

Other measures include road-blocks, foot and air patrols.

Mr Kriel said intimidation was rife, especially on the East Rand, but no arrests had been made.

"Our informants are keeping us

abreast of the situation and we will not hesitate to act against intimidators," he said.

SA Institute executive director John Kane-Berman said on Wednesday Soweto residents had been threatened with death if they went to work tomorrow or on Tuesday.

Mr Kane-Berman said he had reports that vehicles fitted with loudspeakers were travelling around Soweto broadcasting the message that people would be "hacked to death" and have their houses burned down if they did not take part in the strike.

Cosatu blamed "agents provocateurs" and challenged the police to arrest them.

A Cosatu spokesman said: "If it is discovered any of our members are guilty of such actions, they will be disciplined in the most

severe way since they will be acting against the very organisations they claim to support."

A Soweto resident said two men travelling in a car escorted by the police had moved around the suburb of Chiawelo this week telling people through a loudhailer in Zulu and Sotho that they should go to work.

The woman, who did not want to be named, said the men threatened that "strikers will be dealt with".

In a letter to employers on the West Rand this week, the Inkatha Freedom Party offered "scab labour" in the form of "well-disciplined and hard-working people".

Millions of people, excluding schoolchildren, are expected to heed the call to protest against

VAT, despite last-minute calls from President FW de Klerk, cabinet members and business leaders to call off the strike.

Organised by Cosatu and its smaller rival, Nactu, the stayaway enjoys the support of the ANC, the SA Communist Party, the Pan-Africanist Congress, Azapo and black business groups.

Rallies and marches have been planned in all major centres.

Mr Naidoo said the stayaway was about more than VAT.

"Centrally, it has to do with the impact of VAT, but the broader issue is that the government is planning to restructure the economy without including other major players — and we are protesting against that."

It is also demanding the Gov-

ernment enter into negotiations on long-term VAT structures and discusses concessions to small businesses, a sliding scale on VAT and the establishment of an economic forum, made up of representatives from government, employers and trade unions, with the power to restructure the socio-economic system.

Most employers will apply a "no work, no pay" policy against strikers, but some — including the Gold Fields mining company — have threatened disciplinary action.

Cosatu has said it would blacklist companies that acted against strikers.

"Lists of companies embarking on disciplinary action will be distributed locally and internationally to facilitate solidarity action against them," said a statement.

WHO is murdering peace? This is the provocative title of an extremely important report released by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry — an independent research agency.

In the past year we have been devastated by a wave of violence in which thousands of people have been killed, and many thousands more have been left homeless.

One of the frightening aspects of the violence has been the very different perceptions that exist about it. Those who rely on the commercial media get the impression that the violence is some kind of fit for fat revenge cycle in which all parties are equally to blame.

On the other hand, if one goes to any of the communities that have been affected by the violence, the overwhelming feeling of ordinary people is that they have been subjected to a systematic attack from the government or groupings loosely allied to it.

The views of ordinary people who experience the violence on a daily basis are illustrated by a survey done for the Argus group last year soon after the outbreak of violence on the Rand.

Radically different

Urban township residents were asked to rate various organisations on a scale from total sympathy (+4) to total hostility (-4). The ANC emerged as the most popular force by far with a sympathy rating of +1.2 while the NP was rated at -1.5. But what was surprising was the extraordinary depth of hostility among ordinary people to the IFP which was rated at -2.8. This was virtually on a par with the ratings of -3 for the Conservative Party and the AWB!

How is it that such radically different perceptions exist, and is it possible to find out the real position?

One of the problems is that we are bombarded with so many reports about the violence that it is difficult to form an overall picture. The Press is seldom able to present us with a more analytic look at the violence.

Of course, there is an element of revenge attacks that is inevitable in a situation where so many people have died. But the picture is much more complex than that, and we believe that the CASE report sheds important light on the true nature of the violence.

The report attempts to collate systematically all accounts of the violence up to July 1991 in publicly available media, particularly the English and Afrikaans Press. Attribution was confirmed in 257 of the 601 reported cases of violence. The report states that the attribution to a particular group "scarcely conflicted across the different newspapers. Where conflict did arise was in the credence given to the SACP account of events."

The findings of the research can only be described as startling. As reported in the Press, 86% of the aggressors came from groupings that can be described as

Certain political forces manipulating violence

ANC Viewpoint
by WILLIE HOFMEYER and
MZIWONKE JACOBS

loosely allied to the government. This includes a staggering figure of 51% to the IFP and its followers, and 23% for the SAP. White people and vigilantes made up 10%. The SADF featured relatively little with 2%.

In sharp contrast, only 5% of the aggressors were ascribed to the ANC and a further 8% to those who can be described as broadly anti-government — such as "township youth", "squatters" or "the community".

When the reported victims were identified, a very similar pattern emerged. A shocking total of 2 271 people were killed during the period, of which 1 460 could be attributed.

Of these dead, 2.3% were IFP members, a further 2.8% were from IFP controlled hostels, 0.9% were police and 0.3% were white people, a total of 6.3%.

Particular concern

Five percent of those killed were directly members of the ANC and allied organisations.

A staggering 87% of all the dead were ordinary people who were not members of any organisation. It appears that they were killed largely because they were perceived to be living, or even just travelling, in areas where the ANC or anti-government organisations enjoyed overwhelming support. Of particular concern has been the role played by IFP-supporting hostels. More than 40% of all the deaths — a total of 915 — have occurred as a result of attacks launched from such hostels. In contrast, only 42 deaths have been reported from among the residents of such hostels. Even the figure for attacks against hostels that do not support Inkatha is much higher than this, namely 213 deaths.

As an aside, on several occasions the police have reported that they had been afraid to enter such hostels because the residents were too well armed. We cannot imagine that the government would ever tolerate an excuse from the police that ANC members are too well armed for any action to be taken against them.

A final disturbing finding of the report, was the

extent to which it appears that the violence can be controlled, or even manipulated for political ends. It was found that the violence increased ten-fold in August 1990 after the ANC agreed to the suspension of the armed actions, and was no longer in a position to offer any assistance to affected communities. A total of 854 people died in August and September, three and a half times the average monthly total.

In October when president De Klerk went on a high profile overseas visit, the violence decreased dramatically to less than one third of the monthly average. A similar pattern emerged around the opening of parliament, and around the time of the government-sponsored peace conference in June 1991. Immediately after these events, the violence would again return to its "normal" levels.

CASE argues convincingly that "it is difficult to believe that the sharp monthly variations are random".

Overwhelming role

The contest of the CASE report bears out many of the things that the ANC has been saying about the sources of violence and that the popular view presented to us is not always very accurate.

The figures suggest that the broadly pro-government forces have played an overwhelming role in the violence, and that communities perceived as sympathetic to the ANC have been the victims.

Our belief is strengthened by those few cases that have been brought to court. For example, in the Trust Feed massacre case, very senior policemen are accused of planning and executing the murder of UDF supporters at a funeral wake in collaboration with senior officials of the IFP. Six innocent people died. In a very similar case in the Transvaal, five IFP members are accused of shooting at a crowd at a funeral wake in Sebokeng with AK47s, killing 13 people and injuring 17 others.

We believe strongly that the violence is manipulated by certain political forces for their own ends.



WHOSE FAULT? ... Another victim of the violence in which, the figures suggest, the broadly pro-government forces have played an overwhelming role.

We also believe that the findings about the possible manipulation of the violence, and the role of the police, are deeply disturbing, and we believe that there is more than an element of truth in them.

Willie Hofmeyr is the assistant secretary and Mziwonke Jacobs is the publicity secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape

LETTERS

From DR HANS GROSS
(Cape Town):
I AM in favour of the proposal to increase the allowance for our city

Council increases only

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

WHO is murdering peace? This is the provocative title of an extremely important report released by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry — an independent research agency.

In the past year we have been devastated by a wave of violence in which thousands of people have been killed, and many thousands more have been left homeless.

One of the frightening aspects of the violence has been the very different perceptions that exist about it. Those who rely on the commercial media get the impression that the violence is some kind of tit for tat revenge cycle in which all parties are equally to blame.

On the other hand, if one goes to any of the communities that have been affected by the violence, the overwhelming feeling of ordinary people is that they have been subjected to a systematic attack from the government or groupings loosely allied to it.

The views of ordinary people who experience the violence on a daily basis are illustrated by a survey done for the Argus group last year soon after the outbreak of violence on the Rand.

Radically different

Urban township residents were asked to rate various organisations on a scale from total sympathy (+4) to total hostility (-4). The ANC emerged as the most popular force by far with a sympathy rating of +1,2 while the NP was rated at -1,5. But what was surprising was the extraordinary depth of hostility among ordinary people to the IFP which was rated at -2,8. This was virtually on a par with the ratings of -3 for the Conservative Party and the AWB.

How is it that such radically different perceptions exist, and is it possible to find out the real position?

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In sharp contrast, only 5% of the aggressors were ascribed to the ANC and a further 8% to those who can be described as broadly anti-government — such as "township youth", "squatters" or "the community".

When the reported victims were identified, a very similar pattern emerged. A shocking total of 2271 people were killed during the period, of which 1460 could be attributed.

Of these dead, 2,3% were IFP members, a further 2,8% were from IFP controlled hostels, 0,9% were police and 0,3% were white people, a total of 6,3%.

Particular concern

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As an aside, on several occasions the police have reported that they had been afraid to enter such hostels because the residents were too well armed. We cannot imagine that the government would ever tolerate an excuse from the police that ANC members are too well armed for any action to be taken against them.

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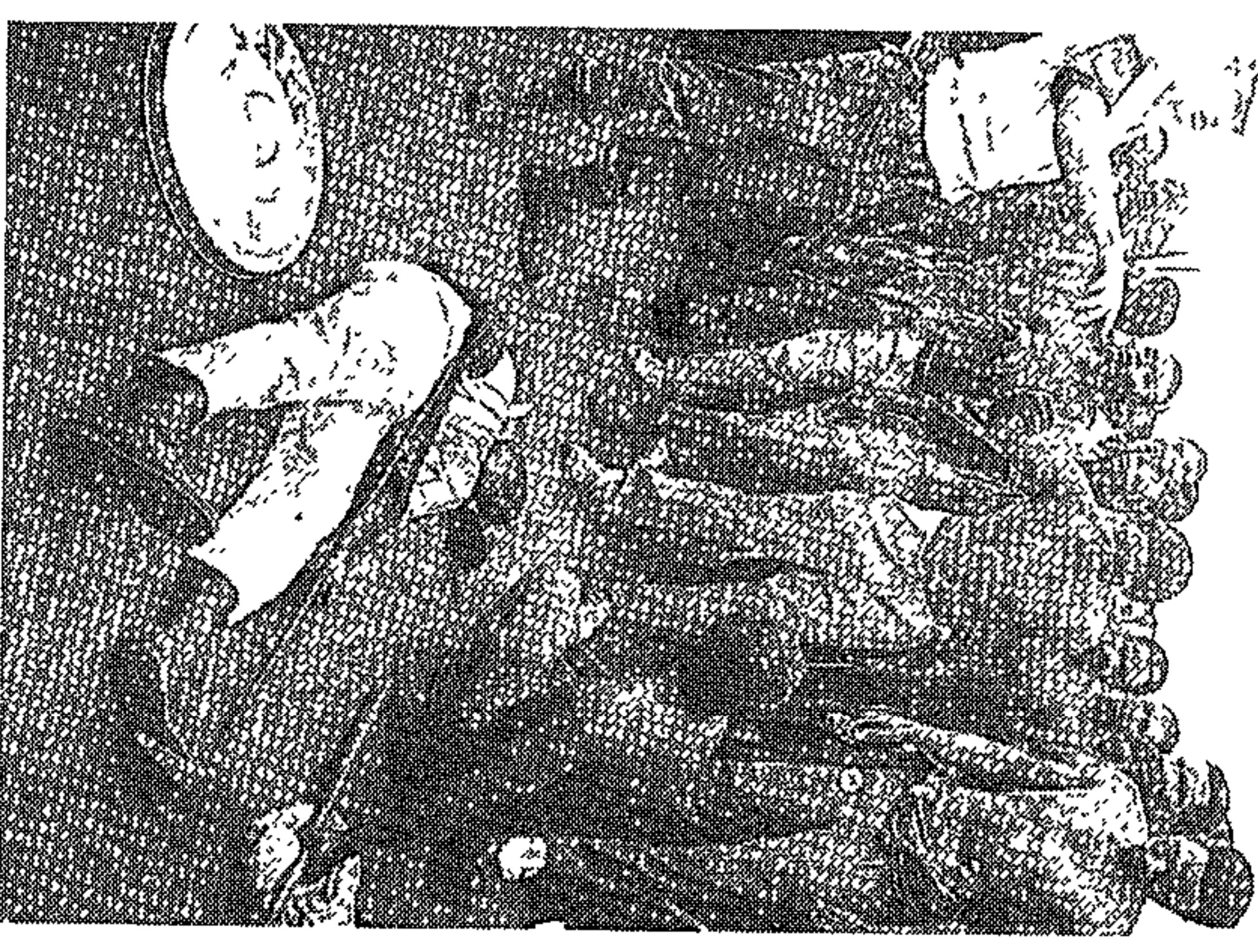
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Final plea for non-violence during strike

Staff Reporters

As the war of words rages between pro and anti-strike factions, the organisers of today's and tomorrow's two-day national general strike against VAT last night made a final plea for non-violence.

But Sapa reports that at the President Steyn gold mine in Welkom in the Free State last night, three mine workers were killed when a group of employees supportive of the strike apparently attempted to prevent other employees from starting work on the night shift.

Anglo American spokesman James Duncan said at least 13 miners were admitted to hospital following the clash at the mine's number four shaft.

The two-days of stayaways and marches, spearheaded by Cosatu and Nactu, is a protest against the implementation of VAT on basic foodstuffs, medicines, medical services, electricity and water.

Cosatu said this weekend it would lodge a complaint with the National Peace Accord committee regarding Inkatha Freedom Party leadership statements.

"To talk of violence and spreading rumours that houses would be burnt down was inflammatory and totally unacceptable," Cosatu charged.

Cosatu called on the IFP leadership to give its assurance that members would respect the right to stay at home and not to engage in

attacks.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, in an address broadcast by SABC-TV, called for restraint during the national work stoppage.

He called on all ANC supporters to ensure there were no incidents of violence, intimidation or threats.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed that police had laid a complaint with the Peace Accord committee regarding the two-day strike.

Captain Kotze said the police believed the strike was a contravention of the Peace Accord.

He said the VAT Co-ordinating Committee had not considered it important to obtain permission for marches planned on the strike days.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said police were obliged to act to prevent "illegal" protest marches.

The strike cost the country an estimated R2,5 billion and lead to 70 000 lost jobs, Mr Kriel said.

At least 21 rallies, 17 marches and 11 pickets countrywide have been planned to coincide with the strike.

Cosatu said last night it had not taken any decision to refuse to apply for permission for any marches — which have been organised on a regional level.

"We indicated to the Deputy Minister of Law and Order that in certain areas where for technical reasons the permission may not have

● To Page 2

Last plea for non-violence

● From Page 1

been applied for, that the police and local organisers of marches should meet and sort out this problem in a disciplined and peaceful way," the federation said.

Cosatu and Nactu called on members to exercise their right to strike in a "disciplined and peaceful way" and not to interfere with those who wanted to exercise their right to go to work.

"We particularly call on the hostel dwellers not to be used to attack those who want to stay away," the organisers said.

Regional and national joint liaison mechanisms to monitor and diffuse tensions and any possible confrontation had been set up after a meeting with the deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers, they added.

The unions called on the security forces to act decisively against any agents provocateurs and to disarm all people who sought to use violence.

The unions also repeated a plea for all students and teachers to go to school.

Yesterday several more or-

ganisations came out in support of the strike.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Black Lawyers' Association resolved this weekend that all "concerned" lawyers should close their practices in support of the protest.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania also pledged support.

National Peoples' Party leader Amichand Rajbansi said anti-VAT action was justified but should not have coincided with the Hindu festival of Diwali. He appealed to shops serving the Indian community to open up today for last-minute shopping for Diwali.

Yesterday IFP Jeppe Hostel branch chairman Joseph Zulu urged taxi owners to transport people to work during the strike — in defiance of the stayaway.

Despite an IFP statement that an offer of "scab" labour was not official policy and done without authorisation, several companies have asked Krugersdorp IFP member Prince Russell Zulu for casual labour during the stayaway.

human rights report

Rail sabotage

(274) ARCT 5/14/91

Blast cuts Rand train link; explosion on Bellville line

Staff Reporters and The Argus Correspondents

RAILWAY lines linking Cape Town to Bellville and Johannesburg to the East Rand were blown up early today — the second day of the anti-VAT strike.

A bomb exploded just outside Bellville station near Modderdam Road bridge at 2.35am, tearing up more than a metre of track. No one was injured.

Western Cape police liaison officer Captain Hendrik Opperman said the damage was noticed at 4.16am by the driver of a train travelling from Kraaifontein to Cape Town.

Three pieces of track, measuring just over a metre in length, were damaged, he said.

Five platforms at Bellville station were out of operation during the rush hour and trains were diverted to other platforms, delaying services by about four minutes.

On the Witwatersrand a blast severely damaged the East Rand line near Modderfontein about 2.45am, disrupting rail traffic.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Matherbe was unable to say what caused the explosion but police suspected an explosive device was placed on the rails to keep East Rand people from going to work.

Police at stations

In Cape Town, City Tramways said 40 percent of its buses were running but there were no services in Khayelitsha, Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga and Crossroads.

Trains were 10 percent full on the Cape Flats.

In Mitchell's Plain 113 taxis were kept out of commission after trade union giant Cosatu appealed to taxi owners to heed the stayaway call.

Police, some with shotguns, were at stations.

Cosatu estimates that 3.5 million people stayed away from work yesterday and major employers say the strike is South Africa's most extensive yet.

Following pre-strike violence at President Steyn gold mine in Welkom in which 15 miners died, there were few reports of violence.

However two people were murdered in the Natal Midlands because of the strike.



Picture ROY WIGLEY, The Argus

BLAST DAMAGE: Policemen and Spoornet officials inspect the damage where just over a metre of the track outside Bellville Station was torn up by an explosive device early today.

Argus, 05/11/91

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Domestic worker Miss Phumuzile Mkhize, 27, was killed on her way home from work on a farm near Richmond and Mr Walter Ndlovu, 39, was stabbed to death on his way to work at Mfakathini, Edendale.

Democratic Party monitors in Maritzburg took a stream of telephone calls from people complaining of intimidation.

Educationists reported that pupils, who, with medical and media workers were exempt from the strike call, flocked to school. A Department of Education and Training spokesman said matric exams were not affected.

Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo said at a rally in Soweto the strike was a dress rehearsal for action that would finally bring the government down. There would be sustained mass action to force the government to negotiate on an interim government.

Workers in the private sector are estimated to have lost more than R100 million in wages yesterday, said the SA Chamber of Business.

Stayaway figures

The chamber said support varied from region to region. It was most marked on the Witwatersrand, in the Eastern Cape and Durban where absenteeism was between 80 and 100 percent.

In Maritzburg, Bloemfontein and Pretoria, stayaway figures varied between 60 and 80 percent and in the Western Cape, Free State, Goldfields and Northern Natal, between 20 and 40 percent.

"It would appear that a major contributory factor to the level of absenteeism was lack of transport," the chamber said.

Protest marches were broken up yesterday in Hillbrow, Upton, Kuruman and near Bloemfontein.

Police said 108 people were arrested during 16 protest marches and placard demonstrations held without permission.

● See pages 4 and 13

Agencies bid for peace advert

274
star 5/11/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The National Peace Committee has invited advertising agencies to pitch for a multimillion-rand communications campaign to advertise the principles of the National Peace Accord. The Star has learnt.

Sources said yesterday that about 12 advertising agencies had been invited to a briefing session at Barlow Rand in Sandton on Friday.

The main signatories of the accord, the National Party/Government, the ANC Alliance and the Inkatha Freedom Party could each invite four advertising agencies to pitch for the account.

The communications campaign involved two phases, the first of which would amount to R1,5 million funded by the National Peace Commission.

Sources said the agencies would be asked to promote their proposed peace campaign as soon as possible after Friday's briefing.

The National Peace Commission wanted the first phase to get off the ground before the year end.

The second phase would be developed next year.

Sources said the first phase would involve communicating the principles of the accord and "putting the accord in its context of peace in a multiparty democracy".

The National Peace Committee's most important prerequisite for the campaign was that it should reach people on the ground — including the townships and rural areas.

The Star has learnt that one of the agencies invited to the briefing was HerdBuoys, the only black advertising and marketing agency in the country.

Ongoing civil unrest — SA needs to raise a special task force

(274) CT 6/11/91
By HELMOED-ROMER
HEITMAN

SOUTH AFRICA seems likely to face civil unrest for the remainder of this decade and beyond, regardless of who is in power. There are several factors that suggest this unhappy outlook:

- There are groups whom no workable political arrangement will satisfy, and who may well turn to violence.
- The economy cannot meet the highly unrealistic socio-economic expectations created in many black circles.
- Continued rapid and uncontrolled urbanisation will aggravate existing social and socio-economic problems.
- Ethnic intolerance, aggravated by socio-economic problems and political dissatisfaction and insecurity, will bring tensions easily erupting in violence.
- Illegal immigration will have a serious impact on employment and on the provision of housing and services, aggravating the difficult situation in the poorer areas.

This is not to say that South Africa will inevitably degenerate into a situation akin to that plaguing Lebanon. It does mean that South Africa must accept that unrest is a problem that will not just go away as soon as there is a new political system in place.

The seriousness of this problem, and the likelihood that it will be with South Africa for many years, combine to suggest that the best course would be to raise a specialised force for this task, independent of both the police and the armed forces. Neither the police nor the army are really suited to the task of controlling long-term unrest. While either force can be employed as a short-term measure, any extended employment in this role will bring a "number of potentially serious problems".

The police are first and foremost the "friend and helper" of the man in the street. They must take very great care to protect and foster their image if they are to be



VIOLENCE: Could this state of affairs carry on indefinitely?



TAKING AIM: Police the "friend and helper" of man in the street?

licensing functions to an acceptable standard.

Quite apart from the resultant difficulty in controlling serious unrest, these demands on their limited strength will inevitably lead to morale, discipline and control problems, as fatigue and stress take their toll.

That will not only further weaken their ability to handle the unrest, it will also cause the standard of normal policing to decline both in terms of results and in terms of the manner in which it is carried out. The result will be yet a further decline in the public's confidence in the police and the authorities. That can very quickly become a self-sustaining and accelerating cycle that will be very difficult to break.

Employing the army in support of the police brings more problems than it solves. The army can provide the additional men, usually quite well-trained in crowd and riot control. Calling in troops, however, not

to be side-stepped:

- It avoids the danger of politicising the police force.
- It allows the police to concentrate on their primary task.
- It keeps the army out of political/socio-economic problems.
- It allows the army to concentrate on its primary task.
- It provides a force optimised for unrest control in personnel selection, training, organisation and equipment.

A specialised force of this nature would also provide a valuable force level between the police dealing with minor disturbances on the one hand, and troops dealing with massive violence on the other. Government can then respond to civil unrest more flexibly — "fine-tuning" its response to closely match a given situation, rather than having to choose between an ineffectual response and overkill. The existence of such a force would further provide a clear threshold in dealing with violence unrest: The decision to deploy it would signal that the situation is no longer regarded as merely an acceptable demonstration or a disturbance. That can of itself help dampen unrest in some cases.

Most of the countries of western Europe have similar forces in the form of a military police tasked with rural policing, unrest control and internal security. Examples would include France's Gendarmerie, Italy's Carabinieri, Spain's Guardia Civil and the Netherlands' Marechaussee.

An additional advantage of such a force is that it can also take on a variety of other roles that do not really suit either the police or the military. Such roles might include border control, key point protection and civil defence. It can, of course, also be deployed in support of the police in operations against major crime or narcotics groups. These tasks would also go some way to preventing the force

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The seriousness of this problem, and the likelihood that it will be with South Africa for many years, combine to suggest that the best course would be to raise a specialised force for this task, independent of both the police and the armed forces. Neither the police nor the army are really suited to the task of controlling long-term unrest. While either force can be employed as a short-term measure, any extended employment in this role will bring a "number of potentially serious problems".

The police are first and foremost the "friend and helper" of the man in the street. They must take very great care to protect and foster their image if they are to be effective in that role. The control of public disturbances is a part of that role and should not present problems. Dealing with extended violent unrest can, however, very easily and quickly undermine the police's image. A policeman in "Darth Vader" riot control guise, does not go well with it. The result will, inevitably, be a deterioration in the relationship between police and public, leading to deteriorating standards of normal policing.

Extended employment will also inevitably politicise the police. That will further hamper them in the performance of their normal policing functions. It can also lead to political difficulties in time.

There is also a basic numbers problem. The ideal policeman is a rather special person, neither easily found nor easily retained. That is one reason why so many police forces are under strength. As one result, few police forces have the strength to deal with unrest effectively and efficiently. They lack the strength to:

- Quell unrest quickly, before it can bring serious casualties, damage to property and disruption of the fabric of society.
- Prevent the spread of unrest.
- Simultaneously deal with extended unrest and carry out normal po-

licing functions to an acceptable standard. Quite apart from the resultant difficulty in controlling serious unrest, these demands on their limited strength will inevitably lead to morale, discipline and control problems, as fatigue and stress take their toll.

That will not only further weaken their ability to handle the unrest, it will also cause the standard of normal policing to decline both in terms of results and in terms of the manner in which it is carried out. The result will be yet a further decline in the public's confidence in the police and the authorities. That can very quickly become a self-sustaining and accelerating cycle that will be very difficult to break.

Employing the army in support of the police brings more problems than it solves. The army can provide the additional men, usually quite well-trained in crowd and riot control. Calling in troops, however, not only brings the danger of politicising the army but also raises the problem from one of unrest to one that begins to look rather like the beginnings of civil war.

There are other potentially serious problems:

- Troops deployed for unrest control are not being trained for their primary role — defence against foreign aggression. This is particularly difficult for the South African Army, which has only one year in which to train the men who make the bulk of its combat forces: barely enough time as it is.
- Employment in unrest control damages the image and self-image of the armed forces as the defender against external threats.
- Soldiers are not ideally trained for minimum force operations such as are required in unrest control. Their discipline will see them through for a time but as their moral resources fade under the pressures of extended employment in this role, the danger of unfortunate incidents grows.

Deploying troops in support of the police is a useful option in a case where a brief burst of unrest overwhelms the strength of the available police. The military are not, however, the answer to dealing with long-term unrest.

Forming a new force specialised in this task, enables these problems

to be deployed it would signal that the situation is no longer regarded as merely an acceptable demonstration or a disturbance. That can of itself help dampen unrest in some cases.

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An additional advantage of such a force is that it can also take on a variety of other roles that do not really suit either the police or the military. Such roles might include border control, key point protection and civil defence. It can, of course, also be deployed in support of the police in operations against major crime or narcotics groups. These tasks would also go some way to preventing the force being regarded as purely a repressive organ of state.

This force should ideally not fall under either Law and Order or Defence, as that would partly undermine its reason for existing. One possible home might be the Ministry of Interior, which would also fit well with the force's other tasks. It would be a fairly small force, so the additional bureaucracy need not grow out of hand.

The question of manning such a force would need to be considered with some care. Conscription would be politically sensitive, and a conscript force would also be inefficient.

A full career force would bring problems of career planning. An unrest control force has many Indians and few chiefs, a very difficult composition to man with professionals of the requisite standard. A career force would also be very expensive.

The most useful approach might be a short-service system coupled with a full career system for those members selected for command or technical posts. That would provide a proper career path for the professionals, without having too many Indians serving in the lower ranks for many years and losing motivation.

[The writer is a defence analyst and South African correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly.]

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Accord passes first test

Staff Reporters • 2714

Star 6/11/91

The absence of widespread violence during the two-day anti-VAT general strike has been hailed as a victory for the peace process.

Despite the killing of 15 mineworkers on the eve of the stayaway and isolated clashes during the strike, the comparative peace was lauded by National Peace Commission chairman John Hall.

The strike was the "first real test for the Peace Accord" and that the Accord had "come through".

"Apart from the death on the mines, we are pleased. It means the parties have stuck to their word and followed the Accord," Mr Hall said.

Asked to elaborate, he added that the provisions of the Accord made demands on the leadership of the different organisations, those in favour of the stayaway and those against it, not to get involved in violence.

These provisions were that no organisation would force, threaten or intimidate others to do or engage in any mass action against their will.

"We were also instrumental in maintaining communication between Cosatu and the police during the stayaway," Mr Hall said.

According to an ANC-Cosatu statement released yesterday, 24 people were killed over the two days.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said: "There have been fewer deaths in the last two days of peaceful protest than there are during the normal running of the country."

The strike was condemned by President de Klerk as being unjustified and marked by intimidation.

Western Cape ANC chairman Dr Allan Boesak said that if Mr de Klerk were not prepared to negotiate the implementation of VAT, he should prepare to resign.

Speaking at a rally attended by 1 000 people at Kaya Mandi, Stellenbosch, he said: "If they (Mr de Klerk and the Government) don't want to listen to our demands, they will soon have to leave their posts. They must know that we are not a defeated people and will continue the fight for a negotiated VAT."

Big business last night said the strike had raised tension levels in an already volatile situation and unionists said further actions would be taken against the imposition of VAT on basic foodstuffs and medical care.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the strike was intimidation on a grand scale.

He said that though there had been only a few reported incidents, intimidation was rife. "It is not something tangible but it is effective."

Captain Kotze attributed the generally peaceful situation to the fact that Cosatu

● To Page 3

Accord passes its first test

From Page 1

— main player in the call for the stayaway to protest against VAT — had put out a directive to all its regions to apply for permission for protest marches following a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel on Sunday.

Cosatu, in turn, attributed the peaceful nature of the protest to Cosatu discipline.

The strike saw millions of black workers staying at home on Monday and yesterday.

President de Klerk said he would address the issue when he opens the National Party's Transvaal congress tomorrow.

Mr de Klerk told reporters at the Union Buildings: "I can not be satisfied with a stayaway action that should never have taken place."

He regretted that people had been intimidated. There was overwhelming evidence that this had been the case, he said.

The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) yesterday warned that many employers' attitudes had hardened during the stayaway and any repetition "may result in stricter application of disciplinary procedures".

According to Sacob, workers in the private sector lost more than R200 million in wages during the two days.



Road, Lenasia home after a stray firework burst
● Picture: Stephen Davimes

the world's great tastes —
only matured brandy.

Peace committee appointments

EF 274
JOHANNESBURG. —
Democratic Party MP Mr
Peter Gastrow and Presi-
dent's Council member
Mr Craven Collis have
been appointed to the
National Peace Secre-
tariat, it was announced
yesterday.

CT 7/11/91

They join Mr Gert My-
burgh MP, Mr Jayendra
Naidoo, Mrs Suzanne
Vos, and Mr Antonie Gil-
denhuys. — Sapa



Beware . . Hillbrow security guard Freddie Mkhali found threatening slogans painted on his garage door after going to work during the two-day stayaway. Picture: Stephen Davimes

Intimidation was factor — Kane-Berman

Staff Reporter

Intimidation and lack of transport meant that many people who did not support the anti-VAT strike stayed away from work on Monday and Tuesday, SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman said yesterday.

He said Cosatu may have claimed the strike was "vol-

untary", but the language it used and the instructions it issued, belied this.

"We are told that certain categories of people, for example schoolchildren, were 'exempt' but why should (anyone) have to be 'exempted' from supporting a strike that is supposed to be voluntary anyway?"

He said it was equally odd that committees organising the stayaway agreed that medical staff, teachers and

students should go about their normal duties during the strike "Why should these people need the agreement of a committee before they can go to work?"

It had been reported that pupils were told to wear uniforms or carry timetables for identification and that teachers should request letters from headmasters.

Mr Kane-Berman questioned the purpose of such identification: "To whom did

it have to be shown and why?"

Intimidation had been used to enforce strikes and stayaways for at least six years, he said.

One in three black adults had experienced threats to enforce compliance with stayaways in the past year.

Experience of coercion in the past and the "fear that it will happen again is unquestionably a factor reinforcing the intimidation in the anti-VAT strike".



ON THE MARCH: 20 000 people joined ANC leader Patrick Matanjane in Khayelitsha on Tuesday.

'Intimidation did not cause strike'

South 4/11-13/19

By Thoraya Pandey

THE GOVERNMENT and big business this week repeatedly attributed enormous support for the VAT Coordinating Committee stayaway call to intimidation.

Cosatu spokesperson Mr Bangumzi Sifingo refuted allegations of intimidation by Cosatu and ANC members against people who wanted to go to work. They challenged security forces to come forward with evidence.

"We formulated guidelines on intimidation jointly with Deputy Min-

ister of Law and Order Johan

Scheepers, that resulted in a joint liaison mechanism between the police and Cosatu," said Sifingo.

Cosatu regional treasurer, Mr Nosey Pieterse, said: "The Western Cape has a different culture. More people are intimidated by the bosses than they are by the unions."

Incidents of violence and intimidation over the two days included:

- Fourteen miners were killed in violence at President Steyn Mine, in the Northern Transvaal, on Sunday night.
- Police arrested 108 people who participated in 16 marches and dem-

onstrations nationwide.

- In Cape Town, Ms Moira August was rushed to hospital with more than 50 buckshot pellets in her leg.
- Five people were killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC supporters in KwaMashu.

Sifingo said the government had no legitimacy and should heed the signal to step down as a government and allow for the establishment of an interim government.

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) lashed out at the action and blamed intimidation and a lack of transport for low attendance at workplaces.

Mass campaign to push Accord

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The National Peace Commission is to distribute 300 000 full copies of the National Peace Accord and another few hundred thousand shortened versions.

The budget for communicating the accord would run into a "couple of million rands", commission chairman John Hall said last night.

He said the peace accord was being translated into several languages and printed on thousands of posters and other media.

Peace communication strategy would be discussed today, when the commission meets to assess

progress in implementing the National Peace Accord signed on September 14.

The National Peace Secretariat meets to network dispute resolution committees at local and regional level.

Mr Hall said the secretariat would "hit the ground running" as it already had requests to set up committees.

The National Peace Commission will hear reports of developments including:

- The formation of the standing commission on violence and intimidation under Mr Justice Goldstone.

- The National Peace Secretariat's plans to involve itself in local

peace initiatives.

- The peace commission sub-committee report on socio-economic reconstruction.

- The communication and media sub-committees of the commission report.

- Departments of Law and Order and Justice would report on progress in implementing their obligations. Mr Hall did not know if the progress of negotiations for a ban on dangerous weapons would be reported.

Discussions on the expected code of conduct for the SA Defence Force were delayed by Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel's absence from the country, said Mr Hall.

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Star 6/1/91
Two appointed (274)

Democratic Party MP Peter Gastrow and President's Council member Craven Collis have been appointed to the National Peace Secretariat, the NPS announced today. The secretariat now constitutes Gert Myburgh MP, Jayendra Naidoo of Cosatu, Suzanne Vos of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Antonie Gildenhuys, Mr Gastrow and Mr Collis.

Leaders 274 CT 8/11/91 targeted in pattern of killings

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and Inkatha said yesterday almost 90 of their leaders had been killed this year, underlining fears that political assassinations were a growing trend in the township violence.

More than 60 ANC leaders had been killed this year, mostly on the Reef, and attempts had been made on the lives of scores more, said spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

Inkatha Institute researcher Ms Kim Hodgson said 27 Inkatha leaders had been assassinated this year. Thirteen had been killed since August alone.

Ms Hodgson said 180 Inkatha leaders had been targeted and killed since mid-1985, most in Natal.

Among the latest incidents of violence are the killing of local ANC leader Mr Jama Makhosi in Alexandra on Wednesday and the death of ANC Youth League executive member and Cosatu organiser Mr Phumzile Mbatha in Thokoza on Tuesday night. Former Inkatha Youth Brigade national secretary Mr Mbhekiseni Gwala was shot dead in Secunda's Embalehle township on Monday night.

Analysts said the killings created a leadership vacuum and led to general panic in the community.

Mr David Everatt, research head at the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, said assassinations made the cost of being a leader very high.

Followed

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) said a clear pattern was emerging of individuals being targeted. This was particularly noticeable over the past few months.

In many cases the assassination targets reported being followed, the IBIIR said.

The Human Rights Commission said assassinations created an atmosphere of terror in communities, and forced other leaders into hiding where they could no longer operate effectively.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said a pattern had emerged of the systematic elimination of middle and senior ANC leadership, starting several months ago with the identification and harassment of individuals and their families.

She said political assassinations created a loss of confidence in the negotiation process. She added that there was increasingly clear evidence of police collusion with other forces in the killings.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said political assassinations were just one manifestation of rivalry and a legacy of hatred between organisations. He said the killings could be attributed to political, economic and social feuding, and to the spiralling cycle of revenge attacks.

Capt Kotze said the solution lay with political leaders who had to gain control over their supporters in black communities.

'Assassins threaten ANC, Inkatha'

THE ANC and Inkatha said yesterday almost 90 of their leaders had been killed this year, underlining fears that political assassinations were a growing trend in township violence. *B/Daw 8/11/91*

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Inkatha Institute researcher Kim Hodgson said 27 Inkatha leaders had been assassinated this year. He said 13 had been killed since August alone, in 39 assassination attempts.

Hodgson said 180 Inkatha leaders had been targeted and killed since mid-1985,

JONATHON REES

most of them in Natal.

All six Inkatha leaders in the war-torn Richmond area, about 40km south of Maritzburg, had had between one and six attempts on their lives in the past six months. Two had been killed.

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To Page 2

Assassins *B/Daw 8/11/91*

Secunda's Embalehle township on Monday night.

Mamoepa said ANC leaders now lived in fear of their lives. Assassins, he said, aimed to weaken the ANC. The organisation could not play into the hands of those orchestrating the violence and killings, "but we cannot underestimate the threats on our lives, and the need for precautionary measures", he said.

Analysts said the killings created a leadership vacuum and led to general panic in the community.

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clear evidence of police collusion with other forces in the killings.

Government's apparent inability to stop the killings showed it was either responsible for the deaths or its agents were out of control, she said, adding this highlighted the need for an interim authority.

Marcus said that because indiscriminate violence had not been able to derail the negotiation process, clandestine elements hoped now to reverse the progress made.

ANC Southern Natal regional secretary Sibusiso Ndebele confirmed the nature of violence had changed.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said political assassinations were just one manifestation of rivalry and a legacy of hatred between organisations. He said the killings could be attributed to political, economic and social feuding, and to the spiralling cycle of revenge attacks.

While police had also become targets of assassins, it was not clear to the SAP if specific officers were being selected, he said.

Kotze said the solution lay with political leaders who had to gain control over their supporters in black communities. He said it was clear large elements of political supporters were running out of control.

From Page 1

471510
Vehicle

Star 8/11/91
**Peace body
identifies**

flashpoints

Moves towards lasting peace in South Africa moved into top gear yesterday when the National Peace Secretariat was formed.

It immediately went about identifying flashpoints that need priority attention.

The National Peace Committee said yesterday that the secretariat had highlighted areas for immediate attention, including:

● In the Transvaal — the East Rand, Tokoza, Phola Park, Vosloorus, Soweto, Katlehong, Alexandra, Bekkersdal, Tembisa and Schweizer-Reincke.

● In Natal — Port Shepstone, Empangeni, Midlands, Mooi River, Richmond, Greytown, Kwa-Mashu, Inanda, Hammarsdale and Howick.

● In Cape Town, the Cape Flats.

Members of the peace committee also asked the Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation to give urgent attention to train attacks, the Cape taxi war and the deaths at the mines. — Sapa.

2 Cape Times, Satur

Law to curb

'arsenals'

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PRETORIA. — The proposed gun law did not aim to disarm people but the government could not tolerate private arsenals, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel told the National Party's Transvaal congress yesterday.

CT 9/11/91
Urging South Africans to take more responsibility for their own security, he said that more than 80% of pensioners who had been attacked had opened their doors to their assailants.

Addressing the same meeting, Deputy Minister of Justice Mr Danie Schutte said his department was giving urgent attention to the question of special courts for serious crimes. — Sapa

New force to control violence?

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

THE government is considering establishing a politically-neutral peacekeeping force — independent of the police and the Defence Force — to fight political violence, says President De Klerk.

"We are investigating a substantively fundamental restructuring of the police force to free more police hands to fight ordinary crime," he told 900 delegates at the Transvaal National Party Congress in the Pretoria City Hall.

He was responding to a resolution from the Bryanston Constituency calling for the formation of regional peace maintenance units similar to the National Guard in the United States.

Motivating the resolution, Mrs Anne Routier said the most important thing about the new force was that it would be de-politised. There was no doubt many people did not co-operate with the police because they were regarded as biased.

She proposed the new force be under the control of the provincial administrator and then ultimately a member of the Cabinet — probably the Minister of Justice.

She referred to Mr De Klerk's statement last night that a third of the police force was tied up in combating violence.

The new force would leave the police free to fight ordinary crime.

Mr Joe Tsabala, a delegate of the Pretoria West Constituency, argued against the new force because it would be "perceived negatively" in black areas.

Mr De Klerk said Mr Tsabala's name would be written in history books as he was the first "speaker of the new era" to speak at a Transvaal NP Congress.

He said the Cabinet had investigated the possibility of setting up a special new force but had decided against it. But he was not satisfied with the decision and a further investigation was being undertaken by the Cabinet.

● See page 2.

Peace force to serve all says Govt

Star 9/11/91

ESTHER WAUGH

PRETORIA — The Government promised last night it would subject its proposed special political crime fighting unit to consultations with a variety of parties, including those at the all party talks.

The Minister of Law and Order, Hernus Kriel, said that the Government had taken no "fixed" decision about the unit.

He yesterday told the Transvaal National Party Congress the Government was considering establishing a special new police unit to fight and prevent political violence.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night said the ANC could not comment on the proposal at this stage and would wait for the consultations with the Government about the matter.

He said the unit, which could be called the Internal Stability Special Unit, would be a fifth police unit of about 17 500 personnel under the command of a Lieutenant-General.

Mr Kriel was expanding upon earlier remarks to the congress by President de Klerk who said

that the Cabinet was considering proposals for a neutral peace-keeping unit.

Mr de Klerk disclosed that the Government was also considering a major restructuring of the police force to free its hands to fight ordinary crime better.

Mr Kriel said the members of the new proposed unit would be especially selected, highly-trained specialists in combating unrest.

The unit would be highly mobile, equipped with light vehicles to arrive quickly where it was needed.

It would use highly sophisticated equipment to enable it to control unrest "firmly but fairly".

It would wear its own uniform and its vehicles would be clearly identified as belonging to the unit.

The unit would also have the task of preventing political violence and its staff would be posted in the worst unrest areas.

Mr Kriel said that further details would be announced when they were available.

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Peace force to serve all says Govt

Star 9/11/91 274

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Supporters of political violence face gun ban

STimes 10/11/91

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE police have recommended that known supporters of political violence be denied gun licences.

The far-reaching proposal is made in a working document on guidelines for policemen, now awaiting approval by the Commissioner of Police.

SAP legal adviser Captain Leon Kellerman said the document had been drawn up in addition to controversial proposed amendments to the Arms and Ammunition Act, and would serve as a guideline for senior police officers who issue licences.

The document also recommends that applicants be interviewed to gauge their attitudes towards other race groups and the use of violence for political ends.

Applicants would be required to pass written tests on the ownership and handling of firearms from June 1 next year, and practical shooting tests could be introduced as well.

If the proposal is adopted, known supporters of

political violence would be barred from owning guns "unless they have good reasons relating to self-protection", said Captain Kellerman.

He said the measures — which come in the wake of proposed law amendments that would limit the number of firearms owned by any one person — were aimed at applicants across the political spectrum.

But he emphasised that guns already owned by political figures would not be confiscated, provided the owners did not break the law.

Proposed gun licence restrictions were condemned by the SA Gun-owners Association (Saga)

at its annual meeting last week.

Saga adopted a motion of no confidence in the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police, saying the thousands of illegal weapons in circulation posed the real threat to South Africans.

"Responsible firearm owners see signs of a hidden agenda drawn up jointly by the government and the ANC and designed to disarm them," said a lobbyist this week.

Captain Kellerman said the SAP was not trying to disarm existing licence-holders.

"We want to ensure that firearm owners are responsible and competent. The 1.3-million licensed gun owners in South Africa own 2 795 838 wea-

pons. Those with a single firearm have proved to be the most negligent about their weapons, because serious collectors take far greater safety precautions," he said.

Captain Kellerman said the controversial "one-man-one-gun" amendment was likely to be withdrawn following a storm of opposition from gun owners and a recommendation by the Department of Law and Order.

"There is no need for the clause, because existing legislation requires individuals to furnish good reasons why they need more than one firearm," he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation was concerned about the number of whites building up large collections of weapons, and would like to see the number of firearms in circulation reduced.

"We are living in a society that is totally over-armed. We see no reason why individuals should have small arsenals," said Mr Niehaus.

CRACKDOWN ON DRUNKS

TOUGH new penalties for drunk and negligent drivers will be introduced in Parliament early next year, Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed told the Transvaal National Party Congress yesterday.

Proposed penalties include six years' imprisonment or R24 000 for drunken drivers and nine years or R12 000 for hit-and-run offenders.

R8 m peace publicity

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Committee plans to spend R2 million on publicising the peace accord this year, said the committee chairman, Mr John Hall.

This amount will be followed by a further R6 m next year.

Mr Hall said at the weekend the money would be spent on making hundreds of thousands of copies of the accord, which would be sent to political leaders and opinion leaders around the country.

Summarised versions of the accord, hand bills and posters would also be made.

An intensive advertising campaign is planned, which will include television and newspaper advertisements to familiarise the public with the accord's contents.

The campaign will be part of a three-year communication strategy to promote the aims and spirit of the peace accord.

Mr Hall said: "We have to knock the cynics."

A meeting of the peace committee and about 40 advertising and public relations agencies was held on Friday, when the committee asked for proposals on how the money should be spent.

CT 11/11/91 (274)

New unrest proclamations a possibility

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

New unrest areas could be declared and security powers within those areas extended if the level of political violence does not come down.

Senior Government sources said they believed this was what President de Klerk had in mind when he told the Transvaal National Party congress last week that he would take "further steps" if the Peace Accord did not work.

However, no plans had been drawn up, they stressed.

Mr de Klerk warned: "Everybody has to realise that 'taking further steps' entails serious implications.

"I do not wish to elaborate now, except to say that it would not be in the country's interests if we were compelled to take things further."

Some political observers have interpreted Mr de Klerk's remarks as a warning that a new state of emergency may be imposed.

And, according to some Sunday press reports, the Government has not ruled this out.

But a Cabinet source told The Star that it was more likely that further unrest areas could be proclaimed and that extraordinary powers granted to security forces in these areas could be expanded.

Mr de Klerk was not the only Government leader at the congress to hint at a crackdown.

The congress was dominated by anger and impatience with political violence, ordinary crime and accusations of ANC-Cosatu interference in matters outside their proper sphere — such as the VAT strike and the decision to strip the SA Olympic team at Barcelona of its Springbok emblem and the national flag and anthem.

Transvaal NP leader and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said at the congress that the Government was sick and tired of political violence and crime.

This included not only local actions but also international agitation for boycotts and sanctions which destroyed business confidence.

He said the Government had so far acted reasonably and that further steps would therefore be morally justified.

Internationally, steps against violence, intimidation and crime would not be criticised because the actions and contradictory statements of the ANC and its allies had neither been fair nor reasonable, Mr du Plessis said.

Some senior NP sources dismissed the sabre-rattling rhetoric as "party politics" and said much of it was aimed at bolstering flagging support before the upcoming Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections.

ANC sources said the bellicose rhetoric was good for them because it helped break down the impression among ANC followers that their leaders were too "pally-pally" with the Government.

INKATHA's central committee at the weekend urged authorities to ensure that peace mechanisms specified in the National Peace Accord be put into place "as soon as humanly possible".

"We are aware of the extent to which levels of violence in South Africa are prohibitive of the process of consultation necessary for the launching of negotiations," the central committee said in a resolution.

Decisive

"(We) therefore call upon the National Peace Committee to take immediate steps to ensure that peace mechanisms envisaged in the National Peace Accord are put into position as soon as humanly

Move on peace: IFP

Sowetan 11/11/91
possible and to call upon the South African Government to act decisively."

The committee also expressed "deep alarm" at the extent of national violence "and the inability of both the South African Government security forces and political parties to break its upward spiral".

The committee passed a resolution suggesting the

Chief Justice be asked to act as convener of a multiparty conference and to chair the event "until a panel of chairmen can be chosen from the floor".

A multiparty conference, the committee said, "should be one of the country's highest priorities".

Anthem

On the issues of a national anthem, flag and colours for sports events, the committee passed a resolution urging that these be left intact "until such time as they are subjected to negotiation by all interested parties".

It demanded withdrawal of the colours and "anthem" for the country's Olympic athletes, saying these were imposed without consultation. - Sapa.

R2m boost for peace accord

8/5 am 11/11/91
THE national peace committee plans to spend R2m on publicising the peace accord this year, says committee chairman John Hall.

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TIM COHEN

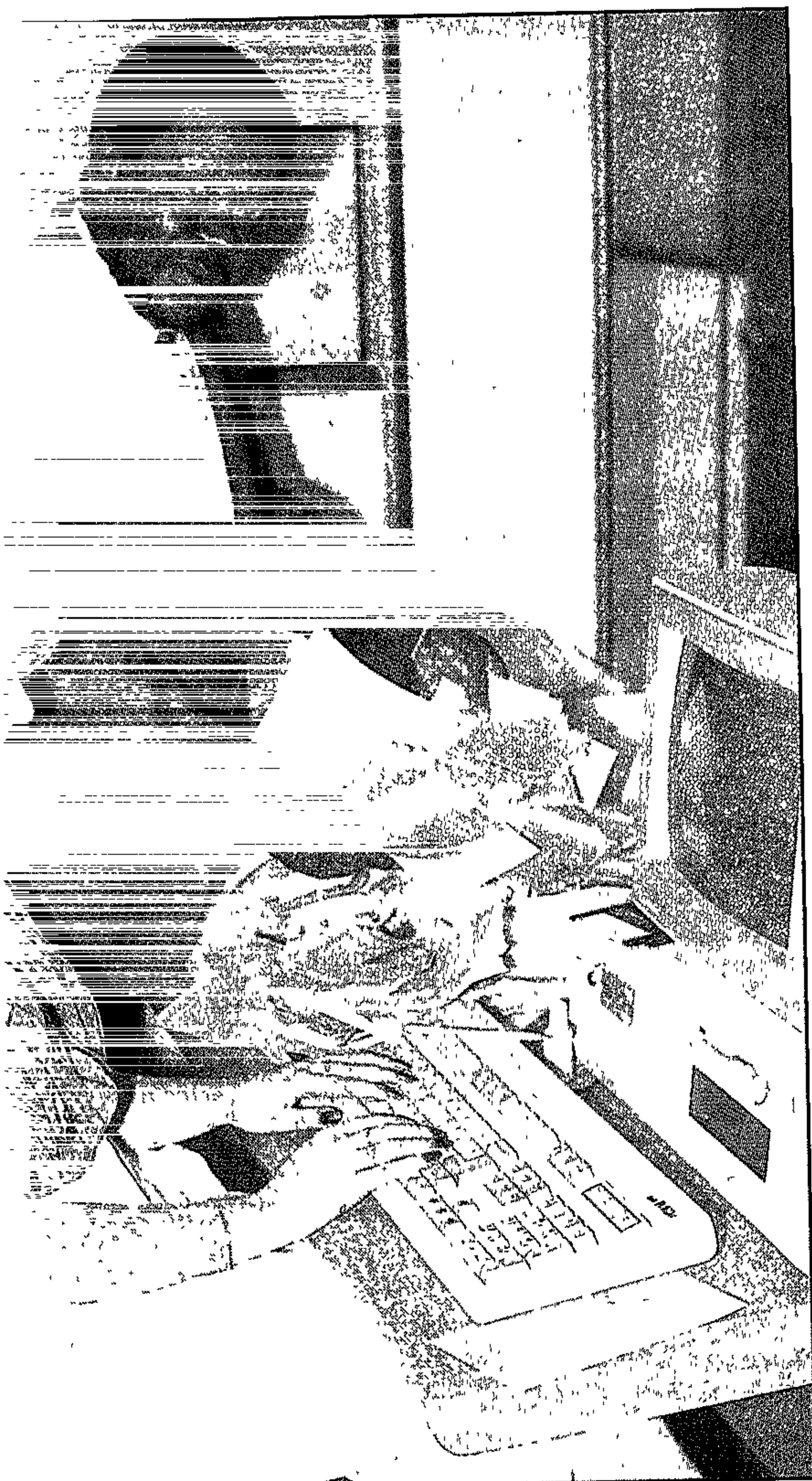
year communication strategy to promote the aims and spirit of the peace accord.

"We have to knock the cynics", Hall said.

A meeting of the peace committee and about 40 advertising and public relations agencies was held on Friday, when the committee asked for proposals on how the money should be spent.

The proposals must be submitted by Friday.

The committee has requested the commission of inquiry to give urgent attention to train attacks on commuters, the taxi war in the Cape and the deaths at the President Steyn and Western Deep Levels mines.



the first batch of Peace Pledge certificates will be sent out this week. Editor Joe Latakomo and promotions assistant Shelley Gallon sort out the certificates signed by Star readers. Picture: Jacob Rykliff

Challenge is for everyone to adopt language of peace



Star 11/11/91

Staff Reporter

(274)

The Star's Peace Train is gaining momentum — with thousands of readers on board. This week, the first 3 000 pledge certificates will be posted off — and those who have committed themselves to peace will be able to display publicly their commitment to the process.

Letters of support for the campaign have been pouring in. Among activities aimed at promoting peace have been mass signings of the Peace Pledge at factories and in squatter settlements and hostels. From the raft race organisers at a charity day in Witbank who named one raft Peace Train, to the motor dealership which painted the Peace Train logo and the company's commitment to peace on their shop window — all these demonstrate the desire by South Africans to work towards peace.

Women's group Positive Action Now for Peace and Reconciliation said in a statement at the weekend that The Star's initiative was to be commended.

"This is the kind of positive action which our members are encouraging throughout the nation.

"The time has come for leaders of organisations and political parties to recognise that they have a moral and personal responsibility to abandon the lan-

guage of confrontation and contention. Young adults in South Africa have lived their entire lives watching adult leaders of all political persuasions threaten, condemn, pressure, accuse, harass and fight one another," Positive Action Now said.

The organisation, which represents 200 affiliated women's groups with a membership of more than 10 000, says peace will never be achieved "until each South African takes individual responsibility, and has the courage to take positive, personal action to live in peace with those who are of a different cultural, racial, religious or political background.

"We commend and congratulate our leaders who have signed the Peace Accord and who support a multiparty conference to design the new South Africa. We particularly commend the language of the Peace Accord which calls on all parties to stop making wilfully false allegations.

"We call upon all citizens, but especially those often quoted in the media, the leaders in the NP, ANC, IFP, PAC, Cosatu, CP, AWB, DP, Azapo, Labour Party, Solidarity, SACP, SACC and all other leaders in civic, church, business or sports groups, to adopt the language of peace. Persuasion and patience, not demands and threats, lead to peace," the statement said.

ANC slams govt's security decision

CT 12/11/91

Political Staff

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THE ANC yesterday strongly criticised the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, for unilaterally announcing the formation of a 17 500-strong "internal stability" police unit to control politically-inspired violence and unrest.

Mr Kriel said at the National Party's Transvaal Congress that such a unit could be established soon but that negotiations in this regard had not yet been concluded.

The ANC said in a statement, issued by its peace initiative co-ordinator, Mr Sydney Mafumadi, that it was deeply con-

cerned about Mr Kriel's announcement that the unit would be established.

"We are appalled by the fact that Mr Kriel did not even have the decency to put the matter before the signatories to the Peace Accord.

"This unilateralism and prescriptive attitude shows that the regime has not come to terms with the fact that it is not the only player in the situation," Mr Mafumadi said.

● The drafting of a code of conduct for mass action has been supported by the ANC, Cosatu, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the police.

The ANC, Cosatu and the IFP have also stated that mass action would remain an important part of the democratic process under a future constitution.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht defended the use of mass action by their organisations.

The views of the different political organisations on mass action have been published in the latest edition of the publication, Barometer on Negotiation.

Six injured in unrest incidents

PRETORIA. — Six people were injured in unrest-related incidents throughout the country according to the latest unrest report issued by the police yesterday.

In the Western Cape three men were slightly wounded when gunmen opened fire on a taxi from a moving vehicle in Bellville.

In Atteridgeville, Pretoria, a man and a woman received burn wounds when a house was petrol-bombed.

At Langlaagte station, Johannesburg, a man was seriously injured when another man attacked him with an axe.

— Sapa

Peace accord welcomed at UN

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ET 13/11/91

PRETORIA. — The recently signed National Peace Accord has been welcomed in United Nations circles in the European UN headquarters in Geneva, according to the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers.

Mr Scheepers recently returned from an official visit to Geneva, the purpose of which was to explain the South African government's latest initiatives.

A statement released by the Ministry of Law and Order here said Mr Scheepers held talks with the UN Deputy Secretary-General Mr. Jan Martenson and other officials from the UN Centre of Human Rights, as well as various heads of the World Council of Reformed Churches and the World Lutheran Federation.

At the end of the deputy minister's visit it had been agreed that closer ties would be maintained between the minister and those with whom he held talks. — Sapa

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**SIBONGILE
KHUMALO**

Concert of sacred music plea for peace in our land

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

SACRED Concert For Peace takes place at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg on November 28 and at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto on December 1.

The concert is part of the nationwide peace initiatives and *Sowetan's* Nation Building project.

NATION BUILDING

The power is in your hands

Professor Jimmy Mzilikazi Khumalo, one of the organisers, said it is hoped the concerts will help to spread the peace gospel in the nation. Khumalo is a lecturer at Wits University.

Soloists

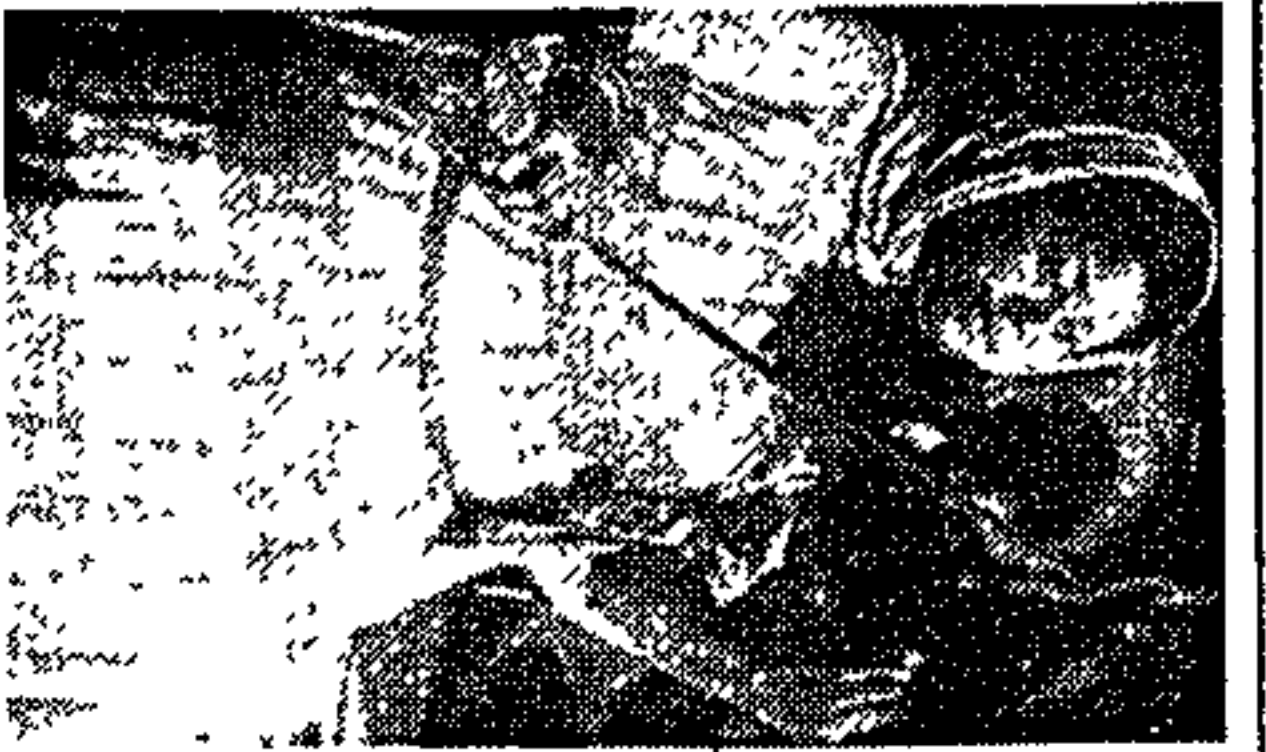
Richard Cock, a respected conductor and musician, is one of the organisers and heads the Transvaal Chamber Orchestra.

Cock and Khumalo

have previously conducted *Sowetan's* Nation Building Massed Choir at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg.

"We are trying to sing to the people about peace. It's about time we had peace in this country and that is the main reason behind the two concerts," said Khumalo.

The concert features some of the outstanding soloists in the country today like Sibongile Khumalo.



Concert of sacred music plea for peace in our land

BY ELLIOT MAKHAYA

SACRED Concert For Peace takes place at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg on November 28 and at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto on December 1.

The concert is part of the nationwide peace initiatives and *Sowetan's* Nation Building project.

NATION BUILDING

THE power is in your hands

Source 13/11/91

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Professor Jimmy Mzilikazi Khumalo, one of the organisers, said it is hoped the concerts will help to spread the peace gospel in the nation. Khumalo is a lecturer at Wits University.

Soloists

Richard Cock, a respected conductor and musician, is one of the organisers and heads the Transvaal Chamber Orchestra. Cock and Khumalo

have previously conducted *Sowetan's* Nation Building Massed Choir at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg.

"We are trying to sing to the people about peace. It's about time we had peace in this country and that is the main reason behind the two concerts," said Khumalo.

The concert features some of the outstanding soloists in the country today like Sibongile Khumalo.

Bigotry led to threats says National Party

Source 13/11/91

THE Atteridgeville National Party branch has attributed alleged threats of violence against it to a lack of tolerance.

Responding to threats against the NP's Atteridgeville chairman,

Mr Joe Tshabalala, and his offices, the organisation said yesterday the threats were caused by a lack of tolerance for differing viewpoints, and said it was necessary to iron out problems in a peaceful manner.

He intends reporting the matter to the police and the special commission of inquiry investigating intimidation and violence in the country.

- *Sowetan Correspondent*

Father charged with raping his daughter

By ALI MPHAKI

A SOWETO man appeared in the Protea Magistrate's Court yesterday charged with raping his 12-year-old daughter.

The 33-year-old man

may not be identified to protect the child's identity.

He is alleged to have sexually molested the girl at their White City Jabavu

the two younger ones were asleep, the man allegedly ordered his daughter to remove her younger sisters from the bed and prepare a place for them on the floor. "The man started pull-

Computer Diploma Courses

IFP threatens to establish own army

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Inkatha Freedom Party might consider establishing its own private army if other organisations such as the ANC continued to have private armies, IFP central committee member and Transvaal leader Musa Myeni warned yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Myeni said his party was aware of "continued efforts" by some organisations to recruit young men for military training inside and outside the country, and that the IFP was "the major target" of this training.

Military training, Mr Myeni said, was given to new recruits in countries such as Uganda, Cuba, Libya, Tanzania, Angola and Transkei.

Accept

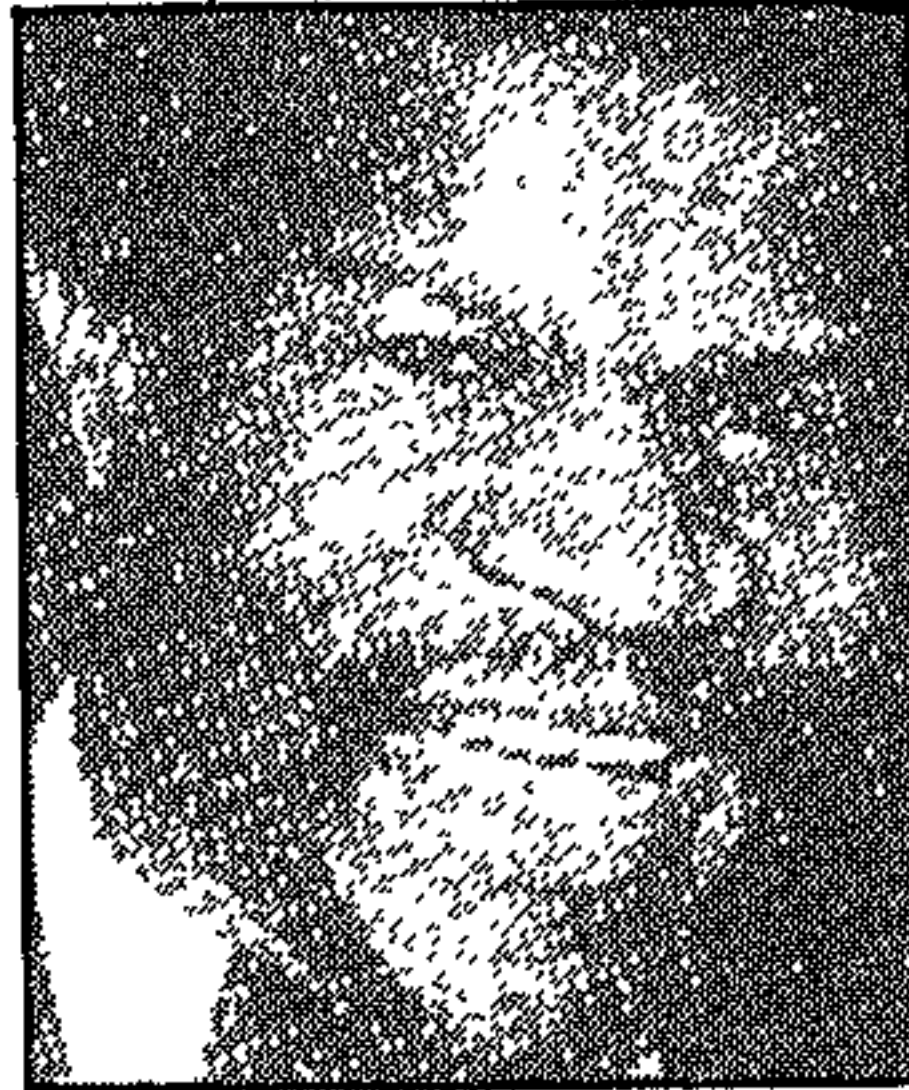
He called on the Government to "accept the consequences of this military training" and challenged South African Indian leaders to say where they stood on the Indian government's recent decision to provide military training to ANC recruits.

The IFP leader said many other organisations, including the Conservative Party and "maybe even the National Party", had their own private armies, and asked why the IFP could not do the same.

"The IFP has a right to defend itself. Its options are being narrowed and (we) cannot be bystanders for too long.

"We may have to match every step taken by other major players," Mr Myeni said.

He said that since the signing of the National Peace Accord,



Musa Myeni . . . Inkatha a major target.

the IFP had "experienced gross violations of its integrity, dignity and the very physical existence of its members" in at least 16 incidents in the Transvaal alone.

These incidents, he said, ranged "from irresponsible public statements to killings and aborted massacres", and he held the ANC-SACP alliance and black policemen responsible for most of these incidents.

Mr Myeni, who accused black policemen of being biased against the IFP and in favour of the ANC, said his party had evidence of policemen brutally killing IFP members "as though they want to please those who have declared war on the IFP".

He said the IFP had, without success, sought an urgent meeting with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. The IFP had consequently warned that any confrontation which took place between the police and the IFP would be Mr Kriel's responsibility.

"Our people have had enough. These political policemen, guilty of political hatred, should never think that our people are afraid of them. Our people have

so far been trying to be decent, giving authorities the respect we always preach.

"If the State cannot deal effectively with its own undesirable elements, our people reserve the right to defend themselves at whatever cost. We therefore demand that bad elements within the police force be removed or else they would be matched at their game," said Mr Myeni.

He called on the head of the Commission on Violence and Intimidation, Mr Justice Goldstone, to investigate the continued training of "military operatives" in and around the Reef and Transkei, the "aborted massacre" of Merafe hostel dwellers by youths alleged to be ANC members at the weekend, and other incidents submitted to the commission.

Spoke

Asked to comment yesterday, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mr Myeni's statements "spoke for themselves". She said the ANC, a signatory to the Accord, respected the right of every organisation to exist and espouse its policies.

"Musa Myeni has clearly spelt out IFP policy for all who are willing to listen," said Miss Marcus.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said it was strange that the IFP, a signatory to the Accord, had chosen to go to the media with the allegations instead of placing them before the police and the Commission on Intimidation and Violence to be investigated.

Mr Myeni's allegations, Brigadier Mellet said, were serious "and one would expect a reasonable organisation to back them up with evidence".

A push for peace by gentle folk of St Columba's church

Star 13/11/91

The image of violence does not sit easily with the congregation of St Columba's church in Parkview.

Middle-class, cultured, largely professional ... these people aren't candidates for mob warfare. Do they need to promise to be peaceful? Isn't that like getting lambs to enter non-aggression treaties? They're non-aggressive anyway.

The Rev Alan Maker thought it over, and decided the quest for peace is his church's business as much as anybody else's. "It isn't just up to the townships," he says. "They may be at the sharp end but we must support them, in every way."



Is it enough to think "we're peaceful already"? No, say the members of a church in one of Johannesburg's gentlest suburbs — everybody needs to push for peace. DENIS BECKETT reports.

"Every way" means exactly that. St Columba's prays — not just at services but on weekdays too, keeping the church open to maintain the flow. Members sign their commitment to the Peace Accord. Mr Maker initially printed 500 pledges. These were used

up after a single service and a reprint followed. Mr Maker lays down the line on practical matters as well. "You are privileged. You are employers," he tells his congregants. "Use the power you have. Use it in whatever way you can, small or

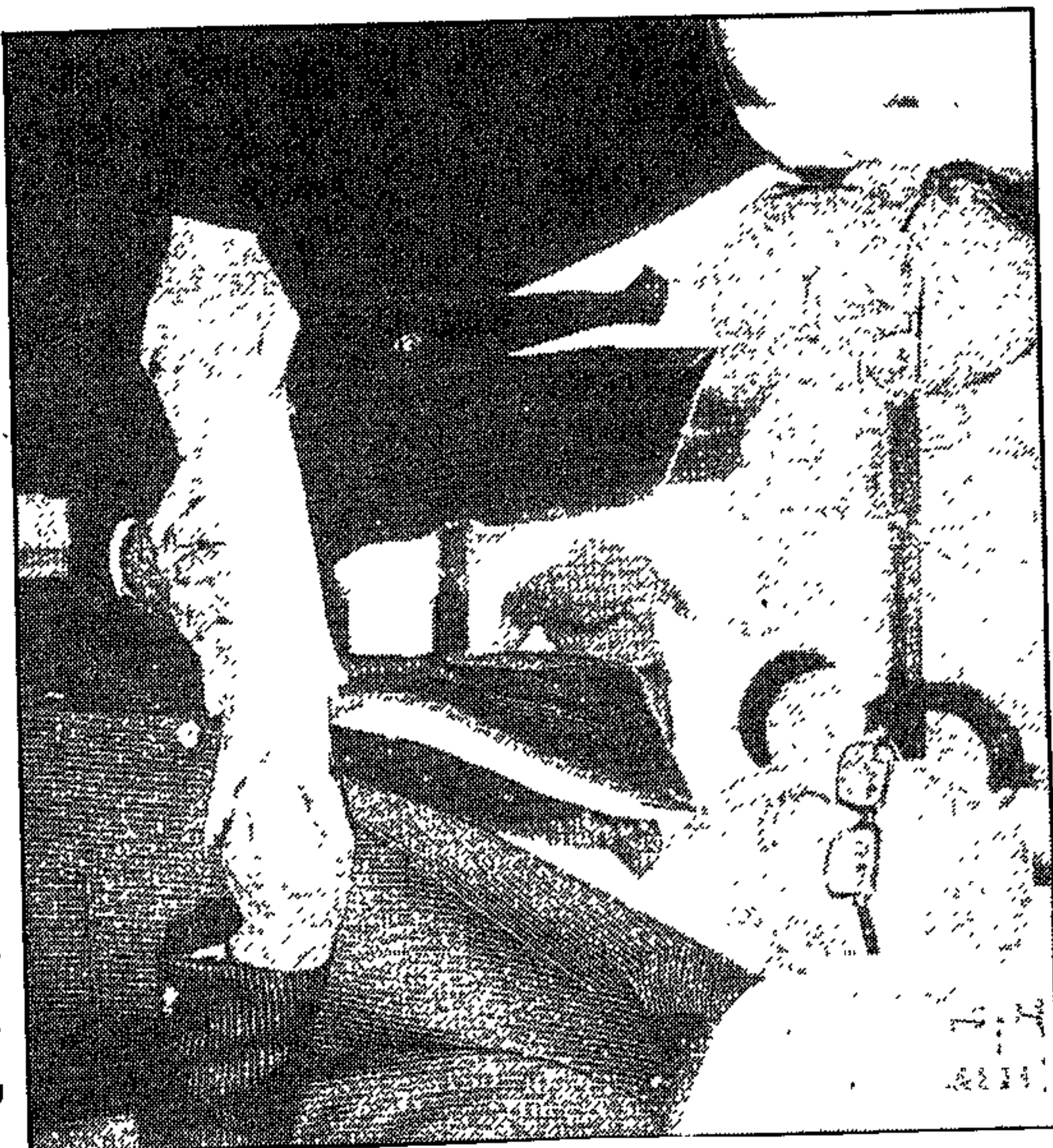
large. But don't sit there paralysed and then come complaining when your house is burgled.

"Don't wait for someone else to somehow solve the problems. You do every little bit that you can."

St Columba's is used to the blunt approach

"We are fat, comfortable, and afraid," runs last week's Prayer of Confession, typically. "We want a little justice for mankind but not enough to disturb us."

Currently, Alan Maker is beating his own record for bluntness. "We're in hard times," he says. (The church, which runs a permanent pantry for the hungry, has been burgled three times this year).



Reaching out ... the Rev Alan Maker and church administrator Don Pistorius count pledges signed by members of the congregation.

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107
107

Cosatu, Nactu in Peace Accord row

South
14/11-20/11/91

LAST week's stayaway has thrown a spanner in the works of unity between Cosatu and Nactu, South Africa's strongest trade union federations.

Nactu spokesperson Mr Ben Petersen said Cosatu was stealing the limelight. But at the heart of the dispute is Nactu's rejection of the Peace Accord to which Cosatu is a signatory.

"Nactu is unhappy with Cosatu's role in the VAT Co-ordinating Committee and is busy reviewing its participation in it," said Petersen.

He said Cosatu wanted to give the impression it alone was responsible for the success of the stayaway.

"Nactu is dismayed that Cosatu did not consult us before making important decisions like the setting up of joint monitoring structures with the police in terms of the Peace Accord which Nactu rejects."

Cosatu education officer Ms Tasneem Essop dismissed Nactu statements, saying Nactu officials were present at all Vatcom meetings nationally and regionally where issues were discussed.

SOWETAN BUSINESS

Peace key to development

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

URBAN Foundation chairman Mr Mike Rosholt yesterday said the declining economy and high levels of violence had negative effects on South Africa's development.

Addressing the UF's annual meeting, he said all international signs showed that the chances of success were better if economic growth was high and violence low, preferably non-existent.

However, he was optimistic that "positive features would emerge after it had been realised that agreements had to be negotiated and accepted by many parties if the national challenges were to be met."

He said: "These negotiations are far-reaching, ranging from those between a rural village and an organisation able to assist with providing drinkable water for the first time, to the negotiations about a new constitution." Indeed, he said, "the idea of a need for voluntary, negotiated accords - such as the National Peace Accord - is moving all our lives."

Rosholt said the basic reality was that people must develop themselves and, through co-operation, develop their own communities.

No-one could, he said, "develop" someone who simply remained passive, waiting to be developed.

"Another reality is that development is necessary in

many fields: health, housing, business, education and others. This, in turn, means that people have to acquire the skills and learning that will assist them technically in meeting specific requirements."

He said in South Africa, three types of institutions exist to help people with development: private, Government, and those created specifically to assist in development. *Sowetan 15/11/91*

He was impressed that among developments taking place in South Africa was the formation of a national negotiating forum on housing and the hostels.

"And one hears that talks have begun on the possibility of an education forum too. Hopefully such forums will in due course provide an agreement on how to develop a democratic society and this will be confirmed later by constitutional agreement," he said.

The UF believed that reactionary legislation inhibiting development must be removed and replaced with policies encouraging development. It also believed it necessary to establish and support new institutions motivating skilled people into development.

However, there were people who held other views, he said. Too few politicians devoted anything but lip service to development.

"Their concentration appears to be entirely focused on political and power issues."

Multiparty convenors proposed

By PAT SIDLEY (5/11 - 21/11/91)
DUTCH Reformed Church Assessor,
Professor Johan Heyns, together with
Methodist Bishop and National Peace
Committee co-chairman, Stanley
Mogoba, are likely to help convene the
multi-party conference to be held later
this month.

Foreign diplomats were told this
week in a briefing by the African
National Congress that the conference,
to be called the Convention for a
Democratic Future, will be convened
by, among others, at least two clerics
who would be seen to be acceptable to
a wide constituency.

Among the names mentioned as
conveners of the talks were Heyns and
Mogoba.

Mogoba is already a key figure in
the peace process in the country as he
is the co-chairman of the National
Peace Committee — set up as a result
of the Peace Accord which was signed
in September. He is seen as being
politically independent, and would
therefore be more acceptable to a
broad group of black opposition par-
ties than would several other promi-
nent clerics.

Heyns was a key participant in mea-
sures to bring people together, dating
back to the Rustenberg Conference of
Churches in November last year and
thereafter as a facilitator to help bring
about the Peace Accord.

According to diplomatic sources,
the ANC said the main convener of the
convention would be the Chief Justice
of South Africa, Michael Corbett. He
would have two clerics convening
with him. Among the other names
mentioned were Anglican Archbishop
Desmond Tutu, but sources said it was
uncertain whether some groups (like
Inkatha) would accept his presence.

The names the ANC felt were most
likely to be acceptable to the widest
cross section of parties were Heyns
and Mogoba. It is understood the ANC
has been in talks with the government
on the proposals, but this will not
be fixed until the steering committee of
the convention meets.

So far the clerics have not been
asked if they will perform the task.
This would follow agreement at the
steering committee meeting. The con-
vention is to take place on November
29 and 30 near Johannesburg.

ANC plans to drive
home peace campaign

Weekend Argus Correspondent (274)

PRETORIA — The African National Congress is on the move to promote the organisation — and is going bumper to bumper to drive its message home.

Mr Abba Omar of the ANC's Department of Publicity and Information said they had launched a campaign called Peace, Freedom and the Vote.

Through bumper stickers and posters, the ANC attempts to combine a demand for ending violence with a call for free political activity and a democratic constitution.

The ANC hopes to appeal to all those who may be involved in the violence and, therefore, part of the campaign is aimed at the Army and police. A poster has been issued which calls for soldiers and police to abide by the Peace Accord and to promote democracy. They are urged to join the ANC's "march to freedom".

Bumper stickers call for the removal of the present government and the institution of an interim government of national unity. "The present government cannot be trusted to oversee the transitional process," Mr Omar said.

Violence toll will shake political leaders into re-think — professor

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

FRESH outbreaks of violence in townships, at gold mines and in the Peninsula's fierce taxi war may yet help to produce the key to peace in South Africa.

If anything, suggests a Stellenbosch professor, the frightening toll of death and devastation will shake political leaders and their followers into thinking again — and seeking non-violent solutions to their problems.

Professor Pierre du Toit, associate professor of political science at the University of Stellenbosch, proposes a plan of action to get serious negotiations moving based on a series of binding pacts between the key players, not only on the political front, but also on the economic front.

The proposals are set out in his new book, *Power Plays — Bargaining Tactics For Transforming South Africa*, which has just been published by Southern Book Publishers.

Professor Du Toit told Weekend Argus this week the anti-VAT stayaway campaign and subsequent violence demonstrated how interdependence between major rivals in politics could be used to damage an opponent.

This and certain other events were all part of a pre-negotiation positioning of forces, but a paradox was that those seeking to hurt their rivals by hurting the economy were also harming themselves.

And, in the long run, the hurt inflicted on the economy now would be felt by a future government, no matter who would be in power.

What Professor Du Toit saw as an important step forward was the peace accord of September 14 between the Government, the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party — an accord much on the lines of a political pact between the same players which he advocates in his book.

Having taken that step, a similar deal on the economic front was now of the utmost importance, he said. The

"heavyweight" parties to an economic pact would have to include Cosatu, big business and the government.

Significantly, what could be seen as a first tentative step in this direction was taken this week by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela when he acknowledged that sanctions had damaged the South African economy and that his organisation was taking precautions to remedy the situation.

But, how can there be peace when violence continues unabated? And what about the latest flare-up this week? Professor Du Toit said the situation showed action beyond the recent peace accord was now needed. Whatever action was taken, however, should first be agreed to by the parties to the accord.

Tough action might be needed to curb the violence — perhaps curfews in some areas, more police and troops to patrol trouble spots, or drastic steps to disarm warring groups. Such action had to be jointly endorsed and publicly declared by the three leaders.

And, joint manpower would be needed in security action. This would mean an agreed joint involvement of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the SAP and SADF and the Kwazulu police, in peacekeeping operations.

In his book, Professor Du Toit notes the movement towards democracy in Spain, Colombia, Venezuela, Uruguay and Brazil, in each case, was driven and shaped by a process of "pact" formation.

The "moderate centre" in South African politics may even choose to seek mutual security in a kind of non-aggression pact, because of the power different groups hold over one another.

"The ANC, Inkatha and the NP hold the balance of terror in SA politics," Professor Du Toit writes

"Each one can make the country ungovernable virtually indefinitely. Each party can draw support and allegiance from a wide range of individuals and groups who are strategically placed within the complex grid of our industrial

society. Such support networks can allow each to use a myriad of relationships of mutual dependence to devastating effect."

A non-aggression pact between the ANC, NP and Inkatha can thus be brought about through the power vested in the mutual dependence of each on the other. Such an agreement can convert a "balance of terror" into a balance of integrative power.

Professor Du Toit says a number of additional items will have to be agreed on if a pact is going to succeed in taking the moderate centre intact, and in charge, into the post-apartheid era. These include:

- An agreement on how the structures of the State are going to be used in the process of transition. No equivalent of an Untag force, for example, can be called on to do the job. The State will have to be the umpire, and the pact will have to work out a set of rules which the State (as umpire) will have to enforce on all the other players as well;

- An agreement on the role of the State presupposes an agreement which clarifies, once and for all, the problem of good faith. There must be a clear understanding on all sides that the negotiation process and the entire transition process must be guided to hold the centre. Any notion of using this process as a Trojan Horse for a "dual power" strategy must be abandoned;

- A subsidiary economic pact will have to be concluded. Such a pact will have to address the connections between the goals of growth, equity, stability and participation, and should include an agreement on priorities; and

- An agreement on the constitutional boundaries of the regime for a post-apartheid South Africa. Three items of special importance will have to be settled — firstly, built-in clauses to keep political "scavengers" at bay; secondly, measures for the protection of minorities; and, thirdly, an agreement on electoral and other incentives with which to bolster the political centre (and the regime).

■ See page 18

Townships burning, but there is hope

ARG 16/11/91

2714

Fugitive pair ready to tell all to ANC in London



HIDING IN BRITAIN: Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz emerge to pose outside South Africa House in London

FUGITIVE right-wingers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz have surfaced in Britain — prepared to tell the ANC of alleged security force involvement in the violence convulsing South Africa.

Using stolen passports, they fled to Britain last month after jumping bail on the eve of their trial for murder. (200) (274)

Maritz, 44, who is in hiding in the British Midlands with his wife, Karen, and her 13-year-old daughter, Toni, hopes he can persuade the British government to grant him political asylum.

Martin, 50, pins his hopes on being British and on the absence of an extradition treaty between Britain and South Africa.

The men claim their activities were part of a campaign orchestrated by the security forces to fan the flames of township violence.

In an exclusive interview this week, they admitted planting two bombs in bins close to the taxi rank in Pretoria's Bloed Street in August last year.

By **ANDREW HOGG** of the London Sunday Times

One of the bombs exploded during rush hour, injuring 15 blacks.

But they denied placing another bomb in a computer which killed a white ANC supporter in Durban, claiming a security policeman was responsible.

Both men claimed they had worked for the SA Defence Force's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau, which the Harms Commission of Inquiry found had been involved in the murder and attempted murder of several anti-apartheid activists.

If true, their claims prove that the CCB was still in operation after June last year, when it was said to have been disbanded.

Martin and Maritz also claim they can prove that.

Despite a 1984 undertaking to the Mozambican government that supplies to Renamo would cease, South African arms were channelled to the resistance movement as recently as last year.

Three truckloads of AK-47 rifles were handed over by the security forces to Inkatha two months ago in a Johannesburg suburb.

Ten thousand R-rifles were handed over to Inkatha by an SADF major in 1988.

The pre-independence attacks on two Untag offices in Namibia were carried out on the orders of the South African government.

Maritz claimed he started working for the security

To Page 2

P.T.O.

Right-wingers ready to tell all

SI Times
From Page 1

services in 1984, through his friendship with a Commandant Lourens "Andy" Anderson, who he later discovered worked for military intelligence.

"He asked me if I would like some serious work. It turned out to be arms trading and involved setting up channels and moving arms via South Africa and Israel. A lot originated in the US, a lot from South Africa, and I suspected a lot were stolen," Maritz said.

"In 1987 I was told to lay off the arms deals. Then, in February 1989, a man phoned and said he wanted to discuss a computer deal. When I met him, he introduced himself as Mr Sting.

"I recognised him as someone from military intelligence. It was nothing about computers. He asked me to work for the CCB, saying it was a government group trying, as he

put it, to 'save the country'."

Martin claimed he was recruited after a company he ran from Swaziland received a contract to install computers for Mozambique's Frelimo government. His work came to the attention of the National Intelligence Service, which asked him to provide information about government officials, which he agreed to do for a monthly fee of R2 000.

His activities, however, apparently conflicted with military intelligence, which eventually forced him to pull out of Mozambique. Then, early last year, he was contacted by "Mr Sting", who asked him to join a "destabilisation process". Martin agreed. He had joined the CCB.

He and Maritz, his former business partner, were put to work writing, printing and distributing leaflets intended to incite vio-

lence. One called for the killing of Winnie Mandela because she was "sleeping with white cops" while another said "blacks could cure AIDS by having sexual intercourse with Indian women".

Maritz was also instructed to join a number of far-right groups to recruit new members, including the white supremacist Church of the Creator, and the World Apartheid Movement. Later on, the men claim, an order came through from Mr Sting: "Bomb the taxi rank."

The men claim they joined the Orde Boerevolk only as a ruse to try to obtain political indemnity while in prison.

Maritz produced a number of "shopping lists" and telexes which seemed to confirm his involvement in the arms trade, but, as both men pointed out, the CCB rarely put its orders on paper.

A spokesman for the ANC's London office said yesterday he had received a call on Friday morning from a man who did not give his name, but suggested he would be prepared to exchange information of interest to the ANC for the organisation's protection. The man had been advised to contact the ANC's chief representative in London, but he had not yet done so.

WEATHER

TRANSVAAL: Partly cloudy and warm. Isolated thundershowers are expected in the east in the early morning becoming scattered in the extreme east and north. Isolated thundershowers will spread to western and southern Transvaal later in the day.

OFS: Fine and warm but partly cloudy in the north-east with isolated thundershowers.

NATAL: Partly cloudy and cool over the interior with isolated thundershowers spreading southwards. It will be humid along the coast but will become cooler with light rain.

Cape: It will be partly cloudy and

15 die in black weekend of violence

Staff Reporters

(2714)

FIFTEEN people died violently in a weekend of shootings and road accidents in the Peninsula.

Two people died of bullet wounds in Khayelitsha and Nyanga. A 21-year-old debt collector Mr Zamille Njewi was found shot and necklaced in Khayelitsha on Saturday and Mr Sibonga Dugavila, 22, was found dead with a wound in his neck early on Sunday.

A man died after he was struck by two cars in Jan Smuts Drive, Athlone, last night. He has not yet been identified.

Miss Denise Julius, 30, of Kwikkie Street, Robinvale, Atlantis, died on Friday night when the car in which she was travelling left the old Mamre-

Darling Road and hit a tree near Atlantis on Friday night. An unidentified man and a woman in the car were injured and taken to Groote Schuur Hospital.

A Claremont doctor, aged about 60, was killed and his wife died in hospital after their car and another car collided at 11.30am yesterday in Table View at the T-junction of Otto du Plessis and Marine Drive. Their identities are being withheld until their family has been told.

Mr Tom Zwelandle, 21, of Milnerton died when he was struck by a vehicle in Platteklip Road, Bothasig, on Friday.

Yanela Gcuwa, 7, of Guguletu died when she was knocked down in NY 108 near

Halunga Park in Guguletu at 10.15am on Saturday.

Mr Thenjiwe Sawuka, 52, died after he was hit by a car in NY 78, Guguletu, at 9.15pm on Saturday and Mr J Titus, 35, was killed in an accident in Frans Conradie Drive, Bellville.

A man was killed by a car on the N2 near DF Malan Airport on Saturday.

A 25-year-old man died in Anthony Road, Khayelitsha, and a 51-year-old man was killed in Emms Drive, Nyanga, on Saturday.

A 30-year-old man was also killed after a car knocked him down in Main Road, Constantia, yesterday.

Twelve people were injured when a van overturned in Vanguard Drive, Athlone, last night.

Political Staff

ANC supporters had burnt down houses belonging to black members of the Democratic Party, attacked them and prevented them from writing exams in townships in the Transvaal and Free State, delegates to the DP's national congress said at the weekend.

"The time has come for the (DP's) leadership to tell the ANC that this sort of thing has to stop," Dr Rhett Kahn of Welkom said at the party's congress in Sea Point.

● The former principal of the University of

ANC supporters (274) 'burnt DP houses'

the Western Cape, Dr Richard van der Ross, was elected to the national council and Dr Denis Worrall lost his position as the council's vice-chairman.

A member of the President's Council, Mr David Gant, was unanimously re-elected chairman. The NC also elected the MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, as their vice-chairman after he

had defeated Dr Worrall in a ballot.

Delegates elected ten to the NC: Dr Van der Ross, Mr Norman Daniels, Mr Colin Douglas, Mr Graham Gersbach, Dr Rhett Kahn, Prof Ian Macdonald, Ms Gill Neoro, Mr Etienne Phoolo, Prof Abraham Viljoen and Dr Anita Worrall.

CT 18/11/91
● The interim symbols

suggested by Nocsa for SA athletes in the Barcelona Olympics should be accepted, the DP said.

It believed that the Nocsa decision on the sports symbols was not a permanent one.

● A Cape Town city councillor, Mrs Isabel Edelstein, said that only 2 500 of the 17 000 people employed by the city council were women.

She was speaking on a resolution, passed unanimously, calling on the party's delegates to all-party or multi-party talks to propose a commission on women's rights and status.

ANC is to blame for turmoil - FW

(274)

Sowetan
18/11/91

By ISMAIL LARGADIEN

IT HAS been proved that the main cause of the violence in South Africa was a power struggle among black people, President FW de Klerk said last night.

He said "scientific analysis" had shown that violence was between power blocks represented by black people.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his arrival from the Middle and Far East, De Klerk said the comment he made in Israel about the nature of the violence in South Africa being "black on black" was taken out of context.

But he said: "Scientific analysis has shown that the essential nature of the violence was indeed black on black."

He said the ANC was the com-

mon denominator in all the trouble that has plagued the country for the past two years.

Violence was either between the ANC and Inkatha or between the ANC and some other party.

De Klerk also said no member of his party "has ever been involved in political violence".

"Can Mr (Nelson) Mandela say that," he asked.

Warning on defence units

SK 19/11/91
The National Peace Accord attempts, in its section on general principles governing the activities of the security forces, to defuse the highly contentious issue of "self-defence units" being formed in the townships.

While recognising the right in law of "all individuals to protect themselves and their property... including the right to bear licensed arms and to use them in legitimate and lawful self-defence", the Accord insists that "no private armies shall be allowed or formed" and "no political organisation shall establish self-defence units on the basis of party or political affiliation, such units being consid-

ered private armies."

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The Accord says all existing structures called "self-defence units" shall be transformed into "self-protection units" which will operate in terms of agreed principles, including one ensuring that the police remain responsible for the maintenance of law and order and may not be hindered in executing their task by any self-protection unit.

With many of the structures envisaged in the Peace Accord having only recently been put in place, there is little available evidence of a transformation in the role of defence units — but this is still considered a priority by the signatories.

Thousands of companies getting down to business

18 Apr 19/11/91. (274) (42)

Does the business of business include the business of peace? Last week the country's biggest chamber of business — the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry — decided that it does, and committed itself to the Peace Pledge on behalf of its 5 200 member-companies. JCCI president MIKE CATO explains why.

The major interest of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry is the future of business — and, like it or not, the prosperity of our country, depends squarely on the ability of business to create jobs and generate economic growth.

For this reason JCCI, representing 5 200 businesses, has decided to unreservedly pledge itself to The Star's peace initiative — the Peace Train.

We have done so because peace in every sector of society is not only a basic human right, but is the only base from which business can carry out its responsibility towards the future of all South Africans.

Peace will give our investors the confidence to invest in job-creating ventures. This in turn will give overseas investors the confidence to invest in and trade with our country.

Without peace and the neces-


sary economic growth, whatever group governs the South Africa of the future will preside over an economic wasteland and an impoverished nation.

With peace, our country can become a prosperous economic giant at the centre of a sub-Saharan trading bloc.

Already there are signs from the dozens of missions we deal with that the lack of peace is causing a growing concern about doing business with us.

We face a simple choice, really. It is unrealistic of us to expect the majority of South Africans to understand the subtleties of economics and its importance for our future — but everyone understands peace. Let's start with that.

Let us make a concerted effort to live with one another, to develop tolerance, and get on that Peace Train for a trip into a prosperous future for us all



Teamwork key to Peace Accord

274
19/11/91
By MATTHEW
KENTRIDGE

IN THE interval since its signing, much scorn and opprobrium has been heaped on the National Peace Accord.

In fact, the Accord is a remarkably comprehensive document. The cumbersome clauses are pregnant with opportunities; possibilities abound for giving weight and substance to the concept of peace.

But these opportunities can be grasped only if the parties involved make the break from conventional, ossified attitudes in favour of an approach which welcomes creative thinking.

For most policemen, the townships are hostile, alien environments.

They have little stake in bringing peace to these areas, and little respect for the communities they are supposed to be protecting. They reserve their particular antipathy for activists and community representatives, regarding them as radical deviants and the instigators of violence.

Township residents, in turn, have an even lower opinion of the police, seeing them as the embodiments of oppression, injustice and deceit.

The funeral of CAST secretary-general and Tokoza activist, Sam Ntuli, provides a graphic illustration of this mutual lack of trust.

Mr Ntuli was murdered six weeks ago by anonymous assassins. Tension in Tokoza was running high, and the police deployed a large monitoring force in the expectation of outbreaks of violence at the funeral.

In the event, when violence did occur, neither the police nor the funeral organisers were prepared for it. Three cars with false registrations pulled up alongside the cortege; gunmen opened fire on mourners and escaped in the ensuing chaos.

A joint agreement on a road-block along the funeral route would have sufficed to prevent the tragedy.

The Peace Accord makes provision for this kind of co-operation. The Police Code of Conduct stresses the need for community participation in policing

the townships. Elsewhere, the Accord acknowledges the right of township residents to form self-protection units (SPUs), but insists that they liaise with the police.

The killings at the Ntuli funeral are an indication that, on the Reef at least, the chief cause of violence has shifted from political rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha to the actions of the "Third Force".

In February the Third Force attempted to sabotage the Royal Hotel Peace Accord between Inkatha and the ANC by embarking on a series of assassination attempts against political leaders in Natal. The same pattern was repeated in March in Alexandra; and the recent violence in Tokoza was clearly instigated to wreck the National Peace Accord.

Working together, the police and the SPUs have the potential to create a security net so tight that not even Third Force operators can slip through.

The police and the SPUs have access to different, complementary skills and capacities. The SPUs have an unparalleled knowledge of terrain. They know the areas under threat and can fairly assess the likelihood of violence.

The police, on the other hand, have massive back-up at their disposal. They bring training, vehicles, arms and detection skills with them.

For police-community co-operation to succeed, however, the police must stop regarding the SPUs as dangerous private armies in-the-making, and see them as allies committed to the same goal. If this requires a major shift of mental gears for the police, it entails an equal change of attitudes on the part of the SPUs, where co-operation with the police still carries the stigma of collaboration and the smell of the necklace about it.

This mental logjam can be cleared by bringing in an outside facilitator from the National Peace Committee to establish liaison structures.

Moreover, the probability that some rogue members of the SAP form the core of the Third Force should not be allowed to destroy these efforts. The old fallacy which holds that because some policemen are villains, all policemen are not to be trusted, must be recognised and cast out.

Matthew Kentrige works as a research writer on *The Innes Labour Brief*. He is author of *"An Unofficial War: Inside the Conflict in Pietermaritzburg"*. □

SA's violence 'traced to 80s'

By BARRY STREEK

RESEARCHERS had traced the culture of violence in South Africa to the cruel and inhumane methods use by some of the "liberation movements" against opponents in the 1980s, President F W de Klerk told a Dutch church leader.

He was concerned about the violence between rival political groups, he said in a letter to the moderator of the Netherlands Re-

formed Church, Dr G H van de Gaaf.

Mr De Klerk also said he was "convinced that there is not a single person in South Africa who ever thought our reform process would be an easy one, or that it would develop and progress without any snags whatsoever.

"We are simply too much aware of the enormously complex nature of the task ahead of us."

In response to Mr De Klerk's

letter, Dr Van de Gaaf and general secretary of the church Dr Karel Blei said they were aware that the process of reform was no simple matter. "The injustice inflicted upon the black population for many years cannot be wiped out by one stroke of the pen."

However, a few issues still puzzled them and they said President De Klerk had not told them anything about the political prisoners who were still behind bars.

Deaths total: success or failure?

I refer to your editorial "For whom the blood flows" (The Star, November 12). You are obviously correct that "the anti-VAT strike seems to have served as the catalyst for violence." The question is why it has taken The Star a week to recognise this fact.

By Wednesday November 6 some 24 people were already dead in the stayaway, among them the 15 killed in the initial violence at President Steyn. Yet in your front-page story that day evaluating the stayaway you chose to highlight claims that it had been a victory for the National Peace Accord. Your choice of front-page headline — "Accord passes first test" — showed that this was your own view too.

If 24 deaths in a stayaway are

a victory for the peace accord, I wonder what would constitute failure?

Your editorial that day quoted the claim by a trade union official that there have been fewer deaths in the last two days of peaceful protest than there are during the normal running of the country. It was evident that you agreed with him and shared his complacency. You relegated the fatalities to virtual postscript status at the bottom of the article.

Of particular interest is the second headline in The Star of November 12, viz. "Claims of third force behind President Steyn violence."

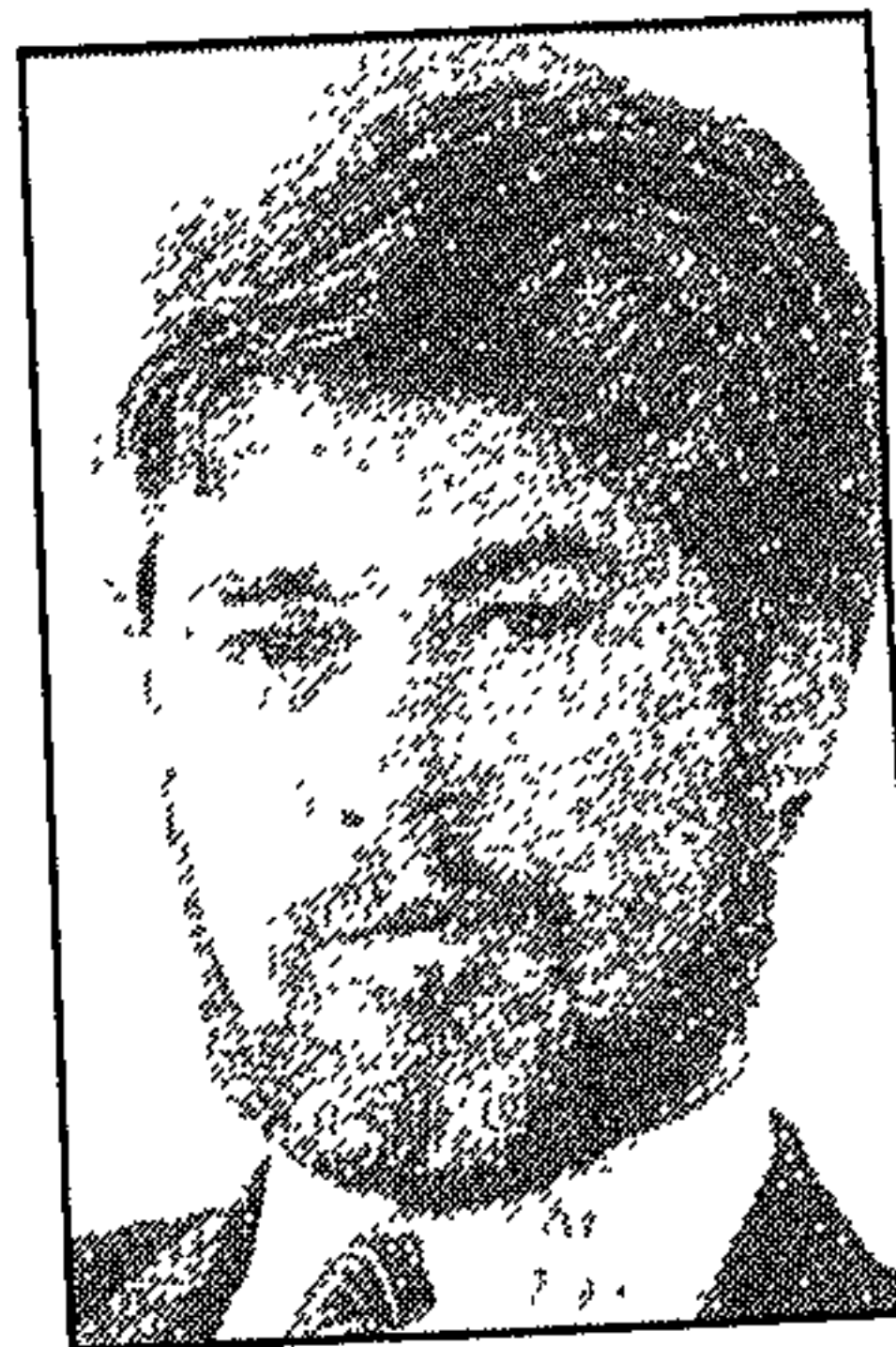
Such claims may or may not be valid. It is, however, odd that it was not until this claim was made that The Star finally de-

cided to highlight the violence during and after the anti-VAT stayaway, whose main achievement so far is a death toll at President Steyn and elsewhere of about 85.

J S Kane-Berman
Executive Director
South African Institute
of Race Relations

Braamfontein

The Star did not support the stayaway. We warned beforehand that lives would be lost and deplored the loss of life afterwards. Nonetheless, it was remarkable that violence was limited to one mine. Elsewhere, the stayaway took place without serious incident, even if Mr Kane-Berman refuses to recognise it. — Editor



John Kane-Berman . . . querying reporting of claims about the two-day stayaway.

Necklacing 'a threat to unity'

The Patriotic Front would be in jeopardy unless the ANC was seen to take strong action against its members who allegedly necklaced a PAC supporter in Munsieville last week, PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenke said yesterday.

He spoke at a media briefing after a senior PAC delegation had toured the township for two hours following the murder on Friday of

PAC member Abner Mongwagelwa. He was stabbed with a garden fork, then set alight.

The delegation included publicity secretary Barney Desai, West Rand chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya and secretary of religious affairs Mike Matsobane.

Mr Mosenke said the Patriotic Front had been formed to achieve unity among blacks and to practise political tolerance.

However, the PAC would not sacrifice human lives for the sake of preserving the Patriotic Front. PAC supporters had shown

that they did not want to attack fellow oppressed Africans, but would not continue to do so if there were further attacks.

"The PAC will not allow such behaviour from ANC members any more. We urge the ANC to take strong ac-

tions against the culprits," he said. The murdered man's father, Ramofo Monagelwa, told the delegation that he knew the identity of the man who had led the group of attackers.

Mr Mosenke told journalists the same group had on Monday threatened to kill the family if they proceeded with funeral arrangements. — Staff Reporter.

CT. 211119
**Warning on
arms in SA**

Political Staff (214)

THE presence of huge amounts of weapons could result in continued instability long after apartheid had disappeared, a politics lecturer at the University of the Western Cape, Dr Greg Mills, said yesterday.

Vast quantities of weapons had been introduced to the region over the last 25 years, and many were readily obtained and used for very different purposes from those for which they were initially provided, Dr Mills said.

Star 21/11/91
Trade with Soviets?

There are clear indications that the Soviets may once again become an important buyer of South African wool after a lapse of about 40 years. A two-person Soviet business delegation, which has completed an intensive investigation of the South African wool industry, has returned to Moscow full of enthusiasm about the quality of the local clip and the desirability of renewing the former wool trading relations. The USSR is the biggest consumer of wool in the world.

(219)

A question all policemen ask: Will it be me tomorrow?

● Why the men in blue are seeing red. A little old lady of liberal leaning once asked me: If the South African police conduct themselves according to Christian principles why don't they follow the Word and forgive those who persecute them?

She was referring to reports about police brutality against criminals, but had asked the right person the wrong question. It angered me, because at the time, nearly 100 policemen had been killed in the spate of police-slaughtering.

We would like to block this from our minds, but cannot. Few policemen do not wonder: will it be me tomorrow?

Policemen are shot simply because they wear a police uniform. Now the danger is no more confined to the black townships where at least one policeman is killed a week. Contrary to popular belief, cop-killers are not mentally unstable or insane-psychos. Instead they are cold-blooded

PEACE PLEDGE

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I pledge myself with integrity of purpose to make this land a prosperous one where we can all live, work and play together in peace and harmony. I accordingly solemnly bind myself to the principles contained in the National Peace Accord and will respect its underlying rights and values.

(signed):

PRINT NAME:

Address:

code:

Send this coupon to the Peace Train, Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000. We'll pass it to the Peace Commission — and send you a certificate.

adversaries who, at the press of a button, can transform themselves from average civilians to professional cop-killers, programmed to terminate anyone in blue. An exaggeration? I think not. Already, the military wing of a virulently anti-SAP organisation has vowed to

mercilessly eliminate SAP members.

Gone are the days when policemen walked the beat, fearlessly enforcing law and order. Now whipped into submission by peace accords, police only stick in the force because of a desire to see justice done, a need to maintain law and order and a preparedness to die at the hands of some politically motivated maniac.

If you were the mother, wife, daughter or simply a friend of one of those policemen who were killed, would you be able to forgive and forget?

Pretoria

D G Strydom

● While I pledge myself to seek peace, it comes into my mind that the Government should give a clearer definition of its relationship with Inkatha. The "Third Force" that destabilises the black townships is not a mystery.

P E Mahapa

Mahwelereng

● I would like you to add my name to the passenger list of those that are willing to choose to take the passage on your peace train. Please note that I am willing to pay for my passage in word and deed to promote peace. I am fully aware of the obstacles that will have to be removed from the rails, but I am confident that all passengers pulling together can make our journey into the new South Africa a safe and comfortable one.

Rev Charles R Carriere
Johannesburg

● My class, Form One D at St Mary's school, is in full agreement with the National Peace Accord. We wish you every success in your campaign.

K Davis,
Waverly St Mary's School

● I am a Std 5 pupil. I strongly believe in peace, and I hate violence. I therefore submit my pledge for peace and a more pleasant South Africa. Peace is life!

Abdullah Chothia

Thokoza man dies in unrest

(274) CT 22/11/91

PRETORIA. — A man was killed in Thokoza on the East Rand in one of several unrest-related incidents on Wednesday.

In Cape Town a Khayelitsha home was set alight and extensively damaged, police said in their unrest report.

A man was arrested in Maokeng, Kroonstad, after a police vehicle was

petrol-bombed. A delivery vehicle was stoned in the same area.

Police seize 5 714 guns

A home in Louis Tri-chardt came under automatic rifle fire from a passing car on Wednesday night. No-one was injured.

PRETORIA. — The police have seized 5 714 illegal firearms in the past 10 months. The Police Public Relations Division said in a statement yesterday that 1 207 AK-47 rifles were among the firearms seized.

Phola Park lost its only telephone line when three men threw a hand-grenade into an office, residents said yesterday.

In many cases illegal firearms were recovered by the police acting on information received from members of the public, it said. — Sapa

A prominent member of the ANC at Wembezi, near Estcourt in Natal, has been arrested after the SAP's riot unit found three home-made guns and petrol bombs, it was reported yesterday. — Sapa, UPI

Mandela in strong plea for peace and harmony

Source 22/11/91
AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday made a strong plea for national reconciliation, democracy and peace.

Delivering the keynote address at the conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Mandela, however, warned that the country stood at the crossroads.

"Will it be forward to freedom and democracy or a throw-back into disaster and permanent strife? The pendulum could swing either way unless we take it upon ourselves as South Africans to secure our common future.

"The time to begin sowing the seeds of national healing and reconciliation is now. The alternative is anarchy, chaos and more violence," he said.

(274)
Without accusing any party or organisation, Mandela also warned that attempts were being made to maintain and prolong apartheid.

"It (apartheid) seeks to adapt itself rather than yield to the overwhelming need for fundamental change. If this were to succeed, the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate."

Nothing less than real freedom and democracy for all would lift the country out of its current crisis.

The new South Africa had to be "constructed on the sacred rule of the fundamental worth of every human being, the sanctity and the inalienable right of every person to liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

It was in the interests of all "to have the courage".

Azapo threatens

Stew 23/11/91. (274) ~~274~~

'Black Christmas',

further sports

protests planned

in huge campaign

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has launched a major campaign of disruption aimed at politics, commerce and sport.

Yesterday, the organisation vowed:

- Not to attend multiparty talks scheduled for late December, saying these were designed to subvert the campaign for a constituent assembly.

- To step up disruption of the ATO World Doubles tournament at Johannesburg's Standard Bank Arena and intensify protests against both international and national tournaments where participating sports bodies have not achieved unity.

- To attempt to ensure the biggest Christmas boycott of white-owned shops ever staged in South Africa.

- To hold demonstrations of up to 1 000 people at cricket matches at Kingsmead, Durban, in the next few weeks to protest against "the false start" made in sports unity.

Speaking at a media briefing in Durban yesterday, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley re-

iterated that the Government had to indicate its intention to resign before the organisation would attend any meeting dealing with mechanisms for setting up a constituent assembly.

The meeting would have to take place outside South Africa and should be overseen by a neutral mediator, said Mr Moodley.

"No meeting of any nature can adequately discuss the question of constitutional principles without there being fair and free, one-person-one-vote elections in a unitary state in order to put in place a constituent assembly, the only viable mechanism by which a new constitution can be drawn up," he said.

Mr Moodley said that the talks scheduled for next month were aimed at discussing constitutional principles and "you cannot discuss these except in a constituent assembly".

On the ATP tennis tournament, Mr Moodley said: "The demonstrations in Johannesburg (on Wednesday) were not one-off."

"They will accelerate and increase in pace and will not be restricted to international tournaments."

Mr Moodley said sporting bodies that "pretended" to have achieved unity and those whose development programmes excluded the majority of South Africans would be targeted.

Azapo deputy-president Nchaube Mokoape said plans for the Christmas consumer boycott were going ahead.

Azapo was consulting at grassroots level and talking to other organisations, and had received overwhelming support for the action.

Several towns had already launched a consumer boycott, Mr Moodley said. Azapo had been joined by the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, which was also calling for a "black Christmas".

"We see this not only as an opportunity for black people to intensify the demand for VAT to be scrapped, but also a chance for black people to tighten their belts and prepare for the economic hardships of 1992."

"Rather than spending recklessly over this season, it would be wiser for all of us to save our bonuses and other perks for the new year, when we shall find the prices of uniforms, school books, food, rent, electricity and water rocketing to higher levels," Mr Moodley said.

disruption

Seven killed, 14 hurt in unrest

(274) CT 25/11/91

PRETORIA — Seven men were killed and at least 14 men and women were wounded or injured over the weekend, says the latest SA Police report of unrest-related incidents.

Four men were killed at a stadium at Ezikhawini, near Empangeni, where members of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party clashed yesterday morning.

The dispute started when both the IFP and the ANC were given permission to hold rallies at the stadium yesterday. Conflict broke out over which group would use the venue and the police had to be called out to control the groups.

The situation was described as still tense, but under control.

A man was shot dead and eight women were wounded when unidentified men attacked a kraal at Gamalake, near Port Shepstone, with AK-47 rifles.

In another incident a youth was killed and a woman seriously injured when a mob attacked a home at Malagazi, near Maritzburg.

In Cape Town a woman was injured when about 80 people threw stones at a vehicle at Nyanga, and in another incident in the township a taxi-driver was hurt when a group of men stoned a taxi rank.

In the Transvaal one person was killed and three others wounded on Saturday when mourners allegedly attacked bystanders at the funeral of an IFP supporter in Sharpeville in the Vaal Triangle.

"The incident occurred when about 200 mourners accompanied the coffin to the cemetery," police said.

At Villiersdorp (Caledon) 49 people were arrested during a march. — Sapa

Youth must be involved

25/11/91

It is true that many South Africans have spent more than 20 years opposing "enemies" in their struggle for liberation against terrorism, fellowships, strangers, blacks, oppressors, the system.

And it is also true that in many cases those who have fought with most courage and dedication have been young people, those under thirty, and sometimes also those under fifteen.

It has often been said that the struggle has been violent, and people have perhaps learnt better how to force others (often brutally) to do what they wanted them to do, than they have learnt how to persuade anyone in a non-violent, peaceful way.

Yet that does not alter the fact that in very many cases young people have fought for an ideal, for liberation or the safety of the state, the support of an admired leader or their own vision of a better society.

We all know that in 1991 we cannot just tell young people to work for peace with the same dedication they have dis-

played for other causes (conflicts/war?) 274

If we want to have their active support and co-operation, we must persuade youth structures (students, political, religious, sports etc) to discuss HOW they think peace can be promoted.

"Promoted" is a good word to use because all its meanings suggest forward movement.

Once committed, youth structures will draw in thousands of young people.

Of course, they need to be persuaded by those they follow and admire that this joint forward movement in the cause of peace is worth working for, that it is a vision of the future of our country which will also pro-

mote their own happiness and freedom and life in a just society.

Perhaps those who signed the Peace Accord in September can get together once more for just this purpose; to inspire their own youthful supporters to work together energetically for a peaceful, progressive society in which all of them can co-operate and live in friendship.

Harnessing youth will not be easy, but if we succeed in this, the peace process will gain a momentum that will surprise us, the older people who have been hardened by watching many things fail too often.

But, if we accept Bishop Storey's challenge to become "apostles for tol-

erance", we should be able to engage the idealism of our young people.

If we do, their momentum will move us forward faster than we dare hope.

Franz Auerbach
Johannesburg

Stand together

I am in Standard Seven at Central Secondary School.

I am 14-years-old.

I promise to do the best I can in assisting you to make this world a better and peaceful place to live in.

And I know that if we stand together, there will be no doubt that this will be a success.

Rhamej Waja
Johannesburg

PEACE PLEDGE

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(signed):

PRINT NAME:

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Send coupon to Peace Train, Box 1814, Johannesburg 2004. We'll pass it to the Peace Commission — and send you a certificate.

Call in Untag

This violence will lead this country to civil war.

The South African government must call in an Untag-type body to monitor the country while negotiations are underway.

N M Lamola
Bramley



Desmond Pitoyi and Shadrack Madingoane.

Pic PAT SEBOKO.

Youth to talk about causes of violence

A THREE-DAY workshop on violence, its effect on the youths and the community will be held in Soweto next month.

It will take place at the Ipelegeng Community Centre from December 6 to December 8.

The workshop, whose theme is "Violence and conflict, change and the process of transition", is primarily aimed at the youths perceived to be "the perpetrators as well as the victims of violence," according to the organisers of the event.

Mr Shadrack Madingoane said: "We have invited youths affiliated to the ANC, PAC,

By IKE MOTSAPI

Azapo, IFP and other youth organisations in the country.

"The aim of this encounter is to raise the awareness of the youth about violence in South Africa today."

Workshop

Another organiser, Mr Desmond Pitoyi, said: "There is no doubt that violent crimes such as rape, murder and theft will escalate in the future as various statistics have pointed out.

"The youth are the principal protagonist in this tragically violent drama," he said.

The workshop will try to address the following issues:

- Defining the concept "violence" within the present South African situation;
- Identifying the possible causes for violence;
- Examining what happens to both the victims and the perpetrators;
- Comparing South Africa to other countries; and
- The role of the youth as agents of change.

The workshop will be co-facilitated by the Project for the Study of Violence - Wits University, Nicro, Soweto and the South African Association of Youth Clubs.

4 die as IFP, ANC clash over venue

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 13 people died in unrest violence at the weekend, including four people killed in a clash between supporters of the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party over the use of a stadium.

Police said the clash between the ANC and IFP at Ezikhawini township, Richards Bay, yesterday when both ANC and IFP supporters were given permission to hold rallies at the stadium at the same time.

The killings bring the death-toll in clashes in areas in the PWV region and Natal to at least 11 since Friday.

A man was killed on Saturday by mourners on their way to a funeral of an IFP supporter allegedly killed by ANC supporters at Sharpeville.

A white man was killed after a friend travelling with him shot and killed a black man in a clash outside a hostel in Denver, near Johannesburg.

At St. Catherine township near Bulwer, Natal, a boy, 4, and a girl, 2, were burned to death when their home was firebombed.

A policeman was killed by a crowd at Maokeng, in Kroonstad.

A woman was injured when about 80 people stoned a vehicle at Nyanga, Cape. A taxi driver was injured when men stoned a taxi rank in the township. — Sapa. (274) ARG 2/11

Ten die in 24 ^{CT 26/11/91} hours of unrest ²¹⁴

PRETORIA. — Ten people were killed and 47 injured in unrest-related incidents during the past 24 hours, according to the latest report by the SA Police public relations division here.

The figures included the eight people killed and 31 injured at President Steyn Mine near Welkom.

A man was killed and two men were injured in White City, Soweto, by a group armed with sharp objects, while a policeman was wounded when an unidentified gunman fired at three members of the SAP at KwaThema, Springs.

Police found the body of a woman and two injured youths with burn wounds at Alexandra, Johannesburg. Two men with stab wounds were also found.

Eight people were injured and a man was arrested when a group attacked residents opposed to a consumer boycott at Gonubie Vale, East London.

A policeman was wounded and robbed of his pistol by gunmen at Moumalanoa, Hammersdale.

● Police saved nine people who were about to be necklaced in two incidents in Natal, reports said. — Sapa

SA violence hindering talks - FW

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STAR 26/11/91
Unnecessary violence around the country, and the revolutionary and radical rhetoric surrounding it, were hazards snagging the multiparty talks process, President de Klerk said last night.

Speaking at the Sunday Times Top 100 Companies banquet in Johannesburg, he said these factors caused despondency at home and created the gratuitous impression abroad that South Africa was an unstable country.

"Both are to the detriment of all South Africans since they undermine the confidence required to stimulate the foreign and domestic investment we need," he said.

In the next decade the economy would have to absorb an estimated increase of about 2,5 percent a year to its labour force.

It would also have to accommodate the large number of unemployed and raise average standards of living. Economic growth of at least 4 percent a year would be required.

Therefore, the lifting of sanctions on South Africa's access to international money and capital markets alone would not be sufficient.

South Africans would have to take steps themselves if they wished to ensure long-term prosperity and stability.

The improved balance of payments situation, together with reduced inflationary pressures, could lead to some easing of restrictive financial policies.

These could contribute to a modest recovery in the overall economic situation in 1992. — Sapa.

ANC, IFP talks reach stalemate

DURBAN. — The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have been unable to reach consensus in setting up the Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) in terms of the National Peace Accord, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said here yesterday.

Addressing a Diakonia breakfast briefing, Dr Mdlalose explained that there had also been problems such as "bickering and jockeying for positions" in setting up the National Peace Secretariat (NPS).

He said the NPS was establishing a RDRC in Natal but this was "proving as difficult as the establishment of the NPS itself".

Another meeting to try to overcome this is planned for December 4.

— Sapa

204 CT 28/11/91

US could learn from

SA — expert

ET 28/11/91
THE National Peace Accord was "an extraordinary document". With dispute resolution mechanisms at all levels of the accord, it could be a model for other countries that found themselves in conflict.

This is the view of Mr Mark Quarterman, director of the South Africa Project of the Washington-based National Institute for Dispute Resolution.

Mr Quarterman, a speaker at the fourth conference on "Negotiation and Mediation in Community and Political Conflict in South Africa" at the Peninsula Technikon last night, said the US could learn from what was happening in South Africa.

Opening the conference, technikon rector Mr Franklin Sonn warned blacks to avoid exploiting the issue of their "victim status".

"Self-pity of the victim perpetuates the degradation, and this is totally inconsistent with human dignity," he said.

The ANC, IFP peace talks fail

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Sowetan
28/11/91



FRANK MDLALOSE

THE ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have been unable to reach consensus in setting up the Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee in terms of the National Peace Accord.

This was said by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday.

Speaking at Diakonia in Durban, he explained that there had also been "bickering and jockeying for positions" in setting up the National Peace Secretariat.

A meeting in Durban to establish an RDRC for Natal last week was unable to reach consensus on who would sit on the committee - other than representatives from the ANC and the IFP, he said.

Another meeting to try and overcome the deadlock is planned for December 4.

Commenting on the Commission of Inquiry into the Thokoza massacre, Dr Mdlalose said the commission may not be able to reveal the truth behind the violence because many eyewitnesses were IFP supporters and the organisation did not have money to pay for their legal fees.

He explained that attorneys had to compile IFP supporters' affidavits and "unless some money is found, these IFP witnesses to the massacre will fail to testify".

Therefore, the commission may not be able to reveal the truth, and this would impact on the credibility of the commission and the National Peace Accord.

Dr Mdlalose, however, expressed his support for the commission and urged that such groups be set up immediately after any massacre.

Referring to this Friday's All-Party Conference preparatory meeting, he said he was unsure what would happen there, as there were many differences of opinion on issues such as who should be chairman. - Sapa.

Peace talks at Border

SEVENTEEN organisations attended the Border Peace Committee's first meeting in East London and the talks were described as constructive. *Sowetan 28/11/91*

High on the meeting's agenda was the formation of a full-time, three-member secretariat and its funding.

Also discussed in detail was the monitoring of groups dealing with violence, political detainees, the security forces and the media. The next meeting of the committee was scheduled for December 12. - *Sapa*. (274)

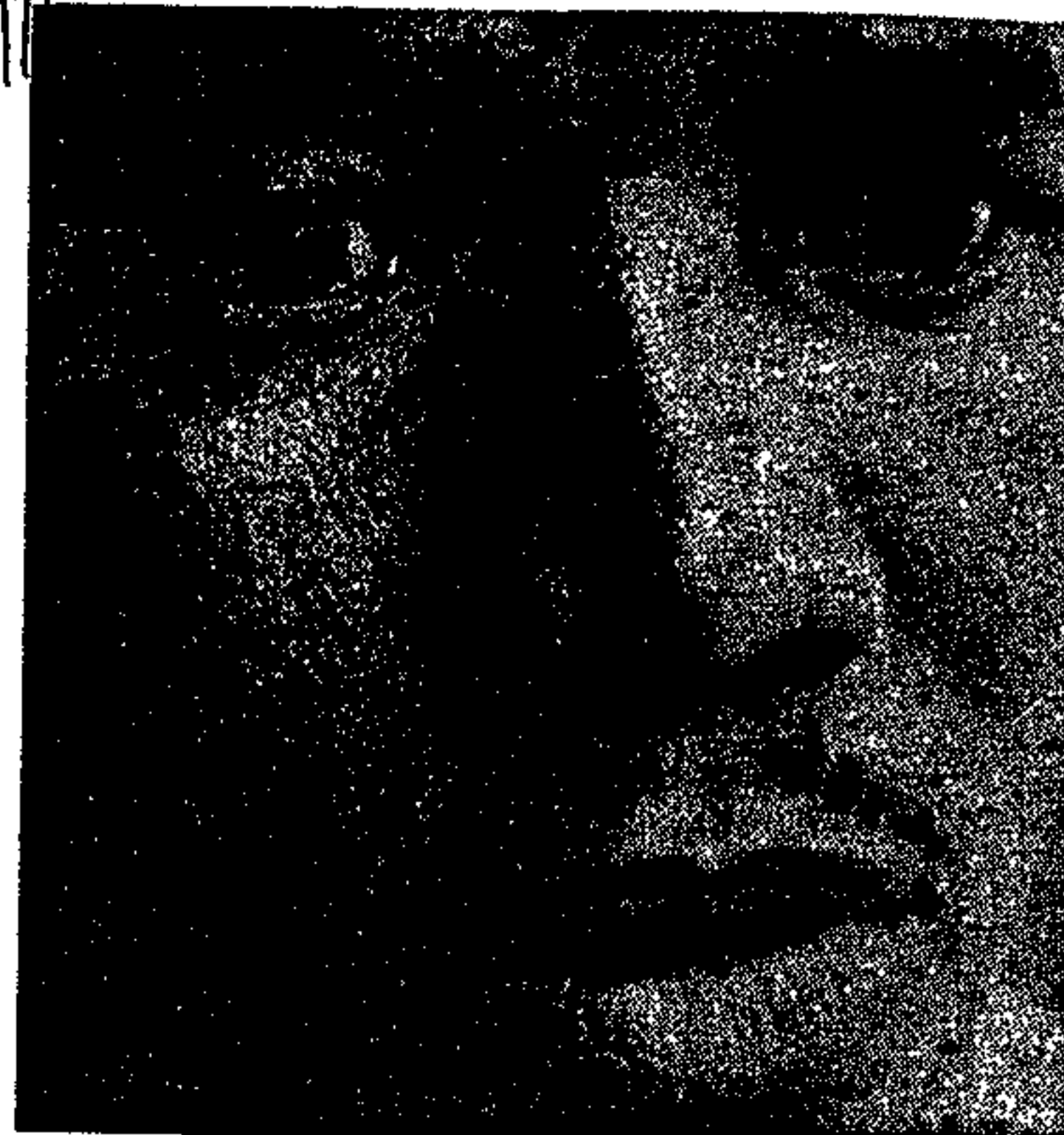
PAC under fire for 'treachery'

Sowetan 28/11/91

TWO PAC-affiliated organisations this week supported the Joint East and West Rand Facilitating Committee in efforts to overturn the PAC's involvement in constitutional talks with the Government.

The Pan Africanist Students Organisation, a student body affiliated to the PAC, and the Azanian National Youth Unity both welcomed the call for a conference on the issue, which is to be held over the weekend.

The conference will be held in Katlehong by the Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee, comprising two PAC splinter groups, according to committee member Mr



VICTOR PETU

Victor Petu.

In a telephone interview, Paso chairman of the Witwatersrand region Mr Jacob Lephahlo strongly at-

tacked the PAC leadership for acceding to talks with the Government.

Paso described the involvement of South Africa's liberation movements in talks with the Government as "naked collaboration with the minority racist settler regime and imperialists".

Azanyu publicity secretary Mr Mayaya Molefi yesterday accused the PAC leadership of "having deviated from the organisation's principles and

treachery of the revolution."

The denunciation of the PAC leadership follows its "recognition of bantustan leaders by having formed a Patriotic Front with them," he said.

He encouraged the Facilitating Committee to stand firm and ignore "the slander from the imperialist henchmen and the blue-eyed boys of the PAC leadership who want to sell the birthright of the Azanian masses."

He said Azanyu was committed to scientific socialism.

In reply, the West Rand region of the PAC has disowned the splinter groups.

The latest outcry has been described as deepening divisions within the PAC, but it is not known to what extent it will affect constitutional talks.

South Africa's major political organisations and leaders of the country's homelands have been invited to a convening meeting on multiparty talks tomorrow.

The invitation has been declined by Azapo and the Conservative Party.

Peace talks at Border

SEVENTEEN organisations attended the Border Peace Committee's first meeting in East London and the talks were described as constructive. Sowetan 28/11/91

High on the meeting's agenda was the formation of a full-time, three-member secretariat and its funding.

Also discussed in detail was the monitoring of groups dealing with violence, political detainees, the security forces and the media. The next meeting of the committee was scheduled for December 12. - Sapa. (274)

The men who cope calmly with pitbulls in duckyards

By Denis Beckett

When the merchants of peace were arranging a meeting in a strife-ridden township a certain name came up — the dreaded name of Colonel X.

Colonel X was tough. A fierce law-and-order man, renowned as the hardest of the hard.

None of the locals could see him fitting into a peace conference, except in the way a pitbull fits into a duckyard.

That man, sitting with Communists and Communades and Concerned Businesspeople, sensitively exploring routes to consensus? Hard to see.

But the mediators wanted him in. You cut people out, they said, you ask for trouble.

So Colonel X took his seat, amid glares and fears. And by day's end no one was demanding more meetings than Colonel X.

That's the kind of thing that gives Paul Pretorius hope. Once, Colonel X and Paul Pretorius would only have spoken through bars.

Mr Pretorius was president of Nusas back when fighting apartheid was the sole mission of the righteous. He spent four years banned



and got himself famously arrested for playing bridge in breach of his order. He couldn't even finish his hand (three no trumps).

He withdrew to a music shop, Cold Storage — the landlord vetoed Paul's Band — and served customers one by lawful one with a revolutionary fury burning in his heart.

Today's Paul Pretorius is a different person: soft-spoken, mellow, out of absolutism and into mediation, out of blame and into peace.

Also, a bad person for a journalist to speak to. He's at the coalface... the epicentre of the peace process... been there since long before the fad... everybody says "Peace? Talk to Paul"... and yet he's fanatical on personal invisibility.

"This is no place for high profiles. If one becomes treated as a public figure you become distanced from your associates. And it's wrong to uphold the facilitators, when people at the cutting edge put huge efforts

into peace and get no public recognition."

Fair enough, Mr P. And yet, a lead is needed. The map of flashpoints looks like a pin-cushion. Some 300 peace committees are now officially emerging. Heaven knows how many home-made endeavours are following unseen. Many are groping for the tools. The pioneers have experience: they must spread it.

His experience tells him one thing above all: "The impetus must come from within. It's crucial. Outsiders can't inject what isn't there; we can only help build on what is already there."

What is there, may have difficulty getting out. "Ideally the whole process would be handled from within. But in practice there is tremendous fear and polarisation, and very few people are empowered in the sense of recognising they can get things going."

So commonly an employer group from the nearby town will harness the impetus and get the table laid. Then the mediators are called in.

Says Mr Pretorius: "People start by taking positions, usually my position is that you cause violence. Our job is to help the process move to 'how do we solve it together'."

It's a tall order, tantamount to changing a culture. "We have a long tradition that I'm absolutely right, my opponent is absolutely wrong — in Western culture and in Struggle politics."

"Look at law: mature men enter a court and imbibe absolutely the rightness of the cause they're paid to espouse. That's not necessarily bad, it's the way the adversarial system works. But it does make reconciliation very difficult."

"Look at politics — all about policies, that everyone knows will fall short. A party that claimed to just reconcile people wouldn't get off the ground. That isn't the way it has to be. Tribal kings didn't have to work on 'policies'; they set out to solve problems."

"Now years of rage are bubbling up and this is not the ideal situation to say it's all right to differ. People have angry circumstances and are beset by provocations. From a third



Mediation pioneer... but Paul Pretorius was once arrested for playing bridge.

Picture: Air Kumalo

force or from the other side, either way they're under pressure to respond with violence. It is not the best time to lock them in a room to hear each other's concerns.

"The saving grace is the huge depth of desire for peace. You see people who've had their families killed and their houses burned wrestling to make things work, and it's humbling."

"Sometimes it is virtually tangible. You can feel people struggling to find each other, while above them the national leaders are uncompromising, and below them violence is going on. When they get home there'll have been more killings, blamed by their associates on the associates of the man they've been talking to. They have to cope with a lot. It's incredibly impressive to see

"You also see how close the edge is. Tension is high and somebody says something like 'well, we could wipe your lot out'. Then that little switch goes off in people's heads. "One time we had a walkout coming. People were getting up

PEACE PLEDGE

I condemn the scourge of violence which has afflicted our country and all practices that have contributed to such violence, and commit myself to the principles contained in the National Peace Accord.

I pledge myself with integrity of purpose to make this land a prosperous one where we can all live, work and play together in peace and harmony. I accordingly solemnly bind myself to the principles contained in the National Peace Accord and will respect its underlying rights and values.

(signed)
PRINT NAME:
Address: code:

Send this coupon to the Peace Train, Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000. We'll pass it to the Peace Commission — and send you a certificate.

thing is achieved."

Which touches on one of the many techniques of the mediation trade. You don't just tell antagonists to look at things the other man's way, *sometimes* so you construct training sessions, where people can free themselves from the constraints of conflict.

You don't try to tell people not to believe what they do believe, you stimulate them to recognise that their perspectives can and do genuinely believe other things. You don't shovel your own ideas of right and wrong at the parties; you structure the process to bring out *their* interests.

"Above all", says Mr Pretorius, "you look for a process that finds dignity for *everyone*."

To date the mediator's quest for general dignity hasn't wiped out violence. How much worse things might have been but for the so-far small scale mediation interventions, we'll never know. How much better it might yet get, as the mood of mediation takes root across the nation, we might yet learn.

ANC, IFP fail to set up dispute committee

STAR 28/11/91

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC have been unable to reach consensus in setting up the Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) in terms of the National Peace Accord.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that there had also been problems and "bickering and jockeying for positions" in setting up the National Peace Secretariat.

He said the NPS was in the process of establishing an RDRC in Natal but this was "proving as difficult as the establishment of the NPS itself".

A meeting in Durban to establish the Natal RDRC last week was unable to reach consensus on who would comprise the committee other than representatives from the ANC and IFP, he said.

Another meeting is scheduled for Wednesday to try to overcome this.

Commenting on the commission of inquiry into the Tokoza massacre under Advocate Masakazi Sithole, Dr Mdlalose said it may not be able to reveal the truth behind the violence because many eyewitnesses were IFP supporters and the organisation

did not have money to pay for their legal fees.

He explained that attorneys had to compile IFP supporters' affidavits and "unless some money is found, these IFP witnesses to the massacre will fail to testify".

"Because of this, the commission may not be able to reveal the truth and this would impact on its credibility and that of the Peace Accord.

Dr Mdlalose, however, expressed his support for the commission and urged that this be set up immediately after any massacre to try to establish the cause.

Referring to tomorrow's all-party preparatory meeting, Dr Mdlalose reiterated Inkatha's support for the Chief Justice to chair proceedings until all the players had elected a chairman and said neither clergymen nor businessmen were required to assist the Chief Justice, as some people had suggested.

He painted a gloomy picture of the prospects for peace in the country, saying this was unpredictable and repeating several times: "The path to peace is full of thorns. It is also slippery." — Sapa.

7 shot by men who posed as police

274

CT 29/11/91
SEVEN people, one of them a young child, were shot and wounded in Khayelitsha on Wednesday night and early yesterday by men posing as policemen, police said.

A security officer at St Helena gold mine, Welkom, was killed by seven retrenched workers.

A policeman was killed in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, by gunmen on Wednesday, and three men were killed in other incidents.

In Venzbenwayo, Natal, a black man was killed when a group attacked him with sharp objects. Three people were killed in Simozomeni township near Richmond, Natal.

Men with AK-47s attacked the home of the local ANC chairman in Wattville, Mr Yergan Putini. Also on Wednesday, Mrs Dudu Zima, a member of the ANC Youth League's Thokoza branch, was allegedly abducted by four armed men. — Staff Reporter and Sapa

The Peace Accord must be promoted urgently, writes Matthew Kentridge

Now time for action stations

STAR 29/11/91 (274)

THE National Peace Committee (NPC) recently announced that R8 million would be spent on publicising the Peace Accord. Among other things, the money will be spent on making copies of the Accord "to be sent to political leaders and opinion makers around the country".

Publicising the Accord is urgent. There is little point in making provision for local dispute resolution committees, special criminal courts and witness protection programmes if the target audience — the township residents themselves — do not know of the existence of these programmes, let alone how to take advantage of them.

The Accord is a good document; it goes further towards identifying and addressing the causes of violence than any previous peace treaty. But for all its virtues, the Accord is not accessible or "user-friendly". It is written in stilted language, much of it is poorly expressed, and it requires close scrutiny to retrieve the truly salient points from the foliage of surrounding detail.

Similarly, implementing the Accord relies on the establishment of a complicated set of structures, still ill-defined and subject to inevitable institutional inertia.

Township residents generally have a harshly-earned suspicion of bureaucracies, and the institutions of the Accord — the NPC itself, the secretariat, the dispute resolution committees both local and regional, and the many proposed sub-committees on this and that — may prove no exception. Unless a more popular approach is adopted, these bodies may serve to distance the township population rather than draw them in.

But with the NPC and secretariat already in place there is no need to wait for the establishment of local bodies before blitzing the townships. Township residents themselves have the greatest stake in the whole process. The

Accord must be marketed with all the vigour and intensity of a commercial product trying to penetrate a mass market.

What is needed is a peace roadshow, possibly along the lines of the Nedcor/Old Mutual Economic Scenarios presentation. Although opinions differ on the merits of the scenario itself, none can deny the spectacular success of the presentation in reaching its target audience.

The NPC, in turn, must commission a presentation which sets out the causes of violence, the need for political tolerance, and the way in which the Accord strives to fight violence. The case for peace must be made by charismatic, non-aligned, straight-talking speakers of high standing, using language appropriate to the audience.

Ideally, the big three national political leaders should tour the country, providing sceptics and malcontents with tangible evidence of their belief in tolerance, their desire for co-operation and their commitment to peace. Failing this, a video in which Mandela, De Klerk and Buthelezi discuss and endorse the Peace Accord without reservation or ambiguity, should be shown widely.

After each presentation, representatives of the political parties and the SAP must publicly shake hands and ratify the Accord at local, township level.

Fostering peace in this robust, interventionist way may be condemned by some as vulgar razzmatazz. Perhaps so, but the time is past for subtlety and understatement. The campaign to restore peace to the townships must be muscular and gargantuan. It must overwhelm the perpetrators of violence by its force and energy. □

● Matthew Kentridge works as a research writer on *The Innes Labour Brief*. He is author of *"An Unofficial War: Inside the Conflict in Pietermaritzburg"*.

Ganging up for Yule peace

(274)

ARG 30/11/91

Weekend Argus Reporter

A PEACE pact before Christmas — that's the hope of a group of people hoping to bring an end to the bloody gang war which is ripping normal life apart in the terrorised suburbs of Kensington and Facticeon.

It is estimated that at least half the youth in the crowded, low-income areas, many as young as 14, are gang members.

In notorious Wellesley Street, civic leaders told Weekend Argus the 9 pm "rumble" is the high point of the day for the bands of teenagers lounging on corners waiting for the inevitable violent clash.

For the past three months community leaders and social workers have walked the streets at night to confront members of the eight or more gangs there — including one 45-member all-women gang. They spread the word that the peace accord must be sealed for Christmas and that guns and knives must be handed in.

The hand of peace has also

been extended to gang members in jail, urging them not to return to violence on their release.

Mr Chris Ferndale of Nicro, and ANC officials Mr Dirk Mason and Mr David Stone, who is also chairman of the Civic Association in the troubled area, said they had set the date of the peace meeting for Saturday, December 14.

They are calling on gang bosses and members to meet community leaders at the Facticeon Community Centre at 2pm.

Mr Ferndale said. "We want the community to join us and witness the signing of a peace accord. A 'no' to gang warfare and violence and a 'yes' to peace talks and freedom"

Mr Ferndale said the word had already spread to the extent where two former warring gangs, the Casbahs and the Naughty Boys, were now merely soccer rivals.

"Individual gang members have come to us and said they want an end to the fighting which has claimed at least eight lives this year. Even parents who have lost sons are

calling for peace.

"Some have already left gangs and have found jobs. It will be interesting to get together people who have shot at each other. To have them sitting across a table from each other.

"Some have already withdrawn cases to show their support for a compromise. During a recent shooting attack on gang members' houses, instead of shooting back they called Mr Stone for help and the dispute was settled."

Mr Stone runs a civic association advice office every night between 5pm and 10pm

Mr Ferndale said established gangs like The Casbahs, Naughty Boys, Scorpions and the influential Americans and Wonder Kids, supported the move for peace. Now the peace team wants to draw new groups like the Nice Time Kids, the Centre Kids and the Summer Time Angels into the accord.

The age of gang members ranges between early teens to around 30. "After that they either get jobs or they're hard-

ened criminals. During big fights some gangs can call in support from branches in other areas. Some carry semi-automatics."

Mr Ferndale said the shebeen culture was a major factor in the gang violence. Certain shebeens were associated with particular gangs and were where drug trading was centred.

He said he and fellow peace workers aimed to look for tough ways of cleaning up the shebeen scene. The municipality would be asked to clamp down on territorial gang leaders who ran drug dens from shebeens in rented council houses.

Mr Ferndale said the problem was to fill the void in young lives which is now occupied by gang membership.

"This isn't a once-off campaign. There's no money but we are looking at establishing joint projects with youth for community upliftment.

"We need to involve them in the upgrading of the area, to find ways of training the unemployed."

■ Mr Stone may be contacted at 593 5026.

RIOTS 4 DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1991 - DECEMBER.

Team from Amnesty in SA for talks

By Michael Sparks

For the first time in its history, Amnesty International has sent a team to South Africa for discussions with the Government on a range of issues including allegations of police violence.

The four-person team which arrived on Tuesday will visit the Johannesburg area, Natal and Cape Town during their two-week visit.

Dr Stephen Owen, Ombudsman for British Columbia, Canada, and chairman of the mission, said they hoped to meet government, justice and police officials, as well as human rights organisations, to assess the structure and role of government and police officials in a society undergoing very significant change.

The team also hoped to look into the continuing high level of violence and allegations of police complicity, either through direct involvement in the violence, or through indirect complicity by not investigating allegations quickly and thoroughly.

Dr Owen added: "Confidence in the police is particularly important as a society goes through a period of transition."

Mary Rayner, a member of the organisation in London, said the team was "predominantly concerned with the failure of police to investigate and bring people to justice after incidents have occurred".

Joseph Gitari, a London-based researcher for Amnesty, said although allegations against the ANC had been looked into in Zambia and Tanzania, that organisation would not be investigated as part of the current mission.

The group hopes to meet senior police officials to discuss the current violence.

10 000 pledge support for peace process

Staff Reporter (274)

Over 10 000 South Africans — individuals and institutions — have signed The Star's Peace Pledge, and more pledges are pouring in as people commit themselves to the peace process.

Pledges have come in from politicians, including President de Klerk, and from some of his colleagues.

Staff at various police stations, including John Vorster Square, have also signed.

Mostly, however, the response has been from schools, factories and ordinary South Africans expressing their desire for peace. Pledges have also been received from squatter communities like Ivory Park, and from hostels like Nancefield.

Editor-in-Chief Richard Steyn is heartened by the response of Star readers. However, he hopes there will be more public appearances by the major political leaders so that they can be seen together.

"Only then will their supporters live together in peace," he said.

Pledge certificates have been posted to most of those whose pledges have been received. The printing of the certificates has been made possible by a donation from the Canadian government.

● Delta rally that almost backfired — Page 13

POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY

FM 6/12/91

To everything its season

Calls for a Black Christmas are not making much headway. The idea emanates mainly from the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) — the body which has sought to replace “government” township authorities with itself in conditions of violence and uncertainty for which it must bear some responsibility.

A Black Christmas is one in which blacks neither buy anything nor celebrate on the basis that there is nothing to celebrate. In fact, of course, this would mean a consumer boycott over the holidays, enforced, one must assume, by a variety of means. It must be expected that in certain areas Christmas gifts will have to be taken home in brown paper parcels disguised as essential medicines and foodstuffs which are exempt from the boycott.

Retailers are gloomily anticipating a Black Christmas in any case. Consumer spending is depressed and likely to remain so for some months. What most people want for 1992 is a job. To compel entire communities to forgo any enjoyment that the coming season might bring is to compound misery with discomfort. Perhaps that is the point.

What Cast and Azapo both appear to need is reassurance that nothing whatsoever is getting better — not the political situation, not the daily lot of average people, not even a sense that someday violence will abate and normality return.

Cast's demand that government should take decisive steps to end township violence is either meaningless or disingenuous; a Christmas consumer boycott would bring with it fear and recrimination in the affected communities.

What such calls and demands have in common is that they monotonously insist upon seeing blacks as perpetual victims. They are the sackcloth to go with the ashes of destitution. By implication, blacks can never improve their political or economic lot except through the negative force of boycott.

As last weekend's preparatory meeting on constitutional negotiations demonstrated, blacks are perfectly capable of sitting down to make significant deals on a common future. The presence of the ANC, for example, suggests that the main liberation movement now sees its best advantage in smoke-filled chambers of debate rather than in the streets — a major shift in emphasis from its stance earlier this year when it suspended negotiations because of violence.

The big question for next year is not who can appear most revolutionary in terms of street theatre. It will be whether the sharing of power will also mean, as it should, the sharing of responsibility. It is one thing to rant about taxes and the redistribution of wealth — quite another for an interim government to take a cold look at the national accounts and decide what is best for all.

Political Staff

AN inquiry into mass demonstrations, ways of reducing their potential for violence and the role of the security forces in protests by a special committee has been launched by the Goldstone Commission.

The new committee could recommend changes to the laws relating to mass protests.

"Unpredictable or undisciplined conduct by demonstrators or by members of the police force creates a very real potential for violence," the chairman of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, Mr Justice R J Goldstone, said yesterday.

Mr Justice Goldstone

Inquiry ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ into mass protests CT 7/12/91 launched

will chair the committee of inquiry, the third to be established by the commission.

The other committee members are the commission's vice-chairman and Cape attorney-general Mr Niel Rossouw and the dean of law at the University of Cape Town, Professor Dirk van Zyl Smit.

Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement that

the commission "recognises the fundamental right of free assembly and peaceful protest in a free and democratic society.

"It also recognises that the police have a duty to protect citizens who exercise these rights and members of the public who may be effected by the exercise of such rights and that the organisers of mass demonstrations have a duty to ensure that the rights of members of the public are not unreasonably prejudiced."

Interested parties may make written representations to the commission's secretary. Public hearings on certain aspects of the inquiry would then be held, Mr Justice Goldstone said.

A bleak and violent Christmas sowetan 274 9/12/91

DESPITE efforts by Peace Accord structures and the promise of negotiations for a new constitution getting under way, the country appears set for a bleak and violent Christmas.

The taxi war in Cape Town continues to simmer, a consumer boycott has been called over the festive season, Richmond in the Natal Midlands has been declared an unrest area, and electricity to black townships in the Vaal Triangle is scheduled to be cut off today.

According to the official police unrest report issued in Pretoria on Thursday, 12 people died and four were hurt on Wednesday when two groups attacked each other at Bruntville in northern Natal.

Natal has been the scene of much bloodshed in recent years as supporters of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have battled for supremacy.

As usual in unrest incidents, Wednesday's violence was blamed on different factions by different organisations.

Police said ANC supporters had attacked IFP hostel dwellers on Tuesday afternoon, sparking the killings. Several houses were burned down in the ensuing chaos.

Hostel

Inkatha Institute spokesman on violence Mr Kim Hodgson said about 20 ANC supporters had attacked the Bruntville hostel twice on Tuesday "firing indiscriminately at hostel dwellers and nearby residents".

The ANC and some Bruntville residents, however, vehemently disputed police and IFP versions of events.

Residents said that IFP supporters from the hostel launched an unprovoked attack on them early Wednesday morning, shooting and hacking randomly.

Meanwhile, Natal ANC and IFP leaders met in Durban on Wednesday to try to set up Natal's Regional Dispute Resolution Committee in terms of the National Peace Accord, which was signed in September.

Slow

Unrest monitors have criticised the slow implementation of the committee as violence continues to ravage Natal townships while the structures are being set up.

The Black Sash Repression Monitoring Group on Wednesday said more than 1 200 people had been killed in politically related violence in Natal since the beginning of the year.

"Ten weeks after the signing of the National Peace Accord, no Peace Accord structures have been established in Natal No Regional or Local Dispute Resolution Com-

mittees have been agreed upon. No Commissions of Inquiry has been appointed in Natal," said the Black Sash.

On Wednesday the Natal Midlands town of Richmond - where 10 people have died in the last week - was declared an unrest area in terms of a special Government gazette.

On Thursday morning about 300 ANC-supporting women ignored police warnings that they faced arrest, and staged a march on the town, demanding that riot

police be removed from the black townships around Richmond.

The ANC alleges riot police fanned violence in the Richmond area by colluding with attacks by IFP supporters on ANC supporters.

On Friday the Azanian People's Organisation called for a "black Christmas" or boycott mainly aimed at white businesses.

The ANC rejected the call although in some areas the consumer boycott is set to begin as planned on December 16.

On Thursday it was announced there would be mass electricity cuts in black townships in the Vaal Triangle.

The administrators of the Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong and Bophelong have said there had been a steady decline in monthly payments for services.

All suburbs where less than 65 percent of residents paid their accounts would be blacked out from Monday.

In Cape Town the war between taxi operators from rival organisa-

tions Webta and Lagunya, continued, despite the efforts of a peace committee involving Nobel laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Five men were arrested on Wednesday for stoning two Webta taxis causing damage estimated at R2 000.

Police on Thursday announced they had arrested 249 people in 552 taxi-war related incidents since the war between the rival groups broke out in March this year.

They said Webta members were responsible for

233 attacks and Lagunya for 165, while in 148 incidents the organisation involved was unknown.

A total of 94 Webta members and 71 Lagunya members were arrested while an additional 84 people arrested had no direct link with any organisation.

The PWV area remained relatively quiet on Wednesday and Thursday.

On Thursday morning there were reports of an attack on a commuter train in Johannesburg, but

these were denied by Witwatersrand police who said policemen and ambulance personnel who went to the scene found nothing.

According to newspaper reports a witness said men wearing red headbands and carrying knobkerries boarded the train at Taronga Station.

Police said, however, that the trains were delayed and commuters were leaving the coaches and running to the next station so as not to be late for work - Sapa.



TIN

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PEACE BEFORE THE STORM: An Inkatha Freedom Party supporter, festooned with Christmas decorations, at a Zulus-only "prayer rally" in Soweto yesterday, where Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for broader representation at the multi-party congress for a democratic South Africa.

17 dead, 13 injured as violence follows IFP rally in Soweto

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The death toll in Soweto has reached 17 with another 13 people injured since violence broke out after an Inkatha Freedom Party rally.

Early today, in a house opposite the Dobsonville hostel, police found nine bodies, said police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn. Three people were found wounded.

Late last night shots were fired from the direction of the hostel at two vehicles, killing three men and two women. Another eight women were injured.

The injured were taken to the Leratong Hospital, near Krugersdorp.

Colonel Halgryn said it was

ARCUS 9/12/91

"impossible to say at this stage" whether the killings were related to violence which broke out after the IFP rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre yesterday afternoon.

Three people were killed and two were injured in three separate incidents in Zondi and Crossroads after the 12 000-strong IFP crowd began to walk back to their hostels about 3 pm.

The big IFP crowd had gathered to listen to an address by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In separate attacks in Zondi two people were shot dead and two injured. In Crossroads one person was stabbed to death with an assegai. A man was arrested.

The Dobsonville area was "tense" today, said Colonel Halgryn.

Late on Friday night two policemen were shot and wounded in the area.

They had confronted four suspects about 11 pm when shots were fired. Both policemen were wounded. Reinforcements had been deployed.

Today the IFP and the ANC condemned the violence and appealed for restraint.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus expressed his organisation's "deep regret" over the deaths and called on all to "implement the National Peace Accord".

IFP central committee member and Transvaal leader Mr Musa Myeni condemned the violence.



TRADITIONAL TROUBLE: Inkatha supporters carrying traditional weapons at a railway station after attending the Soweto rally yesterday. Seventeen people died and 13 were injured in violence after the meeting.

Kwazulu minister's home attacked

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — A hand-grenade was thrown and shots were fired at the home of the Kwazulu Deputy Minister of Works, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu.

Police said today that yesterday several shots were fired at the house at Imbali, near Maritzburg, but no one was injured. No arrests have been made.

● A member of the police force was shot dead and robbed of his gun at Mpu-malanga today, Sapa reports.

Police said that Sergeant M S Dlamini was waiting for a bus when he was attacked. He was stationed at Westville police station.

A policeman was slightly injured when a group of people threw stones at a police vehicle in Brixton, Oudtshoorn.

LATEST

Police found the bodies of two policemen with hack wounds. One was found at Imbali, Maritzburg, and the other at Katlehong, Alberton.

A man was stabbed to death when a group attacked him in Zondi, Soweto. A private vehicle was attacked by a group of people in Zondi. A passenger was wounded when the attackers fired a number of rounds at him. Another man was killed when gunmen fired a number of shots at him. Police found a man's body.

At Dobsonville, Soweto, police found the bodies of three women and a man with bullet wounds, and a wounded woman.

Fine and mild

(Details — page 2)

DAILY ARGUS



MON-FRI 08H15

Union dead, Russia, Ukraine, ated a new, pared today and humilia Gorbachev.

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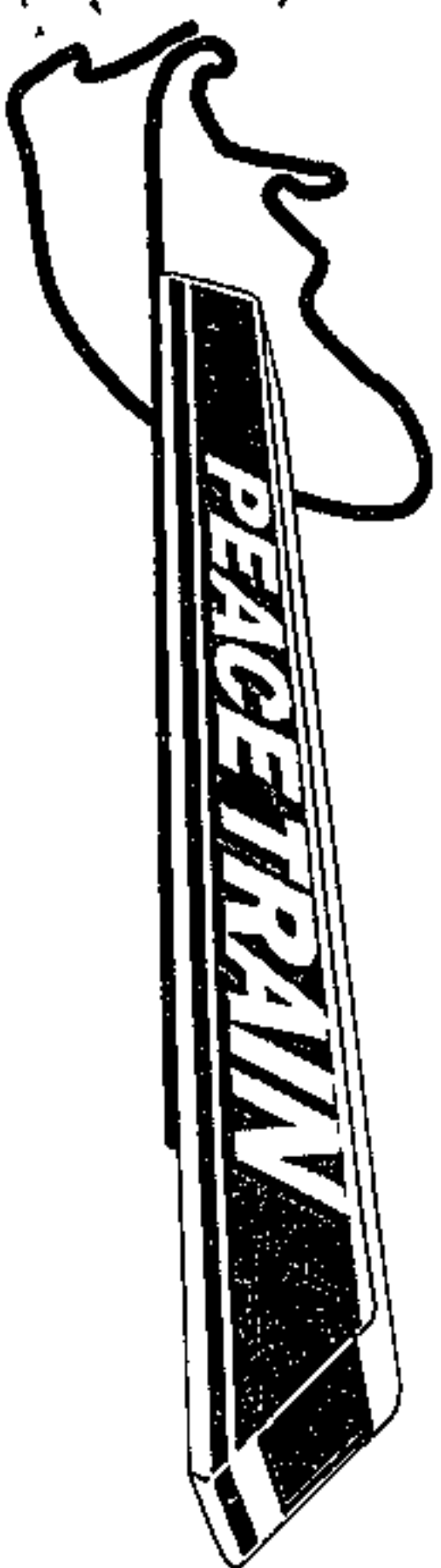
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At root, we are not so different

STAR 9/12/91.
(2nd)

"Peace is the most elusive, yet most important component for the future development of our country," Professor Harold Rudolph, chairman of the Transvaal Council of the SA Jewish Board of Deputies said.

He was speaking at a special luncheon, at which The Star Peace Pledge was signed. "An unfortunate legacy of the apartheid era is the lingering mistrust between people of diverse backgrounds and the poverty many South Africans suffer.

"Much of the violence sweeping the country can be attributed to individuals who capitalise on that mistrust, and the misery evinced by sub-standard living conditions, to realise their own political objectives," he said.

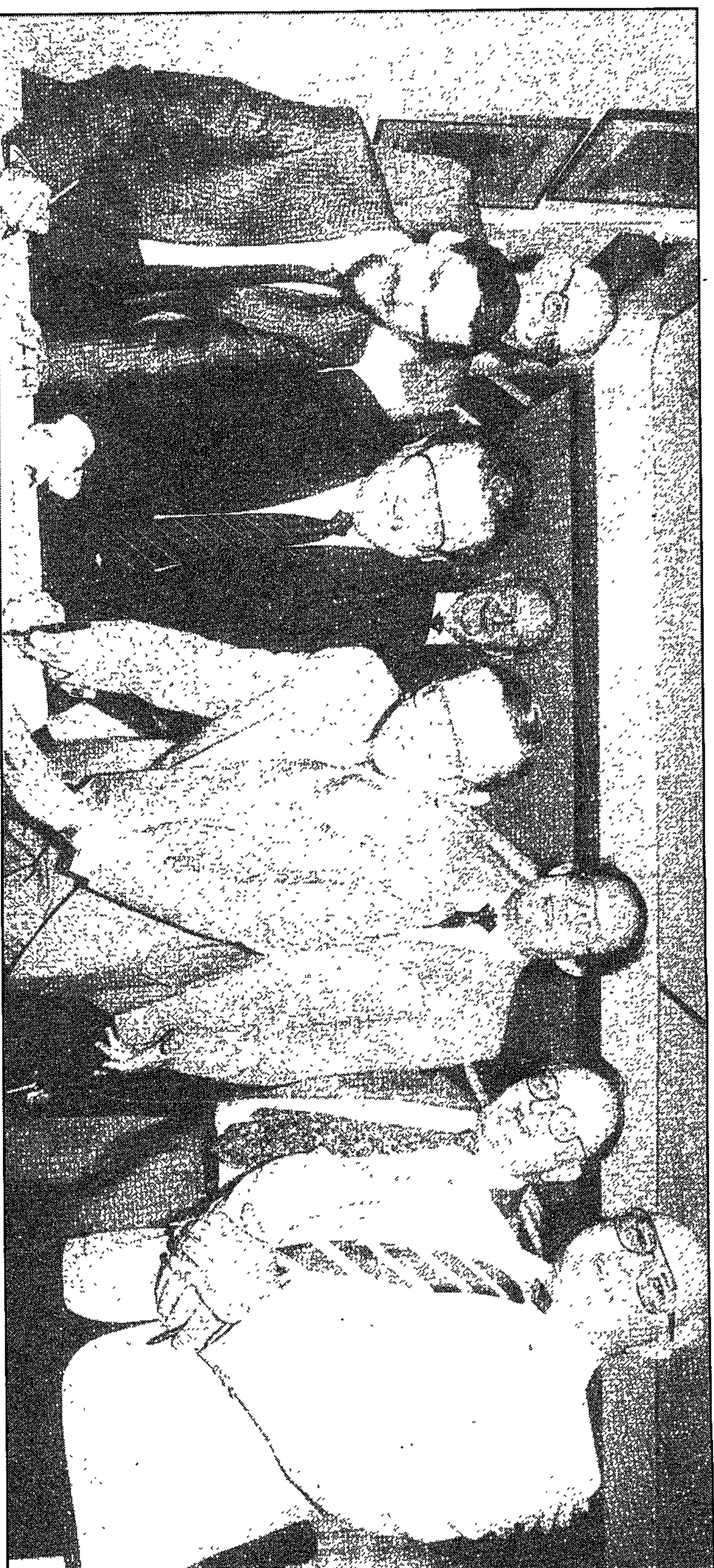
"One method of combating this is to create a culture of tolerance

hitherto lacking in South Africa. The Star has done sterling work by running articles showing that no matter our background, people are at root not all that different. The council is therefore proud to associate itself with the Peace Train.

"We urge all South Africans to make greater efforts to understand one another, so that the country may soon be blessed with peace and prosperity," the professor said.

Leslie Harris, administrative director of the council, believed conflict arose due to misunderstanding between people.

"The council recently established an outreach committee to facilitate contact with other communities. We regularly meet leading representatives of other communities and interest groups to discuss methods of assisting each other," he said.



Signing up . . . Leslie Harris, Hanns Saenger, Harold Rudolph, Abe Abrahamson, Seymore Kopelowsky, Max Strous and Rabbi A. Tanzer sign The Star Peace Pledge.
Picture: Karen Fletcher

Poll draws mixed reaction to talks

Political Correspondent

ABOUT two-thirds of whites and half of blacks in South Africa have little confidence that the negotiations which begin next week will reduce violence, a nationwide Markinor poll has found.

The poll was conducted in September among 1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks, 16 or over, in metropolitan areas. The results were released by Markinor yesterday.

The survey found that 57% of whites and 44% of blacks believed that the major parties involved in negotiations would not reach agreement on a new order.

Even if a new constitution was agreed on, 63% of whites and 44% of blacks expressed concern that it would not bring peace and harmony to South Africa.

Major regional differences were found among blacks surveyed about the outcome of the negotiations process, with those in Cape Town the most pessimistic of all. Blacks living in Port Elizabeth and East London were the most optimistic.

Overwhelmed riot units face 18 incidents daily

BID day 10/12/91

LINDEN BIRNS

RIOT policing "went wrong" in just one in every 135 incidents in which police faced protest gatherings or rioting groups, says a new book published by the SA Institute for Race Relations.

The book, *Riot Policing in Perspective*, was released yesterday together with a study on the use of lethal weapons by riot police. Both were written and researched by Anthea Jeffrey.

Jeffrey found that between January 1 1990 and July 31 this year, riot police were responsible for death or injury in 70 of 9 500 illegal gatherings in SA excluding the independent homelands.

SAP riot units had to cope with an average of 18 protest gatherings daily during the past two years. This compelled an undermanned, underpaid force to work excessive overtime and stretched it to the limits of its capacity, Jeffrey found.

There were 4,6 policemen to every 1 000 civilians in SA, compared to the average 7,5 per 1 000 in western Europe. If the homelands were included, then the national ratio dropped to 2,6 per 1 000.

Independent analysts interviewed by Jeffrey said police, feeling overwhelmed, tended to rely on their firepower to take the place of manpower.

Security experts added that undermanning usually made minimum

force methods "at best unworkable and at worst suicidal".

Statistics show that it is not unusual for a riot contingent of 30 men to face a crowd of more than 20 000.

UDF and ANC spokesmen told Jeffrey that police exaggerated their fears and difficulties. "It could be true that they are scared when they see huge crowds ... they are scared because they have been told that black people are always planning to murder whites. So they think that they must shoot before they are killed."

In studying riot police's use of lethal weapons it was claimed to Jeffrey that members were intent on killing ANC supporters.

It was also claimed that they needed to defend themselves with such weapons or risk being killed or injured themselves.

Jeffrey based her findings on interviews with judges, legal practitioners, journalists, analysts and others. She found the riot police arsenal consisted of several "controversial" weapons including:

□ SSG (a heavy calibre buckshot) capable of piercing a sheet of heavy metal at seven paces and with a shot spread of 1m;

□ The R1 rifle, which was lethal at a range of up to 200m and capable of

killing both the target individual and the person standing behind; and

□ The R5 rifle, lethal up to 150m, with a hyper-velocity bullet which kills or injures the target, but causes little harm to others.

The riot police's preferred equipment for riot and crowd control were batons, tearsmoke, and shotguns loaded with rubber bullets, as these inflicted the least injury and were in keeping with principles of minimum force.

However, police used SSG to repel a mass onslaught with stones and petrol bombs, while the R1 and R5 rifles were used to "take out" individuals about to attack with AK-47 assault rifles, petrol bombs and other weapons, the study found.

Police cited more than 6 000 attacks against the SAP in 1990 (800 with petrol bombs and 850 with firearms).

An SAP spokesman told Jeffrey that if the riot police were intent on using weapons to murder rather than defend, then the death and injury toll in every incident would have been far higher.

Last year, 68 policemen died in unrest-related incidents, while 634 were injured.

According to Press reports from the same period, riot police killed at least 40 people and injured 770.

Christians asked to help peace

Sowetan 10/12/91

(274) (ES)

THE Catholic Archbishop of Durban has suggested that Christian churches throughout South Africa should embark on a vast effort to promote the peace process and positive social change.

The Most Rev Denis Hurley, speaking at the Diakonia organisation's Christmas service at the Central Methodist Church in Durban on Sunday, said no believer in God should remain indifferent and withdrawn in the face of the enormous changes taking place in South Africa.

If the whole Christian community were to concentrate a significant part of their evangelising time and effort to promoting peace and co-operation, they could make a splendid contribution.

"If a whole complex of churches were to be associated in a common effort, think of the impact that they would have.

"I try to picture the scene: each church, according to its own tradition, organisation and methods of communication, promoting within itself a deep and widespread

By MONK NKOMO

concern for peace and co-operation in our country, a concern biblically based, Christ-based.

"It might start with a statement from the authority of that church setting out the vision of all that the church should do and prescribing or suggesting ways and means of bringing the vision to life - perhaps a monthly service concentrating on the theme of peace and co-operation in the light of God's word, or perhaps programmes related to the same theme for prayer groups, faith-sharing groups, social concern and justice and reconciliation groups."

In predominantly African congregations it would seem desirable to promote the Peace Accord vigorously.

"How wonderful it would be if the white population could be persuaded to welcome and co-operate with the changes that must come."

NEWS



No dispute resolution committee today . . . Deon Rudman (left), Gert Myburgh, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, Peter Gastrow and Jay Naldoo.
Picture: Alf Kumalo

Violence delays launch of dispute resolution body

By Kaizer Nyatsang
Political Staff

Plans by the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) to form a local dispute resolution committee in Soweto in terms of the National Peace Accord yesterday were temporarily

shelved as a result of the violence which broke out after an Inkatha Freedom Party rally on Sunday. *STAR 10/12/91*

The Soweto Dispute Resolution Committee (DRC), which would have been the first such local committee to be formed, will now be es-

tablished on a date to be announced, hopefully this week, said NPS chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys. (274)

Dr Gildenhuys said the establishment of the DRC had had to be postponed because some committee members had attended a meeting in

Dobsonville, where the violence had occurred

Dr Gildenhuys said the NPS had held two exploratory meetings with various organisations in Soweto and had made "good progress". It was as a result of those meetings that the DRC was scheduled to be formed.

A UK expert's views on the 'pain and progress' in this country

SA on the path of compromise

STAR 10/12/91

(274)

SOUTH Africa could yet implode, like the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia, if the current negotiations break down.

This is the opinion of southern Africa expert and London University emeritus professor Bernard Crick, writing in *The Guardian*.

His lengthy report on Pretoria's "pain and progress" points out that the National Party and the ANC have now become locked together.

"Each needs to give the other what the other can present to its own supporters as a victory — or at least save it from losing the support of its own supporters amid cries of 'treachery' and 'sell-out' reminiscent of Northern Ireland," he writes. "If that happened there would be no one to negotiate with."

Although all concerned agree broadly on the principles of one-person-one-vote, a multiparty democracy and a mixed economy, both parties know they must still make big compromises, he adds.

"Inkatha has no choice but to fall in behind the National Party's negotiating line with a lot of noise for honour, the PAC likewise be-

hind the ANC. The alternative is clamorous and isolated importance."

But, since violence remains the overwhelming preoccupation of both blacks and whites, strong nerves are needed, Professor Crick warns.

"Sudden spasms of violence are often a sign of political violence ... and yet one must remember that political violence is by far the smallest part of all violence. With 50 percent unemployment in many townships, dehumanising poverty, appalling schools, poorly trained police, much violence will continue whatever the immediate pace of economic and political reform."

Big and painful compromise for all parties lie ahead, he writes. "Formal negotiations will be difficult and long — but genuine. Violence will continue all the while. But neither side can afford to fail."

"The resulting constitution will have some flexibility. Even the signatories of the US Constitution or Treaty of Rome didn't get it right first time, nor are ever likely to — just much better than before." — Star Bureau, London. □

Still no weapon ban: ANC irate

ET 11/2/91 Political Staff (274)

THE continued carrying of "traditional" weapons in circumstances where people were slaughtered called into question the government's commitment to peace, the ANC said yesterday.

The ANC said in a statement that when the Peace Accord was signed in September, the government undertook to issue the necessary proclamation to give force in law to a ban on the carrying of weapons to any political gathering, procession or meeting.

"This has not yet been done, nor has there been any clarity on what constitutes a cultural gathering."

Permission had been granted to Inkatha supporters to carry traditional weapons to Sunday's rally in Soweto addressed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi because it was a cultural event, a police spokesman said on Monday.

Seventeen people were killed in violence that erupted after the rally.

The massacre occurred the day before a Local Disputes Resolution Committee was to be formed.

"In our opinion, this calculated killing of innocent people was designed to derail the peace process in the area," the ANC said.

DURBAN. — Two Inkatha Freedom Party supporters were shot dead when their car was ambushed in Murchison, Port Shepstone, early yesterday.

Police meanwhile confirmed a grenade had been hurled at the home of an East Rand activist on Monday night and said damage estimated at R20 000 was caused to the home in Vosloorus township.

— Sapa

Political, riot cover maximum to rise by 25%

POLITICAL and riot damage cover available to businesses in SA has been lifted by 25% to a maximum of R250m per annum, the SA Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria) announced yesterday.

Sasria MD Willem Swanepoel said inflationary pressure had necessitated the increase in cover, which comes into effect next year, to R250m from R200m.

31/12/91
SEAN VAN ZYL

He added the increase had been approved at ministerial level and applied to holding companies and subsidiaries operating within SA's boundaries.

"Major industrial concerns will certainly be pleased with the new dispensation which takes effect from January 1 1992 irrespective of policy renewal dates."

Sasria was registered as a non-profit insurance underwriter in 1979 to provide cover for political riot risks following the major unrest-related losses

incurred from the Soweto riots in 1976. sent, depending on the state concerned.

However, unlike commercial underwriters, Sasria is backed by government as the reinsurer of last resort.

Sasria cover, which can be applied for from any insurance company, covers various classes of risk, including motor vehicles in SA and the TBVC states.

Swanepoel stressed that the higher cover available from next year only applied to risks in SA and not in the TBVC states where the maximum stood at R10m per annum at pre-

The cover available in the TBVC states was lower because of Sasria's limited resources-to-liabilities.

"Sasria continues to look at ways of improving cover further, but at this stage it is simply a case of balancing our policyholders' needs with our available resources."

He added the Sasria maximum cover had been inadequate for years.

However, the problem had been exacerbated by high inflation which in turn boosted the value of the insured property.

Church bid for peace urged

Star 11/12/91

Christian churches throughout South Africa should embark on a vast effort to promote the peace process and positive social change, the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, Denis Hurley, has suggested.

The archbishop, who was speaking at the Diakonia organisation's Christmas service at the Central Methodist Church in Durban, said "no believer in God should remain indifferent and withdrawn in the face of the enormous changes taking place in South Africa".

If the whole Christian community were to concentrate a significant part of their evangelising time and effort to promoting peace and co-operation, they could make a splendid contribution.

"If a whole complex of churches were to be associated in a common effort, think of the impact that would have."

"I try to picture the scene each church, according to its own tradition, organisation and methods of communication, promoting within itself a deep and widespread concern for peace and co-operation in our



Drumming up support... Pledge at the end of the day, and challenged other drum majorettes to do the same.

"It might start with a statement from the authority of that church setting out the vision of all that the church should do and prescribing or suggesting ways and means of bringing the vision to life."

The Orlando Drum Majorettes were part of the peace mission at Delta Park. They all signed the Star Peace Pledge at the end of the day, and challenged other drum majorettes to do the same.

Perhaps a monthly service concentrating on the theme of peace and co-operation in the light of God's word, or perhaps programmes related to the same theme for prayer groups, faith-sharing groups, social concern and justice and reconciliation groups

Perhaps a monthly service concentrating on the theme of peace and co-operation in the light of God's word, or perhaps programmes related to the same theme for prayer groups, faith-sharing groups, social concern and justice and reconciliation groups

how parish newsletters can be used to serve the cause.

In predominantly African congregations it would seem desirable to promote the Peace Accord vigorously. In other congregations it might be necessary to concentrate on an openness to change

"How wonderful it would be if the white population could be persuaded to welcome and co-operate with the changes that must come."

The archbishop said the scene he had endeavored to paint of churches throughout South Africa co-operat-

ing in a vast effort to make a truly significant religious contribution to the peace process and to the promotion of social change might be unrealistic

"But one can always dream and hope that a little of what has been said will happen"

Picture Tom Edley

Senior Assistant Editor Joe Latakomo on the prospects for continued inter-

Reading the writings on the

STAR 12/12/91

~~12/12/91~~

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~~211~~

THE message is quite clear there will be no peace without freedom. It is not a message from the African National Congress nor its military wing, Unkhonto we Sizwe. Nor is it from the Pan Africanist Congress nor its military arm, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

This message, which adorns overhead bridges, road signs and every possible visible point in some towns and cities, is from the right wing. That it is in Afrikaans is perhaps a measure of the bitterness that seems to have revisited the Afrikaner, reminiscent of the old anti-British sentiment that resurfaced from the Anglo-Boer War.

There is an irony in this message, though. For years, the Afrikaner, through the National Party, and even before that, systematically eroded the rights and freedoms of the black people of this country. When blacks spoke of the doctrine of consent, which states that no government is legitimate if it governs without the consent of the governed, they

were jailed and banned. Through repression, white interests were protected and black interests suppressed.

Even as the right wing — and it would be wrong to assume it is only Afrikaans-speaking — preaches its message of fight or be doomed and pleads the need for its own freedom, the Azanian People's Organisation is making the same statement. For it, too, there will be no peace without freedom. Its statement, however, is made for different reasons, but it is significant that both organisations have chosen to use the same clarion call.

Pandelani Nefolovodwe, president of Azapo, declared that without the involvement of his organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa, the PAC, the New Unity Movement and the Workers' Association of South Africa in real negotiations, there would be no peace, justice or freedom in this country.

When people no longer feel obliged to obey those in authority, the slide to anarchy clearly

begins. While the ANC and the National Party may believe they have the support of a reasonable majority of people, it must be clear that — unless they wish to rule through sheer terror and repression — political and democratic demands, based on legitimate issues, will continue being made. The very instruments used by particularly the ANC can and will be used in pursuit of political ideals. Only this time it will not only be black opposition engaged in these activities of making the country ungovernable.

The temptation to draw parallels with the events in the Soviet Union is often great. That Mikhail Gorbachev has been caught in the rush of his own creation could suggest that perhaps President de Klerk will face the same here.

Clearly, resistance to reform in the Soviet Union provided the impetus, and it is for that reason that Mr de Klerk and his partners will need to move with considerable haste if they are not to be caught in their own creation. He will need to deliver, and deliver

well, to survive politically and create a climate that would say to the right wing, in particular, that it was worth it in the end.

Already, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has warned that it would be preparing itself to go to war after leader Eugene Terreblanche walked out of talks with Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen. Mr Terreblanche even refused to be interviewed in English by an independent radio station. But the AWB's position was stated quite clearly: it would not negotiate with "communists and the anti-Christ".

While the AWB demands the creation of a *boerestaat*, it has stated clearly that it is not prepared to be ruled by "foreigners" — and that, to them, means blacks. The ANC's Pallo Jordan has called on the organisation to present its demand at Codesa, and said that it had a legitimate right to its view, which needs to be articulated. However, there seems no likelihood of right-wing participation in Codesa. Indeed, the AWB has said it would prepare itself for

war. But if wars were fought with slogans on walls and road signs, the world would be a different place today.

Many analysts play down the strength of the AWB. One often mathematically works out its strength on the basis of available data and generally comes to the conclusion that right-wing support is insignificant. To blacks, however, there is a growing realisation that inter-racial strife will grow rather than diminish as we move into a post-apartheid South Africa. Race hatred is certainly getting more and more evident, from the petrol attendant who has to deal with hostile whites, to the black supermarket manager who has to deal with responses like "Do I look like somebody who needs help?" when asked in the simply courteous manner demanded of him whether he can be of help.

To them the threat is real and not just a matter of politics. What leaves doubts in the minds of black South Africans is what the response of whites generally would be when the crunch came

and they had to make a cross in the appropriate box. Would commonsense prevail, and whites vote for the best person, or would they simply vote with their hearts and hope for the best? Privately, most whites express concern about their future. Like the filling station owner who invites me into his

office, then in an almost hostile manner demands of me whether his son has a future in South Africa. Even before I can answer, he declares that he will make sure that the boy has a future — even if he has to use his gun to secure that.

The boy is obviously proud of his father. But so is my son, and his father. But so is my son, and his father.

deal with such a situation, or would we make Yugoslavia look like a Sunday school picnic? To coin a phrase, the prospect is too ghastly to contemplate. □

we

Racial strife

World

leaders

for SA

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CT13/12/91

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Former British foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and former Zimbabwe president the Rev Canaan Banana will be among the high-level international delegations to South Africa's historic peace negotiations, it was announced yesterday.

President F W de Klerk will lead the government delegation. The National Party delegation will be led by its Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, and includes three coloured members.

The ANC will soon announce

its delegation for next week's talks, but it is sure to be led by its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and include secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The Commonwealth delegation includes two other former foreign ministers: Malaysia's Mr Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie and India's Mr Shri Dinesh Singh. It also includes former Australian governor-general Sir Ninian Stephen and Mr Justice Telford George, former chief justice of the Bahamas.

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said the attendance of the delegation represented an important development in the Commonwealth's relations with SA.

Other foreign organisations invited to attend — the EC, the OAU and the UN — have yet to announce their delegations.

US President George Bush telephoned President De Klerk yes-

terday to express his support for the negotiation process.

The State President's office said the telephone call was a follow-up to previous discussions between the two leaders.

Mr De Klerk told Mr Bush he was completely confident that good progress would be made in the negotiating process. He also informed Mr Bush about several problems that existed and which were expected to be the main point of focus in the weeks ahead.

The two leaders also exchanged opinions and points of view on the situation in the Soviet Union.

Mr De Klerk's scheduled visit to Moscow was cancelled on Wednesday because of the crisis in the Soviet Union.

During the discussion Mr De Klerk also emphasised the need for economic growth to support

To page 3

...who also said an autopsy car- ter's murder in October and the attempt- been issued for his arrest in connection on Mr Newman on November 12. Mr Newman was left for dead on a

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A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

Judge rules against FW

Own Correspondent

DURBAN.—A landmark judgment by Natal judge Mr Justice Didcott declared an amended regulation of the Natal Code, which permitted the "carrying of traditional weapons", invalid.

The judge found a proclamation by the State President allowing persons to carry dangerous weapons in accordance with traditional Zulu usages and customs, "void for vagueness".

He held that the State President

was not empowered to make vague regulations.

After the Natal Code was amended by the State President on August 30 last year, the regulations prevented any black person in Natal from carrying dangerous weapons — except for those who carry them for Zulu traditional reasons.

The application was brought by freelance journalist Mr Lechesa Tsenoli against the State President

on the grounds that the regulation was discriminatory.

Yesterday the judge commented that it was a notorious fact that the people of Natal had been exposed during the past four years to "inter-cine violence" on a scale far exceeding anything else experienced in modern times.

He stated that "one found it hard to understand why, in a state of affairs so parlous, the exemptions from the prohibitions on the carrying of danger-

ous weapons were enlarged" by the amended regulation.

Mr Justice Didcott found that the exemption allowing the bearing of weapons by people who did so in accordance with traditional Zulu custom, did not show with "reasonable certainty" what was allowed and what was prohibited.

He ordered the State President to pay Mr Tsenoli's costs.

Mr Tsenoli was represented by the Legal Resources Centre and the State President by Mr D A Gordon, SC.

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Peace on menu as Left, Right dine together

STAR 16/12/91.

By Paula Fray

(274) 300

As representatives from far Right to far left-wing groups gathered for SABC-TV's Agenda Peace Meal last night, they sent out a spirited message to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa): peace can be a fiery topic.

It was a dinner which saw 13 of South Africa's unlikeliest bedfellows sit down and talk together for the first time — including the AWB's Eugene TerreBlanche, the ANC's Carl Niehaus and the PAC's Ntsundeni Madzunya.

It was the night the AWB and the ANC spoke, and the only barrages were verbal.

Devil's advocate John Bishop and angel-faced Freek Robinson struggled, as hosts, to maintain control as party and church representatives jostled to have their say — with God and Christianity often taking centre stage.

Dinner delegates agreed peace was important: "Peace," said the Rev Stanley Mogoba, "is a collective responsibility. Without peace there can be no politics, no business..."

The IFP's Musa Myeni said: "I understand peace as the foundation of the future. But peace is not just the absence of war ... it is the absence of fear".

The ANC's Carl Niehaus said Codesa had an historical task to build up the fabric of South Africa and make it what it could be for future generations.

Mr TerreBlanche, referring, he said, to the SACP and aligned ANC leaders, remarked: "In all respects, I think that a person can only have peace when the person you make peace with has peace with God. My problem is that you want to make peace with people whose stated task it is to dethrone God."

Seated between Mr TerreBlanche and Mr Niehaus was Ned Geref Kerk director of ecumenical affairs Piet Meiring,

who, referring to Mr Niehaus at one stage as Broer (Brother) Carl, could not resist commenting on his position between the Right and the Left.

There were differences on how peace could be achieved and what role Codesa would play in it.

And, there was little peace for the PAC's Ntsundeni Madzunya, who was pressed persistently on why the organisation has pulled out of negotiations.

Peace was a grassroots issue, he said: "The indigenous people are fighting today. When these people are united into a national front the principle contradiction which is more violent — the constitution — must be replaced."

He said any negotiations had to be based on principles. There were still several issues, including indemnity for exiles, which had to be addressed.

The PAC, said Mr Madzunya, wanted "one African state for all African people ... including Mr TerreBlanche".

Mr Niehaus made an impassioned plea for the PAC and AWB to join Codesa. Speaking in Afrikaans he said: "It is absolutely vital that organisations such as the AWB put their case at the talks."

Organisations had an historic responsibility to ensure they created peace in South Africa, he added.

"It is astonishing how people around this table can argue about my country," replied Mr TerreBlanche, adding that 27 000 women and children had died for their land, yet people would not acknowledge their right to be free.

"How can I negotiate about my country with people who don't even have a right to talk about my country?" he asked, dressed in casual khaki for the occasion.

Mr TerreBlanche said he, as a leader of a volk, would talk with ANC president Nelson Mandela only if he was representing the Xhosas.

He added that would not negotiate with communist pressure groups.

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Woods's litigation threat 'skirts issue'

LINDEN BIRNS

TALK of litigation by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods against The Weekly Mail was intended to hide the fact that Woods, the Institute and Inkatha had not challenged the main thrust of reports about the party's government links, the newspaper's editor Anton Harber said yesterday.

He was reacting to Woods's remarks this week that he was taking legal advice on how to deal with the newspaper which named him as a Security Police informer.

"It was not us that named Mr Woods as a police informer. It was the police themselves," said Harber in a statement sent to Business Day. *BIDC 18/12/91*

He said Durban-based SAP officer Maj Louis Botha, "a man whom Woods himself acknowledged he knows well", had written in an SAP document that Woods was an informer.

He added that the authenticity of that SAP document had been proven.

The newspaper also published Woods's denials that he was an informer.

Botha subsequently released an affidavit saying he "had not quite meant exactly what he said" in describing Woods as an informer, said Harber.

"Mr Woods, however, should also explain how and why he wrote an official report that covered up the secret funding of Uwusa Mr Woods conducted a long and expensive investigation into the organisation and wrote a detailed report without once asking where the organisation was getting millions of rands to throw away," he said.

Harber said he could prove the accuracy of comments which the newspaper attributed to Woods, and which Woods alleged the newspaper had fabricated.

These dealt with whether Woods actually confirmed that he knew the SAP was funding Inkatha.

"Mr Woods knows that we taped the conversation which he says we 'fabricated'. We would be happy to play this tape to a judge if that is the path Mr Woods wishes to take," said Harber.

'A 993

NEWS IN BRIEF

Man's body unearthed

THE arrest of two men in connection with the murder of American tourist Edward Perlmutter has led to the discovery of a man's body which was buried in a river bed near Giant's Castle in Natal.

Police are investigating whether the suspects, a 30-year-old man and a teenager, were also connected with the death of Pretoria man Jacob Joubert and the attempted murder of Port Elizabeth businessman Clive Newman.

The men are expected to appear in court in Knysna today in connection with Perlmutter's death

Govt studies weapons ban

THE Ministry of Law and Order has called for a copy of the Durban Supreme Court judgment which effectively bans the carrying of traditional weapons by Zulus.

Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the recent judgment could affect the conduct of the SAP in unrest-related incidents.

The ruling by Mr Justice Diddcott in the Durban Supreme Court set aside regulations promulgated by the State President whereby the carrying of traditional weapons was permitted.

But policemen on the ground are reluctant to enforce the ban because of great personal danger in disarming large crowds. *BIDC 18/12/91*

Support for bombed school

KLERKSDORP residents have rallied to the support of the private multiracial school which was destroyed by a bomb blast on Monday.

Pastor Andre de Kock said the Klerksdorp Christian Academy had suffered about R1,2m in damage, most of which was covered by insurance. He said one woman had donated her last R5 towards rebuilding.

West Rand police said they had not ruled out right-wing involvement.

REPORTS Sapa Business Day Reporter Own Correspondent *BIDC 18/12/91*

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18/12/91

December 19, 1991 to January 15, 1992

Vigilantes delay progress in talks

South 19/12/91 - 15/1/92

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VIGILANTISM has become the major cause of informal repression and has delayed progress towards a negotiated settlement, says the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

An HRC report says vigilantism is born out of the apartheid government and administration structures.

It promotes the image of "black-on-black" violence at no political cost to the government, says the HRC.

Vigilante groups have been active since at least 1986, always in associa-

tion with homeland governments and black councils.

Deaths from vigilante activities accounted for 83 percent of all politically-related deaths between July 1990 and June 1991 as monitored by the HRC.

A recent study by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) found Inkatha responsible for more acts of aggression in Reef townships in this period than the ANC.

The HRC also believes the pattern

in attacks was influenced by political events.

The explosion of violence in August/September 1990 was preceded by the launch of Inkatha as a political party in July, and it erupted within days of the ANC suspending the armed struggle on August 6.

A decline in the violence in January/February coincides with the opening of parliament and the Peace Accord reached between Inkatha and the ANC on January 29, and the de-

cline in June 1991 coincides with the government-sponsored peace summit.

Violence in the PWV area, most notably in the Reef/Vaal complex, has been mainly erratic, says the HRC.

By contrast, the violence in Natal has claimed close to 100 lives a month, confirming the carnage continues virtually uninfluenced by recent events in the rest of the country and has a momentum of its own.

December 19 1991 to January 15

Govt to appeal weapons ruling

274

By Quentin Wilson

South 19/12/91 - 1/15/92
THE government has appealed against a Supreme Court decision to overturn the law allowing the carrying of so-called cultural weapons.

The appeal was launched last Friday — the same day the ruling was made in favour of Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, a freelance journalist.

"The violence which has plagued Natal, specially Southern Natal, has been characterised by attacks by vigilantes who have been free to carry dangerous weapons," Tsenoli said.

19/12/91 - 1/15/92
He alleged Inkatha supporters have been the source of many attacks, particularly "before and after Inkatha rallies when they move around townships killing people at random".

Earlier this year President FW de Klerk amended the Natal code to allow people to carry so-called cultural weapons.

Mr Justice Didcott found this proclamation "void for vagueness".

An objective look at mass action

STAR 19/12/91

214

DISRUPTION resulting from mass mobilisation can result in self-imposed sanctions, deterring foreign investment far into the future. This warning, from a senior academic in strategic studies, comes from the verbatim notes that make up a new book published by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

"Forum on Mass Mobilisation" focuses primarily on the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), and specifically the resolution by the MDM at its July 1989 Lusaka meeting, to strengthen mass action in order to control the pace and agenda of the negotiation process.

The tragedy, the book concludes, is that none of the major political players involved — the Government on the one hand and the ANC on the other — is capable of stopping mass action even if it wanted to. The Government, it seems, faults the ANC for continuing with mass action, which it sees as contrary to the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minute, while the ANC sees this action as a legitimate weapon to pressure the Government and to ensure itself a major role at the negotiating table.

The study is structured around interviews with several political participants, academics, police and journalists. These interviews are based on the same questions, without attempting to define "mass mobilisation", and each of the respondents gives his own interpretation of what it means. The book lists several incidents of "mass action", ranging from rent boycotts to consumer boycotts, disruption of schools and attacks on black councillors.

Using this method of presentation ensures also an objectivity — limited only by the selection of participants — which would otherwise be impossible in an interpretive documentation. It leaves judgment on the various issues raised to the reader, and thereby makes a practical contribution to the debate on the whole issue of mass mobilisation — an issue which will be with us right into the new South Africa, judging from

statements made by some of the interviewees.

Dr Anthea Jeffrey points out that the ANC had decided to make 1991 "the year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people", a resolution taken at the organisation's national congress last year. This action had resulted in local authorities being owed more than R1,6 billion in rent and service charges, while services in 23 townships had been cut off at various times over the year. Consumer boycotts had been called in several towns, for several reasons — but mostly because of the refusal by Conservative Party-controlled towns to grant permission for the holding of marches.

On the education side, there have been class boycotts throughout the year, including the expulsion of teachers — particularly principals — from school premises. Work stayaways have been called over issues such as the demand for a constituent assembly election. The institute points out that the last stayaway on November 4 and 5 (not included in the book itself), where an estimated three million people were absent from work, cost workers in excess of R200 million in lost wages, with the economy suffering substantial losses.

A senior State official is quoted as saying that mass mobilisation "will collapse the economic system. We want to build — not from a state of collapse — but from what we have now. It will also lead to a mass exodus of skills and entrepreneurship from South Africa if it goes too far."

A senior academic in strategic studies warns: "Countries which are prone to this kind of atmosphere suffer from almost perpetual sanctions afterwards. This is best summed up in the phrase developed in Argentina, where they talk of 'self-imposed' sanctions ... they went through a period of instability with mobs on the street ... now nobody wants to spend money or invest there".

A spokesman for the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal

(CAST) says that no single organisation is responsible for mass action throughout the country. The contradiction becomes clear when the spokesman says "we have suspended the armed struggle...", clearly referring to the position of the ANC, and in the next breath says "we will not stop mass mobilisation, even under a new government".

"We will intensify mass mobilisation to get rid of apartheid. We do not trust the Government to get rid of apartheid without the pressure of the people who feel its pinch," he says.

On the question of intimidation and the role this plays in the success of mass mobilisation, the spokesman said: "The Government talks of intimidation. This is propaganda. Organisations do not initiate intimidation." And then, again in contradiction: "It does happen however ... some individuals who are not instructed by their organisations do this."

CAST's campaign to force the resignation of black councillors has led to the bombing of homes and killings. But the CAST spokesman says: "This is not encouraged or authorised by CAST. But the council police use violence against the people and then the people resort to violence against them. We understand why people are using violence. We do not sanction it. But we also do not condemn it."

A spokesman for Cosatu says that "the whole history of South Africa in the last 20 years is one firstly of brutal repression of any attempts to engage in any peaceful protest and demonstration."

"What the South African state has done is to criminalise all opposition by the disenfranchised majority. So that various forms of action — now described as mass mobilisation — which sprang from concrete grievances which people were experiencing in schools, communities and factories, all these forms of mass mobilisation came to be seen as legitimate targets for State brutality; detentions, shootings, bannings, etc."

The ANC is, for its part, aware of the dangers of mass mobilisation

The book has responses on this, and other issues, from police, from Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's department of political education, a spokesman from Inkatha, academics (two of whom are ANC members), the Government, CAST and Cosatu, and provides interesting — often conflicting — views on issues such as mobilisation, intimidation, the efficacy of boycotts and whether these organisations still have any control over events. □

● *Forum on Mass Mobilisation*, edited by Anthea Jeffrey, is available from the SA Institute of Race Relations at R26,20.

Another senior police officer believes that mass mobilisation is part of the armed struggle, and sees this in the context of a "people's war". "This is a war in which a liberation army becomes rooted among the people who ... participate in the armed struggle politically and militarily, including the possibility of engaging in general insurrection."

A senior police spokesman provides some revealing perceptions at that level, the most striking being the perception that "it is part of black tradition to settle disputes by violence", and "the Zulus are aggressive and war-like. We must take account of their history and tradition".

A senior police spokesman provides some revealing perceptions at that level, the most striking being the perception that "it is part of black tradition to settle disputes by violence", and "the Zulus are aggressive and war-like. We must take account of their history and tradition".

tion deterring investment. A university researcher and member of the ANC said: "The fact that the mass mobilisation will put off foreign capital is something which is inherent and well understood. We do not want capital to come into South Africa. This is well understood by the leadership and is part of the equation..."

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

More than 3 000 people were killed and about 7 000 injured in violence between July 1990 and June this year. And 1 281 people died in 5 907 unrest incidents between January 1 and July 31 this year.

PRISONERS

About 57 000 prisoners were released under the three prison amnesties announced since December 1990, bringing the prison population down to 86 594. About 121 000 serious crimes were reported during May - the highest figure in South African history.

19/12/91
-2/1/92

Violent death toll expected to be 30 000

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Between 26 600 and 28 056 South Africans at least have died violently so far this year — and the figure is likely to jump to nearly 30 000 by the end of 1991. (274)

The biggest contributor to the carnage has been — as in the past — crime and political unrest, which will take at a conservative estimate 17 644 lives by the end of this month.

This figure is based on the police's January to August count, taking a monthly average of this figure for the remaining months of the year.

The second biggest contributor is road deaths — expected to reach the usual average of 11 000 by the end of 1991.

However, this year — a year of unprecedented crime levels — has seen a dramatic swing in the nature of violence compared to previous years.

The overwhelming majority of violent murders this year have been criminally rather than politically motivated.

Of the 11 764 deaths counted by police from January until August, only 806 were unrest-related. ARG 20/12/91

Arms: Police role 'clear'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Natal Law Society spokesman Mr Dave Randles said members of the police would now be expected by the public to disarm or arrest any person who carries dangerous weapons in public without authority. *20/12/91 (274)*

The statement follows a ruling made in the Durban Supreme Court last week which declared void a proclamation passed by the State President permitting the carrying of certain

weapons for traditional Zulu usages, customs or religion.

He said the Natal judiciary did have the ability to find the "subordinate legislation" passed by the State President to be void for vagueness but the court had not banned the carrying of weapons.

"The police should now be more certain as to their role, now that Mr Justice Didcott has removed the vagueness from the legislation," Mr Randles said.

Political killings drop 26%

20/12/91 PETER DELMAR

274

DEATHS in political violence have dropped 26% this year, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The institute said in a statement preliminary figures showed 2 510 had died in political violence compared to last year's record figure of 3 699.

Institute executive director John Kane-Berman said 11 748 people had died since September 1984.

He said 1991 had started off relatively calmly, but that the fatality rate had doubled in March to more than 11 a day.

The worst month was March when 351 people died.

The institute said in 85% of the 1 236 incidents of political violence it studied it was impossible to identify who were the aggressors.

Firearms were used in 30% of incidents, explosives and incendiary devices in 25%, instruments capable of inflicting hack and stab wounds in 16%, and stones in 15%. Common assault and burning of people accounted for 8% of cases.

Right-wingers admit to Cosatu bomb blast

JONATHAN REES

PRETORIA — A right-wing extremist group calling itself the Boer Republican Army yesterday claimed responsibility for the powerful bomb blast which caused serious damage to Cosatu's offices in Pretoria earlier in the day.

An anonymous caller with a muffled voice told Sapa that the army was also responsible for three explosions which destroyed a private multiracial school in Klerksdorp on Monday.

Details of the army remain unclear but a right-wing expert said yesterday it was believed to be an umbrella military front for extremist right-wing groups, used as a cover to avoid exposing leadership figures on that end of the political spectrum.

The bomb at Cosatu's offices exploded yesterday at 1 15am, blowing a 0.5m hole in the pavement outside the building and damaging several surrounding shops and offices.

A 41-year-old security guard sleeping on the first floor of a neighbouring shop was slightly injured. Police have made no arrests so far.

Sapa reports that the blast caused damage amounting to thousands of rands.

The explosion left Cosatu House offices in chaos with collapsed ceilings and smashed furniture.

Regional officials said they could not yet estimate the full costs of the damage and were not aware of anything which could have been removed from the offices.

A motorbike dealer opposite the offices, Lawrence van der Merwe, said he was still assessing the damage to his shop, customers' motor bikes and new bikes which were in the display window. He expected his replacement costs to be considerable.

A representative of a nearby stationery shop, Joe Frylinck, said about 70 window panes from the shop were destroyed, while attorney Elias Pyekga, whose offices were about 500m away, said there were broken window panes strewn all over his premises.

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Number of violent deaths expected to soar to 30 000

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

(274)

Between 26 600 and 28 056 South Africans have died violently so far this year — and this figure is likely to leap to nearly 30 000 by the end of 1991.

This massive toll comes from deaths as a result of criminals, politically motivated killings and road fatalities.

The biggest contributor to the carnage has been — as in the past few years — crime and political unrest, which together will toll a conservative estimate of 17 644 lives by the end of December.

The second biggest contributor is road deaths — expected to reach the usual annual average of 11 000 by the end of 1991.

This year has seen a dramatic swing in the nature of violence as the overwhelming majority of murders

have been criminal rather than politically motivated.

Of the 11 764 deaths counted by police from January until August, only 806 were unrest related.

(The earlier 17 644 figure is based on the SAP's January to August count, taking a monthly average of this figure for the remaining months of the year.)

Independent figures back up the police contention that political fatalities have in fact dropped.

The South African Institute of Race Relations says political violence has dropped by 26 percent this year — with 2 510 deaths. Last year the SAIRR counted 3 699 politically motivated deaths.

The Human Rights Commission lists 2 031 political deaths until the end of last month.

However, even with a drop in politically motivated mur-

ders, the overall figure for murder is expected to be at least 2 500 more than the corresponding police murder count for last year.

The alarming number of armed robberies and suburban murders has caused concern for police, who have blamed soaring poverty, unemployment and homelessness for the unacceptable crime level.

South Africa's roads continue to claim scores of lives every day — and the National Road Safety Council fears a sudden increase this weekend to a relatively improved festive season death count.

By Wednesday the holiday road death toll had reached 376, compared to 509 on the same date last year.

"But this figure could jump by 20 percent over the next few days," a NRSC spokesman said.

● 2 510 political deaths
— Page 7

2 510 political deaths this year

STAR 20/12/91

Staff Reporter

(274)

Deaths in political violence have dropped by 26 percent this year, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Institute executive director, John Kane-Berman said yesterday preliminary figures showed the number of fatalities was down from last year's record figure of 3 699 to 2 510 this year.

He said that altogether 11 748 people had died since violence erupted in September 1984 — more than seven years ago.

This year started off comparatively calmly, but by March more than

11 people were being killed each day. This was the worst month of the year, with 351 deaths being reported, he said. But this was less than August last year, when the Institute recorded 698 fatalities.

Political killings continued at a high level in April and May but halved in the next three months. Violence flared again in September.

In its analysis of the political violence, the Institute had attempted to identify both aggressors and victims, but in 85 percent of cases it was impossible to identify aggressors.

Weapons used were easier to identify, with

firearms being used in the majority of incidents (30 percent), explosives and incendiary devices in 25 percent and hacking and stabbing instruments in 16 percent. Stones were used in 15 percent of the cases, with common assault accounting for eight percent.

Stonings had increased by 26 percent and the use of explosives and incendiary devices by 24 percent, the Institute found in comparing the first and second four-month periods of the year. There had been a 14 percent increase in the use of firearms, but a 22 percent drop in the use of hacking and stabbing weapons.

2 510 killed in violence - Institute

PRELIMINARY figures released by the South African Institute of Race Relations yesterday show that deaths in political violence had dropped by 26 percent this year

The Institute said 2 510 people died in 1991 in political violence

SAIRR executive director Mr John Kane-Berman said although these were preliminary figures, "on present trends it looks as if the death toll for the year will be about 26 percent lower than last year's record figure of 3 699".

"The total number of fatalities in the seven years and three months since violence erupted at the beginning of September 1984 is 11 748," Kane-Berman said

He said that 1991 had started off comparatively calmly but that the fatality rate had doubled in March to more than 11 a day.

Political killings had continued at a high level in April

(274)
Soweto 20/12/91
and May. The number of people dying had halved in June, July and August before violence flared up again.

March, with 351 deaths, had been the worst month of the year but even so had come nowhere near August of last year, when the Institute recorded 698 deaths.

The Institute said it had analysed 1 236 incidents of political violence across the country between January 1 1991 and August 31 1991, applying strict criteria to identify both aggressors and victims. In 85 percent of the cases it was impossible to identify who the aggressors were.

Firearms were used in 30 percent of cases, explosives and incendiary devices in 25 percent, instruments capable of inflicting hack and stab wounds in 16 percent and stones in 15 percent. - Sapa.

SA violence upsets Simon

American superstar Paul Simon expresses his grief and disbelief at the death of his South African friend and co-worker, Headman Shabalala, in an exclusive interview with EDWIN NAIDOO.

SPEAKING about the widespread violence in South Africa, Paul Simon said it had become a talking point among South African band members, among them Ray Phiri and Barney Rachabane.

He said his impressions of the violence in townships across the country took a new meaning after the tragic death of Headman Shabalala, a member of Ladysmith Black Mambazo who worked with Simon on the hugely successful "Graceland" LP.

Headman's death, and the subsequent granting of R1 000 bail to his alleged killer, had upset him greatly.

"By American standards it (the bail amount) seems to imply that life is cheap if you're a black man in South Africa. That's the reaction from people in America, and it's my feeling too."

He said that although he had no idea how he could help the Shabalala family during their period of mourning, he had no reason to believe that the trial would be anything but fair.

"There will be a lot of interest in the case, especially from Ladysmith Black Mambazo fans around the world."

Simon said Headman's death had made him realise the severity of the violence in the country.

"Violence is at a level that is very real to the average person. Crime is a part of everyday life. Everyone knows about the strife between Inkatha and the ANC, but the killings have become a national tragedy."

Simon said, however, that he was optimistic of positive developments on the political front.

Interest in South Africa ranked high among fellow musicians and many were keen to come here.

People such as Mark Knopfler (of Dire Straits), Bob Dylan and Peter Dinklage had expressed a willingness to perform in this country.

"Depending on how our tour goes, you will see a great desire or reluctance on the part of international performers to come to South Africa."

The imposition of the cultural boycott had not been the best of methods

to help bring down apartheid.

"To deprive the average South African of the right to take their music to the rest of the world probably did not do anything to help anybody."

"Freedom and exchange of ideas comes from people visiting other countries. In a closed society, such a flow of ideas is helpful to spread the process of democracy. In the case of South Africa, prohibiting artists from playing abroad was not good."

The effects of the cultural boycott may have resulted in economic losses for the Government, but the losses incurred by performers were greater.

Simon (also) 21/12/91 (274)
SIMON said he was keen to meet local musicians during his visit.

He believed that South African music would not crack the American market easily because success depended on radio air-play and the radio stations were "compartmentalised".

They would play South African music under the title of "alternative music". Success seemed more likely in Britain because there were more radio stations there.

Simon said that once the tour group arrived in South Africa, he hoped the music would serve its function to bring joy and release for people.

Simon, who together with his one-time partner, Art Garfunkel, ruled the charts in the Sixties with hits like "Bridge over Troubled Waters" and "The Sound of Silence", is due to visit the country on a nationwide tour next month.

He made it clear he was not the musical pioneer everyone had made him out to be. He did not wish to be regarded as the man who put South African music on the world map because "it was always around".

Musicians such as Peter Gabriel and David Byrne had also experimented with African musical patterns.

Simon said, however, he was pleased



HIGH ENERGY: Paul Simon's frontman Andrew Zwick.

at being able to bring attention to South African music but did not want people to believe he was responsible for popularising it internationally.

"It was not as if I had that vision. It happened because of 'Graceland' and the combination of musicians who worked on it."

At the height of 'Graceland' fever, when critics accused Simon of "stealing cultures", he replied: "You don't have to live in Italy to own a pizzeria. I don't want the credit for putting South African music on the world map. I am content to be among a group who helped popularise African music."

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F W, Mandela clash over disarming of ANC

STAR 21/12/91

IT WAS unacceptable for State President de Klerk to insist that the African National Congress hand over its arms to those regarded by the people as responsible for the ongoing massacres, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference after the first day of Codesa, he said that the perception still existed among blacks that innocent people were being murdered by elements in the security forces.

"No political organisation can commit suicide as he (Mr de Klerk) is recommending," he said.

Mr Mandela said death squads continued to prowl the country and the right-wing was arming itself.

"It is therefore unacceptable for him to insist we hand over our arms to those regarded as responsible for the massacres."

Mr de Klerk's remarks at Codesa had been unaccept-

able, as he had raised issues which were unresolved and were the subject of ongoing bilateral discussions between the government and the ANC. (274)

Asked if Mr de Klerk's actions would affect their relationship, Mr Mandela said: "The incident occurred, it is past and I have forgotten about it."

Despite the acrimony, the ANC agreed to sign the declaration of intent drawn up by Codesa.

Mr Mandela revealed that it had agreed to do this despite reservations by the national working committee of the ANC.

He said the NWC had wanted him to insist on an amendment proposing that all political parties and the Government should give legal effect to decisions taken by the convention.

"Mr de Klerk persuaded me not to press this demand," he said. — Sapa.

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NATIONAL

Report warns on violence rise

(274)

ARC 23/12/91

VIVIEN HORLER, Medical Reporter

DANGEROUS complacency towards violence exists among South African youth, a major study on health has found.

The experience of violence among young people is "ubiquitous", says the California-sponsored report of a study by the SA Medical Research Council into changing health needs in South Africa.

The study was led by Dr Derek Yach of the MRC's Centre for Epidemiological Research in Parow.

The level of violence has resulted in "a continuous traumatic stress syndrome rather than a post-traumatic stress disorder".

The report quotes figures indicating that 11 000 South Africans have been killed in political violence since 1984.

"Non-political violence also has increased dramatically in the past 18 months," says the report, quoting figures from the SA Chamber of Business which showed that this year there had been 15 000 murders, 125 000 serious assaults, 61 000 armed robberies, 20 000 rapes and 225 000 burglaries of residential and business premises.

Violence has had a major impact on health services, both because there is a greater demand for care of the injured and because violence disrupts services like clinics and essential sanitation and rubbish removal.

The study quotes a report by Dr Yach conducted during violence in Cape Town in 1986, in which water supplies, routine collection of bucket toilets, provision of housing and shelters, and streetlighting and transport were disrupted.

He said that if the disruption of services had happened in midsummer instead of winter, "there would have been an epidemic of waterborne infectious diseases at two squatter settlements".

The MRC report said health promotion strategies were needed urgently among people living in depressed socio-economic conditions and who were most likely to take risks. "Similarly, more effective family planning promotion strategies would seem to be a priority."

Political deaths down this year, says institute

The Argus Correspondent

274 ARG 23/12/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Deaths in political violence have dropped by 26 percent this year, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Institute executive director Mr John Kane-Berman said preliminary figures showed the number of fatalities was down from last year's record figure of 3 699 to 2 510 this year.

He said that altogether 11 748 people had died since violence erupted in September 1984 — more than seven years ago.

This year started off comparatively calmly, but by March more than 11 people were being killed each day.

This was the worst month of the year, with 351 deaths being reported, he said.

This was less than August last year, when the institute recorded 698 fatalities.

Political killings continued at a high level in April and May, but halved in the next three months. Violence flared again in September.

In its analysis of the political violence, the institute had attempted to identify aggressors and victims, but in 85 percent of cases it was impossible to identify aggressors.

Weapons used were easier to identify, with firearms being used in the majority of incidents (30 percent), explosives and incendiary devices in 25 percent and hacking and stabbing instruments in 16 percent.

Stones were used in 15 percent of the cases, with common assault accounting for eight percent.

Stonings had increased by 26 percent and the use of explosives and incendiary devices by 24 percent, the insitute found in comparing the first and second four-month periods of the year.



Pledges pour in . . . chairman of the National Peace Committee John Hall (centre) with The Star's Editor-In-Chief, Richard Steyn, and senior Assistant Editor Joe Latakomo with some of the 10 000 Peace Pledges sent in by Star readers.

Accord's success depends on unity

There is no doubt that the National Peace Accord is gaining momentum but people must realise that the success of the process depends on the co-operation of all South Africans, more importantly the so-called man in the street, John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee, said.

He was speaking after being presented with the first 10 000 peace pledges sent in by Star readers. This demonstrates the level of support for the peace process on the ground.

To these readers, Mr Hall said "All involved in the peace process derive inspiration and encouragement from the number of pledges coming in."

Justice Goldstone, was a significant development, said Mr Hall "As you know, the first task of the commission was the investigation of violence in Tokoza. This is continuing under the leadership of Advocate N M Sithole."

The commission is also investigating the deaths at President Steyn mine, and also in a preliminary inquiry, the Cape Town taxi war.

The organisation of mass demonstrations and role of police or other security forces is also being investigated.

"Flashpoint communities need conflict resolution committees urgently, and, as most of these areas are already forming their own committees, these should be incorporated as quickly as possible into a conflict resolution mechanism under the auspices of the Peace Secretariat," Mr Hall added.

"Our responsibility as the Peace Committee is to ensure that the Peace Accord is implemented and that the political parties, having signed the Accord, stick to their undertakings. As you know, the Accord makes political leaders accountable to the citizens of South Africa for their actions should they contravene it."

"This makes the Accord an extremely powerful document indeed, provided the general public are aware of the power it gives them."



Working for peace . . . the Thusanang Relief Association in Alexandra, which is the brain-child of former exile Walter Mojaelo, has decided to involve itself in peace initiatives in the troubled township. Here, Mr Mojaelo (seated centre) is seen discussing initiatives with representatives of various community interests in the township.

Picture: Joao Silva

Slogan advocated to help spread peace

BIDay 24/12/91 DARIUS SANAI (274)

"GOOD morning, peace now not later, Snark International, can I help you?"

This may soon be the standard company switchboard operator's greeting if the recently established national peace committee gets its way.

The committee is launching a campaign to promote awareness of peace issues through participation by business and the media.

The adoption of the committee's slogan by switchboard operators comes top of a list of suggestions which the committee hopes will help get the peace message across.

A senior business source yesterday described it as "well-intentioned but sometimes a little loopy".

Other suggestions are that police officers, security guards, beach attendants and hotel clerks greet the public with the peace slogan wherever possible.

The committee also suggests that businesses should step up funding for education in areas affected by violence and publish news about peace efforts in their in-house publications.

The committee suggests local businesses sponsor banners which could be erected outside buildings to promote peace, and companies could have a peace message incorporated in their franking machines.

Local communities could also set up a Peacemaker of the Month award, with a view to extending it to a national project. Radio and TV stations are also encouraged by the committee to include peace messages in their broadcasts over the Christmas period.

Sacob said it would be drawing up guidelines on how to promote peace for its members early in the new year, and that the committee suggestions would be taken into consideration.

Govt and Inkatha make progress over weapons issue

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was likely to announce a breakthrough on the issue of carrying traditional weapons at political meetings when he opened Parliament next month, it was predicted yesterday.

At the same time, government would be pressing hard for an agreement with the ANC on the "neutral" registration of arms caches brought into SA by members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These are two of three issues outstanding from the national peace accord agreement which remain to be resolved. The third is a code of conduct for the SA Defence Force, which has not yet been finally approved.

TIM COHEN

Government was expected, after the signing of the peace accord, to conduct separate consultations with Inkatha and the ANC to determine whether the ban on weapons envisaged in the accord should include "cultural" weapons.

The peace accord states that dangerous weapons may not be carried or displayed by members of the general public attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.

Inkatha leaders have denied that this ban affects the carrying of traditional weapons and have drawn a distinction between

political and cultural gatherings.

De Klerk said a proclamation would be issued once the issue had been resolved in bilateral talks with Inkatha.

Signatories to the accord agreed that government would introduce a proclamation banning weapons from political gatherings.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday several meetings between his party and government on the cultural weapons issue had taken place and progress had been made.

Felgate said Inkatha and government had produced a draft proclamation on traditional weapons and he was convinced

agreement could be reached on the final wording. He declined to comment on the contents of the proclamation.

A government source said yesterday the parties were close to resolving the issue and De Klerk was expected to use the opening of Parliament to make the proclamation known.

Government intends negotiating the disbanding of private armies but will face stiff opposition from the ANC, which says it will not consider the neutral registration of arms caches until an interim government is in place.

□ To Page 2

Weapons

It was this issue that sparked a fierce exchange between ANC president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk at Codesa at the weekend, although Mandela did, in an off-the-cuff part of his speech, confirm that the issue would continue to be discussed.

Although signatories to the peace accord pledged themselves not to form private armies, the ANC has been adamant that it will not disband Umkhonto, which it regards as a liberation army.

The carrying of dangerous "cultural weapons" has effectively been banned in Natal by the recent judgment by Mr Justice Didoort, and human rights lawyers have challenged government to extend the ruling nationwide.

The issue of Umkhonto weapons will be further negotiated at one of the working groups set up by Codesa and a report is expected to be submitted in March.

□ From Page 1

Two killed in Christmas unrest

TWO people died in unrest-related incidents over Christmas, but there was little serious crime, particularly on the Witwatersrand and in Soweto. Police said the body of a man was found at Khayelitsha, Cape Town, after a mob attack in which several houses were gutted. 27/12/71 At Murchison on the Natal South Coast a man was shot dead by unidentified attackers. Other incidents were reported at Nyanga, Cape Town, where a woman was injured when a crowd stoned a bus, and at Table Mountain near Maritzburg when a man was shot in the leg. In Pretoria an 18-year-old man was stabbed to death at about 3am on Christmas morning.

DAVE LOURENS

Two men, armed with a gun and a knife, held up the Hennopstrivier Cafe and stole food and the owner's car. Two suicides were recorded in Pretoria on Christmas Day. A man killed himself by drinking ant poison on Christmas morning and a woman shot herself shortly before midnight. Sapa reported that Soweto police had recovered 217 stolen vehicles in the past week and seized 34 uncensed firearms. (27/12) Col Tienie Halgryn said 19 people had been arrested in connection with the stolen vehicles and another 19 in connection with the stolen weapons.

Plea on shebeen hours

WILSON ZWANE

8/10/71 27/12/71 THE Vaal Civic Association (VCA) yesterday urged she-beeners and taverners in Vaal Triangle's townships to close early to ensure the safety of patrons during the rest of the festive season. VCA chairman Malik Madise said this had been decided when his organisation held an urgent meeting with representatives of the ANC Evaton branch this week. The two organisations also resolved to seek a meeting with the police to discuss violence. Vanderbijlpark In another development, developer Vanderbijlpark Estate Company and the VCA had agreed that the community would be involved in a housing project in Thasepiso, an area between Sharpeville and Boipatong. Madise said the agreement stipulates that the briefing on Tuesday. "The agreement stipulates that the community should not be left out of the project... it should be involved." He could not give the size of the project nor the date on which it would start.

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THE military wing of the PAC, the Azaman People's Liberation Army (Apla), constituted a threat to the negotiation and peace processes, but had no chance of achieving real success in its armed struggle, police said at the weekend.

PAC wing no real threat, says SAP

30/12/11

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JONATHON REES

papers in recent months with claims of Apla attacks on SAP members.

Police believed they had the threat under control, and acted against Apla members the same way as they would against any individual committing a crime, the police spokesman said.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said armed struggle was "morally and politically bankrupt", and that organisations attempting to use violent means to achieve their aims would find themselves "politically smashed and physically outflanked".

Sapa reports that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Friday the PAC's refusal to distance itself from the killing of policemen would be viewed with disgust by all law-abiding South Africans.

Speaking through his spokesman

Capt Craig Kotze, Kriel was reacting to a report quoting PAC general secretary Benny Alexander as saying he would neither condemn nor condone killings claimed by Apla.

Kriel said: "If the report is true, every law-abiding person will view the statement with disgust."

"Murder remains murder, and the PAC's view illustrates clearly that the politics of armed struggle are morally bankrupt and offer no solution to SA's problems," he said.

The only path to lasting peace and prosperity was through negotiations, he said.

Alexander, who confirmed the link between the PAC and Apla, said he would not comment on the Apla-claimed killing of a Soweto policeman until he knew the exact circumstances.

So far this year, 144 SA policemen have been killed.

THE military wing of the PAC, the Azaman People's Liberation Army (Apla), constituted a threat to the negotiation and peace processes, but had no chance of achieving real success in its armed struggle, police said at the weekend.

Apla was also a potential threat to the SAP, but had shown no indication of aiming for civilians or other "soft targets", spokesman Maj Ray Har-rald said.

Apla has claimed responsibility for the killing of five policemen in recent months, as well as for several attacks which police say never happened.

In the latest incident, a man claiming to be from Apla, Karl Zimbiri, telephoned a local news agency to claim responsibility for the killing of a Soweto policeman in an ambush on Monday night.

Zimbiri, claiming to be Apla's PWV leader, has called several news-

Police, civilians fell to bullet and panga

STAR

30/12/91

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THE YEAR 1991 was the year of living dangerously for South Africa's township residents, and the job of policing strife-torn areas proved no easier, as the number of officers killed on duty escalated sharply over the past 12 months.

While police blamed escalating violence on a culture of violence rooted in the townships, the Human Rights Commission said the most significant contribution to reducing violence would be for the Government to abandon its strategy of destabilising anti-apartheid forces.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said 144 policemen were killed in 1991, a 30 percent increase on 1990's toll of 107 deaths.

Captain Kotze added: "This dramatic increase can be attributed to the culture of violence that has taken root in the townships, where life has become cheap. It's a challenge to South Africa's police force to replace this climate of violence with a culture of tolerance."

It was also the year that saw the first South African police-woman killed on duty. Soweto

PETER DAVIES reports on an increase in police deaths in a violent year.

Constable Matshidiso Mathi was a few days short of her 21st birthday when she was shot dead while checking the engine number of a suspected stolen car in Eldorado Park in July.

Police murders took a sinister turn in late December when a man claiming to be from the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, called a news agency to claim responsibility for the murder of Constable MZ Machate of Soweto.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander would neither condemn nor condone the killings, nor confirm that his organisation was responsible.

Figures provided by Captain Kotze show that 2 165 innocent people were killed in unrest incidents this year — less than last year's 2 674 deaths.

Captain Kotze said the decrease was due to increased security force action

"The police and the Government have invested enormous financial and manpower resources to stem violence. Thirty percent of the police force is permanently engaged in combating unrest — or the threat of unrest — at any given time.

"This translates to about 35 000 of the total force of 115 000. Such huge inroads into our manpower partly explains the increase in crime this year," he said.

Despite the comparative drop in unrest-related deaths this year, the figure remained unacceptably high, Captain Kotze said. A major factor was the proliferation of "intense" AK-47 attacks which eliminated many victims at a time.

The Human Rights Commission's statistics on civilian unrest were divided into four categories.

According to its figures, 53 civilians were killed by hit squads, 19 from attacks by right-wing organisations, 98 by security forces, and 1 880 perished at the hands of vigilantes in ethnic clashes. □

Mandela pleads for peaceful New Year

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Nelson Mandela has made a strong plea for reconciliation and peace in South Africa in 1992, and called on all leaders to "spare no effort to make the (National) Peace Accord work and bring peace into our lives".

Delivering his New Year message at a Press conference here yesterday, Mr Mandela said 1992 could "usher in a new era of hope for all South Africans".

He said he was confident 1992 would see the establishment of an interim government of national unity, which had been made possible by the foundations laid at the recent Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

The attainment of a democratic constitution, he said, was one of the ANC's priorities in 1992.

Mr Mandela called on all political, church, business and trade union leaders to ensure that the violence which wrecked South Africa this year was a thing of the past.

He said there was "little merit" in trying to determine who had fired the first shot in the bloodshed which afflicted Natal and other parts of the country and that nobody could



Mr Nelson Mandela

benefit "from the continuation of this bloodletting".

"For the sake of our children, for the future of our country, and to ensure that the democratic order so many have sacrificed so much to achieve is not stillborn, the killing must stop now. Not another life should be lost in this futile violence," Mr Mandela said.

He said as 1991 drew to a close, other South Africans remained faced with homelessness, hunger and poverty, and millions were denied "funda-

mental human rights." The future, he said, would be "seriously flawed" if these issues were not addressed.

Mr Mandela said the establishment of a democratic constitution would allow for the lifting of all remaining sanctions, including financial sanctions, and enable South Africa to take its place "with pride in the international community".

The ANC leader said while much had been achieved in 1991, including the release of some political prisoners, more than 400 political prisoners — including Robert McBride, Mthetheli Mncube and Mzondeleli Nondula — had yet to be freed.

Mr Mandela also.

- Denied that the Patriotic Front (PF) was in trouble because of strained relations between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

- Said there were no similarities between the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe and the AWB's secret army, the Ystergaarde. The ANC's military wing, he said, was fighting for the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

- Said whites' fears about the future had to be taken seriously, adding that he was personally in favour of having seats guaranteed for whites in Parliament for a limited period.

Police safety is the watchword 274

JONATHON REES

PRETORIA — Police members have been told not to sacrifice their lives in the interests of keeping the peace, and to use all legal means to protect themselves from assassins. B10cw 31/12/91

This follows a spate of fatal attacks on policemen in the past year.

Law and Order spokesman Capt. Craig Kotze said the SAP would start 1992 determined to stem the increase in police deaths. The force still acknowledged, however, its responsibility to continue policing and enforcing the law.

"Maximum appropriate response" was the watchword for the new year. With improved training and intelligence, and greater awareness of threats, the killing of police could be slowed or eliminated.

At least 144 policemen were killed in the line of duty during 1991 — the worst year in the force's history. Police deaths have shown a consistent increase since 1985, when 51 policemen died on duty. Last year, 111 were killed while on duty.

The high fatality rate has had a marked effect on morale, with some policemen expressing fear at performing their duty, said Wits University Project for the Study of Violence director Lloyd Vogelmann. Declining morale was also linked to the limited influence the SAP seemed to have on crime, he said.

Vogelmann predicted that declining morale and resultant resignations would be-

□ To Page 2

Police B10cw 31/12/91

come more prevalent among older, more experienced policemen with families.

Both the SAP and the Law and Order Ministry deny that the force's morale has suffered because of deaths.

"Members of the SAP will not allow themselves to be so easily deterred. Policemen are trained to remove these criminals from society," said SAP spokesman Col Reg Crewe.

SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said recently that police deaths occurred mainly in the fight against crime, but that some SAP members had been political targets.

Intensive training was under way to prepare police to defend themselves in every conceivable situation. Some units had been armed with R-5 automatic rifles which, Van der Merwe said, were equal to or better than the AK-47 Riot police and Flying Squad members — the most likely targets of assassins — had been equipped

with bullet-proof vests and jackets.

Crewe said all policemen had been warned to be vigilant and to take extra measures for their personal protection.

Some policemen might be encouraged to own personal firearms or to employ security firms to safeguard their families, but this was at the discretion of regional commanders who could determine the risk factor of a given area.

Vogelmann said the surge in the use of automatic weapons and the increased threat of attacks meant police had to be armed in a "very different way".

"Criminals are now armed with grenades and machine guns, substantially increasing the threat load on police, which in turn increases the potential for police to kill criminals. This can lead to more police fatalities and also result in more innocent people being killed — a vicious circle which eventually serves to undermine further the credibility of the police."

□ From Page 1

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed to all South Africans to put peace and democracy first.

In his New Year message, Mandela said for 1992 to be a truly happy and prosperous year, all the people of South Africa had to "spare no effort to make the Peace Accord work and to bring peace into our lives".

Azapo president Mr Pendelani Nefolovhodwe, in a grim message to *Sapa* yesterday, said the West was bent on destroying the mind of black South Africans, and added that the present process of political redevelopment in the country was lamentable.

The PAC also used the New Year to attack political developments in the country, repeating its belief that Codesa was a tragic plot to "frustrate the legitimate goals of the liberation struggle".

"In 1992 we shall maintain all forms of struggle until a democratically elected constituent assembly has been elected

Put peace first urges Mandela

Sowetan 31/12/91

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

and charged with the duty to create a new constitution for a free Azania," the PAC said in its presidential New Year message.

Slavery

From Harare, the self-exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said in its New Year message that it would launch a new "struggle" to liberate the people of South Africa from what he called economic slavery.

"As 1992 dawns, let us sharpen our wits and resolve to engage the racist regime in active struggle," Mr Mosibudi Mangena, the BCMA

chairman said.

Lebowa's Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike told *Sapa* that the National Party sought to secure power for itself through creating a regional dispensation.

In his New Year message, Ramodike said: "It is rather interesting that now that the National Party sees chances of losing power it now suddenly tries to demonstrate the need to devolve it to regional governments in a federal type of dispensation."

While Mandela's New Year Message was more hopeful than that of other political leaders, the ANC president encouraged guarded optimism only.

He said that after the

achievements of the past year there was certainly enough reason to rejoice, but that people should not pat themselves on the back yet.

"We need to take stock of the tasks and challenges that still lie ahead. Yet it is an index of the advances we have made that the opportunity to set South Africa firmly on the road to democracy is with us..."

Bloodshed

"As 1991 draws to a close, there remains the painful, fruitless and tragic bloodshed that has been the source of so much grief in Natal and other parts of the country.

"There is little merit today in attempting to determine who fired the first shot. But it is

abundantly clear that no-one other than those who wish to preserve the apartheid order - benefits from the continuation of this bloodletting...

"I appeal to all the leaders of our people ... to spare no effort to make the Peace Accord work and bring peace to our lives.

"For the sake of our children, for the future of our country, and to ensure that the democratic order so many have sacrificed so much to achieve is not stillborn, the killing must stop now. Not another life should be lost in this futile violence," Mandela said.

He also paid tribute to the more than 400 political prisoners who were still in jail across the country.

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1992 will be better, say whites in poll

8/Day 31/12/91

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NINA SHAND

DESPITE continuing violence, poor economic conditions and mass re-trenchments, white South Africans are more optimistic than blacks that 1992 will be better than 1991, a recent Markinor survey has found.

The Gallup Poll, conducted in October as part of an international year-end poll, found that while 40% of whites believe things will get better in 1992, only 33% of blacks have the same opinion.

Last year, this situation was reversed, with 47% of blacks confident that 1991 would be better than 1990, compared with 34% of whites.

Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson said it was directly attributable to violence and poor economic conditions.

Markinor says that from 1982 to 1985, optimism among South Africans decreased as a result of the state of emergency during this time, and picked up with the outcome of the 1987 general election.

The escalation of township violence in 1988 and 1989 led to an overall drop in optimism, although towards the end of 1989 blacks showed more confidence in the future than whites. This trend continued in 1990 after President F W de Klerk began his reforms and optimism levels among whites dropped dramatically.

The poll, conducted among 2 300 urban adults (1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks), found the higher income group to be more optimistic than the lower income group.

Some 45% of whites earning more than R6 000 a month feel 1992 will be better than 1991, while among those earning less than R2 500, only 36% share this view.

Among blacks, this difference is more pronounced, with 42% of those earning above R1 500 and 28% of those earning less than R400 having the same opinion.

"The importance of earning power confirms the importance of economic factors

in forming people's attitudes to the future," Scott-Wilson says.

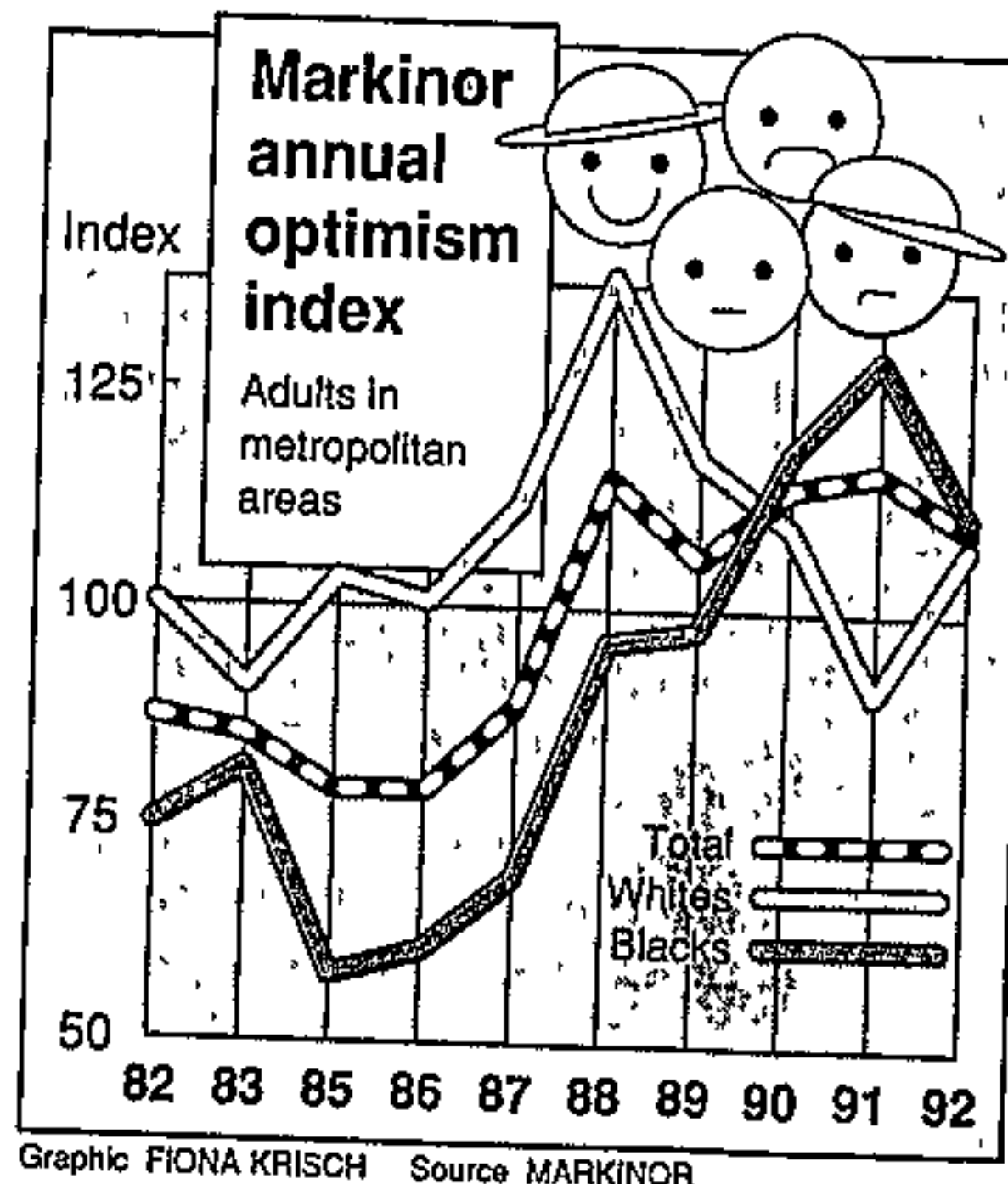
The poll found whites living in Bloemfontein (50%) and in Port Elizabeth/East London (49%) and blacks in Pretoria and Durban (39%) to be the most optimistic about the future.

With regard to strikes, 45% of whites and 30% of blacks, compared with 53% and 21% last year respectively, said they would increase.

English-speaking white South Africans are positive that 1992 will be a peaceful year, with only 26% believing it will be a troubled year with much international upheaval, compared to 43% of Afrikaans speakers believing this.

"Perceptions seem to be easing slightly despite disturbances throughout Eastern Europe," Scott-Wilson says.

Among black South Africans, 28% believe 1992 will be a troubled year and 30% believe it will be peaceful.



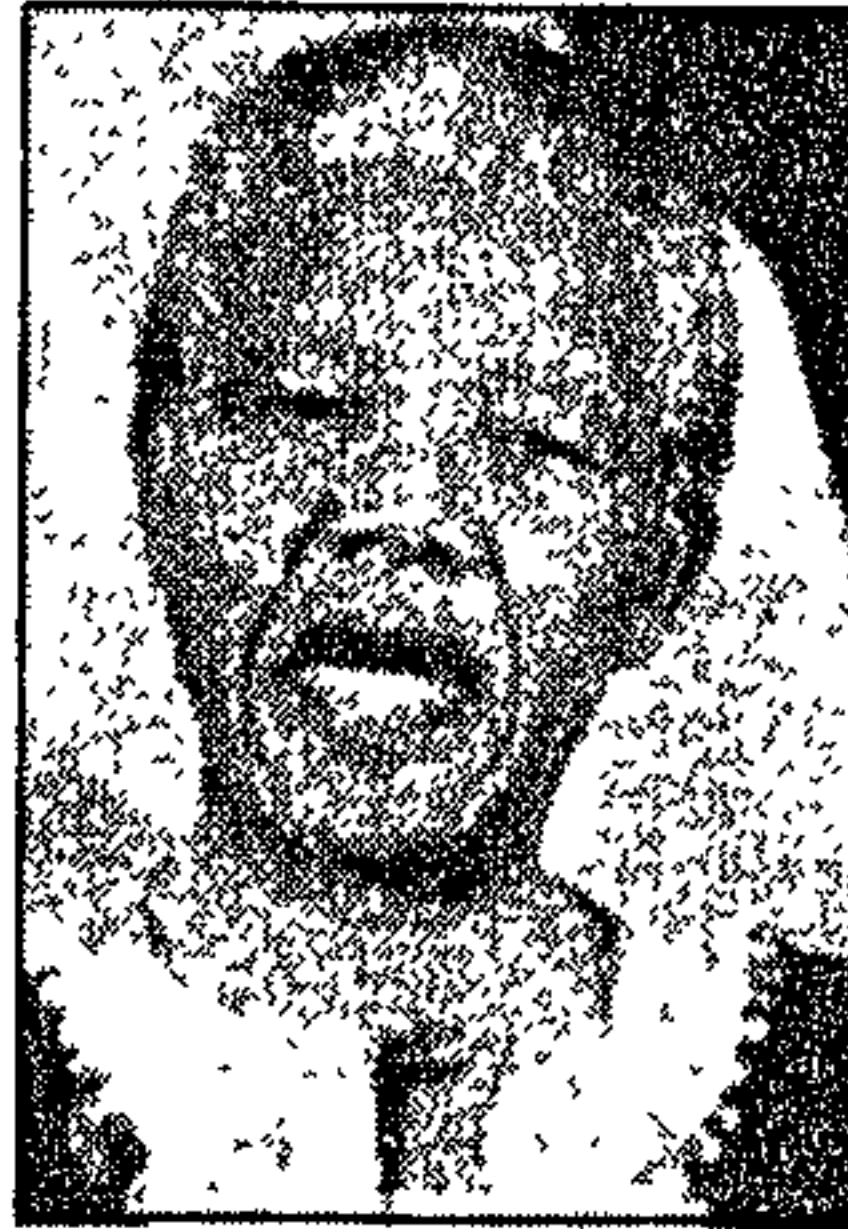
Mandela pleads for peace and reconciliation in 1992

By Kalzer Nyatumba
Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday made a strong plea for reconciliation and peace in South Africa in 1992, and called on all leaders to "spare no effort to make the Peace Accord work and bring peace into our lives".

Delivering his New Year message at a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela said 1992 could usher in a new era of hope for all South Africans.

He said he was confident 1992 would see the establishment of an interim government of national unity, which had been made possible by the foundations laid at



Era of hope . . . Mandela speaks to the press yesterday.

the recent Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The attainment of a democratic constitution, he said,

was an ANC priority in 1992.

Mr Mandela called on all political, church, business and trade union leaders to ensure that the violence which racked South Africa this year was a thing of the past.

He said there was "little merit" in trying to determine who had fired the first shot in the bloodshed which afflicted Natal and other parts of the country, and that nobody could benefit "from the continuation of this bloodletting".

"For the sake of our children, for the future of our country, and to ensure that the democratic order so many have sacrificed so

● To Page 3

Mandela pleads for peace and reconciliation in 1992

From Page 1

much to achieve is not still-born, the killing must stop now.

"Not another life should be lost in this futile violence," Mr Mandela said.

He said that as 1991 drew to a close, many South Africans faced homelessness, hunger and poverty, and millions were denied fundamental human rights. The future, he said, would be "seriously flawed" if these issues were not addressed.

Mr Mandela said the establishment of a democratic constitution would allow for the lifting of all remaining sanctions, including financial sanctions, and enable South Africa to take its place "with pride in the international community".

The ANC leader said that while much had been achieved in 1991, including the release of

some political prisoners, well over 400 political prisoners — including Robert McBride, Mthetheli Mncube and Mzondeleli Nondula — were yet to be freed.

He said Codesa, which came after 80 years "of costly struggles" by the majority of South Africans who had been excluded from the National Convention of 1909, represented "a promising window of opportunity for all South Africans to map out the future of our country together".

Mr Mandela also denied that the Patriotic Front was in trouble as a result of strained relations between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, and rejected a racial referendum to test whites' opinions of the constitution, saying the ANC would prefer a nonracial referendum.

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1992

JANUARY - MARCH

Hunt for unsung community heroines

The search is on yet again for the humanitarian deserving this year's Glodina/Procure Award for Service to the Infant Community.

The award, presented annually and for the third time this year by the two companies, recognises the people who work with abandoned, undernourished and other needy infants of South Africa.

Organisers of the award are calling for nominations from the public for the individual most deserving of recognition of this type.

By PEARL MAJOLA

"Thousands of infants are left homeless, abandoned or disabled," the organisers said in a statement.

"Many others suffer from malnourishment and related diseases. Our infant mortality is a tragedy.

"While there are many agencies and institutions giving support, there are never enough of them.

"The enormity of the

Caring for our abandoned infants...

problem, the vast numbers involved, make it impossible for all areas of need and help to be included.

"These are the areas in which our winners sometimes have been found. Hidden away, dedicating their lives, often under great difficulty and stress, usually with little or no assistance and always without material resources that the more fortunate take for granted.

"Glodina and Procure think these unsung heroes and heroines, deserve more. Someone who says 'well-done' and gives help along the way."

The two winners of the award last year were Mrs Cynthia Mngadi of Inanda and Mrs Ester Alm of Bulwer, both in Natal.

According to the organisers, nominees must be actively involved in caring for underprivileged infants, but they need not be formally employed.

The degree of self-sacrifice and the conditions under which the nominee performs service, will form part of the criteria for judging.

Nominations, explaining your candidate's contribution to the care of infants, including a photog-

raph, a telephone number and or address where the nominee can be contacted, as well as your own address and phone number, should be sent to the Glodina/Procure Award for Service to the Infant Community, PO Box 47566, GREYVILLE, 4023.

The closing date for entries is January 31 1992 and the presentation will be on February 21. If you know anyone worthy of this award, nominate that person and give him or her recognition and help the charity the person works for, which will get R20 000.

WOMAN



Lindiwe Thusini plays the lead role as Babazile Magubane in the new CCV TV drama Hlala Kwa Bafileyo (Stay with the Dead) transmitting from today and every Thursday at 8pm.



Mrs Pat Hlatshwayo (left), a Swaziland business woman, was overjoyed when she finally found the cake she was looking for her son's wedding last weekend.

The cake, in a boat shape, made by Marina Altini, of Altini's Bakery and Confectionery in Parkmore, Sandton.

The cake weighs 35kg, can feed 350 people and cost R2 000.



Crackdown on smokers in hospitals causes rumpus

NEW YORK - Giving up cigarettes is tough for the weak of will, and virtually impossible for the emotional wreck.

But 5 000 US hospitals, including 560 psychiatric institutions, were ordered by the nation's major health-care accrediting body to begin imposing smoking bans from yesterday.

The Joint Commission on the Accreditation of Healthcare Organisations has not ruled the ban must start on January 1 - institutions must only restrict smoking to designated areas, and have a plan in place to ban all smoking in two years.

If they don't, said com-

mission spokesman Stephen Davidow, "It could adversely affect their accreditation" -

which means their reimbursements from Medicare and other insurance could be affected, along with their state licensing, bond ratings and their ability to attract staff.

Still, some hospitals are balking.

Pennsylvania's Department of Public Welfare has said it will not ban smoking at its 13 accredited state psychiatric hospitals. It's unfair to patients who are involuntarily hospitalised or face long stays, officials say.

And if this puts their accreditation at risk? "We

will take a wait-and-see attitude," said spokeswoman Vicki Smink.

While no one disputes the physical health benefits of snuffing out cigarettes, doctors who run drug-treatment programmes and psychiatric units worry about the impact going smoke-free will have on their patients' mental health.

"You certainly could say one has to be concerned about whether this is a good thing to do with psychiatric patients," said Dr Alexander Glassman, a Columbia University psychiatrist whose research has shown the connection between smoking and depression.

Psychiatric patients smoke more and quit less.

Studies have shown that people with a history of depression are more than 50 percent less likely to succeed in quitting and are far more likely to become depressed when they do quit.

Unlike irritability, depression is an exceedingly rare symptom of tobacco withdrawal; in the general population, only 10 percent to 15 percent of people experience depression when they quit smoking.

But Glassman found that among people with a history of depression, 80 percent became depressed when they tried to give up cigarettes.

And unlike irritability, depression may linger long after withdrawal.



"Nobody stays a more irritable person because they quit smoking," Glassman said. "That isn't so clear with depression. Most people get through it. But some do not."

How many? Nobody knows.

"We don't have a lot of research on tobacco withdrawal in psychiatric patients, partly because not a lot of psychiatric patients quit," said Dr John Hughes, a psychiatrist at University of Vermont in Burlington who studies nicotine and caffeine dependency.

Fifty percent of psychiatric patients smoke, studies show, compared with 30 percent of the general population, Hughes said.

Some 80 percent of schizophrenics and manic-depressive patients smoke, and schizophrenics inhale two to three times more nicotine than normal smokers do, he said, although the reason is unclear.

Recent studies at seven Nashua, New Hampshire - area hospitals of teen-

agers showed smoking among almost 100 percent of those admitted for drug or alcohol treatment and 70 percent of psychiatric patients.

That compares with only 17 percent of adolescents in the community at large, said Dr John Docherty, medical director for 80 psychiatric hospitals nationwide.

At Nashua's Brookside Hospital, where Docherty is based, a complete smoking ban has been successfully instituted for adolescents, who are more psychologically resilient, but not for adults.

"One of the problems that showed up is when you stop the nicotine, a large number had a severe worsening of psychiatric symptoms, specifically anxiety and depression," Docherty said.

His research indicates that by triggering various chemical changes in the brain and nervous system, nicotine might both cause depression and alleviate it.

"We do know that nicotine does all this, but now we have to demonstrate this effect," he said. "It's a very reasonable hypothesis."

Nicotine replacement systems, such as a skin patch that delivers controlled levels of nicotine into the blood, will now make it possible to wean psychiatric and chemical-dependent patients from cigarettes without worsening their other problems, he said - Sapa-AP

FANTASTIC OFFER

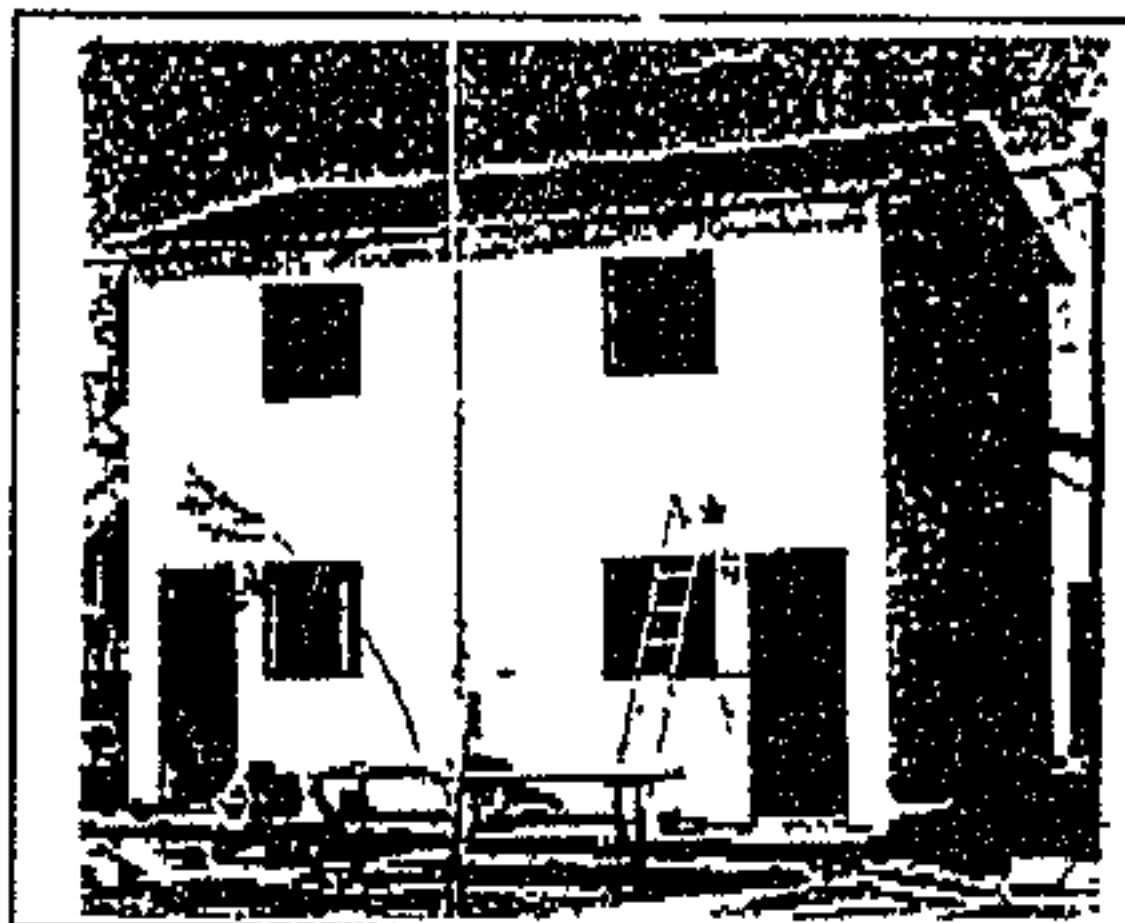
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S3418

CRYING OUT FOR PEACE

Sowetan 2/1/92

(274)



VICTORIA MABONA

PEACE and goodwill was the overriding theme of most of the New Year messages Sowetan obtained in a snap survey.

Most messages and wishes by political and church leaders were political sloganeering and bantering, with the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela, and the Transkeian leader, Major Bantu Holomisa, delivering the most positive messages.

The PAC's military wing, Apla, was defiant, and the Boerestaat Party was glum.

Among ordinary people there was a lot more optimism and hope for the New Year. Everyone agreed that the violence that plagued black communities in 1991 has to end.

Ms Victoria Mabona (18) from Meadowlands, Soweto, said: "I wish for everybody to live in peace and harmony in 1992. People should love one another and be united in what they do."

Mr Andrew Karedi and his friend, Mr John Maleka, said in unison that they wished for peace.

"There's been a too much fighting in our country in recent years, it is time for peace," said Maleka. "I wish for success for myself and my family."

"Other than wishing for peace this year, I want to work hard so that I can afford to give my children and my family a good life in 1992," was 32-year-old Karedi's other wish.

"I wish to get a job and I wish my family and friends success this year," said 25-year-old Mr Siphwe Mabena.

An elderly woman who would not identify herself also expressed a wish for peace and good health.

"I also hope that my health will be better this year and I wish my family, especially my grandchildren, luck in whatever they do," she said.

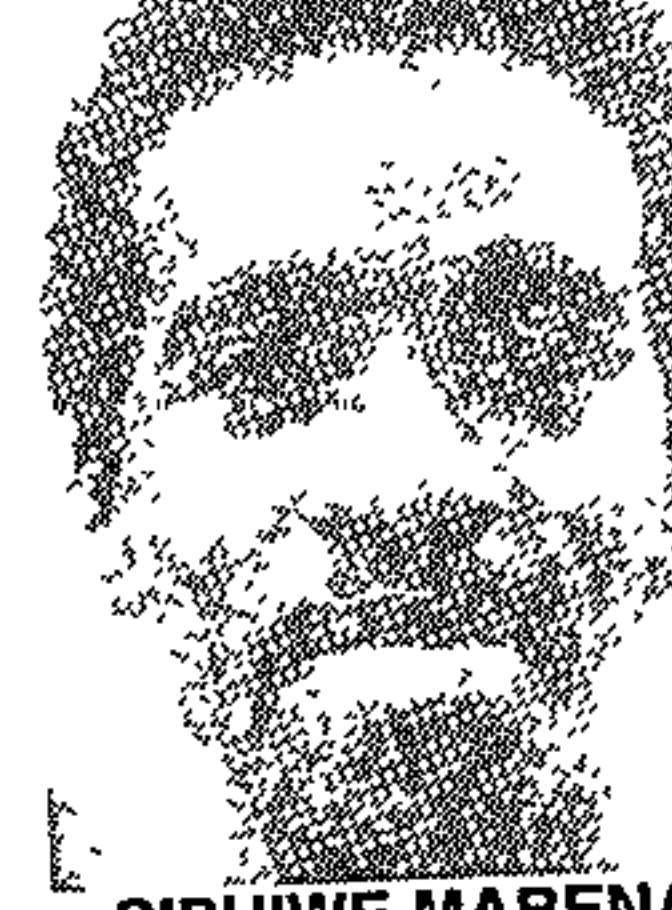
Twenty-three-year-old



ANDREW KAREDI



JOHN MALEKA



SIPHIWE MABENA

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, PEARL MAJOLA, DANIEL MAINE, MOLEFI MIKA and VICTOR METSOAMERE

Ms Phila Zwane from Meadowlands wished for a brighter future. "I will use every opportunity I will get to ensure a bright future for myself," she said.

Mr Denzel Boyles from Ennerdale had a different wish. "I wish for South Africa to take part in all the Olympic Games in July," he enthused.

"I also wish my family and fellow-South Africans peace and harmony."

Mrs Esther Buthelezi from Orlando West Extension, Soweto, also wants peace and good health in 1992.

"Regarding what has been happening in our communities throughout this year, the most important thing I wish for is peace," she said.

"But I also wish for life and health this year so that I can bring up my grandchildren. I also wish for them and the children of this nation to learn this year and secure their future."

Opportunity

The ANC's Mandela said there was a great possibility that 1992 could become the year that South Africa would become a democracy.

Mandela said Codesa, which came into being after 80 years of "costly struggle" by the majority of South Africans who had been excluded from the National Convention of 1909, represented "a promising window of opportunity for all South Africans to map out the future of our country together".

The Transkei's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, hoped 1992 would deliver the lofty ideas expressed by Codesa, and that Codesa itself should be a success.

"Should it fail, there might be a problem for the entire southern African region."

"We should count ourselves fortunate that the

ANC and PAC are on talking terms and want to negotiate," Holomisa said.

Holomisa added that he hoped that Government would place a blanket ban on all cultural weapons.

Lebowa's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, warned that Government was not ready to hand over power, and that it in fact sought to dissolve power bases to regional authorities so as to retain power.

"It is rather interesting that, now that the NP sees itself losing power, it suddenly tries to demonstrate the need for regional governments and a federal type of dispensation," Ramodike said.

The president of the Azanian Student Convention, Mr Siphwe Maseko, confined himself to his constituency, wishing it a prosperous and happy 1992.

Maseko said: "The past year was that of rehearsed theatrics in the form of acted-out violence, political posturism and adventurism, and various mediocre documents about education by the Government aimed at arresting and blackmailing black student and their legitimate struggle."

"We believe as we enter the new year there must be a renewed commitment to democratise and transform education institutions and the entire country."

The PAC submitted all its policies and ideals for a new democratic South Africa and attacked "the regime".

In a New Year message, the second deputy president of the PAC, Mr Dikgang Mosenke, said peace would return to South Africa only after "genuine democracy" had been established.

The Government and Codesa, he said, did not hold any promise of delivering the PAC's ideal state.

He called on the youth to continue in pursuit of their education "to ensure that our struggle for liberation is coupled with acquisition of skills to support our goals of liberation".

"Throughout 1991 the oppressed people have been under siege of violence, created principally by agents of the regime."

"We call for political tolerance and peace."

"The liberation movement must also be prepared to defend our people against the scourge of violence whilst increasing its own capacity to fight the regime on all fronts," Mosenke said.

The PAC's military wing, Apla, said it planned to set up a "private army" within the country which it hoped would continue "the struggle".

Elite

"Since private armies are not illegal, we will watch the regime closely and, if it continues to be the sponsor of violence amongst the oppressed, we will recommend to the PAC leadership the formation of an elite specialised training camp inside the country," Apla's secretary for defence Mr Sabelo Phaama told Sapa from Dar es Salaam.

Azapo warned black South Africans about "the West's" plans to brainwash this country's black people.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovodhwe, said Western powers were bent on manipulating world events with programmes such as black economic empowerment.

"Millions and millions of rands are being pumped into our country through various organisations in the name of development and black economic empowerment," he said.

Citing what he called "the destruction of the

economies and weakening of governments" in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, Nefolovodhwe warned that South Africa was next on the list of the West.

He called the present political process, and pointing at Codesa, lamentable.

The Conservative Party's Dr Andries Treurnicht obliquely supported the notion of multiparty democracy with a message which centres on "co-operative self-determination within a framework of a commonwealth of nations".

"Without self-determination there can be no freedom. Without freedom there can be no peace and without peace there can be no security but only clashes, bloodletting and manslaughter."

"Peace, freedom and security are guaranteed by co-operative self-determination, not forcing together of heterogeneous people in the same political, social and educational structures in a unitary state," Treurnicht said.

He said negotiations between leaders should concentrate on a completely different goal and point of departure.

The Boerestaat Party's Mr Robert van Tonder said that never before had a new year held such dismal prospects for the Boer nation. This year, 1992, would see the death of all white political parties, Van Tonder said in his New Year message.

According to Van Tonder's calculations, the total rightwing group in the country would be able to gain no more than three percent of the parliamentary seats in the next South Africa.

The presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, was profoundly encouraging of political achievements during 1991.

He cited in particular the signing of the Peace Accord of September 14, the formation of the

Patriotic Front on October 26, and Codesa.

"Such political maturity will ensure that a new constitutional dispensation, based on norms and values acceptable to Christians will be acceptable by all South Africans far faster than one could have anticipated, perhaps even by the end of 1992," Mogoba said.

The country's musicians were a lot more adventurous and a lot less lyrical.

Danny Malewa and Izzyboy Masedi hope for a "prosperous and peaceful 1992".

Said Malewa: "Blacks should strive to achieve even their wildest dreams and for once there should be peace in the new year."

Harmony

Masedi, husband of singer Vinolia Mashigo, popularly known as V Mash, said: "In the new year I hope we will not walk the streets afraid of strangers."

"Life last year was uncertain. Things should be different this time around. We should all open our hearts, dream and work for harmony," he said.

Meanwhile, artist, theatre director, playwright and actor Matsemela Manaka said he hoped that the role of artists in the society would be intensified.

"I hope for the reinforcements of the role of the arts for community development and social reconstruction. We should look at turning theory into practice to make functional theatre a success in 1992," he said.

He will also be taking up a resident directorship in theatre at the University of Durban-Westville.

Executive director of the Kallahong Art Centre on the East Rand Mr Napo Mokoena said he hoped that the process towards a better socio-political scenario in South Africa should be supported by all.

"Unqualified support

should also be given to budding artists in their endeavours to create works that portray a new climate of beauty and a spirit of understanding in the black community," said Mokoena.

Mr Peter Zwane, chairman of the Soweto Athletics Unity Association, said "I hope 1992 will be an eventful year for athletics and athletes. I hope we will come as one and having our priorities right as athletes in the townships. We should have as many races as we can in order to unearth and develop talent."

Adam Fortuin, president of the Tennis Association of South Africa, said "I would only hope that all nonracial sportspeople will find the true homes during the coming year."

"Homes that shall not forsake the principle of nonracialism."

Nate "Vader" Pila, captain of Mahewlereng Spikes in Potgietersrus, the Great North and SA Softball Federation champions, said:

"I wish the softball unity process a success because we would like to prove a point once more in the expected new South Africa."

Mr Alex "Gold Finger" Shakoane, PRO of Mamelodi Sundowns, said: "We at Sundowns will still say the sky is the limit in 1992 because we are planning to play top class soccer once more."

"We would therefore urge NPSL and NSL officials to speed up unity in the professional ranks."

"As for officials and some clubs we ask them to stop their selfishness for the sake of soccer which is the No 1 sport for the underprivileged."

Former Sowetan Woman of the Year Mrs Ruth Machobane's wish for 1992 is for the politics of South Africa to reach a "meaningful conclusion that will provide a solution satisfactory to everyone in the country."



BANTU HOLOMISA



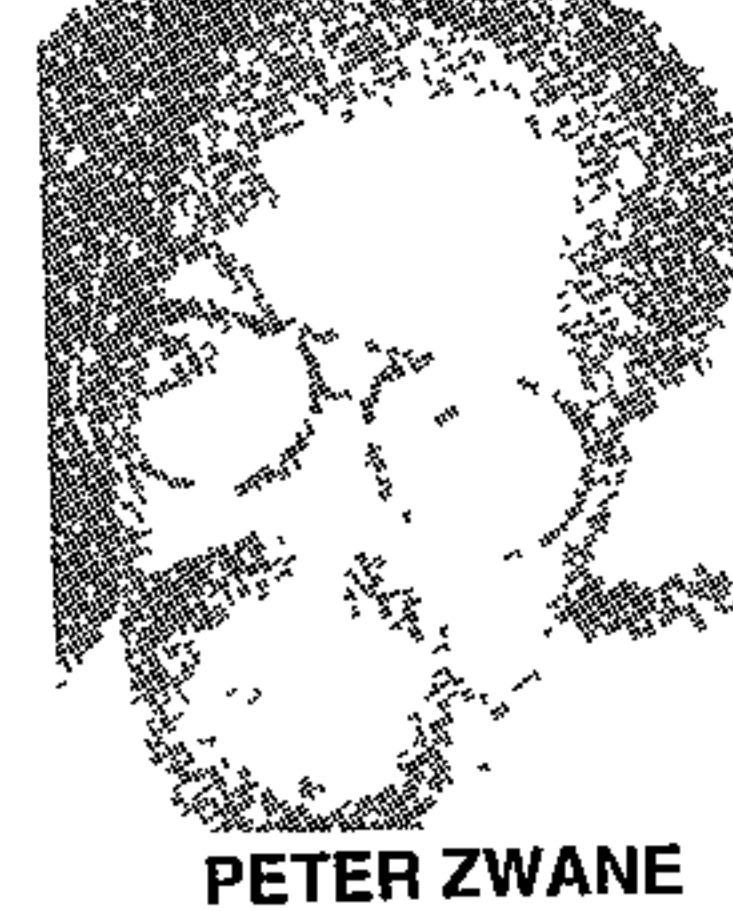
DANNY MALEWA



MATSEMELA MANAKA



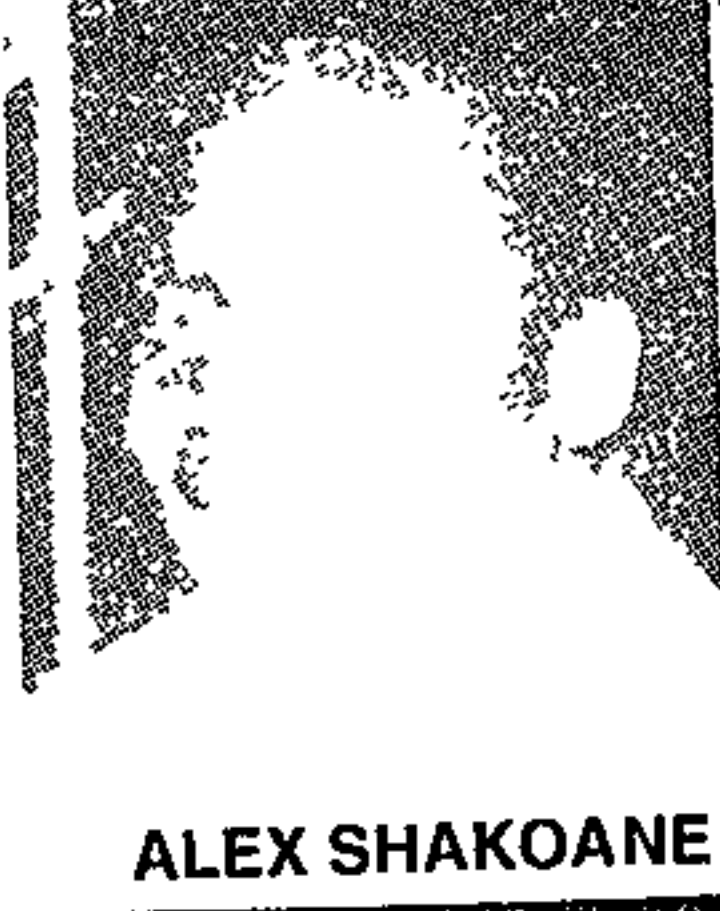
NAPO MOKOENA



PETER ZWANE



ADAM FORTUIN



ALEX SHAKOANE

POLITICS

Private armies: Big 1992 issue

JOE LATAKGOMO, in Johannesburg, predicts private armies will top the negotiations agenda this year.

THE existence of a highly trained secret Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging squad, called "Ystergarde", will certainly create new tensions between the government and the black liberation movements.

Coming, as it did, as controversy rages over the refusal by the Pan Africanist Congress to distance itself from the attacks on policemen by the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the refusal by the ANC to disband its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, this issue will be catapulted to the top of the political agenda in the new year.

Last week, there were reports that the government would withhold its signature from Codesa agreements unless the ANC disbanded MK. This followed the grandstand performance by both President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela on the first day of Codesa. Mr de Klerk insisted that the ANC had not kept to the letter and spirit of previous agreements in the form of the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes, and accused the ANC of lack of good faith.

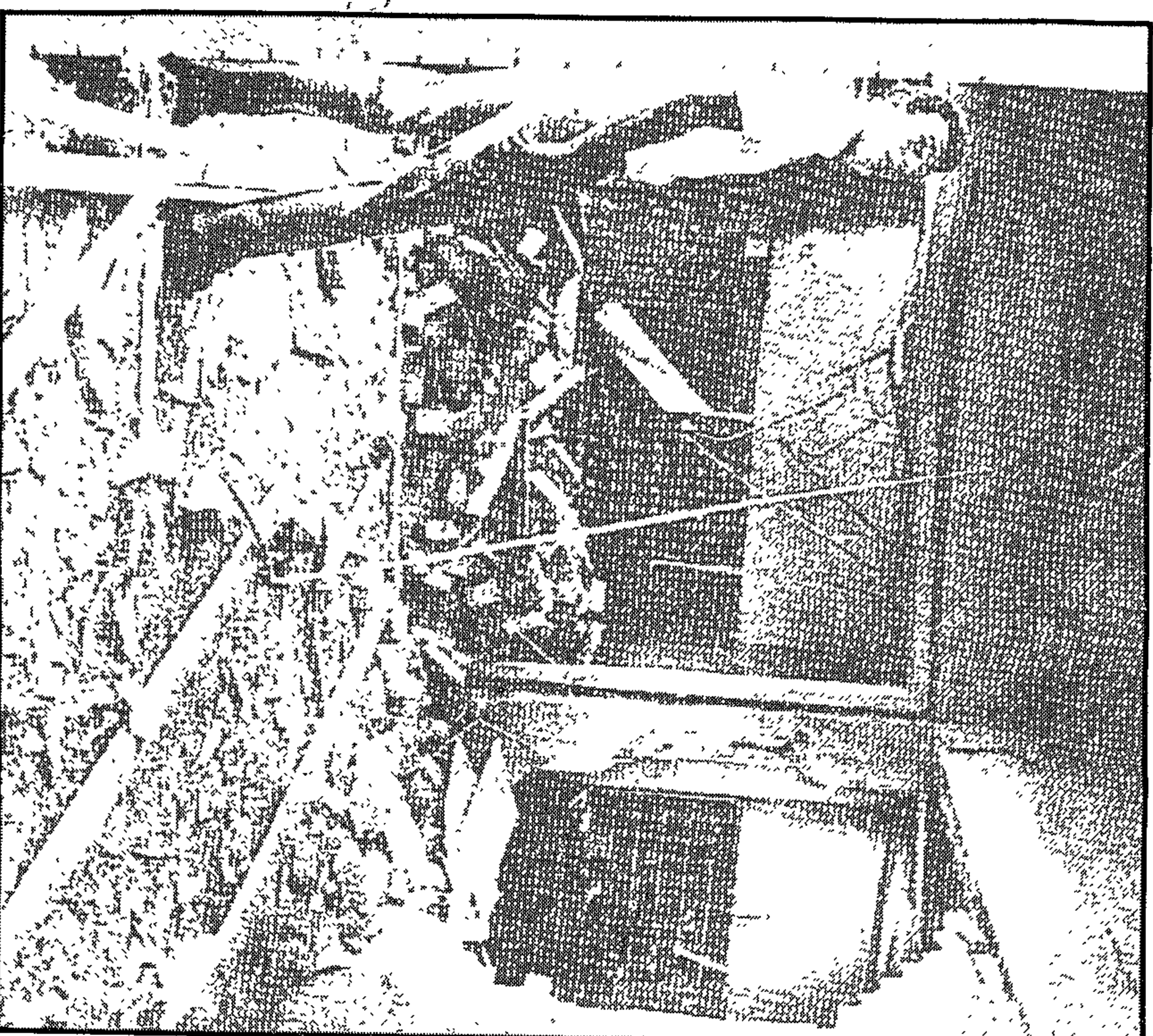
Mr Mandela's response was that Mr de Klerk had sunk to such a moral low, even for "the leader of an illegitimate government". Many observers saw this clash as grandstanding, as both had the opportunity to discuss these, and any other related issues, in any

one of their many meetings. The clash did not do the political stakes of the two any good at all, and the superficial gains that were made were soon lost when the two virtually were shaking hands and walking the political road together.

However, the ANC has always expressed concern over the existence of right-wing paramilitary units on the one hand, and the need for "defence units" of its own against attacks perceived to be from Inkatha. At the same time, it is also a way of reassuring their own supporters that they are not simply throwing in the towel, but would keep MK in reserve until "full and final victory" is achieved. The government views this in a different light. They see the continued existence of MK as a standby unit which would return to the bush if the result of any process does not suit the aims and objects of the ANC.

These fears have often been confirmed by speeches from MK leaders like Chief of Staff, Chris Hani, who often speaks of MK's stockpiles of weapons being a necessary part of its negotiating tactic. The issue of MK has been compounded by the spate of attacks against policemen by the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress. The PAC has refused to distance itself from those attacks, and stated in the past that decisions on the operations of Apla were taken from outside of the country and independent of any political activity on the part of the PAC internally.

This position has been heavily criticised, and the PAC has been accused of trying to play one game with two shots. The police have also said that while the activ-



A BOMB devastated the Krugersdorp Post Office over the New Year. No-one has so far claimed responsibility, although police say they suspect "right wing" involvement.

ity of Apla might pose a threat to the negotiations and peace process, they did not

believe that militarily Apla posed a threat at all. But the PAC argument for

the actions of its military wing are precisely the same as that of the ANC for the

New tensions over AWP 'secret squad'

continued existence of MK. The PAC has refused to give up the armed struggle as an option, and clearly the launch of these attacks were designed to show that it has some military capability.

The spectre of a full-scale civil war has been raised further by the existence of the "Ystergarde". That it is possible for such a unit to be trained in camps within the country will be a major issue for debate, either when Codesa reconvenes, or when the Patriotic Front — in whatever form — meets within the next six months. The very thin legal line that allows such training camps will be studied, and the issue of whether the government — any government — will be able to contain such units in the future looked at.

Can the PAC criticise the existence of such a unit, while maintaining its own army within the country, and committing itself to the armed struggle? Can the ANC legitimately claim that MK is not a "private army" as defined in the National Peace Accord, and before that, the Groote Schuur and DF Malan minutes? Can Inkatha claim not to have a "private army", in spite of the revelations of alleged training of members of

such a unit by the security forces?

The government clearly desires that the issue of MK be resolved — certainly before Codesa reconvenes, which means that one of the Codesa committees will have to look at the issue of private armies all over again. One of the major concerns for black political organisations is that some of the members of the "Ystergarde" are allegedly former members of the South African Defence Force. The question that most ask is what the level of support is for the rightwing within the security forces.

Political analysts have put the figure as high as 50 per cent, and this must be a figure that worries the government. It must also worry the ANC, which may, if it goes along with the National Party's plan for a 10 year transitional authority, have to co-manage control of these forces while at the same time having to deal with liberation movements like the PAC and its military wing in terms of the existing constitution. That is the kind of trap that Mr Mandela was referring to.

Short of legislation which forbids the existence of such private armies, there seems to be very little that the government can do. As one policeman said this week, there is nothing illegal in a group firing shots on a farm, or practicing baton charges. However, the main problem is that if they act against the "Ystergarde", then they would also have to act against all other "private armies", which means the ANC's MK and Inkatha, an act which will certainly derail the negotiating process. One thing, however, is that the government cannot let this process gain momentum.

ANC, Inkatha leaders to discuss peace

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are due to meet early this year in an attempt to normalise relations between their organisations. (274) (112) (112)

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos and ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday confirmed that the third high-profile meeting between the two leaders since Mandela's release from prison would be held.

Although no date has been set and no agenda agreed on, the meeting is largely intended to defuse tensions between the organisations at grassroots level. Both are

PATRICK BULGER

signatories to the peace accord and both are taking part in Codesa, but violence between their supporters continues.

Vos said Inkatha felt it was important that a high-profile meeting take place to demonstrate to supporters that both movements were seriously interested in peace.

The meeting is being arranged by Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and the ANC's Jacob Zuma, who has played a leading role in previous attempts to broker peace between Inkatha and the ANC.

S/Dug 3/1/92

THE Weekly Mail has acquired extensive details, including documentary proof, of the South African Defence Force's involvement in promoting organisations that have been implicated in township violence.

The newspaper has tracked down a senior official from a Military Intelligence front operation who has told of the vast SADF network that is involved in this activity across the country.

Dr Ben Conradie has documents that show how the SADF used front companies to create, train, support, assist and advise organisations that they believed would foster "black-on-black" conflict to undermine the African National Congress. These included Anna-Afrika National Front in Port Elizabeth and two groups in Somerset East and Cooxhouse, the "Memesis" and the "Kekanas".

The documents prove that the front companies — most of which pretended to be educational organisations — have been funded by the SADF using secret state money. This contradicts the state president's claim that there was no further funding of political organisations other than the funding he had admitted to.

HOW

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According to Conradie, the SADF front companies operate on the belief that they could promote conflict between black resistance organisations, "they will destroy each other".

"We were meant to be an educational company, doing such things as leadership skills training. But many of the people they brought to us were only interested in military training so that they could go on and kill ANC people," he said.

The SADF created a network of companies under the umbrella of Adult Education Consultants (AEC) in Pretoria run by Dr Louis Pasquas. Conradie, who ran a front company called Eduguide, was one of six regional directors. The others, all doing similar work through front companies, were in the Western Cape, Northern Cape, the Northern Transvaal, the Witwatersrand and Natal. Most of these companies are still active.



Asked to comment, Major CF de Klerk of the SADF Directorate of Public Relations said the "SADF was not prepared to comment in any way on allegations and speculation about covert actions". He pointed out that the state president had made a "full statement" about covert projects in July this year and the SADF had also submitted details of all its covert projects to the special committee set up by the president to deal with the matter.

Conradie did extensive work for the SADF's Eastern Cape Command. His evidence corroborates Weekly Mail reports of SADF front companies giving support and training to Inkatha members. It involves the same organisations and the same methods. Inkatha has not denied its relationship with MI.

He has lectured Sasol and Armscor management, giving essentially the same message about the "total onslaught" on South Africa.

Conradie was involved in many training seminars and camps for a wide variety of organisations, including a Department of Education and Training soccer training camp for teachers, at which AEC's Van der Westhuizen gave political and ideological lectures.

MI saw the Eastern Cape as a key area that would decide the fate of the "revolution" throughout the country. In the words of one Project Henry report, "If we win the Eastern Cape, we will win. If we lose the Eastern Cape, we will lose."

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Army's vigilante links

From PAGE 3

Dirty tricks network still flourishes countrywide

By ANTON HARBER

THE extensive network of front organisations set up by the South African Defence Force to carry out its dirty tricks operations in townships during the State of Emergency in the mid-1980s is still in existence.

The SADF has used private companies or close corporations for this work, all of them registered in the names of private individuals in order to hide the link with the military. This may also help them elude the scrutiny of the special committee set up by President FW de Klerk to look at secret government spending.

This use of private companies mirrors the approach of the SADF's Civil Co-Operation Bureau.

However, *The Weekly Mail* has gradually pieced together an elaborate picture of the large, country-wide network and its modus operandi. Most of these organisations are still in place, with the same individuals — all of whom have extensive military connections — running them.

Some of them, faced with funding cutbacks, are going international — offering an extraordinary range of services to the heads of states of neighbouring countries, including management training, adventure courses and the building of schools.

At the centre of the picture is Dr Louis Pasques, an educationist who was awarded the Star of Africa in 1987 for "services to state security" and who appears to have risen to a position of enormous power under the rule of President PW Botha. He was seconded to Botha's office in the presidency in 1985.

In 1986, Pasques quietly set up Adult Education Consultants (AEC) which became a major conduit for millions of rands of secret state funding. It was in fact a front for the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence and was to spawn a host of other front organisations across the country.

The close corporations dotted around the country were started up at the end of 1986 or early 1987 when regional managers of AEC were advised to start their own companies "so that no-one can link you to AEC because we are being funded by certain sponsors", according to Dr Ben Conradie, one of the regional managers.

Thus Kallie de Bruyn set up Go High CC in Cape Town, Jos Shadina set up Joset in Kimberley, Nic Haarhoff set up Betapers in Louis Trichardt, Dr J Eloff set up Good News Marketing Service in Pretoria, Dr JL van der Westhuizen set up Laborel in Johannesburg, Guy Boardman set up Creed Consultants in Natal and Conradie set up Eduguide in Port Elizabeth.

Most of these consultancies have done some legitimate work to hide the covert work for the SADF. Their modus operandi was to invoice and charge for this work, but not charge "friends" of the SADF whom they were instructed to assist.

The organisations run by Pasques fall into two types: Christian organisations, that hide their political motivation behind allegedly charitable and religious work; and consultancies that use the facade of seminars, lectures and training work to give assistance of all kinds to a range of organisations.

In both cases, the basic motivation is the same: to oppose the African National Congress and other left-wing bodies by promoting so-called "moderate groups", sometimes no more than violent groups of thugs and vigilantes. The specific strategy was to take advantage of the gap left by the organisations that had been crippled by the State of Emergency to promote organisations more acceptable to the state.

Confessions of a former intelligence front-man

DR BEN CONRADIE spoke to *The Weekly Mail* about his military intelligence work, "because they have put me in a very difficult position".

Conradie feels he was deceived when he was hired. "I am not a soldier. I am an academic," he said.

"I am an educationalist who wants to offer what knowledge and skills I have to make the people of South Africa properly informed about the process of change and the building of a new South Africa. I also want to contribute, through my educational work, to better labour relations," he said.

He tells of his distaste when he tried to offer the people he was instructed to deal with in the Eastern Cape educational services and training, when all the majority of them wanted was weapons and military training.

"I also was not a disciple of the total onslaught theory. I wanted to educate people, but this was not their intention. They just wanted to destroy their enemies, and they wanted me to help identify them and destroy them," he said.

Conradie feels that the South African Defence Force has ruined his career. "I am 55 years old and I cannot get a new job because I can't explain why they (Adult Education, the SADF front that employed him) fired me. Firstly, they never told me why they fired me. Secondly, they told me that the information about what I was doing was confidential for security reasons. So I cannot explain to anyone."

"I have tried, believe me. I have sent off 37 job applications and every single one wants to know how my company was funded and why I was fired. It is very hard."

"They (the SADF) also owe me a substantial amount of money. According to the auditors it is R296 000."

Conradie has corresponded on this matter with President FW de Klerk, National Intelligence Service head Neil Barnard, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, and Lt Gen R Badenhorst, the former head of Military Intelligence.

Conradie decided to answer questions about his work after a long wrangle with the SADF that goes back to March 1988. "For three and a half years, I have gone through this process to try and reach agreement with them. But it was impossible."

Conradie is an educationalist and an agriculturalist, with a PhD on the philosophy of education from Vista University. He is a former principal of the Harry Oppenheimer Agricultural High School in Lebowa and was a senior lecturer in education at Vista University in Port Elizabeth when he was recruited by Dr Louis Pasques, who ran the SADF front network.

Their approach was to seek out community leaders who were prepared to work with them, often with the help of the local SADF commando chief. This person would then be offered assistance, training and other resources.

All these organisations had generous budgets — Eduguide alone drew well over R700 000 — and in many cases there appears to have been little financial control. Some of the salaries were extremely high and tens of thousands of rands in cash was sometimes carted around in boxes and handed over with little accounting, invoices or receipts.

There appears to have been an understanding that plenty of money was available. At one stage, when an official queried this, he was told: "Don't worry, Pasques is on the State Security Council and he can organise the funds."

However, at some point the lack of accounting became a problem for Pasques and control of the money was taken over by Topman Bestuurdiens Bpk in Pretoria.

The Christian organisations linked to Pasques fell under the South African Christian Cultural Organisation (Sacco) which spent as much as R12-

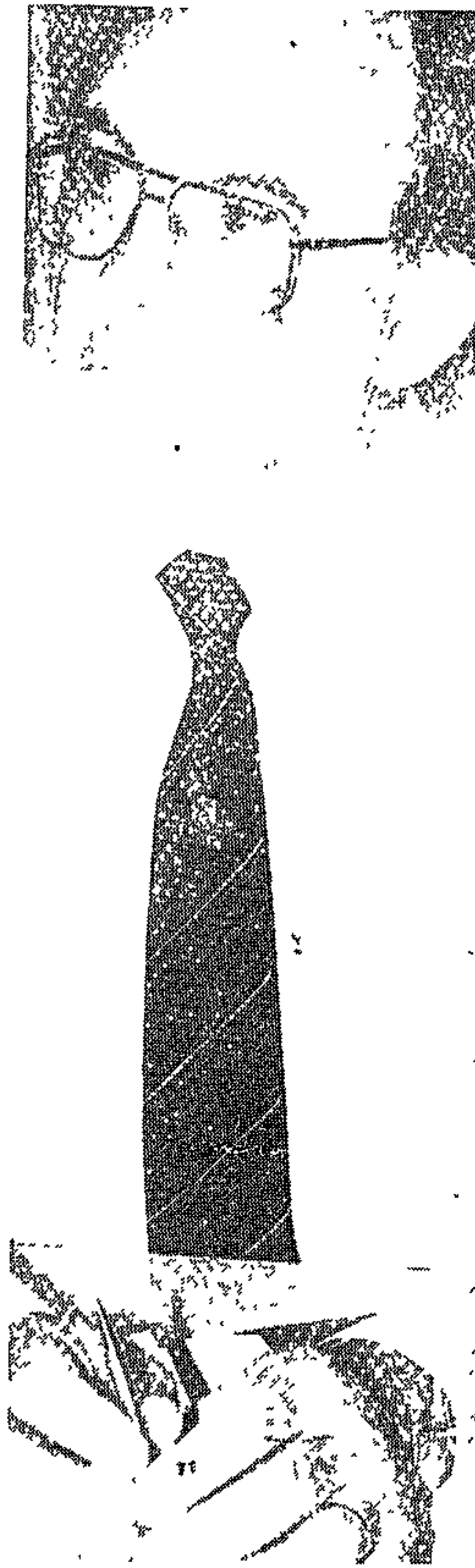
million in three years, largely spreading National Party propaganda in coloured communities and a few African communities around the country.

Sacco had 16 regional affiliates around the country which were receiving budgets of at least R24 000 a month.

A former Sacco official who left because he was disillusioned with the organisation's activities said that in the beginning the emphasis was on "the total onslaught on the country". Pedro Saal, former executive secretary of the Sacco-affiliated North-Western Cape Christian Cultural Organisation, said: "We were warned that the ANC and the United Democratic Front were out to destroy the country. There were also lectures on the dangers of communism."

Later, however, the emphasis switched to convincing people to support the NP and to vote for it "when the time came".

The lectures, seminars and workshops were provided by the other arm of Pasques' operation: the consultancies which, under the guise of education and training, provided "total onslaught" lectures. They were also funded by the SADF and in turn



Dr Ben Conradie

acted as a conduit for support and assistance to a number of other organisations, such as Inkatha and Ama-Afrika.

These consultancies included Dynamic Teaching in Port Elizabeth and East London, Topman Bestuurdiens Bpk; MMD Makelaars in Pretoria; and Spektrum Personeel Konsultante of Pretoria.

Pasques is also associated with two other organisations with dubious-sounding names: the South African Board of Trustees, which channelled the money to him, and the Central Co-ordinating Control Body which "provided some finance and hired some staff".

Some consultancies run secret training camps located in nature reserves. These are at Mkuze in kwaZulu, where 200 Inkatha members were given paramilitary training; at Rosendal near Ficksburg; at Louis Trichardt and at Stutterheim where training has been given to troops of Ciskei's military governor, Brigadier Oupa Gqoza.

The Mkuze camp was fitted out with SADF equipment.

The Pasques network co-operates closely with the SADF's Comops division. Pasques has admitted to doing "all the Comops work"; Conradie did the same for Comops in the Eastern Cape Command.

Before Namibia's independence, Pasques did extensive work there for Comops. His consultancy also ran a camp, called Diyundu, in the Caprivi Strip that was used for meetings of his affiliates and sister consultancies.

Another key player alongside Pasques is Dr JL van der Westhuizen, formerly his Eastern Cape representative, later his research manager and now running Soja-Enterprises in Johannesburg. Van der Westhuizen has a doctorate in political science.

Other members of AEC were Gert Grobler, formerly of the SADF, Jaap Koen, former SADF major, Drickus Botha and Hans Schulz.

Most of these consultancies, their camps and their personnel are still operating. Pasques is now running two other operations, which appear to be an attempt to market his skills through the sub-continent: Pasques Development Enterprises (PDE) and Inter Africa Commodities (Pty) Ltd (IAC). PDE offers "a large number of experts in many fields who are able to offer development programmes countrywide". According to a letter Pasques has sent to heads of state in Angola, Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe, it offers training in "nation building, adventure courses, promoting good relations, community developers, motivation courses, local authorities, skills associated with managements, the organising of seminars, communication and negotiation".

Pasques' other organisation, IAC, offers "development projects such as housing, schools, classrooms, pre-primary complexes at primary schools, industrial buildings, etc". It also offers "training projects, job-creation projects, upgrading of facilities, communication".

Most of the other consultancies spawned by Pasques remain in place, though they appear to be doing more legitimate educational, overt work and some have changed their names. Eduguide still operates in PE, as does Dynamic Teaching. Betapers in Louis Trichardt and Creed Consultants in Pinetown, Go High has changed its name to Montage and is now run by Hans Laas; Joset in Kimberley is now called Dia/Plus; Van der Westhuizen, who previously ran Laborel in Johannesburg, now runs Soja-Enterprises. Another newly-formed consultancy is Equip in Pretoria, managed by Andre Kuhn, previously of AEC.

Insiders have suggested to *The Weekly Mail* that these remain strongholds of support for former president PW Botha and his military clique and they maintain links both with the military and in the townships.

How army sponsored township violence

Will Mac 3/11 - 9/11/92

(274) (584)

Unfairly treated.
Dr Ben Conradie speaks out

An angry SADF link man' exposes the military's years-long covert role in violence

DISILLUSIONED

A senior official from a Military Intelligence front operation has broken ranks to provide extensive details of the South African Defence Force's role in sponsoring township violence.

Educationist Dr Ben Conradie, a former school principal, was recruited to direct a covert operation called "Project Henry" which supplied money and training to a vigilante group opposed to the United Democratic Front.

Conradie has details about a variety of Military Intelligence front companies, most of which pretend to be either educational or religious groups.

These companies have created, trained and supported various organisations which foster "black-on-black" conflict in order to undermine the African National Congress.

Full details: **PAGES 2 and 3**



Johannesburg's traditional frenzied New Year's street party moved from Hillbrow to Yeoville's Rockey Street, where, for a change, the emphasis was on noisy good fun rather than drunken violence Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

Ten die daily in SA due to grim violence

STAR 4/1/92

(274)

EACH day 10 people die in South Africa as a result of political violence.

This grim picture comes from researchers in the wake of warnings that political intolerance was reaching dangerously high levels.

And the latest spate of killings, attacks and suspected rightwing bombings have raised fears that South Africa was sliding into an abyss of threatened anarchy.

Research by the SA Institute of Race Relations showed political violence had claimed more than 11 600 lives between September 1984, when it began, and the end of October 1991. Since then there had been more deaths and more violence.

On the basis of research statistics, the institute's executive director, John Kane-Berman, has put the current daily average death toll from political violence at 10.

Attitudes

An edited and updated version of his report on the situation has been published in a business publication on finance and investment.

Meanwhile, a Stellenbosch researcher, Dr Amanda Gouws, has found an alarming level of political intolerance among students. In an analysis of black and white South African student attitudes, she found low levels of tolerance and limited understanding of what tolerance meant.

Black and white students who were questioned all subscribed to a belief in civil liberties. Yet when asked whether the groups whom they listed as "least liked" should be accorded the rights of freedom of speech and association, there was a flat refusal.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

liers of the Institute of Defence Politics, who said private armies within a democracy were clearly a contradiction in terms.

"In the end a democratic South Africa can only have one police force and one military force," he said.

Mr Kane-Berman called for disarmament as one of the first short-term moves needed to end the violence.

"Nobody should be allowed to carry lethal weapons such as pangas, knives and axes to political meetings," he said.

"Knives and pangas are not the only weapons being used, however. Attacks with petrol bombs, hand grenades, and other incendiary devices are, in fact, more frequent, while firearms are top of the list. They are used more often even than home-made weapons like petrol bombs.

"Indeed, firearms, explosives, and incendiary devices account for 56 percent of weapons used in attacks, while knives and pangas and other sharp objects account for 15 percent."

Mr Kane-Berman said an analysis of incidents of violence reported last year did not yield much information about the type of firearms most frequently used. It was known, however, that the single largest category of those which could be identified were AK-47s.

"We have also counted 29 necklace murders (last year), and 12 people have been burnt to death. In fact, necklacing and other burnings account for some eight to 10 percent of all deaths since the violence began seven years ago."

Other steps advocated by Mr Kane-Berman to end the spiral of violence include stopping toyi-toyi dancing in the form of a type of military drill at political rallies.

The language of vilification in political debate and stigmatisation must be avoided.

As incidents of violence continue, fresh warnings have also come from military analysts and other specialists that there was no place for private armies in South Africa's overheated political situation.

One such warning has come from Dr Jakkie Cil-

Apla vows to carry on fighting SA Police and SADF

ESTHER WAUGH
and KIM HELFRICH
Weekend Argus Reporters

RENEWED threats of attacks on the South African Police, as well as other "enemy agents" have been made by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

The latest salvo has come from the movement's defence secretary Mr Victor Seabelo Pama, who said the police were at the forefront of intimidating people and should therefore "go".

Speaking from Harare, Mr Pama said the PAC was still waiting for a report from Apla's "field commander on the ground" about the killing of two policemen in Dobsonville, Soweto.

He said the PAC external mission has not suspended or abandoned the armed struggle. Apla's campaign was not only aimed at the police but all "enemy agents who are being funded by racist regimes which intimidate our people, such as the SADF and the Askaris".

Mr Pama claimed that Apla had never attacked civilian targets.

Further confirmation of Apla's role came from a Mr Carlson Zimbiri, who claimed to be an Apla member, and told a news agency in a telephoned report yesterday that Apla was responsible for the attack on a police van. He also named the site of the attack and specified that it took place at 8.05pm.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn yesterday confirmed the killings.

He said the SAP members were shot in a police van on Roodepoort Road in Dobsonville at about 8.15pm.

With 1992 only four days old, five policemen have died in violent attacks. Last year, 145 policemen died, mostly in the PWV area.

Three of South Africa's largest political groupings have all strongly condemned the killings.

Law and Order Minister Mr Her-nus Kriel expressed both his and the government's "shock and outrage" at the most recent "spate of murders".

The murder of policemen is serious enough to warrant the death sentence, said Mr Chris de Jager, the Conservative Party spokesman on justice.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos said the police deaths would be raised in the Peace Secretariat and could be referred to

■ Turn to page 3

Rightwing threatens 'all-out' sabotage campaign

MANDY JEAN WOODS
and JO-ANNE COLLINGE
Weekend Argus Reporters

RIGHTWING organisations have warned that South Africa is on the edge of an all-out wave of sabotage attacks against "official" targets similar to those carried out by the Ossewa-Brandwag 50 years ago.

According to police and rightwing spokesmen, all that stands in the way of the country slipping into all-out civil war is the disorganised nature of violent rightwing groups.

The warnings follow bomb attacks this week against schools and post offices that caused damage estimated at hundreds of thousands of rands but injured no-one — a typical tactic of the rightwing terrorists of yesteryear.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche said that the explosions "were the beginning of the resistance of a free volk which sees its fatherland being given away to strangers and communists. No volk in the world can be forced to accept such a situation."

"The guilty ones who caused this wave of terrorism are sitting in parliament. The government has created the breeding ground for such terrorism by not providing the Boer volk with the forum to negotiate for its own autonomous state," Mr Terre-Blanche concluded.

"1992 started in flames and there is no doubt it will escalate," said Mr Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph, another AWB spokesman.

A man claiming to represent a previously unknown organisation called the Afrikaner Volkstaat Beweging (Afrikaner People's State Movement) yesterday claimed that his organisation had blown up Co-satu House in Pretoria, the Hillview School — to have accommodated the children of returning ANC exiles — and the post office blasts, among others.

The caller said his organisation was willing to "negotiate final borders" for an Afrikaner state but was not prepared to "negotiate with barbarians as we have seen on Durban beaches".

"Either we draw up the borders (for such a state) ... or we shoot our way to a free people's state ... (of ons skiet ons weg oop vir ons eie volkstaat)."

Since last month, 14 blasts have damaged or destroyed desegregated schools, magistrate's courts, post offices and a police training school.

■ Turn to page 3

TURN ON STAIRS

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AR 4/1/92

Boer 'armies' gear for war

■ From page 1

The latest blast on Thursday caused R50 000 in damage at a SAP training centre near Potgietersrus in Northern Transvaal.

It is understood the SAP have identified 12 extreme rightwing groups considered by police to be private armies or paramilitary organisations.

These include the Wenkommando's, the Boere Kommando's, the Blankeweerstandsbeweging, the Volksleer, the Wit Wolwe, Afrikaner Monargiste, the Foundation for the Survival of Freedom, the Klu Klux Klan, Orde Boerevolk, Blanke Veiligheid, the Boere Republican Army and the Pretoria Boere Kommandos.

However, police say many of these are empty shells, or paper organisations only. They say there may be 70 or 80 rightwing extremist splinter groups in total.

But, says police spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, it is unlikely these splinter groups could become a significant force because of their lack of a command centre such as Umkhonto we Sizwe had during its armed struggle.

Rightwing groups yesterday warned that terrorist attacks would surpass the violence in Yugoslavia and the IRA's campaign against Britain.

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the IRA initially focused on 'soft' targets. "But it gradually got worse. The same will happen here. De Klerk is pushing the Boer people up against a wall ..."

He likened the "Boer resistance" to that of the 1940s Ossewa Brandwag (OB), of which he was a member. Its targets were government installations like post offices and railway lines. Today, targets are empty multiracial schools and closed post offices.

The Ossewa-Brandwag, founded as a cultural organisation in 1939 in the wake of Great Trek centenary celebrations, was modelled on the commando system of the former Boer republics. It vigorously opposed South Africa's participation in World War 2 and from 1942 onwards it became embroiled in a sabotage campaign.

Fifty years ago the Ossewa-Brandwag was beaten because it was easily infiltrated.

Today, Mr Van Tonder said, the Boer resistance had gone underground and was unstructured — a lesson learned last year from the Orde Boerevolk which was easily infiltrated because of a formal structure.

Boerevolk spokesman Mr Piet Bester said boers had to resort to violence because "we were not accepted at Codesa and that ruled out negotiations as an option. What else can we do but resort to the only other option, violence?"

A newsletter circulated by the previously unknown Boer Republican Army last month encouraged members to operate in cells of one, two or three family members and to keep up the "good work" of terrorist attacks on soft targets.

Mrs Anna Boshoff, co-leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, said her organisation preferred the Afrikaner Volkswag's peaceful methods of achieving their goals and condemned the blasts.

Police say there is a strong possibility that only two or three people have been responsible for the recent spate of bombings.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said nothing would be allowed to disturb the Codesa talks and those who tried had no hope of success "politically or militarily".

To date, the little-known Boere Republikeinse Leer (BRL) has claimed responsibility for two blasts.

The trail of destruction started on December 16 — the Day of the Vow — when the non-racial Klerksdorp Christian Academy was destroyed by three blasts, causing R1-million damage. About 90 per cent of pupils at the school are black.

In the early hours of December 19 a massive explosion ripped through Cosatu House in Pretoria, causing extensive damage to the offices of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union.

Police said the blast was caused by a huge amount of commercial explosives.

The next day the Sabie Magistrate's Court was rocked by a blast which did minor damage.

The Lichtenburg Technical College was not as fortunate. More than R750 000 damage was done by a huge blast.

The college has 11 black students in a student body of 500.

On December 21, the Jump and Jive Beer Hall in the small Western Transvaal town of Koster was bombed, resulting in extensive damage. The hall, which adjoined the Koster Hotel, was used almost exclusively by blacks.

On New Year's Day, an explosion ripped through the Lowveld High School in Nelspruit — a few months after the school voted to become non-racial.

On Thursday, the Verwoerdburg and Krugersdorp post offices were extensively damaged by huge blasts which caused R1-million damage and were heard 15km away.

One elderly nightwatchman received minor cuts in the Cosatu House blast, but for him that was enough. "I'm going back to Zululand," he said.

SAP and SADF 'still targets'

■ From page 1

the Goldstone Commission on Public Violence and Intimidation.

Mr Kriel has requested General Johan van der Merwe, the Commissioner of Police, to instruct "every member of the SA Police that they are under no circumstances to regard themselves as targets and are to make the maximum appropriate response to any threat to their safety".

A reward of up to R25 000 is being offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone involved in a violent attack on a policeman. The police have already launched an intensive training programme, using members of the elite Special Task Force, to teach specialist skills to policemen in life-threatening situations.

Mr Kriel said other steps taken also included a standing order that police members

wear bullet proof vests whenever possible.

SAP spokesman Captain Burger van Rooyen said attacks on policemen were cowardly and despicable.

"It is no great feat to lure policemen into an ambush and then to murder them.

"The attacks will make them more determined to bring to justice those responsible for the murders," Captain Van Rooyen said.

10 violent deaths every day

Warnings given over political intolerance reaching dangerously high levels

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

EACH day 10 people die in South Africa as a result of political violence.

This grim picture comes from researchers in the wake of warnings that political intolerance is reaching dangerously high levels.

And the latest spate of killings, attacks and suspected rightwing bombings have raised fears that South Africa is sliding into an abyss of

threatened anarchy.

Research by the South African Institute of Race Relations shows political violence has claimed more than 11 600 lives between September 1984, when it began, and the end of October 1991. Since then there have been more deaths and more violence.

On the basis of research statistics, the institute's executive director, Mr John Kane-Berman, has put the current daily average death toll from political violence at 10.

Meanwhile a Stellenbosch re-

searcher, Dr Amanda Gouws, has found an alarming level of political intolerance among students. In an analysis of black and white South African student attitudes, she found low levels of tolerance and limited understanding of what tolerance meant.

Black and white students who were questioned all subscribed to a belief in civil liberties. Yet when asked whether the groups whom they listed as "least liked" should be accorded the rights of freedom of speech and association, there

was a flat refusal.

"The majority said their 'least-liked' groups should be banned... This kind of intense intolerance is higher than intolerance found in Israel," Dr Gouws told a recent Idasa conference on democracy.

As incidents of violence continue, fresh warnings have also come from military analysts and other specialists that there is no place for private armies in South Africa's overhauled political situation.

One such warning has come from Dr Jakke Cilliers of the

Institute of Defence Politics, who said private armies within a democracy were clearly a contradiction in terms.

South Africans should ascribe to the principle that the military and police in a democracy could only have allegiance to the State, not to political parties.

"In the end a democratic South Africa can only have one police force and one military force."

Mr Kane-Berman, in his latest report, called for disarmament as one of the first short-

term moves needed to end the violence.

"Nobody should be allowed to carry lethal weapons such as pangas, knives and axes to political meetings," he said.

"Knives and pangas are not the only weapons being used, however. Attacks with petrol bombs, hand grenades, and other incendiary devices are, in fact, more frequent, while firearms are top of the list."

Indeed, firearms, explosives, and incendiary devices account for 56 percent of weapons used in attacks, while

knives and pangas and other sharp objects account for 15 percent.

Mr Kane-Berman said an analysis of incidents of violence reported last year did not yield much information about the type of firearms most frequently used. It was known, however, that the single largest category of those which could be identified were AK47s.

"We have also counted 29 necktie murders (last year), and 12 people have been burnt to death. In fact, necklacings and other burnings account for

some eight to 10 percent of all deaths since the violence began seven years ago."

Other steps advocated by Mr Kane-Berman.

● Strategies that lead to violence — including attacks on black local authorities and homeland administrations — must be abandoned.

● Toyi-toyi dancing — in the form of a type of military drill at political rallies — must be stopped.

● The "language of vilification" in political debate must be avoided.

The high cost of political violence

Sowetan 6/1/92

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An edited and updated version of his report on the situation has been published in a business publication on finance and investment.

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FOCUS

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Sowetan Correspondent

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"Knives and pangas are not the only weapons being used, however.

Attacks with petrol bombs, hand grenades, and other incendiary devices are, in fact, more frequent, while firearms are top of the list. They are used more often even than home-made weapons like petrol



JOHN KANE-BERMAN

bombs

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Other steps advocated by Kane-Berman to end the spiral of violence include

Strategies that lead to violence

- including attacks on black local authorities and homeland administrations - must be abandoned;

Toy-toy dancing - in the form of a type of military drill at political rallies - must be stopped; and

The "language of vilification" in political debate must be avoided.

There was a time, Kane-Berman said, when the Government routinely branded its opponents as communists, terrorists, traitors, and so on.

Too many people at the other end of the spectrum were doing exactly the same today when they branded their opponents as collaborators, or sell-outs, or enemies of the people.

"It is now time to stop the language of stigmatisation.

"This is one way in which politicians, clerical personalities and journalists, among others, could contribute to lowering the political temperature."

Task force strikes blow

Soweto 8/11/92
A SPECIAL task force investigating attacks on police in Soweto achieved success on its first day yesterday when a man suspected of killing a policeman was arrested.

A police spokesman said the man was arrested in connection with the killing of a constable in the Flying Squad Unit in October 1990.

The suspect is expected to appear in court today.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn of the Soweto police said policemen in the special force had been drawn from the murder and robbery unit, the motor vehicle theft unit and the firearm recovery unit of Soweto.

In recent weeks the PAC's military wing, Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army, has claimed responsibility for various attacks on policemen, and Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze has warned that Apla soldiers would be hunted mercilessly.

Halgryn said the unit operated on a 24-hour basis and members of the public were free to contact it with information they might have regarding attacks at (011) 980-8321.

JONATHON REES

PRETORIA — The ANC warned yesterday that attacks which resulted in deaths of policemen could drive the SAP into the hands of the right wing.

Military analysts have speculated that certain groups could be trying to create "liberated zones" in townships by assassinating security force members. ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC wanted a liberated SA, not liberated zones.

He said the ANC supported calls for the SAP to serve the entire SA population. But this would not be achieved by the systematic elimination of police members.

In the last year, about 150 SAP members have been killed on duty. The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation

ANC warns against killing policemen

Army (Apla), has claimed responsibility for a number of the attacks.

Macozoma said the ANC was "not partial" to the murder of policemen and was not convinced that recent killings were the work of Apla as this was not consistent with PAC policy.

He said it was counter-productive to kill policemen while Codesa was discussing the reform of the SAP.

It was reported yesterday that PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama told a Radio 702 talk show this week he felt satisfaction whenever a policeman was killed.

We're out to cripple cops Apla

By JOE MDHLELA

THE killing of policemen was part of a strategy to paralyse the South African Police and Defence Force, Azanian People's Liberation Army, secretary Mr Sabelo Phaama said yesterday.

Speaking from Harare, Zimbabwe, Phaama said Apla's strategy was to demoralise the police.

He said police could expect more action from Apla cadres.

"The SAP and the SADF are pillars of oppression which should be destroyed because they have perpetrated the worst atrocities against our people," Phaama said.

It was the police who were escalating black-on-black violence in the townships.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said the killing of policemen could not be justified.

"Apla should be ashamed to accept responsibility for such a despicable and a cowardly deed," he said.

He said police would not allow these attacks to deter them from performing their duties.

Meanwhile, Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said they could not confirm that an Apla cadre had been arrested.

UNREST DEATHS (214)

There was a 20-percent drop in unrest-related deaths, and the number of unrest incidents decreased by nearly half in 1991 compared with the preceding year, according to figures released by the Law and Order Ministry.

In the past 361 days, 2 165 people have lost their lives in unrest-related incidents. The 1990 figure was 2 674.

The number of unrest incidents dropped from 17 088 in 1990 to 8 343 by the end of November last year.

Pressure mounting to ban private armies

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FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

INCREASING pressure is being put on the government to ban private armies on the grounds that they are becoming a threat to peace and order in South Africa.

One of the latest warnings about the dangers of such armies has come from Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies in the wake of a series of calls from politicians and academic specialists for government action against them.

A researcher of the institute, Mrs Marlene van der Merwe, warns that private armies are part of the wider power struggle in South Africa and can seriously disrupt or even derail the negotiation process. They also give rise to a danger of civil war.

Meanwhile the government is reported to have draft legislation in the pipeline for outlawing private armies. The proposed legislation is said to have been put on hold, pending the outcome of talks with the ANC on the future of its military wing Umkhonto weSizwe, which the ANC refuses to acknowledge as a private army.

The government is also believed to be hesitating because of fears that a ban on private armies will drive them underground.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has already threatened that AWB commandos and its Ystergarde unit will go underground if the government bans them. He also denies that his organisation is a private

army, claiming it is a *volksorganisasie* (people's organisation) to protect the volk against onslaughts from communistic forces.

After a recent rightwing terror campaign and bombing incidents, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said the whole question of private armies would be looked at seriously this year.

"We will have to see whether we can afford their continued existence in our country," he said, adding that an outright ban was "a possibility".

Democratic Party spokesmen have also called for action to stop the activities of private armies like those of rightwing political organisations.

DP law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow says private armies operating in South Africa should be disbanded and merged with existing security force structures.

Pretoria researcher Mrs Marlene van der Merwe says a ban on private armies and restrictions on the possession of firearms would appear to be the solution to the problem — but in reality such action would amount to treating only the symptoms of the country's problems.

Such action would be counter-productive because it could lead to an increase in conflict and violence.

The existence of private armies is symptomatic of deeper-seated problems, according to Mrs Van der Merwe's study. The only lasting solution lies in tackling the complex problems which have related political, socio-economic, ideological and psychological dimensions.

IFP rejects Khumalo's claims in Weekly Mail

There were "glaring mistakes" and "untruths" in allegations about the Inkatha Freedom Party made by former senior Inkatha official Mbongani Khumalo, who allegedly had a criminal record, the IFP has said.

His allegations, in a Weekly Mail interview last week, included claims that the IFP was a front for the South African Defence Force and had collaborated in attacks on the ANC.

Mr Khumalo said he had resigned as Inkatha Youth Brigade leader and terminated his membership of the Inkatha central committee because he believed the organisation was a vehicle for instigating violence against fellow blacks.

Reacting to these and other allegations, the IFP denied that the organisation had ever been given R11 million by anyone.

It also denied that Mr Khu-

malo had been the former chief of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, claiming Musa Zondi had been leader of the brigade for many years, including the period in question.

"Regarding the 'consultancy services' (Adult Education Consultants and CREED) referred to by Mr Khumalo, these services were offered but the IFP refused to avail themselves of these for lack of money.

"Mr Khumalo was dissatisfied with the low salary the IFP was paying him and applied for a position in the KwaZulu government's department of the chief minister.

"It was then discovered that Mr Khumalo had a criminal record, which made it impossible for the KwaZulu government to consider his application," said the IFP.

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Security firms step up training to fight crime

B. 10 Dec 14/11/92

THE growing incidence of violent crime has prompted security firms to recruit more guards, improve training and campaign for greater firepower in an attempt to combat losses and provide better customer service.

But Security Officers Board registrar Frans Lubbe said he did not envisage any change in gun legislation, adding that the maintenance of law and order remained a police function.

The Security Officers Board, a statutory body established under the Security Officers Act, was formed to establish a degree of regulation and adequate training standards, and to set up a general "watchdog" over the security industry.

Some 60 000 individuals and 850 firms are registered with the board, but Lubbe estimated there were still about 650 companies which had to register in terms of the Act.

Fidelity Guards marketing director Johan Schoeman said a great deal of money was being spent on improved standards of training as the best method of "combating the escalating crime rate." Vehicles were being heavily armed and staffed, with escort vehicles accompanying cash trucks.

The Fidelity group recently opened a new training centre to supplement its in-house training programme.

Paramed Security MD Mark Flemmer said the worsening crime situation was forcing his company to "double up" on staff and to implement improved weapons training.

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ROBERT WICKS

He said a number of residents' associations had approached him regarding Paramed's recently announced plans to create a suburban security force, the Johannesburg Crime Prevention Service (JCPS).

"Residents are willing to band together to generate funds for the protection of their neighbourhoods as they no longer have faith in the police," Flemmer said.

He said the board had taken a long time to get going, and criticised it for not taking sufficient action to prosecute "illegal" security companies and for not instituting minimum standards.

SA National Security Employees' Association national vice chairman John Hammill said the board was making a valuable contribution to the "professionalisation" of the industry.

He emphasised the need for improved training, but criticised firms advocating the need for greater firepower.

Coin Security group director John Beard said the increase in crime had prompted the group to recruit many new trainees.

"The law prevents our guards from carrying automatic weapons, and with well-armed criminals out there, we are always on the receiving end," Beard said.

He said he admired the board's work, but admitted it was a small body trying to regulate a very large industry.

The board is soon to implement a code of conduct to serve as a vehicle for the investigation of malpractice in the industry.

Probe launched on violence by SADF 'front groups'

Sowetan 15/1/92. 274.



ALLEGATIONS that SADF-funded "front organisations" are still fuelling township violence are to be investigated urgently, Mr Justice RJ Goldstone announced yesterday.

Justice Goldstone, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, said in a statement:

"Having regard to the allegations that the 'front organisations' are currently in operation and sponsoring violence, the commission has resolved to investigate them immediately."

The announcement comes after a series of allegations in the *Weekly Mail* newspaper, which prompted both Minister of Defence Roelf Meyer and the ANC to request the commission to investigate.

The latest allegations were published on

January 3

The *Weekly Mail* said it had acquired "extensive details, including documentary proof, of the SADF's involvement in promoting organisations that have been implicated in township violence".

It was further claimed that the documents showed the SADF used front companies to create, train, support, assist and advise such organisations to foster "black-on-black violence".

Weekly Mail assistant editor Eddie Koch said yesterday the news of the urgent inquiry was "a major breakthrough for us".

The "front organisations" identified allegedly included Ama-Afrika National Front in Port Elizabeth and two others in Somerset East and Cookhouse, the "Memesis" and the "Kekanas". - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Commission to probe funding of violence

Staff Reporter and Political Staff

ALLEGATIONS of defence force funding of "front organisations" promoting violence will be investigated by the Goldstone Commission at its first full public sitting in Cape Town next month.

The announcement comes after a series of allegations in the *Weekly Mail*, which prompted the Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, and the ANC to ask the commission to investigate. The latest allegations were published on January 3 headlined: "How the SADF helped train the township killers".

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The "front organisations" identified are believed to include Ama-Afrika National Front in Port Elizabeth and two others in Somerset East and Cookhouse, the "Memesis" and the "Kekanas".

The hearings would be held in public unless circumstances dictated otherwise, according to Mr Justice Goldstone. The commission would begin hearing evidence on Monday, February 4, at its Cape Town offices.

Mr Justice Goldstone called on anybody with pertinent information to contact the commission at Private Bag X858, Pretoria 0001, on or before January 25.

SADF faces enquiry

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MRG 15/1/92

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SADF faces enquiry

(2711)

REC-15/1/92

Political violence claims 19 lives

CT 16/1/92
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JOHANNESBURG.

Nineteen people have been killed and 15 injured in political violence in South Africa during the past week, the Human Rights Commission reported yesterday.

Nine people had been arrested since January 7 and eight were still being held in detention without trial, said the HRC's Weekly Repression Report.

Fifteen people died and 13 were injured in vigilante-related attacks in the PWV region and Natal.

In one incident a family of five were shot dead in their kraal near Eshowe in Natal by men armed with AK-47s. Four other people were injured.

In another vigilante attack five men travelling in a minibus died in an ambush at KwaNdengezi, near Pinetown. Gunmen fired on them as they crawled out of the minibus which had overturned.

Security force action had resulted in one death and nine arrests.

On January 7 Mr. Kholekile Nkomo and his brother Zandisile, of Katilehong, on the East Rand, who had been in police custody in connection with the killing of two policemen, returned home to find their 61-year-old father missing.

Their father's body was found in the

mortuary the following day. The brothers were told by police their father had opened fire and they had had to shoot him.

On January 10 two men, Mr. Paulus Thembi and Mr. Solomon Mabaso, believed to be PAC supporters, were arrested and charged with the murder of two policemen on New Year's Day.

Five people were allegedly injured when Bophuthatswana security forces dispersed mourners at the funeral of an ANC member at Tiger River, outside Thaba Nchu, the ANC said yesterday. — Sapa

Nineteen killed in political violence

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In another vigilante attack, five men travelling in a minibus died in an ambush at Kwandengezi, near Pine-town. Gunmen fired on them as they crawled out of the minibus which had overturned. Police recovered more than 20 spent AK47 cartridges.

Security force action had resulted in one death and nine arrests.

● Four political prisoners in Rooigrond Prison in Bophuthatswana remained on a hunger strike which they started on January 2.

Mr Sipho Amos Ramesega, Mr Peter Modisane, Mr Petrus Mothupi and Mr Andel Lourengio are said to be in a weak condition. — Sapa.

WHAT THE WEEKLY MAIL EXPOSÉS MEAN ...

Lifting the veil that

Were on the track of the "third force". As information gradually leaks out about the activities of the South African Defence Force's Department of Military Intelligence (MI), journalists are piecing together the first coherent account of the origins of the mysterious force that has been accused of fomenting township violence.

There have been many claims of the existence of such a force, but previously there was only circumstantial evidence and little information about its origins and motives.

Evidence before the commission of inquiry into the Thokoza violence, for example, has pointed to the critical role played by an outside group of trained and highly skilled professional gunmen. However, not much more is known about them.

There are two key elements in the new information which together form the first picture of what lies behind the "third force". They are that:

● MI has been a major player in promoting and provoking many of the divisions in black politics

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that lie behind the current violence.

● MI has gone so far as to give military and paramilitary training to some political organisations, and the individuals they trained have played a direct role in violence since then.

This makes historical sense. MI was a stronghold of the PW Botha regime and was also involved in disrupting the emergence of majority rule in Angola, Namibia, Zambia and Mozambique. They brought us Renamo and the Civil Co-operation Bureau, for example, and it would be naive to believe they did not have a contingency plan for dealing with the majority rule in South Africa that they had so long opposed.

The SADF strategy is set out in detail in "top secret" documents now in the hands of *The*

The Weekly Mail is on the trail of the mysterious 'third force' — and the implications extend way beyond raking up dead coals. **BY ANTON HARBBER**

Weekly Mail, parts of which have been published in recent weeks.

During the mid-1980s, when resistance was suppressed by the State of Emergency, MI made a conscious decision to fill the power vacuum.

MI began by identifying what it called "moderates" and then mobilised covert government funds and military resources to promote them.

Particular emphasis was put on the eastern Cape because it was seen as the cradle of the revolution.

To cover their tracks, they set up a nationwide network of front companies. These — as far afield as Louis Trichardt and Kimberley — pretended to do educational, labour or other consultancy and training work. In fact, they were the interface between the "moderate" blacks and the military.

To run the operation, they set up Dr Louis Pasques in the parent company, Adult Education Consultants. Pasques had been working in the state president's office and had a key role in developing the military's "hearts and minds" campaigns in Namibia and at home.

The use of front companies allowed the gov-

... THE MILITARY'S ROLE IN 'DIRTY TRICKS' IS FAR GREATER THAN IMAGINED

shrouds 'third force'

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ernment to say, when it came to the crunch, that the covert state money was being spent on educational, rather than political, work. Hence, when President FW de Klerk gave details last year of the use of secret funds for political work, he said the rest was for educational or religious work, allowing him to hide the fact that there was very little real education going on.

The military was, however, giving these organisations lectures on the "total onslaught" against South Africa, advice, information, resources, training and even money and food.

Most of the "moderates" they identified, or at least those that were prepared to accept what was obviously SADF assistance, were little more than vigilante groups attempting to take control of

townships for opportunistic purposes. The ground was fertile: the practice of "necklacing" and sometimes unpopular enforcement of boycott action brought a backlash in some townships that the SADF was able to exploit.

In doing so, however, the military was sowing the seeds of a number of localised conflicts. As *The Weekly Mail* follows the trail of these front companies, we find a string of communities still riven with conflicts that date back to the covert intervention of MI.

The critical factor, however, is that the military did not stop at giving support and advice: it went so far as to give military or paramilitary training to some of these groups of "moderates". The best example is 200 Inkatha supporters who received

training and salaries from MI over a long period.

The Weekly Mail first wrote about this training over a year ago. At the time, both the SADF and Inkatha denied any knowledge of such activities. In July last year, when the Inkathagate scandal broke, De Klerk suddenly admitted that the SADF had in fact given this training, but claimed that it was training special recruits for the protection of VIPs.

The Weekly Mail, however, has evidence that the training was much more extensive and sinister than this. The reality is that there are 200 Inkatha supporters who have had a high level of military training and who are operating in the field at the moment. The VIPs they appear to be guarding include some of Natal's best-known warlords.

The Weekly Mail has linked seven of these special trainees to incidents of violence. Five are being sought by the South African Police in Natal in connection with violence.

This group of trained men was also directly involved in the movement of Inkatha into the Transvaal, which was linked with a dramatic rise in bloody conflict.

Is this all history? Is it not part of the pre-February 2 1990 period, an era that has passed? Are we raking up dead coals?

The answer is no. Firstly, the roots of the current violence and conflict lie in the past. It would be impossible to understand what is happening now without looking at what gave rise to it over the past decade.

Secondly, the front organisations still exist and still operate and the 200 trained operatives are still in the field.

The identity, location and current activities of those 200 could be the key to at least one major part of the "third force".

AS THE Codesa committees get going, the chances of their making real headway will depend to a great extent on the success of the National Peace Accord in curbing violence and building a favourable climate for negotiation.

The negotiating process might survive some measure of continuing violence. It will not survive unresolved suspicions of rampant duplicity and hidden agendas. You cannot negotiate your country's future with people you believe are out to destroy you. A working level of mutual confidence is essential in reaching and executing political agreements.

This is why this week's announcement by the National Peace Accord's Goldstone Commission is welcome that it will investigate the allegations in the Weekly Mail of SADF Intelligence involvement in fomenting township violence. It is alleged that this is done through front companies which continue operating to this day.

Divide and rule

The ANC has long believed that the appalling violence in the black community, whatever its origins, has been deliberately fanned into new life and kept on the boil by agents of the State. The purpose would be to weaken and discredit the ANC and the cause of black liberation.

There is evidence that divide-and-rule tactics of this sort were employed in counter-insurgency in the 1970s and 1980s. President De Klerk himself, in responding to the Inkathagate scandal, said that the State and the ANC had been at war and that both sides had used the unconventional methods of war... but that this phase was now over.

The problem is that the new revelations suggest that clandestine projects to destabilise the ANC and promote the political fortunes of Inkatha with taxpayers' money continued after the agreements and truce reached at Groote Schuur and Pretoria.

President De Klerk's stature as a statesman and reformer is in question. There is a perception that he is unable or unwilling to re-shape the security forces of the apartheid era to function effectively in the transition to a multi-party democracy.

The erosion of President De

Who is keeping the violence in SA on the boil?

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**Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW**

Klerk's moral authority, as the ANC sees it, began with his failure to get to grips with the CCB death squads. The Harms Commission, which he appointed to cut the scandal "open to the bone", did nothing of the sort, being thwarted at every turn by the clandestine arm of the SADF.

The men of the CCB went to work to destroy almost all relevant documents. They refused to produce vital evidence and declined to answer questions before the Commission, as did other SADF officers. The express orders of the Chief of the SADF that they should co-operate with the Commission were brazenly disobeyed. Yet no officers were court-martialled or disciplined. It was a shameful cover-up, signifying a breakdown of military discipline and control.

Funding continued

Given the huge secret funds at the disposal of the SADF, this was most disquieting. The subsequent sidelining of defence minister Magnus Malan helped somewhat to restore confidence. His successor, Mr Roelf Meyer, is liked and respected. But it took the Inkathagate scandal to shift General Malan sideways.

The Inkathagate revelations raised questions about President De Klerk's own position. Clandestine State funding of Inkatha had contin-

ued after repeated undertakings by the State President himself that he had investigated all such funding and that irregular use of secret funds had been curbed.

Whatever the ANC's reservations about this, there is understanding of his difficulties in inheriting a security force culture rooted in the Cold War attitudes of the 1950s. Mr De Klerk has had to move step by step to effect changes without destabilising the security forces and jeopardising morale.

It may be that he has moved as quickly as anyone could have done while yet retaining a political base in the National Party caucus. Some members of the caucus have the closest ties with the security establishment and its clandestine arm and would cut up rough if they were not tenderly treated.

Now the Goldstone Commission has to succeed where the Harms Commission failed, restoring confidence in the integrity, control and discipline of all sections of the security forces.

The Commission is armed with powers to summon witnesses and to compel them to give evidence. It will need to use them. The country cannot afford another run-around. This time everyone concerned will need to be convinced that the truth has been told and what was wrong will be put right.

Unless there is confidence in the security forces and their commitment to the national interest rather than to sectional interests, Codesa will get nowhere.

Given a thorough-going report from the Goldstone Commission, it will be up to President De Klerk to clear the air.

Inkatha stands firm on Umkhonto issue

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is refusing to sign the code of conduct for the SA Defence Force until "the issue of the ANC's private army", Umkhonto we Sizwe, is resolved.

Its decision is sure to raise serious problems for the National Peace Accord, which in recent weeks appeared to be making progress, particularly in relation to Inkatha-ANC fighting in Natal. *SI Times 19/11/92*

The code of conduct for the SADF is an essential component of the accord, signed in August last year.

The government has already made clear its willingness to sign the code of conduct, which is being drafted with the help of the SADF and other signatories to the accord.

In a statement the IFP said it felt that the issues of the SADF and MK would be better dealt with in the context of the Convention for a Democratic SA. It called for the sub-committee drafting the SADF code to adjourn until the MK issue was resolved.

Inkatha said that for the ANC to argue that liberation armies were not private armies "makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord" and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic

By CHARLENE SMITH

values". *(274)*

The first report-back of the National Peace Committee on Friday acknowledged that the sub-committee on the SADF code of conduct, private armies and dangerous weapons was experiencing difficulties.

Violence
Committee chairman John Hall said the establishment of six local dispute committees was of special significance in the quest against violence.

He welcomed the formation of a seventh local committee in the Mooi River/Bruntville area, at which ANC and Inkatha leaders pledged to support the initiative.

Peace Accord may be absorbed into Codesa

STAR 20/11/92

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By Peter Fabricius
Political
Correspondent

Moves are expected to be made soon to absorb the National Peace Accord (NPA) into Codesa because of growing concern that the elaborate peace accord structures are not being implemented.

Sources close to both the National Peace Committee and the Conference for a Democratic South Africa have remarked that Codesa had "overtaken" the peace accord.

Government sources have pointed out that no local dispute resolution committees and only two regional dispute resolution committees — on the Witwatersrand and in Natal — have been set up since the NPA was signed on September 14.

The committees are supposed to be the key elements in peace accord mechanisms.

Other important peace accord mechanisms such as the Police Board, the police reporting officers,

the special criminal courts and the special justices of the peace, have also not been implemented.

Only the Goldstone standing commission investigating violence and intimidation seems to be working.

The sources have identified several reasons but the main one is a feeling that Codesa has overtaken the peace accord.

The brief of the Codesa working group investigating ways of creating a climate for negotiation covers much of the peace committee's province.

Complaining

Peace committee participants are concerned that this could lead to unnecessary duplication of effort by party and Government officials.

Government sources said police were complaining they had now almost fulfilled all their obligations under the peace accord, but other parties had not.

Some sources also believe the bilateral agreements between the Government and the ANC should also be absorbed into Codesa.

At a press briefing at Saldanha at the weekend, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the relationship between Codesa and the peace committee would have to be evaluated.

He conceded that the peace accord had not caused a "marked reduction" in unrest-related incidents, but said it would take time for political leaders to get the peace message to the grassroots.

At the briefing, Major-General Andre Pruis of the SAP's crime combating and investigation division said the number of acts of unrest-related violence dropped by more than half last year.

He attributed this to the implementation of various strategies by the SAP and others.

But General Pruis said the intensity of unrest crime had not decreased much.

Murders had only dropped from 1 372 to 1 246, and attempted murders had almost doubled from 425 to 831.

General Pruis said the SAP:

● Would begin this year a programme of upgrading the training of police-

men in skills such as conflict resolution.

● Courses in negotiation skills had begun in December.

● With a few exceptions, all police members had signed the SAP code of conduct in the peace accord. Exceptions mostly involved inaccessible policemen, such as those on stock-theft patrols, but Mr Kriel conceded that some policemen still needed to be persuaded to sign.

● Special forms had been drawn up to give complainants information about investigations.

● Special unrest investigation units consisting of 480 members were already in action.

● The SAP was waiting for the National Peace Committee to provide names of candidates for posts of police reporting officers.

● Logistical problems meant not all police members had been provided with name plates. All should have them by March.

● The SAP had already nominated members to serve on the Police Board and was waiting for the names of members of the public to serve on the board.

15 have died ^{cr 29/1/92} since Friday

JOHANNESBURG — Fifteen people have been killed and more than 30 injured in unrest-related incidents since Friday, according to the latest SA Police report.

An explosive device detonated at a power transformer outside Carletonville's Khutsong township at midnight on Saturday, causing about R500 000 damage, police said.

Of those killed since Friday, three men died in similar circumstances — one at Mphophomeni (Howick), the other at Umgababa (Umkomaas) and another at Daveyton (Benoni) — when shots were fired by unidentified attackers. The fourth died at Patheni (Richmond) in an unspecified attack.

A police patrol in Malagazi, Amanzimtoti, was fired at but no one was injured.

Mob rampage

A mob of about 80 people went on the rampage in Orlando West, Soweto, on Saturday evening, stabbing five people and damaging property, police said.

Soweto police spokesman Captain G. Mariemuthoo said the motive for the mob's behaviour was not known.

Five men were shot dead in Natal townships and four were killed during a clash between two opposing groups at a platinum mine at Thabazimbi in the Northern Transvaal.

Two commuters died when they were thrown off trains between Soweto and Johannesburg. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

BEER SAID THE...
had asked for more information from about 20 groups which had applied for Codesa membership.

Progress by B/Bay 20/1/92 peace bodies

NATIONAL peace accord committees had made positive progress, national peace committee chairman John Hall said on Friday.

Speaking at the committee's first report-back this year, Hall said the establishment of six local and regional dispute resolution committees was of special significance in the quest for peace. (274)

At the forming of a seventh local committee in the Mooi River/Bruntville area on Friday, ANC and Inkatha leaders pledged to support the initiative.

The committee was formed at the initiative of Mr Justice Goldstone, who was in the area to hear evidence on violence.

The report-back from the sub-committee on the SADF code of conduct, private armies and dangerous weapons remained a thorny issue and high priority for resolution.

A northern Transvaal national peace committee member appealed for assistance to halt criminal activities carried out by a gangster element operating as a quasi-political front.

The national committee meets again on March 4. — Sapa.

Peace Accord men reject allegations

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The organisers of the National Peace Accord today rejected allegations that the accord was not working.

John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee (NPC) and Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, reacted to a report in The Star yesterday quoting Government sources as saying the Peace Accord may be absorbed into Codesa.

The sources said none of the local dispute resolution committees had yet been established and only two regional dispute resolution committees were operating.

The sources also said other peace structures had not yet been established and because of this and duplication of effort moves were afoot to absorb the Peace Accord into Codesa.

Other NPC sources estimated that dispute resolution committees had now been established in about half the country's worst conflict areas.

Dr Gildenhuys said legislation would have to be passed before other structures such as the Special Criminal Courts and Justices of the Peace could be established.

Mr Hall said he had no problem with the Peace Accord being absorbed into Codesa as long as the process was managed properly. — Political Correspondent.

● More reports — Page 8

We won't sign while MK exists, says IFP

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in the National Peace Committee's subcommittee on an SADF code of conduct is hanging in the balance over the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Its objections were sent in a memorandum to the National Peace Committee on Friday for arbitration, and the IFP has asked that, pending the resolution of the matter, the subcommittee be adjourned.

In terms of the constitution, the SADF is the only lawful national defence force in the country.

"If the Government is willing to sign a code of conduct for the SADF with the ANC under the National Peace Accord without the issue of the ANC's private army, MK, being resolved, the IFP is not.

"To do so would be to confuse principle with expediency and spoil its

reputation for consistency and honest dealing," the IFP said. "The time has come for straight talking."

The IFP noted that the National Peace Accord prohibited private armies. "This principle was fundamental to the IFP's willingness to enter into the National Peace Accord, as it directly addressed the position occupied by MK," the memorandum said. **STAR 22/1/92**

The ANC's argument that MK was a liberation army and not a private army was "logically and legally untenable".

"This revolutionary posture by the ANC/SACP alliance in relation to its armed wing, MK, while claiming the right to participate in the political process through negotiation, makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic values of a non-Marxist-Leninist variety," the IFP said.

Violence high on Major's agenda for De Klerk visit

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IAN HOBBS

LONDON — John Major yesterday said concern about escalating crime and violence in SA would be high on the agenda when he held talks in London early next month with President F W de Klerk. 8/day 22/1/92

Major told parliament economic growth was an antidote, but remaining sanctions were harmful. He said his government would fight for their removal.

Responding to MPs who expressed concern about rampant violence in SA, he said he would discuss the issue with De Klerk during his visit next month.

"I believe that all parties have a role to play in implementing the peace accord, but of course the South African government has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of law and order," Major said.

Replying to a Labour backbencher who urged that "no precipitate action" be taken over sanctions while the "delicate" peace process was under way, the prime minister rebuffed him and said: "One of the great difficulties faced by the SA government and the SA people at the moment is the need to see some growth in their economy. It runs at the moment with no growth, and a population growth of around 3% a year. That is leading to very real economic hardship for all the people of South Africa, most noticeably those who have least."

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. The AWB will testify to the Goldstone Commission that police were first to open fire, and used live ammunition, when they clashed with right-wingers in Ventersdorp last year, and claims to have visual evidence to back its allegations.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday a complaint of kidnapping might be laid against the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel,

AWB will tell all (274) to probe

after police allegedly used trickery to arrest an AWB official.

He said police acted unlawfully when they arrested Mr Piet Judeel and Mr Dirk Hattingh

last Wednesday in connection with a recent spate of explosions.

Plainclothes officers of the former security police allegedly arrived at Mr Judeel's Brits home and told him they were from a secret AWB unit and that he was wanted for an urgent meeting with Mr Rudolph in Pretoria.

Mr Judeel accompanied them. He was allegedly blindfolded and beaten, Mr Terre'Blanche claimed.

Cops 'have powers to act on train murderers'

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Sowetan 24/11/92
A JOHANNESBURG by-law outlaws the bearing of weapons in public and claims by police that they could not act against armed men on trains and at stations were "complete rubbish", a human rights lawyer charged yesterday.

"Section 73 of the Johannesburg municipal traffic by-laws states that it is strictly an offence to carry or have in one's possession in any street or public place a knobkierrie or any other weapon," said Lawyers for Human Rights regional chairman *Mr. David Pitman.*

He spoke out after allegations by Catholic priests Father Peter Hortop and Father Michael Deeb that policemen not only failed to disarm and arrest about 20 heavily armed men at Johannesburg's Mayfair station on Tuesday, but allowed the men to board a train - resulting in scores of commuters fleeing in terror.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman commented at the time that "police had to adhere to the laws of the country concerning the carrying of dangerous weapons in public places.

"I am very sure that if there was any immediate threat to any members of the public, the policemen concerned would have taken action," he added.

Draft SADF code is a milestone

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A DRAFT code of conduct for the South African Defence Force provides for the establishment of an independent military ombudsman to investigate complaints against the SADF and for a multi-party Defence Council to be appointed by the state president to deal with military policy issues.

If implemented, these measures could go a substantial way towards placing the SADF under greater civilian control — and beyond the realm of party-political influence.

These are two of the proposals of the code, which government and African National Congress delegates agreed to

in a sub-committee meeting of the National Peace Committee (NPC) last Thursday and Friday, according to sources close to the talks.

Among the other provisions are that SADF members will have the right to refuse orders which violate the constitution or international law and their officers will be held legally responsible for any illegal orders they give and for the conduct of their subordinates.

The draft also commits the SADF to avoiding threatening or intimidating behaviour, to refraining from following party-political objectives and to implementing education programmes to promote the code among its members.

*Substantial progress has been made towards placing the military under greater civilian control. **By GAVIN EVANS***

But its ratification (and inclusion in the National Peace Accord) may be delayed by several months as a result of Inkatha's refusal to sign it, because of its opposition to the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

Inkatha, which was represented by Johannesburg businessman Alisdair MacAulay, walked out of the talks last

Thursday. Deputy defence minister Wynand Breytenbach, representing the government, and South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union official Jay Naidoo (representing the ANC) continued their talks despite the walk-out, reaching preliminary agreement on the latest draft. According to an NPC source, Inkatha later returned to the meeting but issued a memorandum on Friday saying its signature would depend on the MK issue being settled.

"If the government is willing to sign a code of conduct for the SADF with the ANC under the National Peace Accord without the issue of the ANC's

private army, MK, being resolved, the Inkatha Freedom Party is not. To do so would be to confuse principle with expediency," said Inkatha.

A final draft of the code will be put to the NPC in March.

According to NPC sources, the inclusion of the code in the peace accord without Inkatha's approval will be difficult, but not impossible.

However, it is understood that the government and the SADF will also back Inkatha's stand and will require progress on the dismantling of MK before ratifying the code.

Sources close to the government say President FW de Klerk will stress his opposition to the existence of MK and other "private armies" when he opens parliament this Friday.

Key SADF figures are insisting that there needs to be a quid pro quo on the "MK issue" before they agree to bind themselves through the proposed code.

The ANC, which is calling for the integration of MK, the SADF and all other military forces, is arguing that the future of MK is already provided for in the terms of reference of Working Group 1 of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and therefore should not affect discussions on the SADF code.

It now appears that the Codesa discussions have largely overtaken those around the peace accord. Ratification of the code will depend on progress made in Working Group 1 on the MK question. Nevertheless, the draft code represents substantial progress between the government and the ANC.

The first government proposal, drawn up with SADF approval, was made to the NPC last September. The ANC welcomed it and submitted certain additional proposals, including that of the appointment of a military ombudsman. These were soon leaked to the media, causing much consternation within the SADF.

According to *The Weekly Mail's* sources, elements within Military Intelligence and the Special Forces were strongly opposed to the government's proposal, objecting in particular to the provision allowing troops to disobey orders contrary to the constitution.

As a result, the whole process was stalled and a second, far more conservative, proposal from within the SADF was made, excluding this and several other provisions.

But it appears the latest draft has largely ignored the SADF's second version and bears close resemblance to the September proposal, with certain key additions. It proposes that the office of military ombudsman fall under that of the national ombudsman established in terms of the Advocate General Amendment Act, rather than under the SADF.

The proposal for a Council for Defence, also initially made by the ANC and amended by the government, is potentially even more far-reaching. It is envisaged that this would be a largely civilian body which would oversee the SADF and advise it on policy. According to one source, its role would be similar to that of the Police Board established under the peace accord.

Peace pledges come pouring in

Staff Reporter

STAR 24/11/92



A total of 16 942 Star readers

have pledged to work for peace

by supporting The Star's Peace

Train Campaign — over five

thousand pledges over the

Christmas/New Year holiday

period — and more pledges are

pouring in.

The campaign was started in

October to offer readers a

chance to commit themselves

to peace and decry the violence

which has become endemic in

South Africa.

Those who have signed the

pledge — including Members of

Parliament, local government

leaders, policemen, township

hostel dwellers, schools, com-

panies, children and academics

have pledged to make the

country a prosperous one

where we can all live, work and

play together in peace and har-

mony.

Thousands more individuals

from widely differing back-

grounds have come out in sup-

port of the idea.

Editor-in-chief Richard Steyn

has been heartened by the re-

sponse from Star readers, from

as far as Lesotho, Botswana and

the United States.

The campaign has also been

praised by State President F W

de Klerk while Law and Order

Minister Hennis Kriel and Po-

lice Commissioner General

Johan van der Merwe have sent

in their pledges.

A total of 10 000 pledges have

already been presented to the

National Peace Committee. The

committee, which is a structure

created through the National

Peace Accord, has also been

running a nationwide peace

campaign.

Crackdown on 'private armies' (274)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE government will crack down on any illegal activities by "private armies", President De Klerk said today.

"The maintenance or establishment by parties of private armies cannot be tolerated.

"Any activities which are illegal in this context will be combated with all available

might by the country's legitimate security institutions," Mr De Klerk told parliament.

In a section of his speech clearly aimed at easing concern over crime and violence, Mr De Klerk said "a great deal" had been done towards the government's goal of ensuring peace and security for all.

He highlighted the 1991 peace accord, the launching of

ARC 24/1/92
Codesa, the expanding of the police force by nearly 18 000 members since 1990, the deployment this year of a new riot control unit and the establishment of hundreds of satellite police stations.

While the security forces had made mistakes, he noted there were "adequate mechanisms" to investigate allegations of improper conduct.

Third force 'proof'

ET 25/1/92 (274)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — New evidence in support of claims of the involvement of a "third force" in the wave of anonymous political killings sweeping South Africa was made public yesterday.

The Weekly Mail newspaper published an interview with two men who claimed to be members of a hit squad allegedly controlled by the KwaZulu Police, trained by SADF military intelligence and assisted by the South African Police.

Their activities allegedly in-

cluded establishing a power base for Inkatha in the township of Wesselton in the Eastern Transvaal, and creating a reign of terror through a campaign of assassination, bombing and other killing tactics.

Their claims have been submitted to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry for study and reaction.

Their evidence has been described as the "final link" in uncovering the perpetrators of numerous killings in the Transvaal and possibly Natal.

The two "turned killers" say they were recruited from a crimi-

nal gang at Wesselton before being trained in the use of firearms and combat tactics at a base run by the IFP at Mkuze in Northern Natal.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said it was the duty of the police to investigate all charges and allegations supported by sufficient evidence.

The Ministry of Defence said it was "sick and tired of people making incriminating allegations against us", and urged the Weekly Mail to submit the information to the Goldstone Commission.

Surge in white-on-black violence after De Klerk's reform moves

Silence 26/1/92

(54) (274)

BY HEATHER ROBERTSON

WHITE-on-black violence increased sharply after President Fw de Klerk's historic speech on February 2 1990 launched South Africa on the road to political reform.

Pivotal to the violence are fears about the loss of control over land, amenities and jobs, according to a study by Human Sciences Research Council.

Researcher Dr Johan Olivier has compared white-on-black attacks in the periods 1970-1989 and from 1990 to the present.

"In the earlier period there was not that much white-on-black violence, but incidents increased when the government eased restrictions on job reservation and employed blacks in the mining and building industry," he said.

He said there was evidence that as white privileges were eroded, prejudice and racist attacks increased.

Researchers from the Human Rights Commission agree. Their weekly statistics on repression reflect an alarming increase in the number of indiscriminate attacks on blacks.

Anger

"There are two categories of white-on-black violence. The one involves semi-spontaneous and indiscriminate acts by individuals or small groups driven by emotional anger," an HRC spokesman said.

"The other is organisationally based and involves planning and marshalling of resources."

Attacks on blacks have occurred at railway stations, taxi ranks, farms, swimming pools and on city streets, but most of them have taken place in and around right-wing strongholds in the Transvaal and Free State.

One of the most brutal incidents took place on the 30 December last year when 18-year-old Muzie Phungwayo's routine walk to his girlfriend's house near Driefontein in the Eastern Transvaal turned into a nightmare.

Two white farmers driving past attacked him, bun-

dled him into their car and drove off to a friend's farm.

At the farmer's house they tied a rope around his neck, hung him from the rafters and hit him until he lost consciousness. They then threw water on his face, tied him by his arms and set a dog on him.

Phungwayo screamed for help as the dog bit his genitals, but the farmers ignored his pleas. They shoved him into a canvas bag filled with water. One of the farmer's then summoned the Wakkerstroom police, who took Phungwayo to the Dirkiesdorp police station and charged him with trespassing.

Mr Yunus Kaje, a trader for whom Phungwayo worked, tried to arrange bail but police refused. Two days later Phung-

wayo appeared in court on a charge of trespassing and was released on R300 bail.

Mr Kaje laid a charge of assault against the farmers, but they have not yet appeared in court.

"Incidents like this have increased over the last four to five months, mainly because farmers feel threatened that blacks are going to claim their land," said Mr Kaje, who is also the ANC's branch chairman in Driefontein.

Bullet

Mr Abraham Dithake, a researcher for the Farmers' Resource and Research Project, said farmers felt they had been forsaken by the National Party and that the only alternative they had to vent their frustrations was violence.

Both Mr Dithake and Mr Kaje stress the urgency of addressing farmers' fears to prevent further harassment of blacks who work and live on their property.

White-on-black attacks recorded by the HRC include:

● July 26 1990 — a group of white youths in Maokeng in the Free State threw stones at a group of black schoolchildren from a vehicle, killing one.

● August 16 1991 — a black man walking in a street in Soweto with a friend was shot dead by four white men.

● December 24 1991 — a white farmer in Driefontein shot at a car in which three black men and three black women were sitting. A bullet hit Mafika Nkosi, 18, in the back. He no longer has the use of his legs.

● January 3 1992 — Philimon Maseko, a labour tenant on a farm in the Piet Retief area, was assaulted by a farmer who threatened to kill him if he didn't leave his land. Maseko laid a charge of assault against the farmer at the Sheepmore police station. Police refused to open a case and told the farmer. The farmer was outraged, returned to the farm and shot and killed Maseko.

Director of Wits University's Project for the Study of Violence Lloyd Vogelmann said the attacks were not a recent phenomenon — "they merely seem to have taken a more extreme edge."

And unlike black-on-white violence, which is largely based on economic motives, white violence has generally a greater political motive to it," he said.

Police statistics also showed a 40 percent increase in white-on-white violence, which, he said, pointed to a breakdown in white communities, leading to feelings of alienation and desperation.

Amok

The most recent example of this alienation was Kallie Delpot, who killed his father and ran amok, indiscriminately shooting at people in Ladysmith.

"To view the Delpot case as a random insane mass murder is inappropriate," said Mr Vogelmann.

"The killings were not random, as the primary victims were black. His frustration was directed at individuals whom he saw as blocking or threatening his social progress."

De Klerk to receive peace prize on his European tour

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk leaves on another overseas trip this week and will visit several Western and central European countries over a 10-day period.

De Klerk meets British Prime Minister John Major on Saturday.

He then travels to Davos in Switzerland to address the World Economic Forum on SA's role in a changing world.

After his speech, he will join a panel as NP leader with ANC president

BILLY PADDOCK

Nelson Mandela, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Barlow Rand director and chairman of the National Peace Secretariat John Hall and Venda leader Nelson Ramodike.

The panel will discuss SA's role in the future SA. (276) (3044)

On Monday, February 3, he travels to Paris to receive the Unesco peace

prize of R364 000 jointly with Mandela. Brian 27/1/92

De Klerk and Mandela get the Felix Houphouet-Boigny peace prize for their contribution in bringing about a democratic dispensation in SA during the past 18 months.

On Tuesday, De Klerk receives Newsmaker of the Year award from the French political magazine *Apolitique Internationale*. He then travels to a number of other European countries before returning home.

More snags in peace talks

JERUSALEM. — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir says the United States should "forget about" a freeze on Israeli settlements but he predicted a compromise on \$10 billion (R27 bn) in US housing loan guarantees.

The dispute is complicating Middle East peace talks and another snag developed when a senior Palestine Liberation Organisation official said the Palestinians would boycott tomorrow's round in Moscow unless the Palestinian delegation included representatives from Arab east Jerusalem and abroad.

Mr Shamir's remarks were his first reaction to US Secretary of State James Baker's proposal that Israel should stop building new homes in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to gain US aid for resettling Jewish refugees.

"To avoid any misunderstandings," Mr Shamir said, "Israel is not talking about any freeze of

settlements. Please forget about it."

But speaking about immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Mr Shamir added: "We are sure that we will get all the investments for solving this very complicated problem, including these loan guarantees."

Mr Shamir did not make clear how he expected to resolve the dispute, but Israel television said he saw Mr Baker's reported proposal as agreement in principle to provide loan guarantees.

Mr Shamir said: "The US has reaffirmed its readiness to assist us in the unprecedented task of absorbing the large immigration."

According to sources in Washington, Mr Baker suggested that US objections to the Jewish settlements might be met if Israel stopped building new homes. The offer apparently would allow Israel to complete the sizable housing projects it has already begun.

Before the settlements became tied up with the loan guarantee issue, the United States repeatedly asked Israel to stop building new Jewish settlements as a gesture toward the US-sponsored peace talks.

In Tunisia, Mr Yasser Abd-Rabbo, head of the PLO's information department and a close aide of chairman Yasser Arafat, said it was "inopportune" for Palestinians to take part in the Moscow talks.

The decision means only Jordan among Israel's Arab neighbours has agreed to participate in the multilateral talks, which will deal with regional issues such as arms control, water and the environment.

A committee of Palestinian delegates has already recommended a boycott of the talks because of a lack of progress in earlier bilateral negotiations in Washington and the exclusion of the PLO from this week's talks. — Sapa-AP.

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— Sapa-AP.

Buthelezi sums up UK allegations in one word

UB 274 ARG 28/1/92
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Kwazulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dismissed all allegations of Inkatha involvement in black-on-black violence in South Africa in one word: Bull...!

He said it three times for the benefit of the television cameras and his words were broadcast to millions of British homes during prime time yesterday.

The angry denials came during an ITV documentary that purported to pinpoint the guilty party in the township killings. In every case, Inkatha were labelled the assassins, egged on by the police and army.

Apart from Chief Buthelezi, there was nobody to refute the claims that there was a deliberate, state-sponsored campaign to kill ANC leaders and destroy their support.

The (unidentified) narrator in the film, produced by Mr Nick Hayes, said: "We wanted to get the comment of the South African government, but suddenly

every cabinet minister was unavailable."

The programme concentrated on anti-ANC violence in Natal and the Transvaal and accused the security forces of recruiting assassins at the Wolmaranstad prison.

It further alleged that some 200 Zulus had been given training in "offensive" operations and were subsequently taken into the Kwazulu police force, some to act as hired killers or assassins.

"Bull..." said Chief Buthelezi. It's all bull... I am a Christian and all my life I have been committed to the precepts of Christianity."

Former military intelligence officer Mr Nico Basson said the government had set out on a deliberate path to destabilise the opposition.

"All this black-on-black violence is a deliberate ploy to deceive the outside world. The object is to preserve white power."

Church leading the way

Sowetan 28/1/92
THE peace initiative will take another step forward this weekend when members of churches, political groupings and church-related organisations meet for a seven-day workshop at Broederstroom.

Presiding Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba will deliver the keynote address on Sunday at a two-day consultation which will precede the workshop.

The church took this initiative after requests by a wide range of people and organisations, including the African National Congress and President FW de Klerk, for it to get involved in peace and reconciliation.

An ecumenical organisation, led by Mrs Emma Mashinini and Mr Chris Mbele, will host the "Empowering for Reconciliation with Justice" workshop.

Among supporters of the event is the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu.

—POLITICS—

ANC has 'reams' of third force evidence

B/Pay 28/1/92 (224) (274)

CAPE TOWN — The ANC was collating extensive evidence of alleged third force activities in township violence for submission to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, the organisation's secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Speaking to foreign and political correspondents at a breakfast, he said "reams of documentation are being prepared from the Weekly Mail and other sources".

President F W de Klerk, he said, must have known of this third force activity because he had such an efficient National Intelligence Service that, at all stages, could investigate every facet of SA society.

The issue of third force involvement in political violence has been the subject of repeated rows between government and the ANC and De Klerk has repeatedly called on the ANC to provide evidence.

At a parliamentary briefing later, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer again denied that there was any evidence of a third force operating within the SADF.

Despite the fact that members of the

BILLY PADDOCK

third force had spoken out on their activities, and this being linked to military intelligence, he said he had satisfied himself that there was absolutely no such activity in his department.

However, he had requested Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate the Weekly Mail allegations anyway to satisfy the critics. He did not say he had conducted a formal investigation into the allegations to satisfy himself.

Meyer said De Klerk had no knowledge of any third force operations either because, if he had, he would have informed the Defence Minister.

Ramaphosa said De Klerk bore final responsibility for the third force. "We have every reason to believe Mr De Klerk has been aware of the third force and has not done anything to stop it."

He accused De Klerk and his government of following a "twin track policy" of trying to marginalise the ANC while negotiating with it.

250 387
**Govt action on
arms ban urged**
274

STAR 29/1/92
The Government had to give some indication that it was taking the banning of dangerous weapons at political meetings seriously, DP MP for Durban Central Peter Gastrow said yesterday.

The National Peace Accord outlawed dangerous weapons at political gatherings and bound the Government to issuing the necessary proclamations to implement this provision, he said during debate on the State President's speech to Parliament.

The Government could not make the proclamations without negotiation and consultation, but it had been some months since the Accord was signed.

"We need some indication that the Government is taking this seriously." — Sapa.

Denis Beckett reviews the progress (or lack of it) in setting up dispute committees

Peace needs more of a

STAR 29/1/92.

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THE seventh and latest of the Dispute Resolution Committees envisaged by the Peace Accord is now a week old. It is in Bruntville, near Mooi River, and it was set up rather informally.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the National Peace Commission, the judicial arm of the Peace structure, was in the area hearing evidence on local conflict, which has been acute.

Strictly speaking, it was no more Judge Goldstone's business to set up a Dispute Resolution Committee than it is a trial judge's business to set up a municipal council.

But there was a conspicuous need for a local conciliation organ. Judge Goldstone was present and interested. He saw the gap, and took it. He invited everyone in the picture — employers, farmers' association, police, churches, and, crucially, ANC and

Inkatha — to a meeting.

The Mooi River/Bruntville LDRC (Local Dispute Resolution Committee) was born. "And that," says one member of the national peace structure, "is exactly what we need — people to just go ahead and do."

Not altogether fairly, the National Peace Secretariat — the administrative arm which is charged with setting up the DRCS — has acquired an image of going ahead too slowly and doing too little.

Excluding Bruntville, there are three Regional DRCS — Natal, Border, and Western Cape — and three locals, in Soweto, Germiston and Thokoza.

The Western Cape and Thokoza committees are extensions of pre-existing "private" ventures, so in effect the grand ideas of last September, when the Peace Accord was expected to mean a speedy all-out blanketing of trouble-spots



with conciliation forums, have boiled down so far to the creation of five committees.

The Natal committee is reputedly running like clockwork, as a result of, among other things, good personal relationships between the main actors, Inkatha's Walter Felgate and the ANC's Jacob Zuma, and the charisma of the joint chairmen, Archbishop Denis Hurley and Durban businessman MC Pretorius.

Nonetheless, and disquietingly, Natal's violence rate remains the nation's highest.

The Soweto committee has been a nightmare, plagued by what Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys describes as "deep rooted enmity between some members". Less diplomatically, a Soweto member talks of "mutual obstruc-

tion by Inkatha and the ANC, meaning that we can spend half an hour deciding whether to turn the page".

Indeed after a massacre in Dobsonville last month, the Inkatha members put out a press statement saying the Soweto committee had folded up. They were furious that the ANC had accused them of instigating the massacre, which later turned out to be a family feud with no political connotations.

However, after appeals from the Secretariat and many of the 40-odd "non-political" members, the Soweto committee got going again and it may now have reached a turning point.

The other committees have plodded forth with varied degrees of success, short of the dramatic. The major question is why there aren't more committees, further advanced. The instant answer is that the Secretariat is already ho-

pelessly overstretched.

For right or wrong, the Secretariat has decided on a top-down approach. The Secretariat will set up the Regional committees and the Regionals will set up Locals. The Secretariat consists mainly of people fitting in the Peace cause between regular jobs and rapidly discovering that there is far more to it than anyone anticipated.

As Antonie Gildenhuys puts it in his interim report: "It is necessary to identify the relevant organisations which should serve on the committee, and to get unanimity on the composition of the committee. This can be very difficult... It is sometimes necessary to hold several meetings with the sole object of reaching consensus on the membership of a committee."

Thus the seven members of the Secretariat work themselves to a frazzle, without conspicuous results.

A budget is still awaited, training programmes are still in the future, the Peace Accord's envisaged provision for Justices of the Peace has not yet proceeded, any further than the text of the Accord, and in at least one of the half-a-handful of extant Local DRCS there is distinct wandering about why to be linked to the national set-up at all.

"It's not," says one local facilitator, "as if we get anything put of it. They're supposed to provide secretarial resources, but I don't know that we need secretarial resources at all, and if we did they'd just tell us 'sorry, no budget'. And if our people are expected to get some sort of lift about being linked to a national body, I'm afraid that's just out of line."

"Township violence is a local issue. What we need is simply massive encouragement to get local bodies started wherever and however they choose." □

Chance

Reassure investors, ANC urged

By Carina le Grange

South Africa would be a good country for future investment — but it was up to the ANC to reassure potential investors that their money would be safe, said British Cabinet Minister Lynda Chalker in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mrs Chalker said she knew British investors would be welcomed in South Africa by all the major political game players, but that they were still unsure

"Nothing throws off investment as much as violence. It is what is preventing South Africa becoming an engine for growth," she said.

The Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and for Overseas Development spoke at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport at the end of a two-day visit.

She said it was unfortunate that the outside world could not enjoy the benefit of seeing and hearing what she saw and heard during her visit. "What they see are snippets of violence — not

what I'm saying here today."

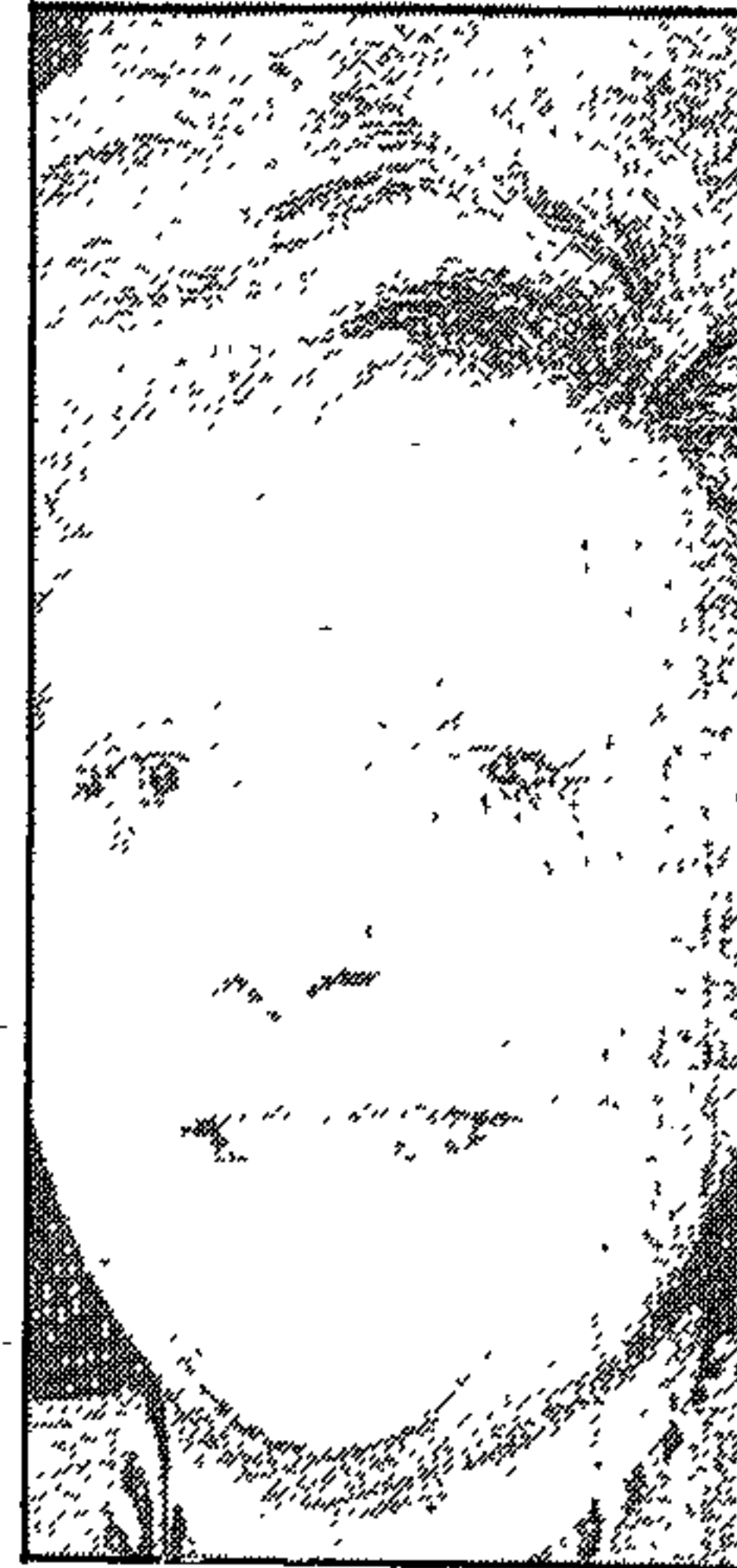
Mrs Chalker met a range of political leaders, including President de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, IFP leader chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC representatives.

She said her priorities had been to offer support for Codesa, to discuss the need for economic growth, and to assess the process of transition to a democratic South Africa.

South Africa needed jobs and investment. International capital was a necessity, but it was in short supply, with many other countries, including those in eastern Europe, clamouring for it.

She said she awaited with interest the ANC's economic policy statement expected in April. For the time being, she was heartened by having seen the "dawning of realism" in this regard.

She said she still held the view, expressed earlier, that Mr Mandela "in his heart of hearts" knew that remaining sanctions had to be lifted.



Lynda Chalker . . . "nothing throws off investment as much as violence".

'Stop blaming Govt, police for violence'

STAR 30/1/92
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Political Reporter and Sapa

It was not in the interest of the Government or the police to promote political violence, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the State President's speech, he asked why the police would start riots and instigate murder if they had to investigate the incidents and possibly get killed in the process.

"People are looking at the violence and saying, 'If that is the new South Africa, I don't want to be part of it'."

The outbreak of black-on-black violence was because of a jockeying for political power among certain groups.

"The time has come to stop blaming the SAP, the Government, a third force or apartheid for the violence."

Mr Kriel said there was as yet no proof that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was responsible for the killing of policemen.

He said the PAC was clearly trying to fill a vacuum left by the ANC after it had decided to join negotiations.

Mr Kriel said it was time for political leaders to speak out against violence and not en-



Hernus Kriel . . . warns rightwingers that their bombing of schools and post offices could one day go horribly wrong, and they could kill children.

courage it by their silence.

To the right wing, Mr Kriel said the ANC, with the help of the USSR, Libya, large parts of Africa, and China, had not been able to take over the Government through violence. "I want to tell the right wing groups: 'It won't work. You don't have the logistical capabilities'."

He warned the right wing that one day their bombing of schools and post offices would go horribly wrong and they would kill children. Detained rightwingers "sang like birds".

Outlining causes of rightist radicalism, Mr Kriel said blame

lay squarely with the Boerekommando, the CP, the AWB and allied groups because they went from platform to platform shouting "swart gevaar".

Mr Kriel said the NP and the SAP were busy beating the violence, but too many people were still dying.

CP chief whip Frank le Roux said it was "scandalous and unparliamentary" for Mr Kriel to have said the CP rejoiced when people died in unrest.

Mr Kriel withdrew the remark but questioned how many times the CP had expressed condolences to blacks families.

Church plans courses on peacemaking

By ISAAC MOLEDI

CHURCHES will organise a one-week non-aligned training course in mediation, negotiation, reconciliation and peacemaking at the Alpha Training Centre in Broederstroom, north-west of Johannesburg.

The training course, which will begin on February 1 to 7, is conceived as an ecumenical contribution to the implementation of the National Peace

Accord.

It is endorsed by a broad ecumenical group that has the support of prominent South African Church leaders and several political groups, the South African Council of Churches said.

"We are not going to discuss negotiations or parties' ideological positions, but what makes for peace.

"Our understanding of peace is not the absence

of war but the presence of justice," the organising committee member Mr Vuyisile Ndabeni said.

Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, who is also a vice chairman of the National Peace Committee, will give a keynote address on February 1 and 2.

The PAC, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, the Government, the Democratic Party and the Azanian Peoples Organisation were also invited.

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30/1/92

Racist attacks are a sign of fear

Sowetan 30/1/92

A BLACK man kills a white family to "cut off the hand of apartheid"; a white gang beats a black man to death because his dog mated with theirs.

While political leaders are forging a new dispensation for the country, ordinary South Africans are committing fresh outrages in their centuries-old race war.

In the bloodiest attack of late, white farmer Mr Kallie Delpont shot dead eight blacks and Indians in the Natal town of Ladysmith this month. He set out on the shooting spree after killing his father in a row over a cattle sale.

The killings caused outrage among the town's blacks, and four days later a black gardener wounded his white employer's two young sons with an axe.

In the conservative Transvaal coal mining town of Kriel, a white man roamed the streets last Saturday shooting at blacks with a shotgun. He killed a man and a woman.

Researchers say an important factor in such crimes is the rapid transition from white supremacy to the dawning of non-racial democracy.

Whites feel increasingly scared as they see their privileges slipping away, while some blacks see the political opening as an invitation for retribution, they add.

The Human Sciences Research Council, a state-sponsored institute, says white-on-black violence has increased since February 1990, when President FW de Klerk began scrapping apartheid.

The council said the repeal of laws which prevented blacks taking white jobs played a significant part in the rise.

Three days before Christmas, Mr Gabriel Mahakoe (42) broke

FOCUS

into the empty home of a white farmer named Engelbrecht in the Verkeerdevlei district of the Orange Free State.

He told a magistrate what happened.

"I wanted to kill the kaffir, dog, baboon, as we are called.

"I went to sit in the holy (front) room, where a kaffir is not allowed to sit, and waited for (the Engelbrechts). The devil helped me, and they came."

Mahakoe, who pleaded guilty to four counts of murder, said that, as he shot the family, he told them: "Africa must return. You will forgive me because I don't kill you, I

apartheid," Mahakoe said. "Unfortunately I only cut off the fingers. That day I wanted to kill 20 to 50 people."

Following the murders, white farmers in the district set up a neighbourhood watch. Two weeks later they caught three black suspects in another robbery, and beat one of them to death.

On Christmas Day, a white couple living on a smallholding south of Johannesburg accosted black labourer Mr Molatu Lebeta, (60) on a neighbour's plot.

Lebeta's wife Maria said there was an argument, after which the white couple returned with about six other whites. They beat Lebeta and the next day he died in hospital.

What was the argument about?

"The white woman said she didn't want her dog coming together with a kaffir's dog," said Maria.

***'Africa must return.
You will forgive me
because I don't kill
you, I kill that thing
we are called -
kaffir, dog, baboon.'***

kill that thing we are called - kaffir, dog, baboon."

He told the magistrate he did not know the Engelbrechts personally but knew they represented apartheid.

"I wanted to cut off the hand of

Psychologist Mr Lloyd Vogelmann, director of the centre for the study of political violence at Witwatersrand University, said the crimes were an extension of the violence in which nearly 5 000 blacks have died in two years.



FW DE KLERK

"There is a belief that violence is effective, that it's a quick and easy way to get what you want. It's a belief that has been substantiated in recent history."

Violence in South Africa has many varieties, including hit-squad attacks, wars between competing taxi operators, tribal clan feuds and battles over political turf.

On a personal level, the armed burglaries which have become common in affluent white suburbs are increasingly accompanied by rape - often seen as a crime of hate.

Vogelmann said some of the crimes against whites committed by blacks were expressions of outrage or retribution at symbolic figures.

Crimes by whites against blacks were often sparked by a sense of powerlessness to halt the erosion of their position of dominance.

"Violence restores the sense of power, the sense of feeling in control," he said - Sapa-Reuter



Britain's Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker speaks to journalists at Jan Smuts airport yesterday after her two-day visit to SA. She said she had discovered "a real sense of urgency" among the country's political leaders.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

'Violence must end'

31 May 30/1/92
KATHRYN STRACHAN

BRITISH Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker said yesterday there was an urgent need for economic growth in SA, but warned that the violence would have to end before the country could attract foreign investment.

Speaking at a media conference at Jan Smuts airport, Chalker warned there was a shortage of international capital as Eastern European markets were also in competition for foreign investment.

"SA needs capital if it is to succeed," she said, "but there is nothing that chases investors off more quickly than outbreaks of violence in the country."

Chalker said one of the main priorities of her visit was to offer support to Codesa and urged participation in the talks.

She said British funding of Inkatha would not be affected by recent reports that it had received received state aid.

1991 political killings down by 28 pc

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STAR 30/1/92

Political killing dropped by nearly 28 percent last year, the SA Institute of Race Relations said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The number of killed in political violence declined from 3 699 in 1990 to 2 672 in 1991.

The executive director of the institute, John Kane-Berman, said the 162 fatalities recorded in December last year were the lowest monthly number since June, and the fourth lowest in the past two years.

"Despite the decline, 1991 was the second worst year of political violence that South Africa has experienced since the upsurge from September 1984. The total number of fatalities we

have recorded since then is 11 910," Mr Kane-Berman said.

He added that the average monthly death toll over this period was 135. By contrast, an average of 44 people were killed monthly in the upheavals that began in Soweto on June 16 1976 and thereafter spread across the country. Between June 1976 and October 1977, 700 people died.

"The violence of the 1980s has thus been very much more intense than that of the 1970s. Indeed, in the single month of August 1990, 698 people died — as many as in the whole year and a quarter of upheavals

after the Soweto shootings of June 1976."

Most of the deaths in the Soweto disturbances were at the hands of the police, Mr Kane-Berman said, whereas in the last few years conflict between rival political organisations had been a major cause of fatalities.

Mr Kane-Berman said deaths so far this year in political violence were running at about half the average daily figure for last year.

"This is a promising start to the year but we must remember that figures in years gone past have fluctuated wildly from one month to the next."

Mr Kane-Berman added that the institute's most recent statistics were preliminary, and would be updated from time to time.

Looking at unrest incidents including incidents where there may not have been fatalities or injuries, he said.

"So far this year, violent attacks on the police have averaged one a day while there have also been a number of violent incidents surrounding the reopening of schools in black areas. In addition, there has been a renewed spate of violent attacks on railway commuters."

— Sapa.

PEACE PLEDGE

● I condemn the scourge of violence which has afflicted our country and all practices that have contributed to such violence, and commit myself to the principles contained in the National Peace Accord.

● I pledge myself with integrity of purpose to make this land a prosperous one where we can all live, work and play together in peace and harmony. I accordingly solemnly bind myself to the principles contained in the National Peace Accord and will respect its underlying rights and values.

(signed):

PRINT NAME:

Address:

..... code:

● Send this coupon to the Peace Train, Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000. We'll pass it to the Peace Commission — and send you a certificate.

'Wrong answer' rears its awful head once more

STAR 30/1/92
(274)

There was a kind of moratorium in there for a while. Hardly any violence. At any rate, hardly any of the beat-up-your-rivals violence that people treat as so much more ominous than "ordinary" violence like robberies or "logical" violence like sabotage.

At least, it seemed, one front in the war for peace was looking hopeful. At least there was a shortage of headlines about train massacres and inexplicable carnage.

Could the punting of Peace have worked, better than anyone anticipated? Or was it a mere Christmas vacation?

Last week an answer presented itself — the wrong answer. No, commuters were not freed of random terrorism. Trains and taxis were still susceptible to mysterious attacks.

Ironically, the first salvo of the fresh series took place on the day the National Peace Committee met for its first meeting of 1992. The scale of commuter attacks was nothing like mid-'91, but once again, night cleaners in the city were sleeping over in storerooms rather than risk the homeward journey. Once again, suburban householders

were wondering if we were in for an internecine war.

At The Star, minds crystallised. Was the Peace Train campaign, suspended over the festive season, to be left in abeyance rather than re-focus reluctant minds on why there is a need to fight for peace? The need raised its head, all too clearly. The Peace Train chugs again, for as long as exploration into the making of peace may be helpful.

At Barlow Park, *de facto* nerve centre of the National Peace Initiative, similar crystallising was on the go.

Does the Peace structure have a role in the Codesa era?

The logical answer is an outright Yes. Codesa is about a constitutional framework. The Peace endeavour deals with ways of waging politics whatever the constitutional framework. It has a role independent of Codesa's success, a role that is vital before Codesa delivers its goods, a role that may remain vital long after.

In the public mind as well as in the corridors of power there has been doubt as to whether the Peace Accord needs its own separate administration and bureaucracy.

Strong commitment needed to make the peace process work

STAR 30/1/92

A Magna Carta, says John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee, is not a thing that suddenly pops into full flower overnight.

For Mr Hall, the Peace Accord is South Africa's Magna Carta. It's that, and it's "the biggest thing to come down the track since the Zimbabwe Ruins".

Do not, says Mr Hall, expect instant magic. "Rather look for a steady growth to the point where public opinion makes the Accord tick. Where I'm coming from is the belief that public opinion is the key — that's my hot button."

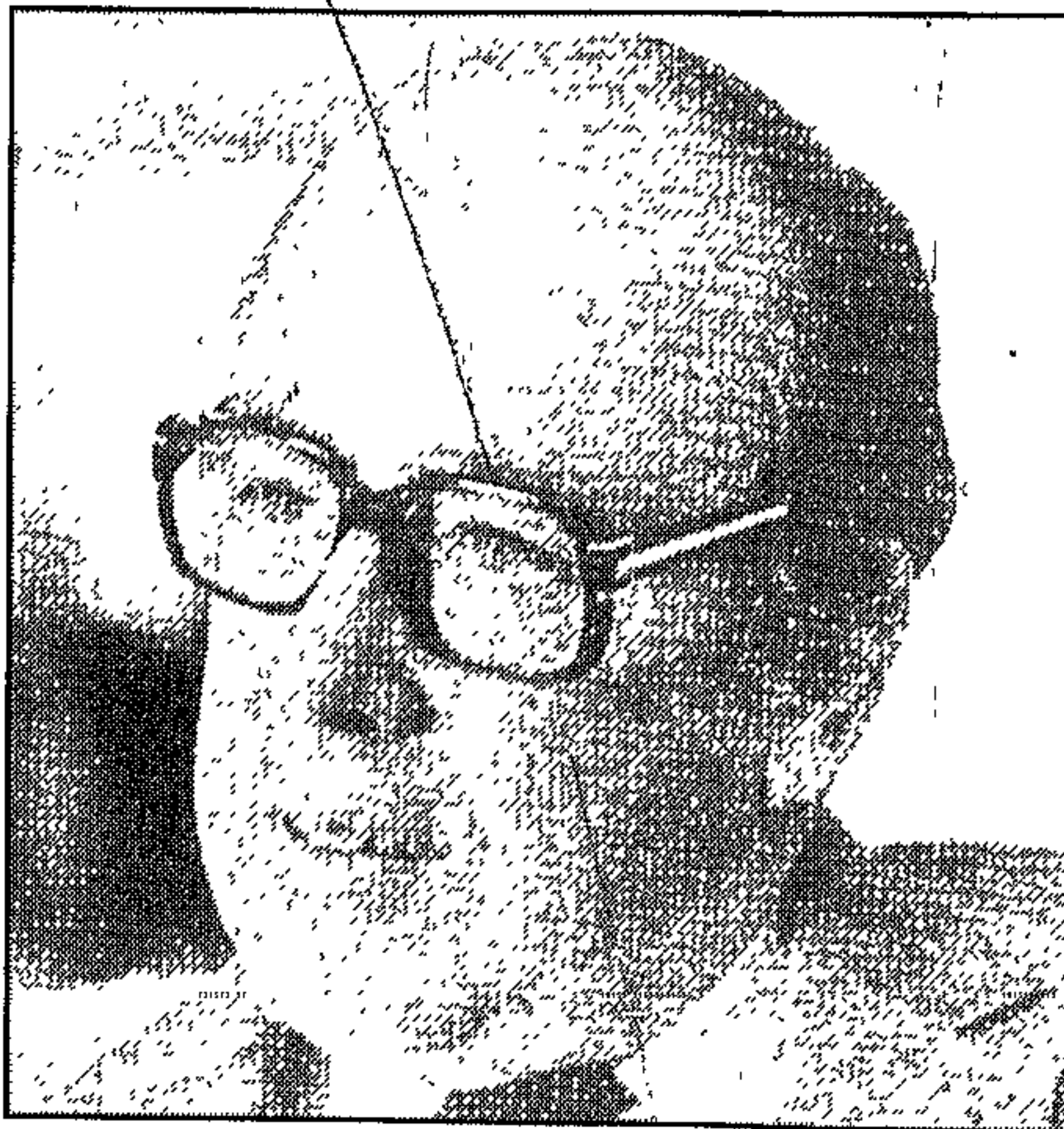
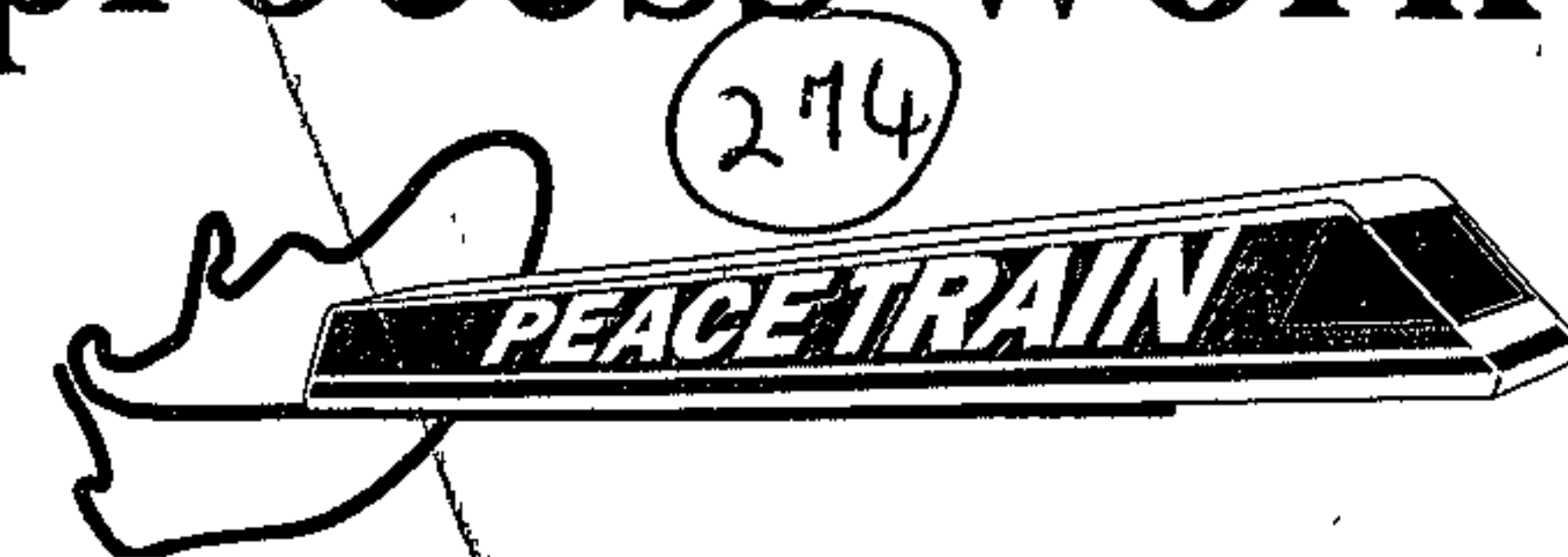
Mr Hall is anxious to get to the point where "you can walk down Eloff Street and the average guy will know that the Accord exists, that it gives him rights, and that he can hold leaders accountable."

Accordingly, simplified versions of the Peace Accord are currently being prepared in seven languages for publication in more than a million copies, this being a step, as the official record of the latest Peace Committee meeting puts it, "of vital significance in reaching the grassroots level and the educationally deprived."

Mr Hall has no doubt that this is the way to go. "Already we are gathering complaints addressed at various signatories of the Accord", he says, "and some of those signatories have not responded to the complaints. We need more people to know that they can make complaints if they need to, and in the end we'll produce figures."

"We'll say: 'We have X thousand complaints addressed to X, who is a signatory of the Peace Accord but has not responded.' We'll shame errant leaders into complying with the Accord, which is much stronger than trying to legislate them into doing it. Public opinion will do the trick."

The crucial element, in Mr



John Hall . . . of vital significance that the peace plan reaches grassroots level.

Hall's view, is that there is an "ongoing commitment to the peace process. We don't want a flash in the pan. Let it build, and let it stay".

Mr Hall sees the National Peace Committee's role in this process as twofold. "First, is the Accord being implemented? Second, is the Code of Conduct being adhered to? Those are the things for us to watch, but finally, wherever we come to the answer 'No', we've got to be able to invoke the aid of massive public outrage. If the Accord fails that's because some blighter who signed it is not pulling his weight, and I want him pilloried."

So far, in Mr Hall's view, no blighter is letting the side down. Far from it, the peace mood is acquiring a momen-

tum that takes even its chief officers by surprise.

Mr Hall himself was instrumental in getting the Border/Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee under way. Both of the relevant sides in the area — Ciskei government and ANC — separately asked him to convene a meeting and he found it a classic case of "South Africans finding one another. It's magic. It works every time. If the process is there and the structures are there people will sit and talk. All we need is to spread that process across the nation, and we do that through the Peace Accord. The Accord will finally end up exactly as powerful as the public wants it to be — no more and no less."

SOWETAN Friday January 31 1992

SANCTIONS have caused untold misery and hardship to people they were intended to help.

They were imposed as a result of the many rallies and campaigns the liberation movements had launched against the white minority regime.

The Western countries have not been co-operative or keen enough in maintaining them.

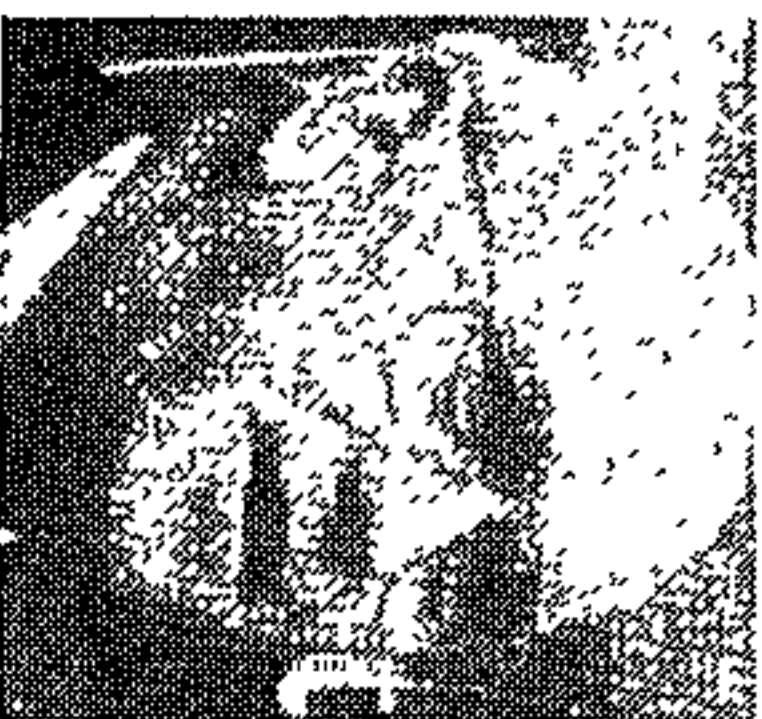
The World Monitor Television reported last month that the United Nations said sanctions must go. However, apartheid is still alive and kicking and there is no peace in sight.

Reform has brought more violence to the townships than what

Blacks have to pay the price with their lives



NELSON MANDELA



FD DE KLERK



OLIVER TAMBO



CHRIS HANI

Umkhonto we Sizwe delivered. There is no more any talk about the

soft or hard targets. When MK hit Government targets, South Afri-

ca, the international press and their governments pressurized the ANC to is-

sue statements or give explanations at whom their operations were targeted.

Today more blacks and not whites, Indians or coloureds are dying. Whites are arming themselves more and more in the name of white supremacy. Black life has become less and less valuable in the eyes of the ruling clique.

The UN maintains that the Government has "met its obligations" and fulfilled its promises. It released Nelson Mandela, unbanned liberation movements and allowed constitutional talks to take place.

How can one possibly explain why black people should die in such big numbers.

STEVE ABDUL,
Toronto, Ontario.

Just bullshit! Buthelezi's TV outburst

274 W/May 31/11-6/2/92
Weekly Mail Reporter: London

MILLIONS of Britons this week witnessed a fascinating contrast in styles between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi during a Granada Television documentary examining the violence gripping South Africa.

The African National Congress leader, speaking firmly and calmly, told his interviewer: "The security forces have taken over the violence and they are now using certain black organisations as a smokescreen in order to carry out the violence themselves, and the purpose is to prevent the ANC from taking over power."

The leader of Inkatha displayed anger and aggression when his questioner sought his views on issues he seemed to regard as awkward.

After showing sequences of armed Inkatha impis on the march, the documentary switched to Buthelezi responding to the interviewer's assertion that "even conservative white newspapers say that the majority of the violence is caused by Inkatha".

Plainly enraged, Buthelezi exploded: "That's bullshit! That's all I can say!" He paused slightly, then turned to an avowal of his Christian faith which he said has driven him throughout his political life. But his dedication to Christian principles did not inhibit him from reverting to the expletive again and again in response to straight questioning.

The 24-minute *World in Action* programme, entitled "Getting away with murder", at one point displayed a recent *Weekly Mail* front page which disclosed how Military Intelligence has been funding a variety of front organisations to disseminate National Party propaganda and to train Inkatha-related groups in death-squad activities.

Most serious British daily newspapers often quote *The Weekly Mail* in their coverage of South African affairs, but this was the first sight millions of Britons have ever had of it. The programme is also being distributed to TV networks in about 100 countries around the world.

Buthelezi was the only leading actor in South Africa's political drama who challenged the evidence presented in the programme. The producers had invited President FW de Klerk, Police Minister Hernus Kriel and other ministers to appear on behalf of the government, but all failed to show.

Do black leaders support violence?

I HAVE often watched on SABC-TV some of our best "African brains" interviewed by veterans like John Bishop, Adrian Steed and others.

And, I must confess, I am invariably amazed at the absolute naivety of some of the questions hurled at the people interviewed. "Hurled" is exactly the word to use in this context.

A typical case in point is the interview by Adrian Steed of Advocate Dikgang Moseneke on the Agenda programme of Tuesday, January 28.

The first question Steed threw at Moseneke was standard. It always comes up whenever African political leaders and activists are interviewed on TV or radio: Do you support violence?

Judging from the manner in which the question is spewed out, it is always obvious it is designed to embarrass and flummox the interviewee.

In the case of Moseneke's interview, to show how important this question on "violence" is in the minds of the interviewers, it was repeated several times without even an attempt to vary its verbal garb: "Do you support violence? Yes or No, Mr Moseneke?"

Steed was, in fact, right in feeling that Moseneke did not wish to give a straight forward "yes" or "no" to that million-dollar question. And yet Steed needed an unambiguous, categorical "yes" or "no" answer to his plain, straightforward question.

Now, my question is: Why was Moseneke (and most African politicians and activists) not willing to give a straight-forward answer to Steed's question?

Was Moseneke using the proverbial technique of evasiveness en-

FOCUS

Executive chairman of the Trust for Educational Advancement in South Africa LEBAMANG SEBIDI examines the nuances involved in the word "violence".

amoured of lawyers? Or was he, instinctively, feeling he was being treacherously lured into a trap? I presume that if Moseneke was asked the question "Do you live in Timbuktu?" he would have, unhesitatingly, answered "no".

Why the humming-and-hawing in this case? Let me hazard a guess. Both Steed and Moseneke are unwitting prisoners of language. The language we use - especially on TV and radio - is the language of our colonial masters.

It is colonised language, fraught with hidden nuances. And it is not until the colonised make conscious efforts to unmask the hidden meanings and nuances inherent in some of the terms and phraseology glibly used in conversation that we will always feel trapped and compromised.

The victims of apartheid must be vigilant. They must guard against the oppressive subtleties of loaded words.

"Violence" is an ethically loaded word. Let me explain. If Moseneke was asked: "Do you support murder?" I do not doubt he would have answered. "No", of course not!

How dare you ask me such a question."

He would have said this simply because somehow the ethical nuances inherent in the term "murder" have been unmasked. "Murder" is, in ethics, a judgmental term. It is a term used to pass negative judgment on the specific act of killing a human being.

"Murder" is, therefore, by definition the deliberate killing of an innocent human being. (Each word in this definition is crucial).

It is for this reason that nobody, barring psychopathic nuts, would publicly say he was supportive of murder.

The same lack of ethical neutrality applies to the notorious word "violence". This is, ethically speaking, a judgmental term, pregnant with negative moral nuances.

The ethical anatomy of the term "violence" needs to be laid bare as in the case of the word "murder".

Briefly "violence" fundamentally implies the use of physical or psychological force.

"Violence" is, by definition, the unjustifiable use of psychological or physical force on innocent human beings. (Every word in this definition is important).

If the above definition is correct the bare nakedness of what Moseneke was to respond to was: "Do you support the unjustifiable use of psychological/physical force on innocent human beings? Yes or No?"

He, certainly, was not asked: "Do you support the use of force to defend your wife and daughter from a demented rapist?" Clearly, not every application of force is violence, just as not every killing of a human being is murder, homicide, execution etc. These are not just empty words.

They are words used to draw



DIKGANG MOSENEKE

vital distinctions in specific acts of killing human beings. They help bring clarity and pointedness to our daily discourse on issues.

Without belabouring this point, ad nauseam, let me respond to Steed's question by saying that neither Moseneke, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Clarence Makwetu, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, nor I support violence.

How could we when violence is by definition the unjustifiable use of force on innocent human beings?

But in respect of the use of force to defend their God-given rights against some people who are bent upon raping those rights, well, that is another question.

But, I bet my bottom cent that that all of the afore-mentioned gentlemen would support the use of such force.

Quibbling, you say? Try to convince any judge or magistrate that there is no distinction between "murder" and "homicide".

My thesis is: The distinction between these ethical terms is more than just verbal.

Political killing figures down

POLITICAL killing dropped by nearly 28 percent last year, the South African Institute of Race Relations said in Johannesburg this week.

The number of people killed in political violence declined from 3 699 the previous year to 2 672 in 1991.

The institute said the worst month of the year had been March, followed by May, September, and November. However, the institute executive director, Mr John Kane-Berman, said the 162 fatalities recorded last December were the lowest monthly number since June, and the fourth lowest in the past two years.



JOHN KANE-BERMAN

"Despite the decline, 1991 was the second-worst year of political violence that South Africa has experienced since the upsurge from September 1984. The total number of fatalities we have recorded since then is

11 910," Kane-Berman said.

He added that the average monthly death toll over this period was 135.

"The violence of the 1980s has thus been very much more intense than that of the 1970s.

"In the single month of August 1990, 698 people died - as many as in the whole year-and-a-quarter of upheavals after the Soweto shootings of June 1976."

Most of the deaths in the Soweto disturbances were at the hands of the police, Kane-Berman said, whereas in the last few years conflict between rival political organisations had been a major cause of fatalities.

Kane-Berman said this year, deaths in political violence were running at about half the average daily figure for last year.

"This is a promising start to the year but we must remember that figures in years gone past have fluctuated wildly from one month to the next."

He added: "So far this year, violent attacks on the police have averaged one a day, while there have also been a number of violent incidents surrounding the reopening of schools in black areas.

"In addition, there has been a renewed spate of violent attacks on railway commuters." - *South African Press Association.*

Sowetan 31/1/92

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Too late for some (12) (274)

THE SA Police's attitude to the carrying of dangerous weapons veers from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Lawyers have apparently convinced the police that in the Johannesburg area at least a municipal by-law forbids the carrying of any weapon and the police are quite within their rights to confiscate it.

If the police had paid more attention to the law and less to the sensibilities of some political parties, a few more lives might have been saved.

STimes 2/2/92

By EDYTH BULBRING

JOHN HALL, likens implementation of the National Peace Accord to erecting a tent — each structure is set up and each act of tolerance and communication is a peg driven into the ground until eventually the tent is secure.

The analogy by the chairman of the National Peace Committee is appropriate as there are still many pegs to hammer home.

Two months after the accord was signed on September 14 by 29 political, state and trade union organisations in a blaze of pomp and back-patting, the ANC requested the use of a stadium for a political rally in Esikawini, Natal.

It was refused by the local authority. The ANC went to court and won the right to hold the meeting at the stadium but when its supporters arrived, they discovered that it was already occupied by Inkatha supporters.

□ □ □

Tempers flared, four people were killed and many were injured.

For Antonie Gildenhuys, chairman of the Peace Secretariat, it was a tragedy that could have been avoided if the parties had been talking to each other in a local peace forum.

Four months after the signing of the accord, the question being asked is why isn't it working? And what happened to all those impressive-sounding bodies that were going to halt the killings?

For Mr Hall, the key to violence prevention is the Local Dispute Resolution Committees.

Comprising interested parties in the

National Peace Accord charts a painful course

STimes 21.2.1992

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community and residents and police, their brief is to communicate, mediate and negotiate to prevent violence.

Regional Dispute Resolution Committees which advise and oversee the work of the local committees operate under the seven-member secretariat chaired by Mr Gildenhuys.

So far, only three regional dispute resolution committees out of a possible 10 have been formed — in Natal, Border/Kei and the Western Cape.

There are only three local committees in the Witwatersrand — in Soweto, Germiston and Thokoza. The three in Natal are in Stanger, Umlazi and Mooi River. Another in the Border region was established on Friday.

Mr Gildenhuys says the secretariat has attempted to consolidate in the most urgent areas.

But constituting a committee is not a simple matter. Those involved in them have grievances, antagonism, political agendas, distrust and anger.

Arriving at proposals to prevent violence often results in post mortems on the causes and often lead to bitter recriminations.

Participants lack skills in mediation and negotiation — a problem the secre-

tariat will address by establishing training programmes.

Mr Gildenhuys says the establishment of the Soweto Local Dispute Resolution Committee was the most difficult.

It took three meetings for participants to agree on the membership of the committee and six before the participants started discussing problems.

Secretariat member Jay Naidoo says: "There are going to be problems in all these committees."

While communities could be reconciled, there is always the possibility of a "third force" causing violence.

But for Mr Naidoo, the criteria for the success of the accord is whether the killing stops.

□ □ □

He says the peace process has played an important role in contributing to a new political culture of resolution of conflict through communication and mediation.

Mr Hall concedes there are areas where the implementation of the accord are unsatisfactory.

He says the accord's driving force is

the Code of Conduct for Political Parties which binds them to a policy of tolerance and good behaviour.

But allegations of contraventions of the code are ignored by political parties.

There is no structure to force a political party to respond to the allegation other than moral pressure.

Mr Hall readily agrees that political parties are not taking this aspect of the accord seriously.

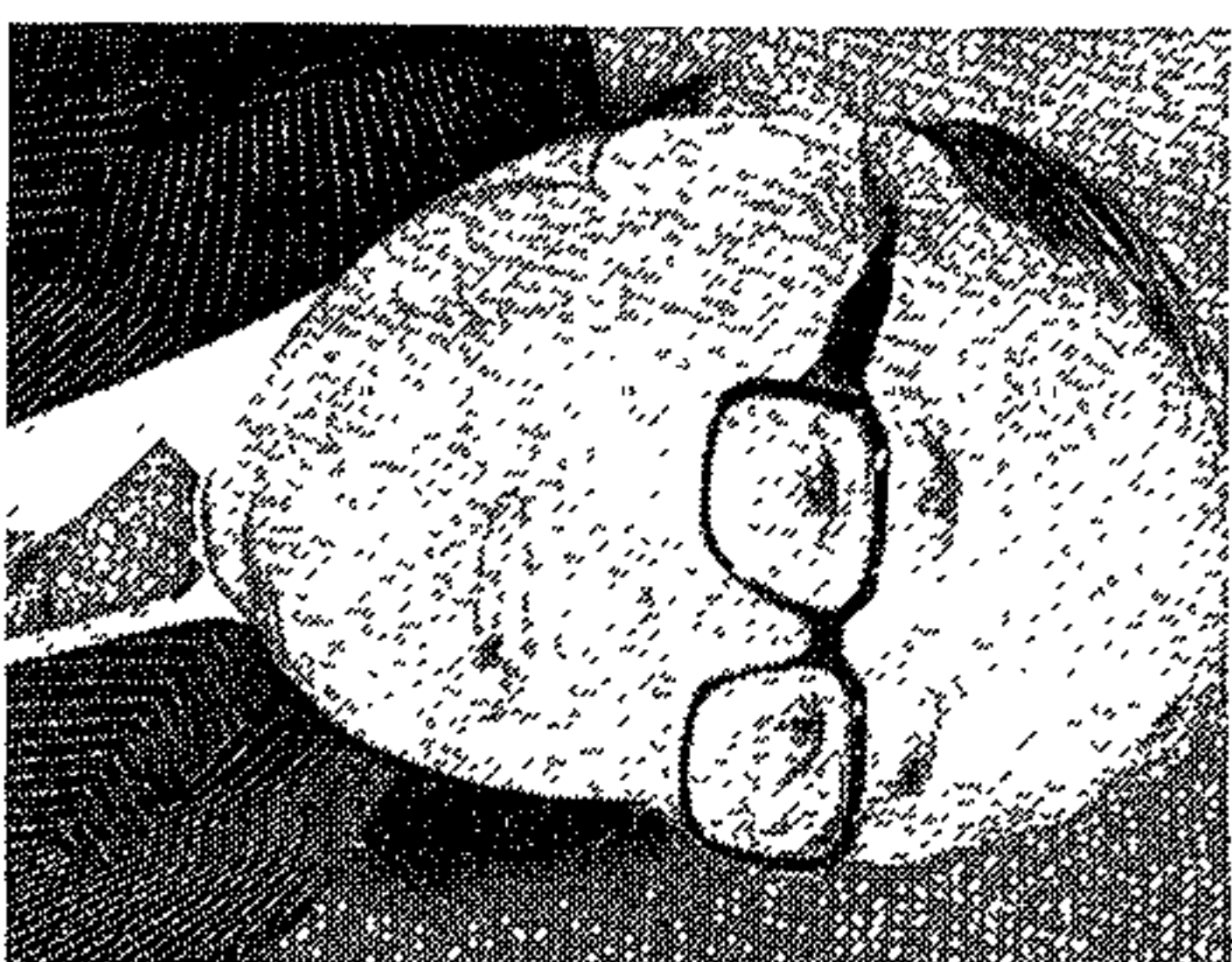
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Regarding other structures, the Police Board, comprising members of the public and police in equal numbers, which will make recommendations on the training and efficient functioning of the police has not been set up.

Mr Naidoo says it will be considered on February 10.

Police reporting officers or ombudsmen which are to be appointed to receive complaints on alleged misconduct in the force and monitoring special investigating units on these allegations have not been appointed.

The job of submitting possible names of police reporting officers to Law and



JOHN HALL: Some areas need work

Order Minister Hernus Kriel had only been done in two regions.

Special units which have been established to investigate political violence depend largely on the co-operation of the community but distrust of the police has to be countered.

The police code of conduct, which stipulates that police should not take sides and use minimum force in curbing violence was now being taught at police training colleges.

Mr Hall says special courts which would try these cases of political violence have been mobile units which have only tried traffic offences so far.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

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BHE

c/pren 2/2/92

Can we expect a rise in random attacks?

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE random killing of blacks by white rightwingers may be the start of an upsurge of such racist killings.

This is the feeling of Venitia Govender, co-ordinator of Peace Action, a violence-monitoring group based in Johannesburg.

Speaking to City Press in her personal capacity, Govender said the attacks on blacks in Ladysmith, Natal, and Middelburg in the eastern Transvaal may signal an increase in such attacks.

Lot of killings

"We are going to see a lot of these killings. Some people may dismiss them as random and not politically motivated, but this is not true. Ultimately they are politically motivated."

However, a spokesman for the Human Rights Commission, which is part of Peace Action, said it was too early to tell whether there is a potential for more racist killings.

There has been widespread alarm in the black community since nine blacks were killed and 19 wounded by a lone gunman in Ladysmith two weeks ago.

This was soon followed by another killing this week in Middelburg in which one black person died and several were wounded.

An HRC spokesman, who asked to remain anonymous, admitted the recent killings in Ladysmith and Middelburg were cause for concern.

However, she said it was "very difficult to tell" whether the killings meant a new trend or whether they could indicate a new upsurge in white-on-black violence.

She pointed out that although the latest killings were cause for concern,

violence involving "semi-spontaneous and indiscriminate acts by individuals or small groups" was not that common compared to vigilante-type violence.

The vigilante type of violence, the HRC says, is "organisationally based" and involves "planning and marshalling of resources". Most of the killings in the current orgy of violence fall under this category.

According to the HRC, most of the attacks against blacks occur in the rural areas of the eastern, western and northern Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The reason for this is that most whites in these places are conservative and the areas themselves are known strongholds of Conservative Party supporters or members.

Govender, on the other hand, believes the new political developments in the country have increased fear among whites.

White rightwingers, she says, are "screaming that nobody is listening to them".

The Peace Action co-ordinator says it would be foolish to underestimate the potential of these isolated incidents growing and leading to serious racial problems.

Racial targets

"In Ladysmith, I believe, there are reports that blacks are coming together because they feel they are being targeted on a racial basis. Whites too feel threatened. Polarisation is increasing."

Peace Action is an umbrella body comprising anti-apartheid organisations like the Five Freedoms Forum, End Conscription Campaign, the Black Sash, the HRC, Lawyers for Human Rights and several churches.

BEWARE!

■ Defence units ready soon ■ Plan to woo cops, troops

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC is in the final stages of launching township defence units aimed at protecting residents from vigilante attacks.

It is reliably learnt that the organisation's National Executive Committee met this week to discuss the revised issue of *For the Sake of Our Lives - Guidelines for the Formation of People's Defence Units*.

The new proposals are likely to be endorsed by the NEC and implemented immediately.

The original draft version was the subject of serious discussion by the ANC-Cosatu-SACP tripartite alliance and drew strong opposition from government when it be-

came public knowledge last April.

The government said it would not allow anyone to usurp the functions of the security forces.

It added such units would make violence more widespread.

ANC leader and then deputy president Nelson Mandela and spokesmen for the tripartite alliance were adamant they would go ahead with these structures.

The 23-page updated version - called *Guidelines for Units of Self Protection* - does not differ drastically from the earlier document.

The central role to be played by the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, is still acknowledged - but the document emphasises

participation in defence units should not be based on party-political affiliations.

The ANC says the launching and in some cases reactivating of the units is not a violation of the National Peace Accord.

A high-ranking member of the ANC said the NPA acknowledged the right of people to defend themselves and "makes provision for the granting of licenses for firearms to units of self protection".

In a frank admission of the limitations of MK, the document said: "The perception that Umkhonto weSizwe can provide effective protection and all the answers to the violence is a dangerous illusion."

The document calls for

the mobilising of community members into volunteers corps; the setting up of regional, zonal and local defence structures; the creation of lookout posts and the acquisition of weapons like pistols and more sophisticated ones to counter the threat of people using AK-47s.

It is also recommended that permanent and more formidable barricades be built; communications and defence systems established and that houses and buildings near hostels and other possible routes of attack be fortified with sandbags.

As part of the overall strategy to minimise vigilante attacks, the document highlights the need to win over black soldiers, police, hostel dwellers and vigilantes.

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Violence 'leads to more violence'

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) has refused to meet the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in Tanzania to discuss the recent spate of attacks on police before meeting the hierarchy of the PAC.

Transvaal Popcru leader Peter Nkuna said

his organisation believed that because Apla was the military wing of the PAC, it would be appropriate to first discuss the matter with the mother body.

Nkuna said: "While we abhor the attacks on police by Apla, we also abhor the acts of violence carried out by police on innocent people. We

therefore call on the South African government to take the necessary steps and uproot those members of the police force who perpetrate acts of violence.

"We also call on the government to bring the third force to an end, because violence is not in the interests of anybody,

except those who are supporters of evil deeds."

At a press conference held in Johannesburg this week, Popcru announced a planned march by its members.

A statement by Popcru said: "We call on the government to stop using the security forces for their political ends."

Right In the crossfire of change

Sweetan
3/2/92 274
TWO black policemen are lured by false emergency calls, ambushed and set alight in their van.

Two white policemen hitchhiking in civilian clothes are shot dead and their bodies dumped in a field.

A police sergeant and his pregnant wife are hit by gunmen at a party at police barracks.

As black and white leaders begin debating South Africa's transition to democracy, police are increasingly the target of political and criminal violence.

"We have become political footballs at the time when anyone with any goodwill should be trying their

SA Press Association-
Reuter

best to restore some normality," said one constable, who asked to be identified only as Alpheus.

At least 10 officers have been killed so far this year; 145 died in the line of duty in 1991.

Some of the recent killings have been claimed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the radical Pan Africanist Congress.

"Make no mistake; if our policemen are to be targets for criminals

and political thugs, law and order will collapse and all will suffer," said law and order ministry spokesman Craig Kotze.

The PAC defends the murder of police, saying they are agents of apartheid.

"Because the regime relies on the security forces to stay in power for perpetuity, for any revolution to succeed, they should be wiped out," said a telephone caller claiming to speak for APLA.

The Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal said the PAC strategy was misguided.

It said that while some police

wanted to maintain the status quo, others shared the vision for a non-racial South Africa and could be regarded as potential allies.

Black officers who joined the force to help combat crime in the townships said they were shocked by anti-police sentiment.

Many have had their homes burnt down and now live in guarded compounds. So traumatic have their lives become that some have had psychological counselling.

Some policemen have been victims of gangsters emboldened by the mood of insecurity accompanying the political transition.

Goldstone probe seeks wider scope

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR 3/2/92

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone Commission into Political Violence and Intimidation cannot investigate certain urgent issues because its terms of reference are too narrow, it was revealed on Friday.

In its first interim report, tabled in Parliament, the commission recommended amendments to the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act which requires committees, appointed by the commission, to have at least three members, one of whom must be one of the five commission members.

"All the members of the commission are at present serving on committees and consequently the commission at this stage is unable to inquire into several situations of violence which require its urgent attention," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

The commission recommended that the requirement that a

minimum of three people be appointed to committees and that a member of the commission should serve on every committee be removed.

Mr Justice Goldstone said it was too early to draw conclusions from information which had come to the attention of the commission. There was, however, no doubt that the existence of the commission served an important purpose.

"The fact that there is an independent body which can receive and ask for information in an area which has hitherto been one of secrecy, in which rumours have abounded, is itself encouraging," he said.

Since it was established in October, the commission had appointed four committees.

- A committee into violence in Tokoza was established in October. The hearings were still in progress and the commission said it would be premature to comment on them at this stage.

- A second committee was established in November to inquire into the violence and murders at the President Steyn gold

mine in Welkom. The hearings had not been concluded.

- A committee was also set up to look into aspects of "mass action". On January 13 it heard evidence in Mooi River on violence and killings in the area in December. An interim report on urgent aspects of the Mooi River situation would be submitted to the commission today.

- A fourth committee was set up last month to probe violence related to public transport.

The commission heard evidence in December on an alleged conspiracy involving two policemen in the abduction and murder of the chairman of the civic association in Schweizer-Reneke. It decided there was prima facie evidence implicating the policemen.

Azapo and the PAC had been invited to discuss the commission's concern about the organisations' attitudes to violence relating to the Paul Simon tour and murder of policemen.

The commission would begin hearing evidence tomorrow on allegations that the SADF instigated township violence.

Mass shootings sparked by fear

STH 3/2/92 274

THE alarming increase in white on black mass killings is probably caused by a perception of being threatened by blacks in the changing political landscape — exacerbated by loss of control over personal problems, psychologists agree.

There have been three incidences of mass killings in the past two weeks, all involving white men who went on a shooting rampage. Blacks were largely the victims in all cases, and in two incidences, personal problems had come to a head.

● In Middelburg last week, Corenelius de Vaal killed one man and injured five others when he fired randomly in the Golsig suburb — after his girl friend had rejected him.

● The previous weekend, mine apprentice Johannes Wilhelm Saunders arbitrarily shot two blacks in Kriel after he wandered off from a braai with friends in town.

● Two weeks ago, Kallie Delport went on a shooting spree in Ladysmith, shooting dead nine people and wounding 19. He had apparently argued with his father — whom he also killed — over the price of cattle.

Although racism has been dismissed by local authorities as a factor, director for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand Lloyd Vogelmann said the fact that the victims were mostly black probably was significant.

"Problems in the personal lives of these people are displaced externally — inevitably to those who are seen as causing a threat.

"Blacks are perceived as depriving power from whites and blocking their social progress. The act of shooting blacks randomly is more a defensive act and justified on the basis that they are out to harm the culprit," said Mr Vogelmann.

The act provided a sense of

White on black killings may have been triggered by racial factors, reports HELEN GRANGE.

power and enormous excitement — and was likely to be sparked by a sense of despair and powerlessness in the culprit's personal life.

"Taking control through extreme violence balances the feeling of being helpless," said Mr Vogelmann.

Mr Vogelmann said blacks were perceived by some conservative whites as being inhuman, which, coupled with being seen as a threat, were often victims of such acts.

The fact that most mass killers were not economically poor pointed to a strong emotional and social connotation in the act, he said.

Mr Vogelmann said such incidences usually only took place where there was a high incidence of firearm usage.

In 1990, 48 percent of whites had firearms at home, with 56 percent of the owners being Afrikaans speaking and 36 percent being English speaking.

Dr Alex Butchart, assistant director of the Health Psychology Unit at the University of South Africa said a series of mass killings could be attributed to a copycat phenomenon.

"People watch TV or read about it and it suggests something to them. They would probably have the proclivity to act in such a way and this would catalyse the outburst," he said.

Dr Butchart agreed that the question of race and class was probably a factor in the mass killings mentioned.

"We are only shocked because of the intensity and horror of a mass killing — yet we are familiar with blacks being frequently assaulted by whites in South Africa," he said. □

Peace accord not working - callers 274

Sowetan 4/2/92
CALLERS to the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback Show were yesterday divided over the National Peace Accord's capability of ending the violence.

Some of the callers said the accord was a "wasted effort because many blacks are being killed daily by rightwingers".

Others, however, said "conditions were slowly improving."

The Rev Stanley Mogoba, presiding president of the Methodist Church, who is also vice chairman of the accord, said violence decreased by 28 percent this year, compared to the same period last year.

He, however, said

By IKE MOTSAPI



greater effort was needed to make the accord a "total success."

He said: "What is needed is the participation of everybody to make it a success."

Percy from Cape Town said: "We are dealing with sophisticated people whose intentions are to kill blacks

"The MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) cadres should not

have put their weapons away so quickly. Look what is happening now.

"Whites are fully armed and own everything in this country. "Why can't we arm ourselves so that we can be able to defend our communities?" he asked.

Jabu said the accord was not working because many black people are dying everyday.

"Why is this happening?"

Sibusiso from Middleburg said the accord "cannot work unless people of this country joined forces to stop the violence."

Mingi from Sebokeng appealed to blacks to unite and "fight the enemy".

AK-47 CRACK

Top police task force set up to smash cross-border

The Argus Correspondent

DOWN

(274) ARG 4/2/92

gun-smuggling racket

DURBAN. — The police have established a special task force, including some of the force's top intelligence officers, in a bid to stop a major cross-border gun racket in which deadly Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifles are being smuggled into South Africa.

The weapons now feature almost daily in reports of armed robberies, killings and other violence.

A police spokesman yesterday disclosed that last year 102 armed robberies were committed with AK-47s.

The amount stolen was R9 386 400. Many people were killed or injured during the robberies but the spokesman did not disclose details.

AK-47s were used in 313 incidents of unrest last year. Police seized 1 081 of the rifles. About 200 of these were seized through information supplied by the public for reward. The rest were unearthed through police work.

In Natal alone, police seized 323 AK-47s as well as 2 635 other guns, including home-made weapons.

Captain Craig Kotze of the Ministry of Law and Order said the police were using "some of its best brains to smash the cross-border gun racket".

"It is no secret that the AK-47s are being smuggled into South Africa and we are doing our utmost to smash the racket.

"One of the commonest routes is through Mozambique and Swaziland.

"The famine in Mozambique is making the climate very conducive for guns to be smuggled into the country. Soldiers who are starving are prepared to barter their weapons for food and money. Food is worth more than the weapon to these soldiers.

"The refugee problem is also contributing to AK-47s being brought into the country. Refugees from Mozambique cross the border with these weapons and are happy to exchange them for food and money," said Captain Kotze.

He said the unrest and violence were prevalent in the townships and the AK-47 was one of the main factors responsible for destabilising certain parts of the country.

"The AK-47 is no longer a weapon for liberation, but a violence-multiplier," he said.

He said political rivalry between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party had prompted an arms race.

Captain Kotze said that only when violent forms of political rivalry ended would there be a reduction in the demand for AK-47s. Rightly or wrongly, the ANC was seen as holding the AK-47s while the Inkatha Freedom Party had spears.

Now, more and more, IFP people were trying to arm themselves. This demand for AK-47s illustrated the vicious circle between unrest and crime. "What is worrying for the police is that some of the weapons seized are new."

Meanwhile, the Durban Murder and Robbery Unit last month arrested 63 armed robbers for raids involving about R1.5-million.

The unit also made a major bust when they arrested four men and seized R1-million in counterfeit R50 notes.

Police in Natal seized 2 674 guns — apart from 323 AK-47s — last year, Captain Bala Naidoo said today.

Most of the guns were recovered by the police firearm unit.

Captain Naidoo said 1 104 pistols, 364 rifles, 229 shotguns and 35 other terrorist weapons were recovered.

Police raids also seized 413 home-made pistols, 279 home-made shotguns and 246 home-made rifles.

PEACE TRAIN

So few to handle so much from so many

By Denis Beckett

The gigantic files of complaints that have so far flooded in to the varied arms of the "Peace family" make an awesome sight.

With thousands of pages of allegations, some running to over a hundred pages apiece, it is hardly surprising that the very limited manpower available to the Peace structure has not got around to dealing with them all.

Then again, one might wonder how many of these copious missives, thick with details of ageing abuses, are ever going to be rescued from the archives.

Authenticity

To a detached observer the most striking feature is that practically all the complaints — from the police about the ANC, from the ANC about Inkatha, from Inkatha about the police, from anybody about anybody — carry a persuasive ring of authenticity.

The authors of these various incompatible tales cannot possibly all have the ultimate truth on their side, but it is clear they all believe entirely in what they are saying.

Several of the SA Police's numerous documents, for instance, identify with anguish the failings of the ANC to live up to the promises of the Peace Accord.

One of these sets out at interminable length, and with a host of typing errors from an apparently Afrikaans typist working in English, a list of

the police officers appointed to monitor the Accord.

Nearly everywhere, the corresponding name of an ANC monitor is absent. Almost pathetically, the police are pleading: "We're doing our bit, where is the other side?"

Further on comes a 55-page list, by the police, of ANC breaches of the Peace Accord, quoting dozens of speeches by everyone from Mandela to a legion of ANC branch officials who appear to have been speaking war-talk to committee meetings, unaware that a police tape-recorder was running.

A poignant reference talks hopefully of the prospects for all-round disarmament by November 30 1991 — a date so unmet that we've all forgotten it was once a target. Another gives a long list of policemen attacked by *either* Inkatha or ANC forces.

Further police complaints include details, "based on delicate information prohibiting divulgence" of a plan by an ANC branch to set fire to buses hired by Inkatha for a funeral, and the names, places, and dates of an alleged ANC campaign to enforce a local rent boycott.

There is also a lengthy report about a policeman's wife who "tried to establish a business without the consent of the ANC ... This led to the ANC instigating a boycott against her ... She has now been told her business can go on if her whole family joins the ANC".

Inkatha comes up with dozens of allegations of plans for attacks on non-strikers and their families; with details of actual attacks on councillors and shopkeepers,



PEACE PLEDGE

I condemn the scourge of violence which has afflicted our country and all practices that have contributed to such violence, and commit myself to the principles contained in the National Peace Accord

I pledge myself with integrity of purpose to make this land a prosperous one where we can all live, work and play together in peace and harmony. I accordingly solemnly bind myself to the principles contained in the National Peace Accord and will respect its underlying rights and values

(signed)

PRINT NAME

Address

. code

Send this coupon to the Peace Train, Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000
We'll pass it to the Peace Commission — and send you a certificate

and with endless lists, sometimes hundreds of entries per day, of assaults, insults, and intimidation addressed at Inkatha supporters or presumed supporters by ANC supporters or presumed supporters.

Litany

Inkatha also outlines countless complaints against the SADF and "especially against the Coloured Units", whose members are said to escort ANC warriors into positions to attack Inkatha, molest Inkatha womenfolk, and assault men wearing T-shirts with the portrait of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

The Coloured Corps, says one memorandum, "only behave themselves when they are accompanied by the

SAP".

Not outdone, the ANC has its own litany of ills to report, including long faxes from lawyers in outlying towns requesting instant Peace Committee intervention to forestall anticipated Inkatha attacks.

The files make it evident enough that the Peace Committee could take no action, but do not indicate which attacks eventually took place or with what result.

The overwhelming impression is that far more drama is going on than ever meets the public eye; that every side perceives itself as the victim of aggression by others, and that the Peace structure as presently constituted has a long way to go before it can do more than scratch the surface.

SADF 'not involved in unrest'

Southern 5/2/92
A COMMISSION investigating political violence yesterday said documents from opposition groups did not prove allegations that security forces were involved in unrest.

But members of the commission will continue to study evidence that people involved in recent violence were trained in camps run by organisations that received funding from the South African Defence Force in the past.

Judge Richard Goldstone told reporters that the panel reviewed evidence submitted by, among others, the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and Lawyers for Human Rights.

The documents, he said, alleged that the SADF funded organisations that were set up to train people to instigate violence.

The commission decided the documents contained "no evidence which relates to current or recent funding by the South African Defence Force of such organisations," Goldstone said.

He, however, said there were allegations concerning serious violence and intimidation committed recently by people trained in camps set up by organisations formerly funded by the security forces.

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SAPA-REUTER

A special committee will begin studying these allegations today, he said.

Its terms of reference includes:

- The whereabouts and relevant activities of 200 people allegedly trained at a base in the Caprivi Strip during 1986 and thereafter at the Mkuze camp in KwaZulu.

- The training and activities of a group in Wesselson (Ermelo) known as the Black Cats

The commission was formed last year as part of an effort by major political groupings to end violence in black townships.

The ANC, the country's leading opposition group, has long accused the police and military of instigating unrest to undermine the black opposition movement.

The Government has denied the charges.

More than 6 000 people have been killed in township violence since the mid-1980s, most of them in clashes blamed on the war between supporters of the ANC and the rival Inkatha Freedom Party.

Both groups oppose apartheid but have tribal and ideological differences.

Slaughter of the innocents

Southern 5/2/92

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THE alarming increase in white-on-black mass killings is probably caused by a perception of being threatened by blacks in the changing political landscape - exacerbated by loss of control over personal problems, psychologists agree.

There have been three incidents of mass killings in the past two weeks, all involving white men who went on a shooting rampage.

Blacks were largely the victims in all cases, and in two incidents, personal problems had come to a head.

In Middelburg last week, Mr Corenelius de Vaal allegedly killed one man and injured five others when he is said to have fired randomly in the Gollisg suburb - after his girlfriend had rejected him.

Last Saturday, mine apprentice Mr Johannes Wilhelm Saunders allegedly shot two blacks in Knel after he wandered off from a braai with friends in town. Both victims died.

Two weeks ago, Mr Kallie Delpont went on a shooting spree in Ladysmith. Nine people died and 19 were wounded.

Why white-on-black mass killings are increasing

He had apparently had an argument with his father - who he also shot dead - over the price of cattle.

Although racism has been dismissed by local authorities as a factor in the attacks, director for the study of violence at the University of the Witwatersrand Mr Lloyd Vogelmann said the fact that the victims were mostly black probably was significant.

Problems in the personal lives of these people are displaced externally - inevitably to those who are seen as causing a threat.

"Blacks are perceived as depriving power from whites and blocking their social progress. The act of shooting blacks randomly is more a defensive act and justified on the basis that they are out to harm the culprit," said Vogelmann.

The act provided a sense of power and enormous excitement - and was likely to be sparked by a sense of despair and powerlessness in the culprit's personal life.

"Taking control through extreme violence balances the feeling of being helpless."

Vogelmann said blacks were perceived by some conservative whites as being inhuman, which, coupled with being seen as a threat, were often victims of such acts.

The fact that most mass killers were not economically poor pointed to a strong emotional and social connotation in the act, he said.

Vogelmann said such incidents usually only took place where there is a high incidence of firearm usage. There was a huge leap of firearm killings between 1989 and 1990.

In 1990, 48 percent of whites had firearms at home, with 56 percent of the owners being Afrikaans-speaking and 36 percent being English-speaking.

"The question of why there is the opportunity and the capacity to shoot has to be addressed. It is the only way it can be undermined," said Vogelmann.

Dr Alex Butchart, assistant director of the health psychology unit at the University of South Africa said a series of mass killings could also be attributed to the copycat phenomenon.

"People watch TV or read about it and it suggests something to them. They would probably have the proclivity to act in such a way and this would catalyse the outburst," he said.

Butchart agreed that the question of race and class was probably a factor in the mass killings mentioned.

"Things are getting threatening, and the economic recession, coupled with political transformation, would create tension and erode the thin line protecting the white worker."

Blacks then become the target. This would be a phenomenon of social transformation.

We are only shocked because of the intensity and horror of a mass killing. Yet we are familiar with blacks being frequently assaulted by whites in South Africa, he said.

Taking control through violence balances feeling of being helpless.

Police the target of political and criminal violence

Political footballs walk tightrope

TWO black policemen are lured by false emergency calls, ambushed and set alight in their van.

Two white policemen hitchhiking in civilian clothes are shot dead and their bodies dumped in the veld.

A police sergeant and his pregnant wife are the targets for gunmen who then attack a party at a police barracks.

As black and white leaders begin debating South Africa's transition to democracy, police are increasingly the target of political and criminal violence.

"We have become political footballs at a time when anyone with any goodwill should be trying their best to restore some normality," said one constable, who asked to be identified only as Alpheus.

"And that sort of normality includes having a police force which protects society and upholds the laws," he said.

At least 10 officers have been killed so far this year, 145 died in the line of duty in 1991. In 1989, the figure was 71.

Some of the recent killings have been claimed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the radical PAC.

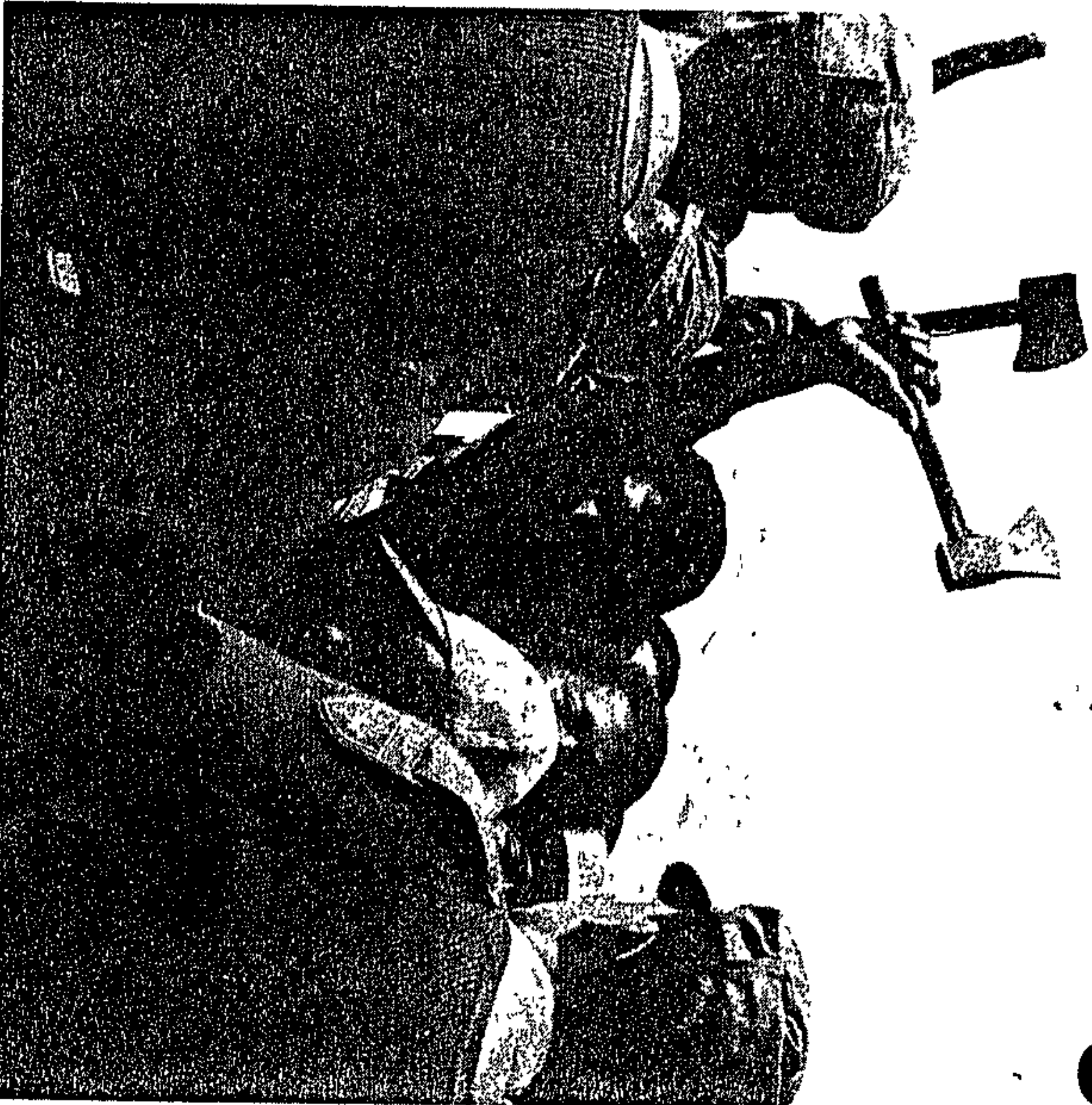
"Make no mistake: if our policemen are to be targets for criminals and political thugs, law and order will collapse and all will suffer," said law and order ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

The PAC defends the murder of police, saying they are agents of apartheid.

"Because the regime relies on the security forces to stay in power for perpetuity, for any revolution to succeed, they should be wiped out," said a telephone caller claiming to speak for Apla.

The Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal, allied to the ANC, said the PAC strategy was misguided.

It said that while some police wanted to maintain the status quo, others shared the vision for a non-racial South Africa.



IN THE THICK OF THINGS: The life of a policeman is so traumatic, that some have had psychological counselling.

South Africa and could be regarded as potential allies.

"We believe that only the building of a democratic police force based on the will of the people and accountable to the majority will bring about an end to the slaying of policemen," it said.

The ANC has said killing police will only play into the hands of the rightwing, and other critics have condemned the PAC for living in the past.

Southern 6/29/92

They say there are no more apartheid laws for police to enforce and they are only trying to maintain law and order.

Black officers who joined the force to help combat crime in the townships said they were shocked by anti-police sentiment.

"I joined the police out of concern for my community. I know policemen are unpopular, but they do not make the apartheid laws," said Constable Elvis Mashaba from Johannesburg.

Many have had their homes burnt down and now live in guarded compounds. So traumatic have their lives become that some have had psychological counselling.

"Police have to implement the law. This is the function of police all over the world even if they personally do not agree with the laws they are enforcing," said Mashaba's colleague, Captain Albert Hlabangani.

'I joined the police out of concern for my community. I know policemen are unpopular, but they do not make the apartheid laws.'

(274) [signature]

Some policemen have been victims of gangsters emboldened by the mood of insecurity accompanying South Africa's political transition. Weapons used in Southern Africa's guerrilla wars are freely available in the townships. Despite the threat, Pretoria has had no difficulty in recruiting blacks to the police. Of the 105 000 strong force, at least 30 000 are black, Indian or coloured. - *Sapa-Reuters*

AK-47 task force

Sowetan 5/2/92
THE police have established a special task force of top intelligence officers to stop a major cross-border gun racket in which AK-47 assault rifles are being smuggled into the country.

The guns now feature almost daily in reports of armed robberies, violence and killings.

Police on Monday disclosed that last year 102 armed robberies were committed with AK-47 rifles. The total amount stolen was R9 386 400. Many people were killed or injured during these robberies but police have not given these details yet.

AK-47s were used in 313 incidents of unrest last year - police seized 1 081 of them. About 200 of these were nabbed through information supplied by the public to the police for rewards. The rest were unearthed through police work.

In Natal alone, police seized 323 AK-47s as well 2 635 other guns, including homemade weapons.

Captain Craig Kotze, of the Ministry of Law and Order, said the South African Police were using "some of its best brains to smash the cross-border gun racket".

Fewer die in political strife since Accord

STAR 6/2/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter (274)

CAPE TOWN — The number of political deaths has shown a marked decrease since the signing of the National Peace Accord.

And preliminary meetings for the establishment of eight out of the proposed 10 regional dispute resolution committees will take place before the end of the month.

According to Human Rights Commission figures, there has been a 18 percent drop in political killings in the five months since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14 compared with the five months preceding the Accord.

The figures show that 1 021 people were killed from June 1 1990 until the signing of the Accord on September 14. Between September 15 and the end of last month, 830 were killed.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys told The Star that three regional dispute resolution committees had been established in Natal, the Border/Ciskei and western Cape.

Meetings had been arranged for the setting up of committees in the Witwatersrand/Vaal, Free State, eastern Transvaal, western Transvaal, and Pretoria/northern Transvaal.

Four local dispute resolution committees had been formed in Natal and another 11 were in the pipeline, he said. One local committee had been established in the eastern Cape and three in the Transvaal.

The Peace Secretariat had also decided to form a monitoring mechanism to check on the effectiveness of the regional and local committees.

A report on the National Peace Secretariat's activities

up until January 15 was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Dr Gildenhuys said in the report that the secretariat would soon be given statutory recognition, and that legislation would also provide for the appointment of justices of the peace.

"These persons will be given considerable powers to prevent violence should a threat of violence occur. It is essential that such legislation be promulgated as soon as possible. As constituted at present, the dispute resolution committees do not have sufficient powers to enforce decisions," he said.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced yesterday that legislation giving statutory recognition to the secretariat and its related structures was being finalised by his department.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said more than 20 leaders had been assassinated since the signing of the Accord. The IFP was co-operating with the secretariat in establishing mechanisms for the resolution of the violence. The party was also still distributing copies of the Accord.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said a political settlement would not achieve much until the violence had been resolved. It was the responsibility of all political parties and groups to throw their weight behind the peace process, she added.

The ANC was doing its best to defuse tension at grassroots levels, co-operating in the regional and local dispute resolution committees and promoted communication between various groups in the townships.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the SAP was doing all it could to combat political violence, but the conflict potential could be resolved only when political groups had a "firmer grip" on their supporters.

Hopes that city hearings can uncover truth about violence

THE hearings of the Goldstone Commission, which began in Cape Town this week, will go a long way, we hope, towards clearing up doubts about the roots of the violence in South Africa.

In this column in November last year, the ANC expressed its strong anxieties about the cavalier way township conflict was loosely attributed to internal faction fighting.

There were, even then, serious reasons to doubt this view. Research by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) found that 86% of the aggressors in the violence came from groupings loosely allied to the government, including a staggering 51% from the Inkatha Freedom Party and its followers and 23% from the SA Police.

At this stage, however, evidence about a third force was, at best, circumstantial.

Master-minded

Since then, the Weekly Mail has published the results of some remarkable investigative journalism. In a series of reports based on leaked documents and clandestine interviews, the SA Defence Force is alleged to have a clear strategy and role in the instigation of conflict and violence throughout the country.

The department concerned would appear to be the SADF Military Intelligence (MI) which played a key role in the P W Botha regime and master-minded such initiatives as Renamo and the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

In the mid-'80s, according to the documents, MI began identifying what are described as "moderates" and providing them with, inter alia, military and para-military training. Most of these so-called "moderates" have subsequently emerged as little more than vigilante groups.

Perhaps, the best documented example, however, is of a group of 200 Inkatha support-

ers said to have been trained in offensive warfare and professional assassination by MI in mid-1986. Last year, F W de Klerk claimed that this group had been trained as special recruits to protect VIPs — VIPs who now emerge as no more than Natal warlords — while at least seven of the recruits, it is alleged, have been linked to various murders and other acts of violence.

Enjoyed immunisation

Some important clues to the operation of MI and the 200-strong Inkatha group have emerged through Weekly Mail interviews with members of a gang known as the Black Cats. After training, say the Black Cat defectors, graduates were housed, paid and even fed by Creed Consultants, one of the military front companies set up to camouflage SADF activities.

Black Cats have been linked, among other things, to attacks on members of the ANC, the training and arming of further recruits and the terrorisation of the township community of Wesselson. Their evidence alleges that they not only enjoyed immunity from arrest but received active assistance and firearms from the Ermelo SAP.

But perhaps the most sinister aspect of the Weekly Mail allegations is that all these activities appear to have been funded and promoted via a nation-wide network of front companies claiming to do educational, labour and other consultancy and training work.

Under the umbrella of the Adult Education Consultants and headed up by Dr Louis Pasques, formerly of the State President's office, taxpayers

have unwittingly forked out more than R150 m to fund regional front companies involved, it is alleged, in instigating and perpetuating violence.

Neither is it over. Not only did Mr De Klerk mislead the public last year when he said covert political funding had ended and only educational and religious work would continue, but detailed budgets and confidential reports indicate that a further R20 m of taxpayers' money will be spent on funding regional fronts between now and 1994, according to the revelations.

The benefits to the government are self-evident. As the Case report pointed out, victims of violence are, by and large, members of communities perceived as being sympathetic to the ANC.

Public media

And the ANC has suffered in other ways. Leadership has been diverted by crisis after crisis from the vital task of organisation building. Intimidation, death and destruction have made it virtually impossible to organise in many areas.

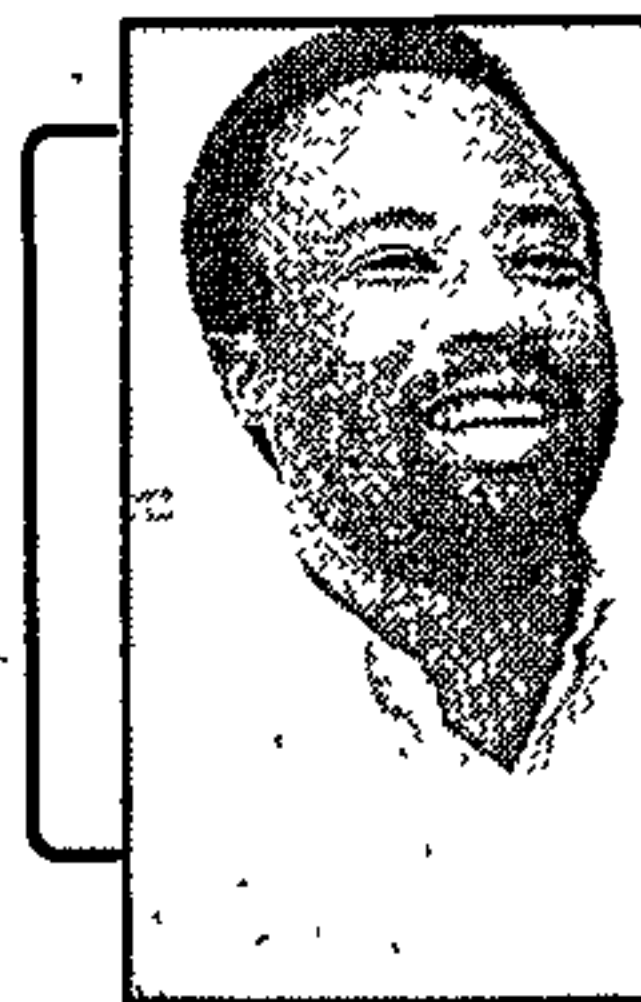
And, through its manipulation of the public media, the state has been able to present itself as a force above the violence.

The Goldstone Commission will, we hope, go a long way towards investigating and exposing these activities.

How can a free and fair election be held if front companies are being used to fund anti-ANC activities and may well be used to subvert the democratic election process?

And what are the implications for the Peace Accord and, indeed, for Codesa itself, if the Goldstone Commission reveals extensive state involvement in the conflict?

□ Tony Yengeni is general secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape.



ANC Viewpoint
by
TONY YENGENI

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Peace secretariat to get legal status

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B/Day 6/2/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The national peace secretariat, established on September 14 last year when the national peace accord was signed, would be given legal recognition, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

Legislation giving statutory recognition to the secretariat and related structures was being finalised by the Justice Department, he said.

Secretariat chairman Anthonie Gildenhuys said in a report tabled in Parliament yesterday that legislation would also provide for the appointment of justices of the peace.

"These persons will be given considerable powers to prevent violence should a threat of violence occur," he said.

Powers

"It is essential that such legislation be promulgated as soon as possible.

"As constituted at present the dispute resolution committees do not have sufficient powers to enforce decisions."

The secretariat had had five meetings since its inception and had convened and attended 19 meetings across SA to establish regional and local dispute resolution committees.

"If the holiday period is excluded there was one meeting every second day on average," Gildenhuys said.

Since the secretariat was established in November it had concentrated on establishing regional and local dispute resolution committees.

It had identified 10 regions for regional committees, covering all of SA bar the eastern Cape.

In some areas informal peace organisations already existed, making the secretariat's task easier, he said.

One example was the Cape Town peace committee.

The Natal/KwaZulu regional dis-

pute resolution committee had been the most active committee in the country.

By January 15 it was considering establishing nine local dispute resolution committees, well in excess of any other region. They were planned for Richmond, Bruntville, Port Shepstone, Empangeni, Oshatini, Umbumbulu, Umlazi, Bulwer and Stanger.

By contrast the secretariat did not even set up a regional committee in the eastern Cape, where violence has dwindled in recent years.

The Ciskei/Border region was, however, identified as an area which needed a regional committee.

The going had not been particularly smooth in all the regions.

The Soweto local dispute committee had, for example, experienced "deep-rooted enmity between some members" which made it "very difficult" to perform its functions, Gildenhuys said.

Agreement had not yet been reached on the appointment of a chairperson and an executive committee for the western Cape regional dispute resolution committee.

Gildenhuys said 15 organisations were represented on the committee.

A non-representative steering committee, consisting of five people, had been appointed to consider these issues and convene the next meeting.

Threats of violence were made to obstruct the Paul Simon tour, Gildenhuys said. "I offered the services of the national peace secretariat as mediator, and this led to a public undertaking by the PAC and Azapo to refrain from violence in manifesting their opposition to the tour."

Many facilitators and mediators had been identified and the secretariat would soon embark on a suitable training programme.

Inkatha trained by SADF - claim



Former Inkatha Freedom Party member Mr Bongani Khumalo arriving at the second day hearing of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

ABOUT 200 hand-picked Inkatha members were flown in an SA Defence Force aircraft to the Caprivi strip for military training, the Goldstone Commission was told yesterday.

This was contained in evidence by former Inkatha member Mr Mbongeni Khumalo at a public sitting of the commission in Cape Town.

His evidence was read into the record by an advocate, Mr JJ du Toit.

Khumalo said the Inkatha members were trained at a base named Hippo by SADF personnel members and a Mr Guy Boardman.

They were instructed in the handling of weapons, urban guerilla warfare, unarmed combat, winning the support of local

populations, identifying ANC or UDF members and persuading residents to be hostile and aggressive towards ANC members.

The training and instruction of the group was arranged and organised by Creed Consultants CC, of which Boardman allegedly was a member.

Trainees

Khumalo said trainees were paid from a secret account held at a Durban bank.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his personal assistant, Mr MZ Khumalo, had signing powers.

Mr Chris Ngwenya, head of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, became directly involved in organising and carrying out acts of violence with members of the Black Cats and became leader of the group.

MSB
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Sowetan 6/2/92

Peace secretariat's plans on violence

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Soweto 6/2/92

IT was essential that the National Peace Secretariat be given statutory recognition as soon as possible as dispute resolution committees did not have sufficient powers to enforce decisions.

This was said in a report released by the secretariat's chairman, Dr A Gildenhuys.

The report, which details the activities of the NPS since its establishment in November last year, said the legislation which would give the NPS statutory recognition would also provide for the appointment of Justices of the Peace.

"These persons will be given considerable powers to prevent violence should a threat of violence occurs."

"It is essential that such legislation be promulgated as soon as possible," the report said.

Since its inception, the NPS has established six dispute resolution committees. It has also established informal peace organisations in other areas.

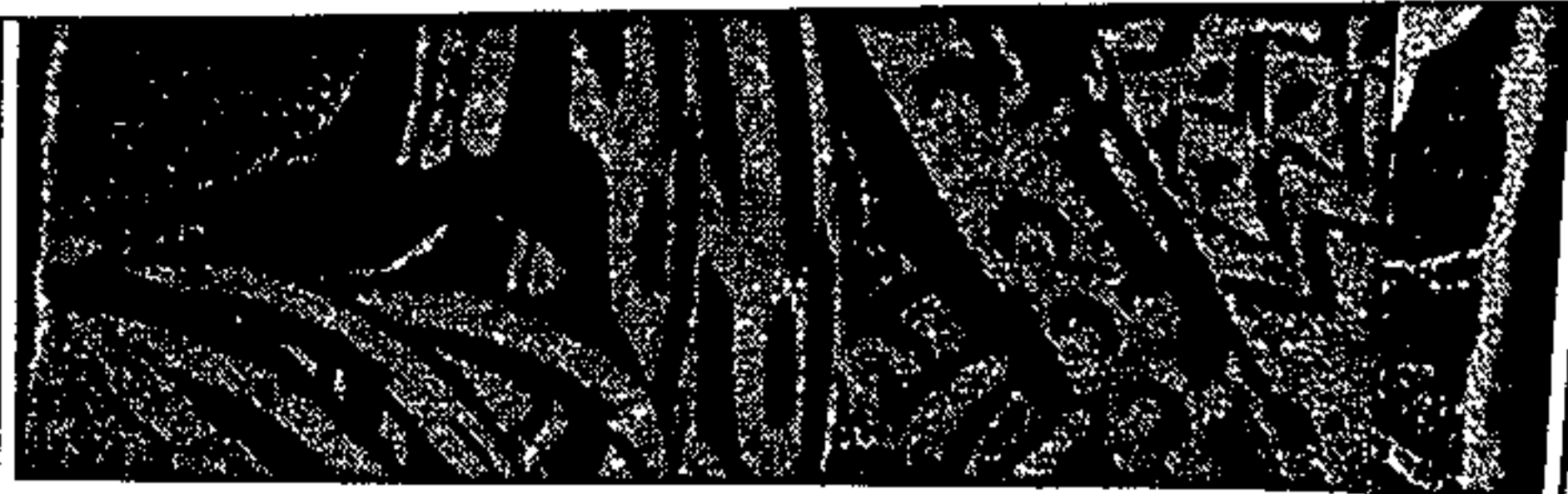
Enmity

The areas in which committees have been established include Natal/KwaZulu, Border/Ciskei, Western Cape, Germiston, Tokoza/Phola Park and Soweto.

Gildenhuys said the Soweto local dispute resolution committee had been very difficult to establish and "deep-rooted" enmity between some men made it difficult for the committee to perform its functions.

Requests had been received for the establishment of dispute resolution committees for Isando, Krugersdorp and Kempton Park.

The secretariat would identify other areas where regional or local dispute resolution committees needed to be established soon, the report said. Sapa.



Fewer (274) killed 6/2/92 since Accord

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

POLITICAL killings have shown a marked decrease since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14 last year.

A report on the National Peace Secretariat's activities up to January 15 was yesterday tabled in parliament.

According to the Human Rights Commission there has been a 18 per cent decrease in political killings in the five months since the signing of the National Peace Accord, compared to the five months preceding the accord.

Meetings for the establishment of eight of the proposed 10 regional dispute resolution committees will take place before the end of the month.

Chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, said three regional dispute resolution committees had been established in Natal, Border/Ciskei and the Western Cape.

Four committees have been formed in Natal. Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos said more than 20 leaders had been killed since the signing of the accord.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said a political settlement would not achieve much until the violence had been resolved.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were doing all they could to combat political violence.

Top cop 'lost' MI trainee list

CT 7/2/92

(274)

(285)

By PETER DENNEHY

BRIGADIER Sipho Mathe, deputy commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, yesterday told the committee established by the Goldstone Commission that he had lost his list of some 150 trainees recruited under his authority and trained in the Caprivi Strip in 1986 at the expense of Military Intelligence.

Mr David Soggot, SC, submitted that the real purpose of these trainees had been to act as a hit-squad, rather than to be recruited by the KwaZulu Police to protect VIBs, as Brigadier Mathe had testified earlier.

Mr Soggot is appearing for the ANC, Cosatu, SACP, Weekly Mail, Media Defence Trust and Lawyers for Human Rights.

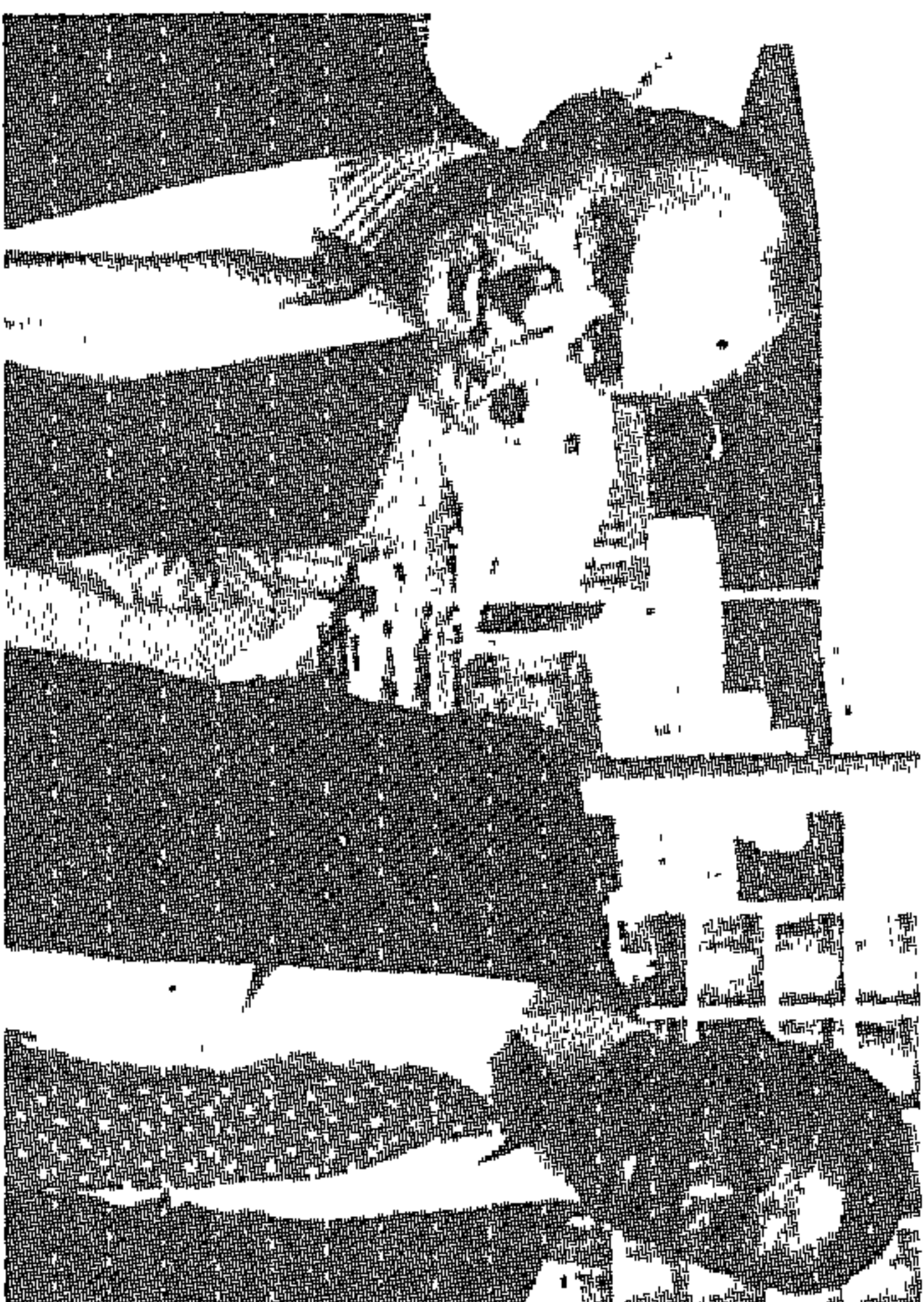
The brigadier denied that the trainees were intended to be a hit-squad. He had not opened files on any of them until they were incorporated into the KwaZulu police, so his department had documents pertaining to individuals between their training and their incorporation, sometimes years later.

However, Brigadier Mathe undertook to compile a list of all the trainees by next Tuesday. He has already provided the commission with a list of about 40 of them, compiled "from the memories of people who were helping me".

"The list was misfiled or misplaced. We are not trying to hide it I can't lay my hands on it now," he said.

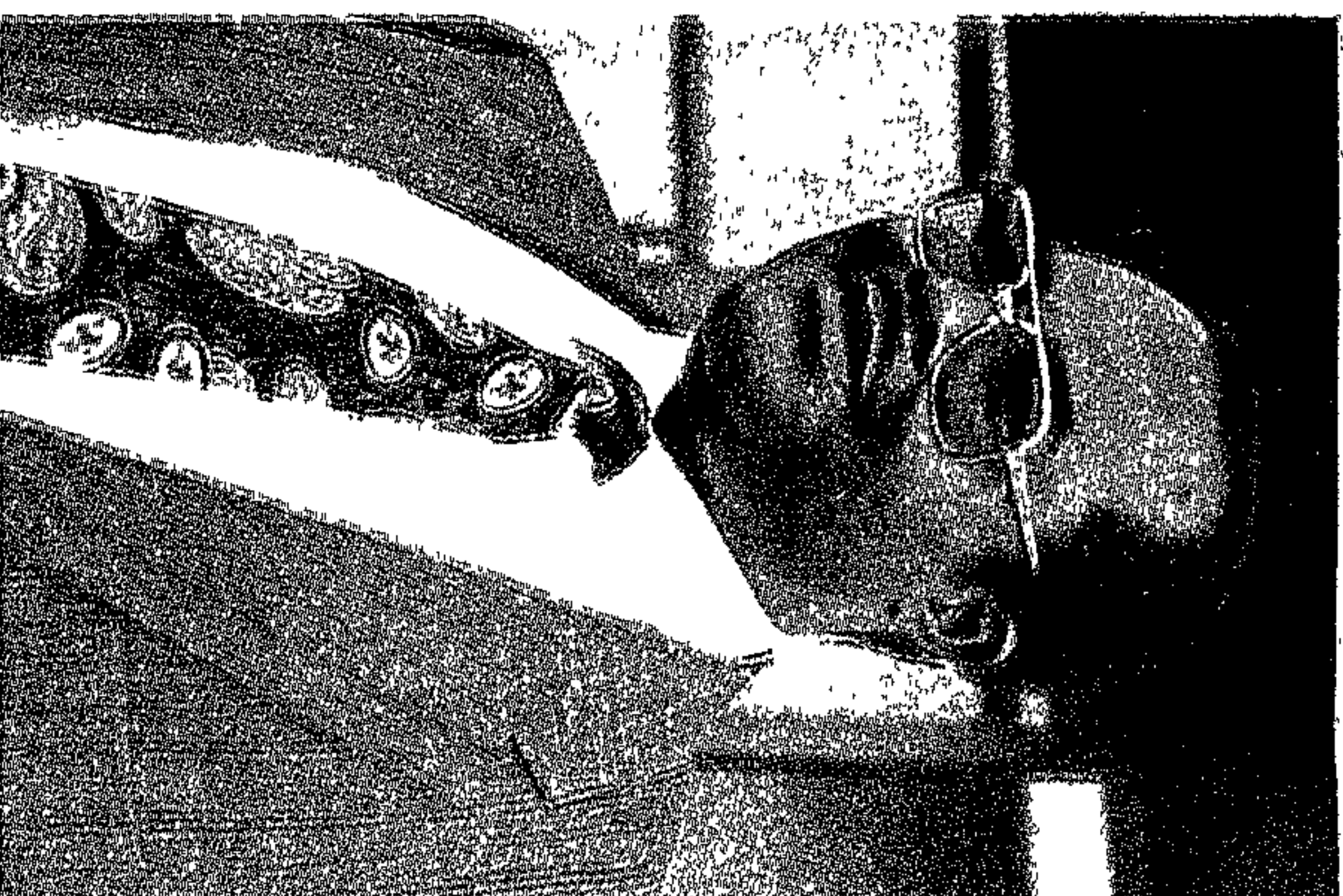
Asked by Mr Soggot whether he could account for the activities between 1986 and 1989 of those of the 150 who became policemen in 1989, Brigadier Mathe said they had been taken to areas "to see to to the school boy-cotts and other things".

By early 1987 the trainees had all been issued with KwaZulu Police ap-



CORRECTION ... This picture of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Goldstone Commission, appeared in the Cape Times yesterday with an incorrect caption. The person beside the judge is Mr Solly Sithole, a member of the commission and an advocate of the Pretoria Bar. He was incorrectly identified by Associated Press yesterday as an ANC lawyer. The error is regretted.

Picture AP



POLICE CHIEF ... Brigadier Sipho Moses Mathe, Deputy Commissioner — and former Acting Commissioner — of the KwaZulu police, denied before a committee of the Goldstone Commission yesterday that trainees he had recruited were intended to serve as a hit-squad.

Picture BENNY GOOL

pointment cards "for the purposes of control and identity", although at that stage they were not yet policemen.

"I suggest you gave them these because it helped them considerably in hit-squad activity," Mr Soggot said. Brigadier Mathe replied that if they had ever undertaken hit-squad activity it was on their own.

He had been responsible for choosing the men initially, but had delegated this to Mr M Z Khumalo, a senior Inkatha official who was also a KwaZulu Police reservist.

Men considered loyal to the KwaZulu government had been chosen, although later it had turned out there

were a few "rotten potatoes" among them.

Earlier, an unidentified witness described as a "Black Cat" testified that he had been present "when a member of the local South African Police, Van Zweek" had suggested to Black Cats from Wesselson, Ermelo, that they set alight the office of a local lawyer, Mr Steve Ngwenya. The office had later been set alight.

The witness said he had joined a group known as the Black Cats because it had started as an anti-crime campaign. Some of them had later robbed the people they searched, and they came into conflict with the ANC-aligned local civic organisation.

An Uwusa official, Mr Isaac Hlatwayo, had offered to help in the fight against the civic organisation if the Black Cats joined Inkatha, which they did. Most of the Black Cats (32 of them) had been taken by Inkatha to KwaZulu to learn how to shoot.

After their return they had gained the upper hand over the "comrades" in Wesselson, and now virtually controlled the township. About 25 of the 32 were still active.

The witness named seven people who had been involved in a fatal firearm and grenade attack on Mrs Zini Shongwe in retaliation for her son's suspected involvement in the death of a Black Cat.



Springbok Patrol's new recruits go through their paces at the De Deur training camp

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Inkatha-linked firm to guard stations

THE private security company — Springbok Patrols — hired by Spoornet to guard troubled PWV and Natal stations has had close links with Inkatha.

The company is alleged to have trained Inkatha men implicated in anti-African National Congress violence in Alexandra.

Spoornet spokesman Jacques Pienaar confirmed this week that Springbok Patrols is used to bolster the Spoornet security department in the PWV and Natal.

Where there have been arrests following train attacks, suspects have been Inkatha members.

According to a former senior Inkatha official, who asked not to be named, in January 1991 Springbok recruited about 100 young men from the Emandleni Youth Camp in Ulundi.

"I know this happened because I dealt directly with senior Springbok officials at the time, and was lecturing in politics at the youth camp," said the former Inkatha leader.

"The youths were also provided with paramilitary training at the camp. The man who was then the Springbok operations director, Gavin Answerth, insisted on getting people who were strongly pro-Inkatha, and we gave him the people he wanted.

"These men were then transported to Johannesburg, and trained by Springbok, at their expense. They are then assigned as Springbok

Controversial security company Springbok Patrols, which has links with Inkatha, has been given a Spoornet contract to guard railway stations.

GAVIN EVANS reports

armed guards and used to patrol stations. I know that these chaps killed a number of people in the Durban area," he said.

According to three Springbok Patrol guards previously interviewed by *The Weekly Mail*, the course involved training in the use of a pump action shotgun, a rifle and a 138 revolver, unarmed and armed combat.

The Inkatha source said there was a very close relation between Springbok and Inkatha.

"I got to know Wahl Baartmann when he was in Natal, and worked closely with his brother Francois, who was managing director in Durban, and with Answerth, who is now a very enthusiastic Inkatha member.

"On one occasion Francois asked me to take him to Buthelezi, in order to kill an ox in appreciation of the close relation with Inkatha, but in the end this fell through. In his office

there is a big picture of Buthelezi and another of King Goodwill," he said.

Francois Baartmann did not return *The Weekly Mail's* calls, but fellow director and former Springbok rugby player Wahl Baartmann said the allegations about the company were not true, and insisted there was no political bias in the company.

"When we recruit we don't worry about a guy's politics. If he is qualified for the job then he can join us. If a man is Inkatha it is not my problem, but we have no particular relation with Inkatha. I also recruit from Nelspruit, Rustenburg, Cape Town, all over, and I'm not interested in politics."

He acknowledged, however, that Answerth was an enthusiastic Inkatha supporter, but said he had resigned from the company eight months ago, and now had his own company, Coastwatch Security.

"Maybe he could have favoured some people but he is no longer in our employ."

Answerth confirmed that he was a member of Inkatha but said he would not comment on whether 100 Inkatha youths were recruited from Emandleni camp, "because I no longer work for Springbok and I don't want the Baartmanns on my back".

Last year, however, father Abraham Baartman, who is the company managing director, confirmed to *The Weekly Mail* that a group of 60 Zulus, whom he assumed were from

Inkatha, had been sent to Springbok's De Deur training centre from Natal.

Asked whether they were recruiting Inkatha members from the province, he said: "This is quite correct," adding that he believed that "all Zulus are Inkatha".

At the time *The Weekly Mail* interviewed three Springbok security guards who said that some of the Inkatha trainees had taken part in battles with African National Congress supporters in Alexandra.

The Inkatha members were described as an "elite" group who were "arrogant and aggressive", and remained apart from their fellow trainees.

They also said that the SADF and the police had visited the De Deur base to recruit the Springbok trainees. Abraham Baartman confirmed these visits but said they were trying to "poach" his instructors, and not his trainees.

Last year Abraham Baartmann and Springbok Patrols were convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court of 707 charges of unlawful possession of firearms.

Springbok Patrols has been one of the country's most controversial private security companies. Each of the guards interviewed by *The Weekly Mail* cited cases of their colleagues being prevented from leaving after having been recruited, being assaulted by their superiors and fired if they complained.

Peace accord 'working' as violence levels drop

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8/1009 7/2/92

LESLEY LAMBERT

SOUTH Africans were becoming more peace-minded, national peace accord chairman John Hall told businessmen in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The peace accord is working. Since it came into effect, political violence has been kept at tolerable levels.

"As the conflict resolution committees are established in areas, the levels of violence in those areas declines.

"In the flashpoint areas — of which there are no more than 15 — people are rapidly realising that violence is not going to provide any of the solutions," Hall told businessmen attending a Sabrita luncheon in Houghton.

However, he warned that the level of criminal violence would remain high until the economy improved.

Hall urged the businessmen to become involved in the peace accord at community, regional and national levels.

"I don't think there's another country in the world where business has such an important role to play.

"At every forum I have attended, it has been the intellect of the business community that brings things to order and brings a fair degree of discipline and logic into

place," he said.

He said processes such as those implemented by the peace accord resulted in change.

"The peace accord has resulted in good working relationships between participants such as the SA Police, the SACP and the ANC.

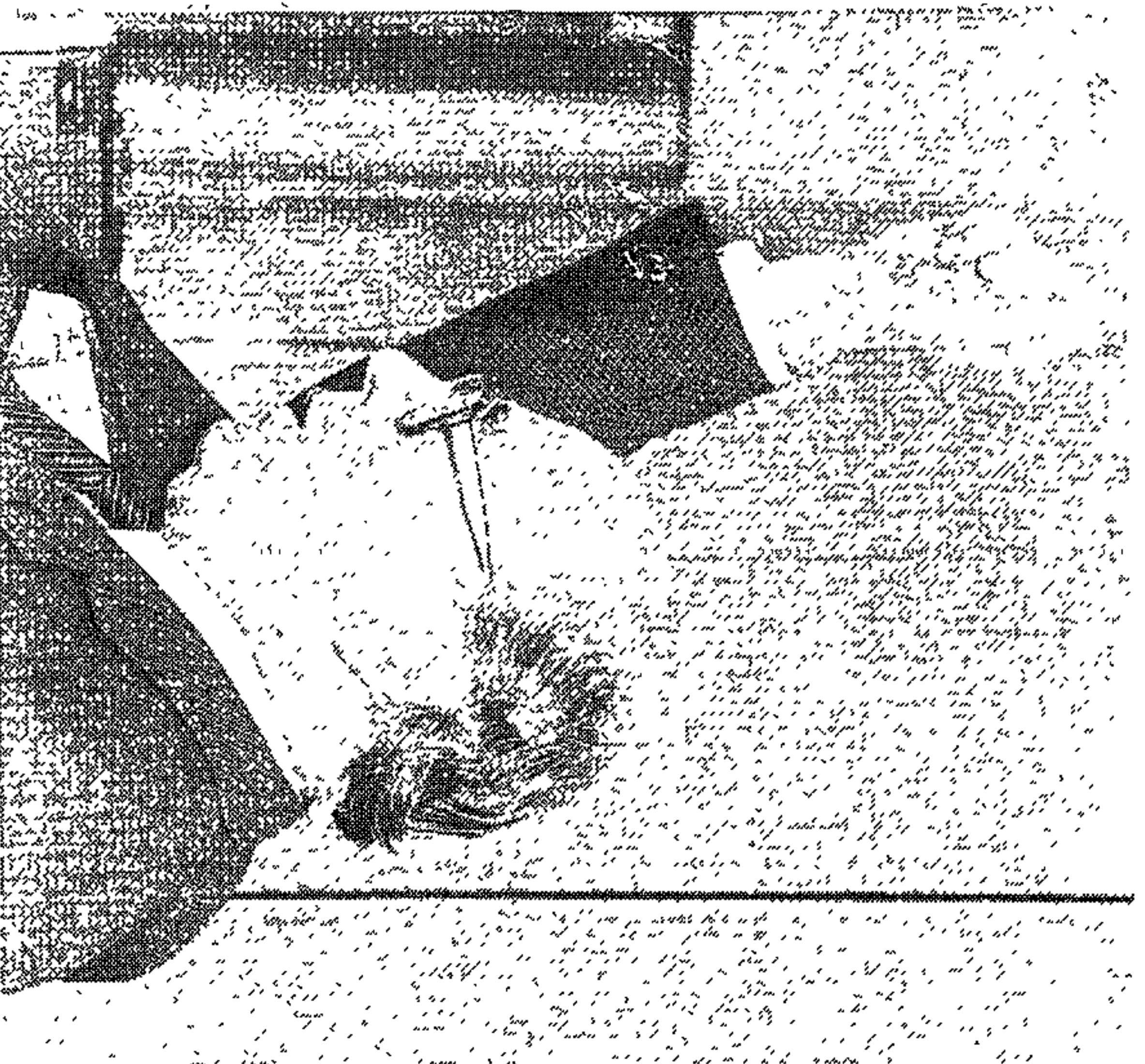
"We have also seen this sort of thing happen in the labour forum."

Hope

Referring to a debate at the recent World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, Hall said the winning economies of the future would have quality of leadership, intellectual bases which enabled the leaders to achieve their goals and political systems to ensure that they remained in power.

"If you measure SA against these standards, there is a great deal of hope. Our leaders are making the right noises about democracy and the economy.

"The intellectual base is substantial — our educational standards are improving all the time," Hall said.



National peace accord chairman John Hall makes a stand for peace during his talk to businessmen in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture BRIAN HENDLER

From page 1

Judge raps Natal policemen

By ANTHONY JOHNSON CT 8/1/92
Political Correspondent

rants, in plain clothes and in a vehicle bearing false number plates should be "prohibited forthwith", the commission recommends.

"Such procedures, apart from being unlawful, cannot serve any proper purpose and, in addition, can only fuel rumours and theories about a 'third force' being responsible for much of the violence in South Africa.

"The explanation of this conduct given by police witnesses was unsatisfactory and contradictory."

Last night Minister of Law and Order Mr Her-nus Kriel said he had held urgent discussions with the top management of the police and some of the commission's criticisms were already being investigated.

The Interim Report on the Violence in Mooi River says the commission has "no doubt" that the carrying of weapons for non-cultural purposes "cannot be tolerated if normal and peaceful conditions are to prevail in our society".

The commission finds that "the law obliges the police to confiscate such weapons and prefer criminal charges against such persons. That should be made quite clear".

THE Goldstone Commission yesterday castigated the police for failing to lay charges against people carrying cultural weapons in public and said reliable evidence "strongly suggested" police bias in favour of Inkatha.

The commission's report also lashes out at police handling of the delicate situation in the strife-torn Mooi River and its adjoining township, Bruntville, where 19 people died in clashes between Inkatha and the ANC in December.

However, the commission's report says evidence did not indicate unlawful conduct on the behalf of any policeman save for the "improper use of a forfeited vehicle with false number plates".

In the report, Mr Justice R J Goldstone criticises police for indulging in "the injudicious strong-arm tactics" in the Mooi River area.

He notes that such behaviour "feeds the perception among both the public and members of the police that they are a law unto themselves," adding, "in the case in point at Mooi River this perception may already be a conviction".

Procedures such as conducting raids without war-

To page 2



TALKS AT No 10 ... Mr Nelson Mandela met Mr John Major yesterday and urged him to use his influence so that SA could have an interim government in six months. ● Report — Page 3. Picture AP

ET to meet Kaunda

VENTERSDORP. — AWB leader

Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has accepted an invitation to hold talks with former Zambian leader Dr Kenneth Kaunda, the AWB said in a statement released yesterday.

The AWB leader decided to accept the invitation "because it is in line with AWB policy to negotiate with all leaders of nations."

They are due to meet on February 29 at an undisclosed venue.

Mr Terre'Blanche will also meet Bophuthatswana's President

Lucas Mangope on February 17.

Meanwhile, AP reports from Lusaka that the former Zambian president says he is broke.

Dr Kaunda, who was defeated at the polls last October after 27 years in power, is living in a rented home paid for by his adult sons.

According to the Zambia Daily Mail, Dr Kaunda said he was "financially very unstable" and that the new government still had not paid him any retirement benefits.

But, Dr Kaunda said, he will not go on his knees to claim his dues from the state. "I will not sink to be a beggar, even when I am robbed," he said.

Dr Kaunda has denied allegations that he channelled millions of dollars into a private bank account while president.

The government has said it will pay Dr Kaunda retirement benefits when he formally quits politics in May. — Sapa-AP

KwaZulu MP gunned down

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A KwaZulu MP and Inkatha Freedom Party leader in Um-lazi, Mr Wynnigton Sabelo, was gunned down in his shop last night.

According to police, three shots were fired at Mr Sabelo after a man walked into his shop at 6.30 last night. Mr Sabelo was killed instantly.

His wife Evelyn was assassinated in August 1986. CT 8/2/92

A section of the report on "The role played by the security forces" in Mooi River says the committee received reliable evidence that "strongly suggested a bias on the part of the South African Police in favour of the IFP".

Mr Kriel last night said that, in terms of the Peace Accord, the cultural weapons issue was being investigated. The situation was, however, complicated by the carrying of traditional weapons by certain groups and the existence of secret weapons caches — another indication that government is linking the two in its search for a solution.

He said the perception that police were biased was the result of "malicious" reporting and police were trained to remain partial in all instances.

● The IFP said Mr Justice Goldstone must take note that more than 80% of politically-related deaths in the Bruntville area over the past year were caused by gunshots.

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Get involved, Mandela tells Britain's Major

ANC president Nelson Mandela told British Prime Minister John Major on Friday he wanted Britain and other Western nations to get involved in his country's peace process.

Mandela said they had discussed foreign investment in South Africa and its return to international sporting competition.



NELSON MANDELA

"We consider it important that the Western powers, and in particular Britain, should be involved in the peace process that is going on in our country," the ANC president told reporters. He gave no further details of their discussions.

Major said only that the talks were "very successful" and that they had discussed the peace process.

A British official said the Major-Mandela talks were part of a continuing

dialogue and close relationship between the two men, who held talks last year in London and at a Commonwealth summit in Harare.

He said they talked about prospects for constitutional changes and a timetable for reform.

Mandela, who returns home on Friday, deflected reporters' questions about apparent differences within the ANC over economic policy, saying it was a complicated issue. — Sapa-Reuter

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had known about a project to train 150 "loyal young Zulus" to protect him, the homeland's deputy commissioner of police told the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town this week.

Brigadier Sipho Moses Mathe told the commission the men were recruited to protect KwaZulu VIPs. They were trained in Namibia by the SADF.

Although it was his idea, initially he did not know who funded the group, but he had done his own investigating and discovered it was Military Intelligence.

"It was initially referred to as a private company. It was not," he told the commission which is inquiring into public violence and intimidation.

Buthelezi knew about training of 150 loyal Zulus, says his deputy

They were paid in cash by Chief Buthelezi's former personal assistant MZ Khumalo.

The men were absorbed into the KwaZulu police in 1989.

No files were kept on the men and a list with their names had been misplaced, he told the commission.

Few people knew of the group's existence and the brigadier, a member of the KwaZulu central committee until last year, did not inform his colleagues.

However, Chief Buthelezi was aware of their existence.

He said he had selected 150 "loyal young Zulus" in April 1986, who were trained by a security company in Namibia - who turned out to be the SADF.

But under cross-examination, he said this statement had been a "slip" and conceded that his statement that he had selected the men was also incorrect.

Two members of the Black Cats which operated in Wesseltown near Ermelo, who arrived at the commission wearing balaclavas, told how their group had subjected the township to a reign of terror.

One of them, identified as Mr A, said an Uwusa official, Isaac Hlatwayo, promised the Black Cats help in their fight against the Wesseltown Action Committee if they joined Inkatha.

He said: "Most of the Black Cats (32 of us) were then taken by Inkatha to Zululand to be trained."

In an interim Goldstone Commission report tabled in parliament this week, the commission says policy on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public should be determined and made public as a matter of urgency.

Spears, sticks

The report, on violence at Mooi River on December 3 and 4 last year, said both the police and public appeared to be confused over the carrying of weapons for cultural purposes.

"The commission finds it quite unacceptable that men in the Mooi River/Bruntville area walk the streets, and indeed attended the hearings (of the commission) in the town hall, carrying spears and sticks.

The law obliges the police to confiscate such weapons and prefer criminal charges against such persons. That should be made clear."

It said the evidence suggesting that members of the SA Police in the area favoured Inkatha Freedom Party supporters was a matter of concern and if correct would aggravate negative attitudes towards the police by many members of the community.

"Urgent and effective steps should be taken to educate and explain to all members the absolute necessity of unbiased policing."

CP Correspondent

Army 'paid for imps'

c/pers 9/2/92

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False plates

The practice of conducting raids without warrants, in plainclothes and in a vehicle with false number plates, should be prohibited forthwith.

The police should make every endeavour to bring the perpetrators of the violence committed at Mooi River - in which 19 people died - to justice and the Attorney-General be requested to assist.

It was in no way suggested that the security forces were to blame for the violence at Mooi River. The blame for that fell squarely on those who were participants in attack and counter-attack, irrespective of which party they supported, said the commission.

The attacks by IFP supporters that led to the death of 19 residents of Bruntville township near Mooi River in December last year came after a year of violence initiated by supporters of both the IFP and the ANC, the commission said.

The police were already giving urgent attention to several of the issues raised by the Goldstone Commission's report on violence at Mooi River, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said this week.

Cry, the beloved country

Stowe 9/2/92

(2714)

RANDOM violence by whites directed towards blacks has surged this year, leading many authorities to conclude that deep passions and tensions within the white community were leading to irrational outbursts.

Among the most gruesome:

● Kallie Delpert, 34, a lonely misfit, allegedly killed his father on January 20 over an argument about cattle and then took to the streets of Ladysmith, randomly shooting at black passers-by. Nine were killed and 19 wounded.

● On January 25 Johannes Wilhelm Saunders, 20, got drunk at a family braai and then allegedly walked up a quiet street in the Eastern Transvaal town of Kriel shooting at any black person in the way. Enoch Mthisi and Judy Silvia Koli were killed.

● Cornelius Petrus de Waal, 24, argued with his girlfriend in Middelburg, Transvaal, on January 30. After firing a shot at her he, too, went on a street blitz, killing a black man and wounding five others. He said later he had "seen black" after the argument and had gone out to "kap kaffirs".

● A spate of "retaliatory" white-on-black attacks also took place.

In late January at Verkeerdewei in the Free State a posse of enraged white farmers apprehended four black

The second anniversary of President FW de Klerk's "New South Africa" speech came and went almost unnoticed this week. Perhaps it is because the public's attention is more firmly fixed on other things — like the spiralling levels of random and criminal violence. Here, in brief, is a month's chronology of mayhem

men suspected of killing local pensioners Willie Engelbrecht and his wife. One of the suspects was allegedly beaten to death.

Molatu "Lawai" Lebata was buried at Evaton on January 12. He had allegedly been beaten to death by a group of six white men. His offence: he had been in an argument with a local white couple who objected to a "kaffir's bitch" mating with a white person's dog.

● An equally sinister disregard for black life was alleged in a bizarre incident in which two white Witbank insurance agents, Lucas Loubser and Izak Kruger, allegedly made themselves the beneficiaries of the wills of eight unsuspecting black men and then drove the victims' bus off a cliff.

Five men died in the ensuing fire, but three escaped. Now the two white men are charged with fraud — and murder charges are being investigated.

● Ordinary criminal violence also took its toll during this second anniversary of the "New South Africa".

Police reported massive increases in crimes of violence in the PWV area: pedestrians, shopkeepers, tourists, the elderly were all victims. Thirty-seven incidents of violent crime were reported in one national newspaper alone during the first five weeks of 1992.

The good news was the tracking down and killing of Brian Dongo, 33 — alleged to be South Africa's most wanted man — on Friday in his Sandton luxury townhouse.

● Racist violence against whites also occurred. In the East Rand township of Katlehong a group of men claiming loyalty to the PAC attacked white teachers on February 3. Six men were later arrested for the burning of Mr Schalk Dippenaar, 53, at the technical college.

Though most political groups came out against the

action, groups of radical youths ran through the township on Wednesday shouting "Away with stinking whites".

● The guardians of law and order were in the thick of it.

Seven policemen appeared in the Maritzburg Supreme Court charged with murdering 11 people at Trust Feed outside Maritzburg in December 1988: insinuations of a police cover-up were made by the investigating officer. Six other policemen appeared in a separate trial on charges of kidnapping and murdering Mr Mbongeni Janna on February 24 last year. Fifteen policemen were killed in the first five weeks of the year — the military wing of the PAC claiming responsibility for some of the attacks. Police claimed that former members of the ANC's armed wing had been responsible for five attacks on policemen since October last year.

● And underlying it all was the toll of "routine" political and criminal violence.

Ninety-one people were killed in political/criminal violence in various places in Natal between January 1 and this week. Seventeen people were killed and many more injured in random attacks on commuters using PWV trains. The motives, as always, remained unclear.

4th dispute resolution committee established

By Michael Sparks (274)

The National Peace Secretariat on Friday set up a regional dispute resolution committee for the Witwatersrand/Vaal area, the fourth of its kind in the country.

Chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys told representatives of the 17 organisations attending the meeting that he hoped to have four more dispute resolution committees formed within the next two weeks.

He added that fortunately the two regions where plans for the formation of committees were less advanced — the southern and northern Cape — were areas of little violence. But they were high on the agenda.

Dr Gildenhuys said the committees were not political bodies but existed to settle disputes and make recommendations on how to end violence.

ANC representative Floyd Mashele spoke of the need to create an attitude of political tolerance, which had never existed in this country.

Mr Mashele gave strong support to the recent actions by police of making random searches of train commuters in an attempt to reduce train violence.

IFP spokesman Themba Khoza called on all delegates to "leave politics outside the door", adding that co-operation between the various groups was still possible.

Commission wants more witnesses

The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry has appealed to members of the public to come forward and give evidence in the proceedings.

The commission was appointed to look into violence and intimidation and how these could be prevented.

Mr Justice RJ Goldstone, the commissioner, said committees of inquiry established by the commission are disappointed that few people have come forward to provide information.

"This is especially so in the case of the Tokoza inquiry, where there must be a substantial number of eyewitnesses to the violence which occurred there late last year.

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Sowetan 10/2/92
By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

"Witnesses are not obliged to give evidence in public. Private and confidential meetings with members of the committee can be arranged," he said.

Appointments can be arranged with the commission's counsel, Mr JJ du Toit, or Mr T Pretorius at (012) 320 4640.

Apart from the Tokoza inquiry, the commission would also like to receive information concerning taxi and train violence and intimidation. Such information can be conveyed to the same counsel



A woman walks past police vehicles in Soweto on her way to work yesterday. Fighting in the area left nine dead at the weekend. Picture, AP

Hostel dwellers wanted in peace talks

THE ANC has called for the active involvement of hostel residents in regional peace initiatives in the wake of violence at Soweto's Meadowlands township at the weekend.

Speaking at the inauguration of the Witwatersrand-Vaal regional peace committee on Friday, ANC representative Floyd Mashele said: "Most inci-

dents of violence have been planned or orchestrated from hostels. Something has to be done." (274)

One of the new committee's main objectives should be to investigate restructuring of the hostel system, he said.

Violent clashes in Meadowlands over the week-

end, allegedly between hostel dwellers and residents, left nine dead and 21 injured. It was reported that handgrenades and AK-47 rifles were used. Police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said yesterday violence had abated.

A statement issued by the National Peace Committee said the regional committee was established to "co-ordinate efforts to combat violence, establish local dispute resolution committees in the area and develop, with the National Peace Committee and local peace committees, strategies for socio-economic reconstruction".

Mashele said it was most important that hosteldwellers as well as political parties, regional services councils and civic organisations were involved in the peace process.

Sapa reports a top-level meeting aimed at speeding up implementation of the peace accord in Natal townships and to address violence there has been called in Durban tomorrow.

Deputy Minister of Justice, Danie Schutte is expected to attend.

In Umlazi, scene of a week of fighting — with at least eight deaths — between Unit 17 hostel dwellers and residents of the Ekuthuleni shack settlement, violence and tension continued yesterday.

At least three buildings were petrol bombed and 30 others damaged in an attack on Unit 17 early yesterday with police intervening to prevent retaliatory attacks by hostel dwellers later.

Hundreds of policemen and soldiers on foot and in armoured vehicles patrolled the volatile area.

Inkatha and ANC appeal for peace

By KENOSI MODISANE
and JOE MDHLELA

THE African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday rededicated themselves to working towards peace following the violence that claimed at least 23 lives in Soweto and Natal at the weekend.

Concerned about the seemingly unending violence in most black areas, the South African Council of Churches said it would reconvene its crisis committee to deal with the violence, the Rev Frank Chikane, the SACC's general secretary said yesterday.

The chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mr John Hall, said the fresh outbreak of the violence was disturbing. He said the committee would deal with the matter urgently.

Mr Charles Nupen, chairman of the local dispute resolution committee, said people representing the ANC, the IFP and the police were yesterday engaged in discussions with their constituencies in an attempt to bring an end to the conflict in Meadowlands.

The statement from the ANC said it was not coincidental that the fresh outbreak of violence erupted as Codesa working groups met.

"The ANC makes an urgent appeal for calm. Strenuous efforts from all quarters to strengthen and ensure the implementation of the Peace Accord must be made," the organisation said.

"It has been the pattern all along that as negotiations or peace efforts bear fruit, the violence again ferociously erupts," said the statement.

Inkatha's Ms Suzanne Vos said there was a need to redouble efforts to ensure that the Peace Accord worked.

She said the culture of violence should be replaced with a culture of tolerance.

"The leadership of Inkatha has been systematically targeted since the signing of the Peace Accord," she said.

	(a)(i)	(b)(i)	(c)(i)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	None
OwaOwa	None	2 500	None
KwaZulu	None	1 000	None
KaNdwane	Unknown	Unknown	None
KwaNdebele	None	Unknown	None
Gazankulu	Unknown	Unknown	None
	(a)(ii)	(b)(ii)	(c)(ii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Not applicable
OwaOwa	Unknown	Dec '92	Not applicable
KwaZulu	Unknown	Ongoing	Not applicable
KaNdwane	Unknown	Unknown	Not applicable
KwaNdebele	Unknown	Unknown	Not applicable
Gazankulu	Unknown	Unknown	Not applicable

The South African Government has not built houses in the self-governing territories since 1984

The self-governing territories were requested to forward information but to date not all replies were received

Political violence: number of people killed

7 Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Law and Order

274

(a) How many persons died in or as a result of political violence during the 1991 calendar year and (b) how many such persons were (i) members of the South African Police Force, (ii) members of the South African Defence Force and (iii) councillors or other elected office-bearers?

Hansard 12/2/92

B17E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (a) 2 239
(b) (i) 50
(ii) 2
(iii) 4 councillors

Note

No statistics regarding other elected office-bearers are kept.

Number of persons tested HIV-positive

9 Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health

Hansard 12/2/92

How many (a) White, (b) Black, (c) Coloured and (d) Indian persons in the Republic tested

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

HIV-positive in the latest specified calendar year or 12-month period for which figures are available? Hansard 12/2/92

12/2/92

B21E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

No data for individual years are available. The cumulative total of anonymously reported HIV-positive persons as at 28 November 1991 is as follows

- (a) White 1 420
(b) Black 12 198
(c) Coloured 336 and
(d) Indian 65

Radiographers: vacant posts

13 Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of National Health:

(1) (a) How many vacant radiographer posts are there in all provinces and disciplines in South African and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished,

(2) (a) how many students qualified in radiography in each province at the end of 1990 and (b) how many of these radiographers were still in practice with the province concerned at the end of 1991?

Hansard 12/2/92

B30E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH

- (1) (a) 200 and
(b) 1 January 1992;

- (2) (a) Cape 33, Natal 3, Orange Free State 9, Transvaal 43 and
(b) Cape 16, Natal 3, Orange Free State 9, Transvaal 31.

"Children of God": Cape Town riot police

17 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order

- (1) Whether he and/or the South African Police were informed that the British Broadcasting Corporation television service was making a film of the Cape Town riot police called "Children of God" for use on British television during 1991;

(2) whether this film was made with the full knowledge of the South African Police,

(3) whether the Police imposed any restrictions on the producers in making this film; if so, what restrictions;

(4) whether he and/or the Police have seen the completed version of this film, if so,

(5) whether he and/or the Police found any of the comments made in this film by individual members of the Police in Cape Town to be unacceptable, if so,

(6) whether he intends taking any steps against any of the policemen quoted in this film; if not, why not; if so, what steps? B37E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) Yes, my predecessor and the Commissioner of the South African Police.

(2) Yes.

(3) No.

(4) Yes, my predecessor the Deputy Minister and Commissioner of the South African Police, but only after it was televised by the BBC

(5) Yes

(6) Yes, individual members who were guilty of statements which cannot be reconciled with the image and credo of the South African Police, were reprimanded by the Regional Commissioner.

Note:

Although no restrictions were placed on the production of the film, there were certain

conditions for monitoring. These conditions were not complied with by the BBC

SAP members: retirements

24. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Law and Order

How many members of the South African Police Force retired from the Force on accelerated pension in 1990 and 1991, respectively, as a result of (a) physical injuries and (b) stress? B58E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

1990 (a) not available

(b) not available

1991 (a) 97

(b) 34

Note

Reasons for accelerated retirement were not recorded during 1990

SAP members: convictions/civil claims

26 Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many policemen and policewomen were convicted of crimes committed in the course of duty in 1991,

(2) (a) how many complaints of assault were laid against the South African Police in 1991 and (b) how many (i) prosecutions and (ii) convictions have resulted from complaints of assault by members of the Police in that year;

(3) (a) how many civil claims arising out of complaints laid against the police in 1991 have been filed to date and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished? B73E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) 713

(2) (a) 6 203

(b) (i) 844

(ii) 246

(3) (a) 2 334

(b) 1 January 1991 until 31 December 1991.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

200 000 gun licences sought

Political Staff **274**

THERE were nearly 200 000 applications for gun licences in South Africa last year — an average of more than 500 for every day. **25/11/92**

This was revealed yesterday by Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers. He said in a statement that 197 509 applications had been received, of which 18 268 had been refused.

2 239 killed in 1991 unrest

POLITICAL violence claimed 2 239 lives in 1991, including 50 policemen, two members of the Defence Force and four black councillors, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has said. He was responding in a written reply to a question by Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg). — Sapa.

(274) ARG 14/2/92

SAP challenge

Archbishop Tutu

Political Staff

4/15/92
THE police yesterday challenged Archbishop Desmond Tutu to place facts before the Goldstone Commission about his statement that black hit squads were being trained by white security forces to eliminate ANC leaders. (274)

Sapa

(274) CT 17/2/92

Medical CT 17/2/92

Codesa urged

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A "medical Codesa" has been called for by the Society of Dispensing Family Practitioners (SDFP).

Health costs have soared while the government "decided unilaterally" on health matters, the SDFP said in a full-page newspaper advert.

"We cannot and will not accept any major restructuring of health legislation in South Africa without proper consultation and negotiation."

were dropped in October. Dorfling was sacked by the SABC in September. Jor-

sponsible for securing rights to sports broadcasts and for administration, planning, and financial control of Topsport.

ANC violated peace accord ~~SAP~~

B/day 18/2/92 (274)
ADRIAN HADLAND
AFTER raiding an ANC house in Johannesburg yesterday, police accused the ANC of violating the national peace accord.

A police statement on an investigation into the existence of ANC hit squads said the house in Bezuidenhout Valley, used by the ANC's intelligence unit, was searched after allegations that ANC members had paid a Danie Odendaal to

infiltrate the AWB and assassinate an ex-policeman.

The ANC said the house was raided by 30 policemen who broke doors and windows to gain entry. One of its intelligence officers, Yunis Mia, was made to lie face down on a bed with a gun pressed against his head, the ANC alleged. Documents were seized.

The raid followed claims that two ANC operatives paid Odendaal R10 000 to assassinate "turned" ANC member Glory "September" Sidebe. Police said the allegations were made under oath, compelling them to act.

Their statement said despite repeated requests to the ANC for help in terms of the national peace accord, and promises of assistance, none was given.

"Police were left with no other option but to go ahead and investigate the serious allegations without the assistance of the ANC."

The ANC rejected the accusation that it had violated the peace accord, and described the raid as "intimidatory surveillance".

Political comment in this issue by Jim Jones Newsbills by Cecile Reynierse Headlines and subediting by Danyse Armour All of Times Media Ltd 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg

OVER	+12%
INGS	+15%
3	+11%

report for the
as follows:

Five new peace bodies due

THEO RAWANA

(274)

THE national peace secretariat would set up five new dispute resolution committees in the next month, media spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday.

It would start with a committee in Bloemfontein today and set up another in Middelburg on February 25. The western Transvaal would have its own committee in Klerksdorp on March 3; Port Elizabeth's would be instituted on March 5; and a fifth would be set up in Kimberley, northern Cape.

Phalaborwa's was established on February 8. A Pietersburg committee was being negotiated.

Regional committees had been set up in Natal/KwaZulu, Border/Ciskei, Western Cape and Witwatersrand/Vaal, while local ones had been established in Soweto, Germiston and Thokoza.

A sub-committee for Meadowlands, facilitated by the Greater Soweto resolution committee, was formed on Friday.

6 Day 18/2/92

PAC leader may have to testify

CT 18/2/92

Political Staff

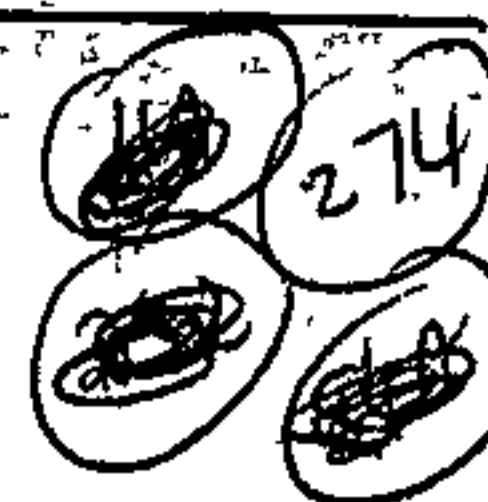
(274)

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu could be ordered to appear before the Goldstone Commission.

But the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said in a statement yesterday he hoped Mr Makwetu would reconsider his decision not to appear voluntarily.

The commission wants to question Mr Makwetu about two statements on violence made by the organisation.

Judge's plea to PAC chief



THE chairman of the Goldstone Commission investigating political violence has appealed to Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu to reconsider his decision not to appear before the commission.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, in a statement issued yesterday, again asked Makwetu to meet the commission to discuss statements made by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

At a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, the organisation said the move was aimed at "pressuring the PAC to adopt the Codesa line".

"Appearances before the commission is an attempt to criminalise the just struggle of our people. The activities of Apla do not constitute public violence," the organisation said.

The PAC said it was surprising that while violence associated with the Govern-

MOKGADI PELA and Sapa

ment, the African National Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party and the rightwing was occurring daily, none of those organisations' leaders had been summoned to appear before the commission.

Goldstone, however, pointed out that the commission had no direct or indirect link with Codesa.

Goldstone confirmed that he had informed Makwetu that if he refused to hold discussions with the commission, "it would have no alternative but to compel his presence at a public inquiry".

He said he invited Makwetu on January 9 to discuss the statements made by the Apla.

On February 12 the general secretary of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, replied that neither Makwetu nor any member of the PAC national executive committee knew anything about the alleged activities of Apla and would therefore be in no position to help.

Goldstone in new bid to meet Makwetu

THE chairman of the Goldstone Commission investigating political violence has appealed to PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu to reconsider his decision not to appear before the commission, writes Peter Fabricius.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, in a statement issued yesterday, again asked Mr Makwetu to meet the commission to discuss statements by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), claiming responsibility and expressing support for a policy of murdering South African policemen.

Mr Goldstone said he was re-issuing the appeal because of certain misconceptions by Mr Makwetu.

In particular, he pointed out that the commission had no direct or indirect link with Codesa — which Mr Makwetu had offered as a reason not to appear before it.

Mr Goldstone confirmed that he had informed Mr Makwetu that if he refused to hold discussions with the commission, "it would have no alternative but to compel his presence at a public inquiry".

He said that on January 9 he had invited Mr Makwetu to "meet informally" with the commission to discuss the statements by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, "an affiliated organisation of the PAC".

On February 12 the secretary-general of the PAC replied that neither Mr Makwetu nor any member of the PAC national executive committee knew anything about the alleged activities of Apla and would therefore be in no position to help him.

On February 13 he had again written to Mr Makwetu, pointing out that the commission was a body independent of government, parliament or any political party.



Mr Justice Richard Goldstone ... appealed to the PAC.

Commuters killed in bomb blast

274

THREE commuters were killed and a fourth was found dead next to a railway line at Kwesini Station near Katlehong on Monday night.

A police spokesman said the train driver stopped the train at 6.10pm after hearing a loud bang. He then discovered that a grenade had exploded in one of the carriages.

The man found next to the railway line may have jumped off the moving train to escape the blast, according to the police.

Police said yesterday the four sustained bullet and shrapnel wounds.

Two other men were admitted to hospital in a serious condition.

In Natal six people, including a one-year-old child, were killed on Monday in an ambush at Tugela Ferry near Greytown in the Natal Midlands.

A police spokesman said a family of eight was travelling in a bakkie from a village to another when they were gunned down.

In the continuing taxi war in Cape Town, a fire extensively damaged the Nyanga hostel, near the taxi rank on Monday night.- *Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.*

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In the continuing taxi war in Cape Town, a fire extensively damaged the Nyanga hostel, near the taxi rank on Monday night. - *Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.*

274

Sowetan 19/2/92

PAC chief (274) 'prefers jail'

Political Staff

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu yesterday rejected the second appeal from the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into political violence and intimidation to testify, saying he would rather go to jail.

"I reject the invitation to the Goldstone inquiry. If coerced by way of an order I will refuse to attend," he said at a press conference. "If I am threatened with imprisonment because of my actions, my answer must be that I have suffered many years in prison for my beliefs."

Three killed

He said he did not doubt Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's personal integrity, but the PAC regarded the laws of the country as illegitimate.

Yesterday, Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission would meet next week and Mr Makwetu's statement would be discussed then.

Mr Makwetu's comments come just after Apla, the PAC's military wing, admitted having ambushed and killed three municipal policemen in Katlehong on Monday.

1992
January 58
February 21

(b) 10 February 1992

Note

The 1991 figures for KwaZulu are only for persons killed in areas controlled by the South African Police

Persons killed/injured in violence
73 Mr P J GROENEWALD asked the Minister of Law and Order +

How many persons were (a) killed and (b) injured in violence in 1985, 1986, 1989, 1990 and 1991, respectively?

(274) *[Signature]* B173E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

Suspected right-wing terrorism: incidents
71. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order.

(1) (a) How many incidents of suspected right-wing terrorism were investigated by the South African Police in 1991 and 1992, respectively, and (b) how many of these cases had been solved as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether any persons have been arrested in connection with these incidents; if so, (a) (i) how many and (ii) in connection with how many such incidents in each case and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

[Signature] B161E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) 1991 — 12

1992 — 6

(b) 9

14 February 1992

(2) Yes.

(a) (i) 15

(ii) 9

14 February 1992.

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

B229E

84 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:
How many cases of (a) murder, (b) culpable homicide, (c) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, (d) common assault, (e) rape, (f) robbery, (g) theft of vehicles and cycles, (h) damage to property, (i) housebreaking with intent to steal and theft and (j) possession of drugs were reported at the (i) Sandton, (ii) Bramley, (iii) Wynberg/Alexandra and (iv) Lombardy East police stations in 1991?

Crime: Sandton/Bramley/Wynberg/
Alexandra/Lombardy East

Statistics with regard to unrest-related incidents

	(a)	(b)
1985	823	2 626
1986	973	2 548
1989	659	1 425
1990	2 674	4 328
1991	2 239	3 185

Note

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)
(i)	15	38	85	270	37	272	944	74	433	2 346
(ii)	52	37	115	203	26	916	622	17	532	1 223
(iii)	364	29	731	523	207	552	229	—	399	366
(iv)	10	10	27	81	9	198	179	19	134	687

Note

(g) (i) vehicles

(ii) cycles

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version

For oral reply:

General Affairs

State-funded housing complexes:

all race groups

* 1 Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) Whether members of all race groups are allowed to rent and/or purchase, or place their names on waiting lists for, housing units in low-income State-funded housing complexes, if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether, in view of the repeal of the Group Areas Act, it is the policy of the Government to allow local authorities to apply racial integration in respect of such housing complexes; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will local authorities be allowed to do so, if so,

(3) whether any such housing complexes in Algoa Park and Sidwell in the Port Elizabeth area have been opened to members of all race groups; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details,

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

CIE

†The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING

(1) Yes

(2) Yes If local authorities have surplus housing units at their disposal after the needs of the population groups for which it was originally planned, have been satisfied, the housing boards of the various own affairs administrations may grant approval that it may be placed at the disposal of other population groups, where such a need exists. (a) and (b) fall away.

(3) The housing complexes in Algoa Park and Sidwell in the Port Elizabeth area fall under the purview of the responsibilities of the Minister of Correctional Services and of Housing and Works in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

(4) No

Makwetu refuses to testify

South Africa 19/12/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, as commander-in-chief of the army, must be brought before the Goldstone Commission, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

Makwetu was invited by the commission to account for alleged violent activities of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

The PAC chief yesterday said that the same criterion which existed for him (Makwetu) to be summoned before Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, existed for the commander-in-chief of the South African Defence Force and the head of the South African Police.

There were more incriminating fingers pointed at the SAP and SADF in the violence that has swept the country in recent years, Makwetu said.

"Does Justice Goldstone have plans to summon the commander-in-chief of the SADF, Mr De Klerk, to answer widespread allegations that his army was engaged in the most notorious activities against my people....

"Is Judge Goldstone about to summon the so-called Commissioner of Police to account for the SAP's possible involvement in the train massacres on the Reef?" Makwetu said.

He said that he considered the commission to be "a waste of time".

or unless he is obsessed by it. That is not how we do business. Let me be frank. He knows just as well as I do that Swapo received more than R100 million. He knows just as well as I do that there were parties in South West that applied for assistance and said that a mockery would be made of democracy if they were not assisted organisationally to acquaint the voters with their democratic principles [Time expired]

*Mr L F STOFBERG Mr Chairman, I want to ask the hon the Minister a question. He very clearly said that his Government had given money to the political organisations in South West Africa. At a press conference on 25 July 1991 he went further and said an amount of R100 million had been given to various political parties. Surely the Government gave that money because it wanted to influence the course of events in South West Africa.

Now we want to ask this hon Minister what his and his Government's policy is in connection with South Africa. We want to know whether they are also prepared and of the intention to give the ANC money to promote its cause [Interjections] This is a very pertinent question, particularly when a very able and influential commentator such as Dr Hermann Gilmore of the University of Cape Town has just written the following in *South Africa International*, and I quote

The great test, however, is the reconciliation of Afrikaner and African nationalism. Without that no constitutional settlement is possible. The simple truth about South Africa is that neither the NP nor the ANC can rule the country alone.

According to Dr Gilmore the hon the Minister and his Government—I am tempted to say the rest of the country too—are moving towards a situation in which they want to form an alliance with the ANC. If they gave money to political parties in South West Africa, and if they influenced the course of events there with the money of the taxpayers of this country, that hon Minister must tell us today, before the result in Potchefstroom is known, whether in future he and his Government are going to give money to the ANC in South Africa, particularly when the ANC's funds start drying up and they must enter into an alliance with the ANC.

Mr F J LE ROUX Mr Chairman, on 22 December the hon the Minister said to Mr

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mandela "You hurt us badly." Incidentally, I think it is the most stupid remark ever made by a politician to an antagonist. The hon the Minister is leading with his glass jaw. That is what is happening.

*If this entire matter was so innocent, why did he not reply properly in March 1990 and say that the Government had given money to South West? Why did he try to put us off with fine words? Why did he keep this from us? Why did he keep it from the taxpayers in South Africa at that stage, and then blurt it out on television later on? What is the reason for that?

*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS Mr Chairman, in the first place the hon member for Sasolburg knows just as well as we do that the hon the State President has said that under no circumstances would this Government undertake the funding of political parties in South Africa. In the second place, the laws in terms of which these funds are spent are drafted by this Parliament. The hon member voted for them. That is the respect he has for his own laws. No irregularities have been reported by the Auditor General. This was therefore done quite legally and without irregularity. That is the point I want to make.

The hon member is now blatantly using this debate to use something which happened in the past to influence the Potchefstroom by-election. The residents of Potchefstroom would want us to promote democracy in the whole of Southern Africa.

*Mr F J LE ROUX Do you know by how much we are leading at the moment?

*Mr J J NIEMANN By how much?

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE By 2 000!

*The MINISTER There is no question of manipulation. There is no question of underhand tricks. Those second tier governments in the former South West Africa had to cease to exist several months before the election as a result of the implementation of Resolution 435, but they assumed that they could exist until the elections took place. They were converted into parties. They had no funds, whereas the other big party had many millions at its disposal.

I submit that under such circumstances even the hon member for Sea Point would have given serious consideration to making funds available.

Cont

in order to promote democracy in a neighbouring state [Interjections]

Debate concluded.

Unlawfully armed persons: enforcing of act

2. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order.

(274) Whether the South African Police are enforcing stringently the provisions of the Dangerous Weapons Act, No 71 of 1968, in order to disarm unlawfully armed persons displaying, brandishing or using dangerous weapons in public places generally, at political gatherings and on commuter stations and trains, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details?

B194E INT

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER Mr Chairman, the SA Police endeavour to take all reasonable steps to ensure the safety of the public and the maintenance of law and order.

With regard to the provisions of section 2(1) of the Dangerous Weapons Act, Act 71 of 1968, which contains a prohibition on the possession of dangerous weapons accompanied by the necessary unlawful intent, the SA Police are instructed to ensure that the prohibition regarding the possession of dangerous weapons in public places is strictly enforced.

Regarding the possession of dangerous weapons at political gatherings, attention is drawn to paragraph 3.6 of the National Peace Accord entitled "Dangerous Weapons". In clause 3.6.2 it was agreed that no weapons or firearms may be possessed, carried or displayed by members of the general public attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.

Naturally paragraph 3.6 only deals with the possession of dangerous weapons at political gatherings, and the enforcement of this paragraph must be distinguished from that on the possession of dangerous weapons in general in public areas.

In view of the above-mentioned clause, the Government undertook to issue the necessary proclamation to implement the principles of paragraph 3.6.2 after consultation with the interested parties.

Extensive consultations have taken place with the IFP, as well as the ANC, and in view of these consultations it can now be announced that the proclamation is ready for publication. This consultation process was conducted by me over a period of five months and was finalised on 18 February 1992. I wish to thank the IFP and the ANC for their contributions in this regard.

Members of the SA Police will, as soon as the proclamation has been published, receive instructions to arrest persons in possession of dangerous weapons or firearms at any political gathering. Members of the SA Police will, however, not be expected to usurp the functions of the courts in any manner whatsoever.

The full implication of the proposed proclamation is that the carrying of, *inter alia* spears, assegais and battle-axes will not be allowed at any political gatherings. However, the intention of the National Peace Accord was not to deal with bona fide cultural or ceremonial functions.

With reference to the remark by the hon Mr Justice Goldstone, in his interim report regarding the violence at Moot River, that the policy regarding the carrying of dangerous weapons should be made public, it must be pointed out that this matter is receiving priority at present.

However, it is an accepted judicial principle that a reasonable suspicion regarding every element of criminal liability must be present before an arrest can be made. The effect of this is that a person carrying a dangerous weapon in public cannot be summarily arrested without the existence of a reasonable suspicion regarding the presence of unlawful and guilt elements. Section 2(1), in fact, provides quite clearly that a person is not guilty of a crime if he can prove that he never had the intention to use such a weapon unlawfully. The result is that the policing of this matter is still extremely complicated [Time expired]

Mr A J LEON Mr Chairman, I was pleased to hear the hon the Deputy Minister say that he was now strictly going to enforce the provisions of the Dangerous Weapons Act as they apply to political gatherings in terms of the National Peace Accord, because hitherto ambiguities, omissions, delays in action and uncertainties have been the characteristics of Government and Police action with regard to the vexed question of dangerous weapons. At best this has sug-

Cont

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

gested, so far, benign neglect by the State, at worst it indicates something approaching a conspiracy, an official attitude of complacency, ensuring that one section, always the Zulu section of our population, arms itself with spears, pangas, assegais, knobkerries, sticks, ceremonial axes, etc.

The consequences of this policy for areas in Natal Midlands, for commuters on the trains in the Witwatersrand and for the inflammation of endemic violence in this country are so well-known as to be notorious.

In 1968, as the hon the Deputy Minister pointed out, we enacted section 2 of the Dangerous Weapons Act, but this should now be interpreted by the Government because the violent times demand of it to do so. The Government should narrowly interpret the section to create a strict liability for the carrier of the weapons to be rendered liable to prosecution unless he can prove to the contrary. Dozens of instances and hundreds of bodies later, the police today still appear to interpret this section to mean that they have a discretion to decide whether or not an offence has been committed.

Only two weeks ago, as the hon Deputy Minister pointed out, the Goldstone Commission reported on Mooi River. What it also said—which the hon the Deputy Minister did not mention today—is that there appears to be confusion on the part of the police about the carrying of weapons on cultural and traditional occasions on the one hand and weapons being carried for aggressive purposes on the other. It is a confusion on the part of the people who enforce law and order and yet, instead of the hon the Deputy Minister issuing an unambiguous and clear regulation to enforce the judge's point generally—not just in respect of political gatherings, although that is important—the dithers and remains silent.

As recently as last Saturday night our nation was treated, on SATV, to the ugly and unacceptable face of politics in South Africa when hundreds of IFP supporters at Umlazi were seen flourishing, unhindered and untouched, all manner of dangerous weapons, from sticks to battle axes. The Government contends, of course—as did the hon the Deputy Minister today—that these are cultural weapons which it, by regulation in 1990, specifically allowed Zulus, and Zulus alone, to carry in Natal.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

In December 1991 in the Tsenoli case the Supreme Court found no evidence corroborating the fact that the carrying of dangerous weapons was Zulu custom and struck the regulation down as void on the grounds of vagueness. Instead of accepting that judgment this Government has now appealed against it for reasons that I think the hon the Deputy Minister should clarify this afternoon.

A month after that judgment violence flares up again on the Reef, on the trains and at commuter stations, violence which the hon the Deputy Minister must address. Despite the fact that more than 100 lives have been lost there and that 550 people were injured in over 30 train and station attacks over the past 18 months, the latest wave of attacks leads to total police confusion about their powers and duties in this regard.

*Mr C H PIENAR Mr Chairman, according to the hon the Deputy Minister instructions have been given to act. The fact of the matter is that the Government has totally lost control over this situation. The mouthpiece of Hochenheimer—one can now say that is the mouthpiece of the hon member for Houghton—viz the *Financial Mail*, says that they wonder whether the Government intends handing over an ungovernable South Africa to the ANC. More has been said in this regard. *Transvaler*, this dwindling little NP newspaper of the Transvaal, that is dwindling in the same way as the NP is dwindling, states that the horrifying wave of murders, especially of elderly Whites, and the robberies and thefts, have unleashed resistance on the part of the White voters. [Interjections.]

Then we have the situation in the Free State where the murder of Whites has now become an everyday occurrence. Every day on television, the hon the Minister appears to be more forceful, but nothing is happening. Absolutely nothing is happening. The number of illegal weapons in the hands of people who rob and murder is increasing by the day. A total of 22 000 murders were committed in the space of 15 months and there they sit, they are unable to do anything about this state of affairs!

There sits the hon the Minister of Justice, who is one of the greatest causes of this wave of crime. It is no wonder that the hon the State President has relieved him of the portfolio of Correctional Services, because his own attorneys-general are in revolt against him. As a result of the action of

Court

those hon Ministers judges are ridiculing the Government in judgments. However, he is still sitting there as the Minister of Justice. [Interjections.]

This Government no longer feels like governing. They no longer feel like maintaining law and order. Look at them sitting there—grey and caplative. [Interjections.] They are doing nothing whatsoever about this state of affairs. The hon the State President is travelling abroad, but he is paying no attention to the security situation in his own country. That is all he has time for. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister. [Time expired.]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER Mr Chairman, the hon member for Hillbrow referred to the Tsenoli case. I am not prepared to discuss this while the case is still pending on appeal.

As regards the possession of dangerous weapons at commuter stations and on trains, to which the hon member also referred, a Press release was issued by the Commissioner of the SAP on 29 January 1992, stating categorically that everything possible was being done to protect the lives of innocent commuters on trains and at stations. I quote:

Owing to the recent spate of attacks it has become necessary to take drastic action to prevent these attacks. In this regard, as far as is possible no one will be allowed to board any train, in terms of the unrest regulations, while in possession of any object which could be used to cause grievous bodily harm or death or which is not lawfully used for normal everyday purposes. The implementation of the provisions of the Control of Access to Public Premises and Vehicles Act, No 53 of 1985, regarding stations and trains, is at present also being investigated with the intention of implementing it in areas where the unrest regulations are not in force.

*The hon member for Heilbron referred to the high crime rate in South Africa, he did not actually get around to discussing the interpellation before the House today. The interpellation deals with dangerous weapons and enforcement of the law in this regard. The hon member did not tell this House that, percentage-wise, there has been a decrease in crime since last year. [Interjections.] The increase in 1991 as compared to 1990 was approximately 2% to 3%.

lower than in 1990 as compared to 1989. Nor has the hon member told this House that this year 3.5% fewer murders were committed in South Africa than in the previous year. This can be attributed to effective policing. Now that hon member maintains that this Government and the SA Police has done nothing to combat crime. [Time expired.]

Mr R F HASWELL Mr Chairman, the hon the Deputy Minister thanked both the IFP and the ANC for their assistance in agreeing to the banning of the carrying of dangerous weapons at political gatherings. To the best of my knowledge, however, the ANC has never encouraged or, in fact, allowed people to carry arms at political gatherings. [Interjections.] He said it took five months to resolve that matter.

The DP raised this in an interpellation on exactly the same subject some 10 months ago. The hon member for Simon's Town raised this last April and made an urgent appeal to the hon the State President to reinstate the ban on the carrying of traditional weapons in Natal. How many lives have been lost since then, however, while we take five or 10 months to decide which is a political gathering and which a cultural gathering? I should like any hon member in this House to tell me whether funerals in this country are political or cultural gatherings. The police will have an impossible task deciding whether one can take a traditional, dangerous weapon to a funeral, which then becomes a political gathering. [Interjections.]

One can go on and on about how many people have died and how much time—the 10 months—we have wasted before issuing a simple order saying simply that dangerous weapons are not allowed to be carried in situations like this. I am informed that yesterday this has been done in Mooi River and that there has been an immediate reduction in the level of violence. Also, the tension has been reduced dramatically. In Richmond, Natal—another area which was declared an unrest area in December—the carrying of dangerous weapons was prohibited, and almost immediately we got the same sort of peaceful response. Why the dragging of feet? Why do we have to wait so long for these things?

It is also interesting—and I should like to draw the hon the Deputy Minister of Law and Order's attention to this—that in KwaZulu itself, in terms of the Zulu Chiefs and Headmen Act of

Court

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1974, if a state of lawlessness exists in this area, a chief may prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons [Time expired] (274) (275)

Mr A J LEON Mr Chairman, I should like to draw the hon the Deputy Minister's attention to two affidavits, which I have referred to him before, which clearly indicate that the police simply stood by at various train stations in Johannesburg while 20 armed thugs boarded the trains. One cannot operate like this. This is the SA Police Force which has to be the arbiter between the contestants in this country. When the police were challenged about it, they simply said "We enforce the law according to circumstances." That is a quote from their Press release.

If we are going to prevent South Africa from deteriorating into further anarchy and civil war, we must act swiftly. The chief guardian of law and order, the hon the Minister, should first of all announce today the repeal of all regulations—and there are at least two that I am aware of—which permit the carrying of dangerous weapons, except in strictly defined circumstances because he has allowed them to be carried in Natal. Secondly, his department must provide for the stringent enforcement of the Dangerous Weapons Act. If we fail to do that, it will simply lend credence to charges of a Third Force, of State complicity in violence and the escalation of massive unrest. Those things are the sort of things we should be trying to avoid [Time expired].

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER Mr Chairman, I must emphasise that negotiations on this aspect started before we signed the National Peace Accord on 14 September 1991. It is very important to get the co-operation of the parties concerned—that is why it took us so long to consult with the interested parties in an effort to get a proclamation which we could issue as soon as possible.

It is easy to make affidavits, but it is very important that the contents of affidavits can be tested. I appeal to the hon member for Houghton to take this matter up with the hon the Minister and to submit these affidavits to an investigation.

I want to emphasize my serious concern with regard to the existence of Umkhonto weSizwe. We had a debate on traditional and dangerous

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

weapons, but we are also concerned about the existence of Umkhonto weSizwe and the possession of arms caches in the Republic. In this regard we have not had the co-operation of the ANC to address this problem in terms of the National Peace Accord. (274) (275)

I want to state that paragraph 3.7.3 emphatically states that no private army shall be allowed or formed. Paragraph 3.7.6 provides that all existing structures, called self-defence units, shall be transformed into self-protection units which shall function in accordance with the principles contained in paragraph 3.7. The ANC has done nothing as yet to implement these provisions in terms of the Peace Accord. Consequently the implementation of paragraph 3.7 will have to be dealt with as a matter of high priority. In this regard I wish to point out that the liaison structures referred to in paragraph 3.7.4 cannot be implemented, owing to the lack of co-operation from the ANC [Time expired].

Debate concluded

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version

For oral reply

General Affairs

State President

Question standing over from Tuesday, 4 February 1992

Secret projects: investigation

*1 Mr D J DALLING asked the State President

(1) When (a) did the comprehensive investigation of secret projects commence and (b) was the investigation completed,

(2) whether the report relating to this investigation has been handed to him; if so, on what date? (274) (275)

B10E

The STATE PRESIDENT.

(1) (a) The Advisory Committee on Special Secret Projects under the chairmanship of Prof Ellison Kahn SC, started with its work on 2 September 1991

continued

(b) Yes (274) (275)

(2) Yes. 19 November 1991

Question standing over from Tuesday, 11 February 1992

Committee on National Priorities

*1 Mr K M ANDREW asked the State President

Whether the State President's Committee on National Priorities has met during the past two years, if not, why not, if so, (a) when did it meet and (b)(i) which of its statutory objects was it able to fulfil and (ii) in which respects were these fulfilled? (274) (275)

B127E

†The STATE PRESIDENT

No. Since I took office, several matters previously dealt with by the Committee have been discussed and dealt with by the Cabinet as a whole. The determination of priorities and how they should be reflected in the budget is an example of this. Nonetheless, these discussions are preceded by the acquisition of suitable inputs from smaller committees which, I am convinced, are functioning effectively. They include the new Cabinet Committee for Economic Coordination under the chairmanship of the Minister of Trade and Industry and for Economic Coordination, as well as regular discussions with the newly-established executive of the Economic Advisory Council.

(a) and (b) Fall away

Ministers

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 11 February 1992

Male/female teachers: equalisation of salary scales

*1 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education: (274) (275)

(1) Whether agreement has been reached to bring about the equalisation of the salary scales payable to male and female teachers of equivalent qualifications, if so, (a) as from what date will payments be made in terms of such scales and (b) what scales will be applied,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? (274) (275) B52E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) The Cabinet had already during 1990 undertaken to eliminate disparities on the grounds of gender and undertook to take the final step regarding the implementation thereof during 1992/93.

(a) Should funds be allocated for this purpose, payments in terms of such scales will commence during the course of the 1992/93 financial year.

(b) The scales which at present are applicable in respect of male teachers in the qualification categories concerned, will apply.

(2) As soon as funds have been allocated, I will make an announcement.

Universities/technikon: less money from State

*2 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education (274) (275)

(1) Whether any universities or technikons are to receive in respect of 1992 the full amount which they should receive under the formula-funding policy administered by his Department, if not, why not,

(2) whether any of these universities or technikons are to receive less money from the State in real terms in 1992 than they did in 1991 in terms of the amounts determined by his Department, if so, which of these institutions,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B53E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

Since the Minister of Finance has not submitted the Draft Budget Bill for the 1992/93 financial year to Parliament yet, the figures are not presently available.

(1) Lapses
(2) Lapses
(3) Lapses

Continued

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is paid by the State.

- (1) What is the financial contribution by the State to the State and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

- (3) who pays the travelling and subsistence costs of members of Parliament involved in the business of Codesa? B81E

THE MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

- (1) The state is paying for the expenditure related to the operation of Codesa

- (2) (a) and (b)

A provisional calculation indicates that the following expenditure was incurred up to and including 31 December 1991 in regard to the preparatory meetings (including meetings of the preparatory committee, the steering committee and the task groups) and of the first plenary meeting of Codesa.

(i) Accommodation expenses of participants in the said meetings,	R905 580
(ii) Travel expenses (road and air)	R822 400
(iii) Telecommunications	R30 020
(iv) Snacks in connection with the above meetings	R61 700
(v) Hire of venues, furniture, offices, electricity, sound and lighting, flowers and plants	R1 294 300
(vi) Printing, stationery and other supplies	R157 000
(vii) Hire of electronic data processing and other equipment	R86 000
(viii) Professional services	R119 000
(3) The subsistence and travel expenses of participants not travelling officially at state expenses are recompensed out of state funds	

SAP: firearms lost

*11. ADV. J. S. PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Law and Order:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (a) How many firearms issued to members of the South African Police were lost in 1990 and 1991, respectively, and (b) what subdivision of the police lost the most firearms in each of these years? B82E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

- (a) 1 January 1990 until 31 December 1990

Robbed from members	461
Housebreaking	125
Theft out of vehicles	34
Stolen at motor accidents where members were killed or injured	12
Stolen out of charge offices during handing over procedures, etc	222
Lost out of members' possession	118
Lost during riot control and performance of normal duties	65
Lost in Neighbouring States	4
Total	1 041
1 January 1990 until 31 December 1990	
Robbed from members	362
Housebreaking	113
Theft out of vehicles	21
Stolen at motor accidents where members were killed or injured	9
Stolen out of charge offices during handing over procedures, etc	164
Lost out of members' possession	146
Lost during riot control and performance of normal duties	30
Lost in Neighbouring States	3
Total	848

- (b) Division: Visible Policing

Note.

In almost all these cases, the loss went hand-in-hand with some offence or another that was committed in this regard and which varied from robbery and theft

HIV-positive cases: reporting of

- *12. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health

- (1) What steps are being taken by her Department to ensure that all HIV-positive cases are reported,
- (2) whether a central statistical record is being kept of all HIV-positive cases, if so, by whom.

Continued

- (3) whether all (a) pathology laboratories, both private and public, and (b) other institutions involved in HIV testing are obliged to report all HIV positive cases, if so, in terms of what statutory or other provisions in each case; B83E

- (4) whether she will make a statement on the matter? B83E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH

- (1) The reporting of HIV-positive persons, be they asymptomatic or persons with full-blown AIDS, is based on the principle that reports shall be voluntary and anonymous. It depends on obtaining informed consent. Such consent can also be withheld. The Department therefore cannot ensure completeness of reporting without violating this principle.

The option of making AIDS/HIV-positive statutorily notifiable was considered but rejected since it was felt that this route would drive the condition underground. Yet knowledge of the extent of the epidemic is critically important for health planners.

The most practical and scientifically reliable way of gaining this knowledge is by conducting well-planned, ethically irreplicable surveys. A family of these have been carried out in South Africa, many supported by the Department of National Health and Population Development. A comprehensive up-to-date review of all HIV-related data was recently published by the Department of National Health and Population Development in Epidemiological Comments Vol 18 No 11 (Nov 1991): AIDS IN SOUTH AFRICA. Status on World AIDS Day 1991;

- (2) yes, at the South African Institute for Medical Research, Johannesburg

- (3) (a) and (b) no;

- (4) no

New police base: Rooiwal

*13. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order.

Whether the South African Police plan to have a new police base constructed on the farm

Removal in the future of the old police base at the farm of the Rooiwal. It is not the intention to construct a new police base at the Rooiwal and to have the old base demolished. The total cost of the base is B88E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

No

- (a), (b) and (c) Fall away

National Peace Accord: firearms

*14. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order

- (1) Whether the Government has complied with the undertaking given in the National Peace Accord to issue the necessary proclamations in order to implement the principles relating to weapons or firearms contained in paragraph 3.6.2 of the said accord, the text of which has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not, if so, to what extent,

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B89E

THE MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) On 14 September 1991 the signatories to the National Peace Accord agreed to the provisions embodied therein, and of special importance are the provisions contained in clause 3.6.1, in terms of which the parties agreed that the disastrous consequences of widespread violence and the urgent requirement of peace and stability on which to build the common future of South Africa, makes it necessary to act decisively to eliminate violence or the threat of violence from the political sphere

Moreover, in clause 3.6.2 it is agreed that in pursuit of this understanding the parties agree that no weapons or firearms may be possessed, carried or displayed by members of the general public attending any political gathering, procession or meeting

In view of the above-mentioned clauses, the Government made the undertaking embodied in clause 3.6.4, namely to issue

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HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Hansard

the necessary proclamations to implement the principles of paragraph 3.6.2 after consultation with the interested parties

In order to give effect to clause 3.6.4, the South African Police has undertaken extensive research bearing in mind the objects of the Dangerous Weapons Act, 1968 (Act No 71 of 1968), with particular reference to the powers of the Minister as provided for by sections 2(2) and 2(3) of the same Act

This research having been finalized, the South African Police decided that the most effective manner to honour the contents of the spirit of the National Peace Accord is the drafting of an explicit prohibition which will prohibit a person attending or participating in any political gathering in or on any public place from being in possession of any dangerous weapon or any firearm or a replica thereof

Of paramount importance is the definition of a political gathering which includes any political gathering, concourse or procession which has been organised, convened or held or otherwise brought about with the prime intention to discuss, attack, criticise, promote, or propagate the principles or policy of a political party or organisation, whether or not such party or organisation is registered in terms of any law. Excluded from the definition of a political gathering would be any traditional or cultural gathering or any ceremonial gathering

In order to evaluate the ambit of the prohibition, the attention is drawn to the proposed definition of a dangerous weapon which reads as follows:

'dangerous weapon' means

- (a) any object which has been designed or manufactured with the object of inflicting a bodily injury, or
- (b) any object which has not been designed or manufactured with the object of inflicting a bodily injury, but which may inflict a bodily injury if it were used to commit an assault, unless a person in possession of such

(274)

an object is able to prove that with respect to the surrounding circumstances he at no time had any intention of using such object for any unlawful purpose or that he at no time had any intention of using such object to intimidate any other person or persons."

Thus the definition of a dangerous weapon will include, amongst other objects, assegais, spears and battle-axes

Members of the South African Police will as soon as the Proclamation has been published receive instructions to arrest persons in possession of dangerous weapons or firearms at any political gathering. Members of the South African Police will, however, not be expected to usurp the functions of the courts in any manner whatsoever

With regard to the provisions of section 2(1) of the Dangerous Weapon Act, 1968 (Act No 71 of 1968) which contains a prohibition on the possession of dangerous weapons accompanied by the necessary unlawful intent, members of the South African Police are instructed to ensure that the prohibition is enforced

Provision may be made for certain exemptions, for example, persons in the service of the State, security guards or *bona fide* bodyguards

After consultation with the IFP and the ANC on 18 February 1992, the Government is now in a position to announce the proclamation

(2) No

Investigation of poverty problem: working group

*15 Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether the working group under the chairmanship of the current Deputy Director-General (Financial Planning) of his Department appointed by the Government to investigate the poverty problem has submitted a report, if not, (a) why not and (b) when does he expect such a report to be submitted, if so,

continued

Hansard

- (2) whether the contents of this report will be published or made available in any other way, if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant particulars?

B99E

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE.

- (1) (a) No

- (b) The working group followed an operational approach. The results of its work were submitted to Cabinet in the form of memoranda on the basis of which various decisions were taken. These decisions were reflected in this year's Budget, notably the introduction of the food intervention scheme for which the Minister of National Health was made responsible

- (2) It is not intended to make a public report available, for the reason mentioned in (1)(b)

Number of prisoners previously convicted

*16 Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Correctional Services

How many persons in South African prisons as at 31 December 1991 had been convicted of offences previously?

B121E

THE MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

The precise information is not centrally available and can only be obtained by a costly and manpower intensive country-wide survey

However, a survey undertaken on 24 July 1991 shows that at that stage approximately 14,6% of the prison population were first offenders whilst approximately 85,4% were recidivists. Should this percentages be made applicable to the prison population of 31 December 1991, it means that of 73 214 sentenced prisoners, approximately 10 689 would have been first offenders whilst one or more previous convictions would have been recorded against approximately 62 525. The fact that a previous conviction is recorded against a person does not necessarily mean that he had served a sentence of imprisonment since sentences may include for instance the following: a warning and dismissal, corporal punishment, fines,

suspended sentences, postponed sentences, referral to a rehabilitation centre or reformatory, etc. My department is presently undertaking an investigation into the whole question of recidivism but due to the extent of this project it is unfortunately not possible to give an indication as to when it would be completed. I nevertheless undertake to furnish the hon member with more information after completion of the project

Further allocations: targeted aid schemes

*17 Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Finance

Whether any further allocations were added to the R220 million originally budgeted for targeted aid schemes, if so, what are the amounts involved?

B130E

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

None for the 1991/92 financial year

Interest on deposit made by tenant

*18. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Trade and Industry.

- (1) Who receives the interest paid on the deposit made by a tenant dealt with in terms of the Estate Agents Act, No 112 of 1976,

- (2) whether it is the intention to amend the said Act in this regard, if so, (a) what amendments are contemplated and (b) when is it anticipated that the amending legislation will be submitted to Parliament?

B131E

THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY.

- (1) Interest on moneys deposited in an estate agent's trust account must, in accordance with the Estate Agents Act, 1976 (Act No 112 of 1976), be paid by the estate agent to the Estate Agents Fidelity Fund. The Estate Agents Board, however, refunds a portion of the interest to the estate agent concerned in order to compensate him for costs incurred in this regard

- (2) The matter is under consideration



Peace Committee will be invited to address Codesa

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

ONE of Codesa's working groups will invite the National Peace Committee and Secretariat to address it.

This followed a meeting at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport yesterday of a sub-committee of the working group dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity.

They discussed the degree of success achieved by the National Peace Committee and its relationship with Codesa.

It was decided that the group should meet the National Peace Committee and the Secretariat for a briefing on the two bodies' activities.

The four sub-committees of the working group charged with the future of the TBVC states also met yesterday.

They are discussing the testing of the will of homeland citizens about reincorporation,

whether they should be given South African citizenship, and the financial, administrative, legal and constitutional implications of reincorporation.

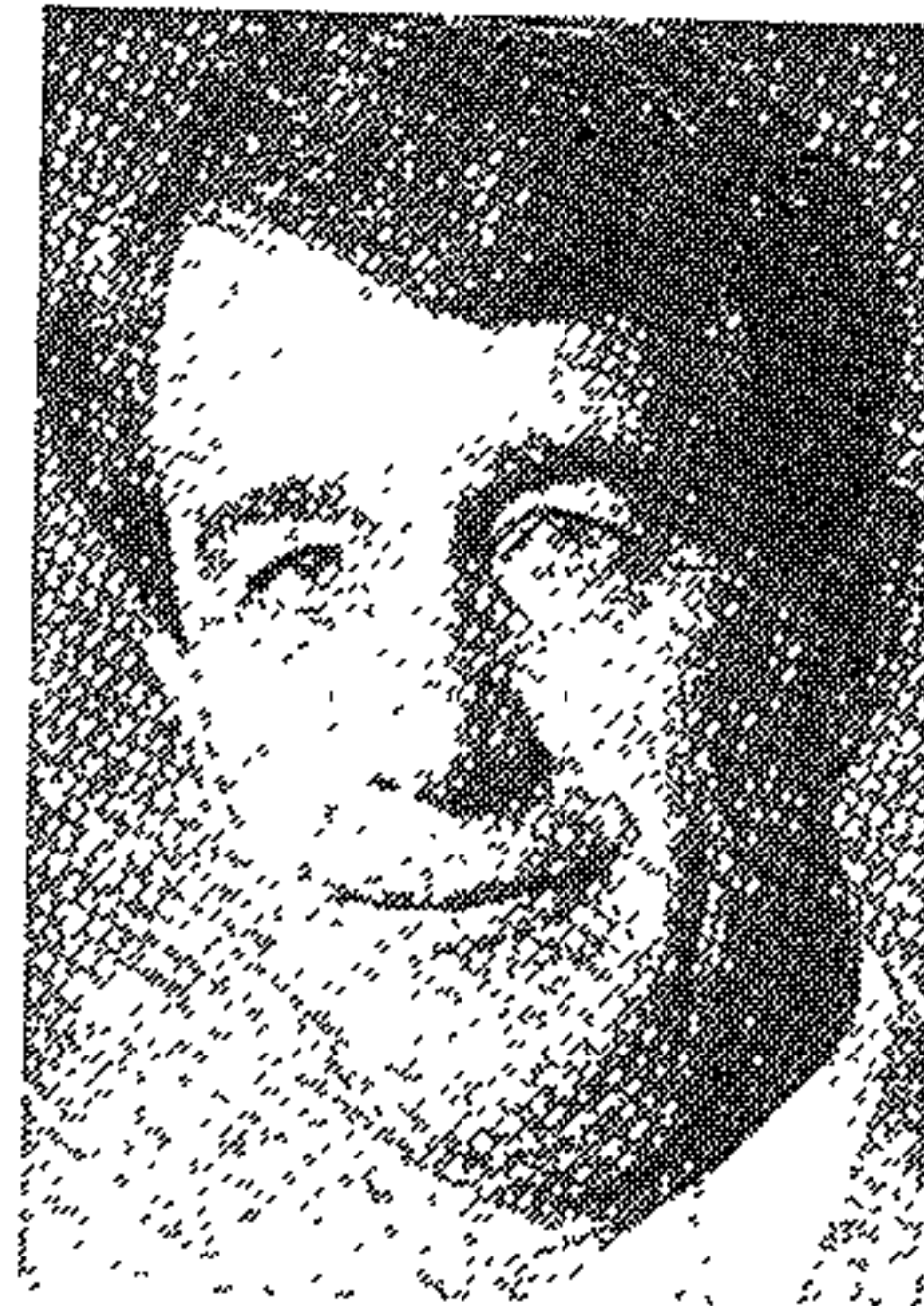
Deputy Agricultural Minister and South African government delegate on the sub-committee Mr Tobie Meyer said after the meeting that the government was satisfied with the progress made so far.

He would not discuss details of the talks, saying discussions would be continued next week.

In another development, members of the Patriotic Front, who are taking part in Codesa, are meeting on Friday to discuss the future of the front.

In terms of a resolution adopted by the front in October, it had to be reconvened in six months' time.

The daily management committee said yesterday all participants had tabled their constitutional principles and had established common areas in



Mr Tobie Meyer

working group two (constitutional principles).

All delegates had made their initial presentations on transitional arrangements "opening the way for further discussion to continue", the daily management committee said.

The working groups and the management committee meet again on Monday.

Govt set to ban cultural weapons

274 CT 20/2/92

THE government is ready to ban all spears, assegais, battle axes and other "dangerous weapons being carried at political gatherings" and would soon publish this in a proclamation, Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

In a mini-debate in Parliament, he said the proclamation had been discussed in detail with the ANC and Inkatha and as soon as it was published police would arrest any person carrying these weapons at political gatherings.

He stressed that the ban would not apply to all public places, as it would be difficult for police to determine the intent for which weapons were being carried.

DP MP Mr Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) wanted to know how the police would interpret whether a funeral was a political gathering or a religious occasion.

Mr Scheepers was responding to DP

MP Mr Tony Leon (Houghton) who had called on Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel to "stop dithering" and ban all cultural and traditional weapons from being carried in public.

Mr Leon said it was necessary to interpret the Dangerous Weapons Act of 1968 narrowly, particularly in view of the Goldstone Commission's report on the violence at Mooi River which stated: "There appears to be confusion on the part of the police as to the carrying of weapons at cultural or traditional occasions on the one hand, and the carrying of dangerous weapons whether for self-defence, or for aggressive purposes on the other hand. The latter cannot be tolerated if normal and peaceful conditions are to prevail."

Unless the police stringently enforced the law, allegations would persist that the state played a part in the escalation of massive unrest, Mr Leon said.

Law on weapons soon

Sowetan 20/2/92

THE Government will soon announce a proclamation that would prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons to political gatherings, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers, said yesterday.

He was responding to questions by the Democratic Party's Mr Tony Leon, who attacked the Government and police for their laxity over the issue of carrying dangerous weapons in public.

Leon said in Parliament yesterday that the police were "ambiguous, omissive, slow, inactive and uncertain" over the question of dangerous weapons.

"At worst, it is something approaching a conspiracy - an official attitude of compliance - ensuring that one section, the Zulu section of our population, arm themselves with spears, pangas, assegais, knobkerries, sticks

and ceremonial axes and the like.

"The consequences for areas in the Natal Midlands, for commuters on the Witwatersrand and for fomenting violence are now well known," Leon said.

"These violent times surely demand that the Government narrowly interpret such a section to create a strict liability that the carrier of a weapon be rendered liable for prosecution unless he can prove that carrying it was in innocence.

"Yet dozens of bodies later, the police appear to interpret this section to mean they have a discretion to decide whether or not an offence is being committed," Leon said.

Political Correspondent

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VICTORY CELEBRATION... Democratic presidential hopeful Paul Tsongas raises his fists as his wife Niki applauds during an election night rally in New Hampshire on Tuesday. Tsongas captured more than a third of the Democratic vote to win the nation's first presidential primary.

US commends SA talks

WASHINGTON - Continuing violence in South Africa indicated progress was being made in constitutional talks in spite of opposition by extremists. 274

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen told a Press briefing on Tuesday night: "The fact that violence is continuing and even increasing is troublesome, but I think it also reflects the fact that those who do not want negotiations - the extremists in various communities - see that negotiations are moving well and are therefore stepping up the violence."

"So it reflects the progress that has been made and we hope negotiators will continue to forge ahead and not be deterred by the violence," he said.

The US was encouraged by the progress

in constitutional talks. "They are proceeding in a good atmosphere and there seems to be a willingness on all sides to listen to the concerns of the other side, and we feel there is a good chance that many of the issues will be compromised into solutions acceptable to the various factions."

He added that while the US was concerned by some of the statements on the economy made recently by the ANC, the evolution in the ANC's thinking was positive.

"Mr Nelson Mandela came here and talked about the importance of a vigorous private sector and the importance of foreign investment and domestic investment, so we feel that there is growing acceptance of the importance of a free market system in South Africa and we think the evolution within the ANC is favourable." - Sapa-Reuter.

(274)

Give humanity a chance – Red Cross

STAR 20/2/92

Most of the victims of violence in South Africa were civilians who had never worn a uniform or carried a weapon, the Red Cross society said yesterday.

Announcing its theme for 1992 – "Give Humanity a Chance" – the southern Transvaal region of the SA Red Cross Society appealed to all South Africans to "share equal responsibilities to promote peace in our land".

"It must be noted that the majority of casualties are civilians. Nine out of 10 victims of vio-

lence never wore a uniform or carried a gun," the society said.

"The Red Cross movement cannot remain silent when we open our newspapers daily and see how many family lives have been ruined."

The society placed no blame for violence and appealed for support for the slogan "Give Humanity a Chance", adding:

"We believe there is no finer investment in any country than the investment we make in people. We cannot do it alone. We need your assistance to promote goodwill." – Sapa.

Proclamation on weapons soon

By Martin Challenger
Political Staff

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STAF

2012/92

CAPE TOWN — The long-awaited, negotiated steps that the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party hope will stop the carrying of spears, assegais, battle-axes and firearms at political events will be made public shortly, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers said in Parliament yesterday.

He was replying in an interpellation put by Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

Mr Scheepers said yesterday that the consultations between the Government, ANC and IFP on the regulations prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons at political gatherings had taken five months. Agreement was finalised on Tues-

day, and a proclamation would be published as soon as possible.

Once the proclamation had been published, the police would be instructed to arrest people in possession of dangerous weapons and firearms at any political gathering.

"The carrying of spears, assegais and battle-axes will not be allowed at any political gathering."

Dangerous

However a person carrying a dangerous weapon in public could not be summarily arrested without reasonable suspicion that they had the intent to do something unlawful with it. "The result is that the policing of this matter is still extremely complicated."

The proclamation would also not hamper people carrying what they saw as tra-

ditional weapons but what others saw as dangerous weapons to bona fide cultural or ceremonial functions.

The Conservative Party's Cehill Pienaar said the Government had lost control of the situation and its will to maintain law and order.

Mr Leon said the police's action in the past suggested a "benign neglect" by the State. "At worst, it behoves something approaching a conspiracy, an official attitude of compliance ensuring one section — always the Zulu section — of our population arm themselves with spears, pangas, assegais, knobkerries, sticks and ceremonial axes. The consequences of this policy for areas in the Natal Midlands, for commuters on trains on the Witwatersrand and for the inflammation of endemic violence are now so well known as to be notorious."

Vlok says parole works

CAPE TOWN — A large percentage of the prisoners released on parole in 1990 and 1991 had been reintegrated into society, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday. *B/20/2/92*

In an interpellation in the House of Delegates, he said 16,75% of the 53 748 prisoners released on parole in 1990 had not adhered to their parole conditions, been arrested in connection with another crime, or were wanted in connection with other crimes.

In 1991 this figure was 11,84% of the 47 349 prisoners released.

The authorities could not resort to policies of no remission of sentence because of criticism that a few misbehaved. — Sapa.

Weapons ban to be selective

CAPE TOWN — Government would soon ban the carrying of dangerous weapons at political gatherings, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said in a mini-debate in Parliament yesterday.

The banning had been discussed in detail with the ANC and Inkatha, and as soon as a proclamation had been published police would arrest any person carrying these weapons at political gatherings, he said.

The ban would apply only to political gatherings as opposed to all public places because of the difficulties police would have in determining the intent with which the weapons were being carried.

Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) wanted to know how police were going to interpret whether a funeral was a political gathering or a religious function.

Scheepers was responding to Tony Leon (DP Houghton), who called on Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to "stop dithering" and ban the carrying in public of cultural and traditional weapons.

Leon said police had to apply the Dangerous Weapons Act of 1968 very strictly,

(274) 2647321
BILLY PADDOCK

especially where it placed the onus on the person carrying the dangerous weapon to prove that he had no intention of using it for violent purposes.

It was necessary to interpret the law narrowly, especially in view of the Goldstone Commission's report on violence at Mooi River.

Leon quoted the report as saying carrying weapons for aggressive purposes could not be tolerated "if normal and peaceful conditions are to prevail".

Leon said: "As recently as Saturday night, the nation was treated on TV to the ugly and unacceptable face of politics in SA when hundreds of IFP supporters were seen at Umlazi flourishing, unhindered and untotched, all manner of dangerous weapons." The footage was shot at a funeral.

Unless the SAP stringently enforced the Dangerous Weapons Act, allegations of a "third force" and that the state was playing a part in the violence would persist.

Visionaries needed - Hall

VISIONARIES who have brains and organisational skills are needed to help corporate SA face its many challenges, national peace accord chairman John Hall said yesterday. (274)

Speaking at a seminar in Johannesburg on Employee involvement in SA, Hall said business had a role and opportunity more important than ever before.

To apply peace accord's process, the participation of everyone, from management to workers, was needed, he said.

Meanwhile, in Natal the peace process faced renewed problems yesterday with Inkatha threatening to pull out of peace structures and the ANC questioning Inkatha's commitment to the national peace accord.

Inkatha central committee member V B Ndlovu accused the ANC of trying to manipulate the peace process in Natal.

He said attempts to set up local dispute resolution committees in Richmond and Bruntville had failed, "yet the ANC has failed to address the root problems ...".

Although an Inkatha Institute statement said Inkatha would not pull out, Ndlovu's threat was made to several reporters.

In turn, the ANC blamed Inkatha for not abiding by the peace accord or committing itself to the accord's structures.

A Natal Midlands spokesman said the ANC had repeatedly told Inkatha that it had not set "pre-conditions" for Bruntville peace talks, but had merely indicated that these issues had to be addressed by peace structures.

A joint working committee (ANC/SACP/Cosatu) statement said peace efforts were being hampered by Inkatha's underrepresentation or nonrepresentation on the regional and local committees, its failure to implement the peace accord at these levels, its "habit" of staging walk-outs and its late arrival or early leaving of meetings. — Sapa.

Inquiry invite withdrawn

PIETERSBURG. — The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence has withdrawn an invitation to Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe to testify.

In a letter to Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng on Wednesday, Mr Justice Goldstone said Azapo's assertion that neither its president nor its youth wing Azayo had been involved in violence during the Paul Simon tour meant the commission would take the matter no further. (274) CT. 2/12/82

The commission first wrote to Azapo after a grenade blast at the offices of a company linked to the tour.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu declined an invitation to give evidence. — Sapa

By PAUL STOBBER

ANOTHER attack by the Pan Africanist Congress' armed wing left three more policeman dead this week, but the PAC continues to refuse to accept responsibility for the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In a letter sent to Judge Richard Goldstone explaining why PAC president Clarence Makwetu has refused to appear before the Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, the organisation claimed no member of its national executive had any knowledge of Apla activities. Instead, it referred the commission to the Apla headquarters in the capital of Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam.

PAC spokesman Waters Toboti explained that Apla is controlled by a military commission situated in Dar-es-Salaam. He insisted: "No member of the PAC NEC is a member of the military commission." However, he later admitted that "those in the military commission cherish the ideals and objectives of the PAC".

At a media conference this week, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said "the activi-

PAC denies links to killing of policemen

WPA 21/2 - 27/2/92

ties of Apla do not constitute public violence and intimidation but are part of a just struggle for democracy".

Toboti accused the government of using the Goldstone Commission to try to force his organisation to join the Congress for a Democratic South Africa.

He also rejected Judge Goldstone's assertion of the commission's independence from the government. "If the commission is independent, why does it have the legal power to send the police to enforce a subpoena?" he asked.

According to Judge Goldstone, "the commission wishes to discuss with Makwetu the attitude of the PAC towards the policy and statements of Apla. This is a matter which concerns the PAC whether or not it has control over the policies of Apla."

The PAC has never disassociated itself from Apla and has refused

to condemn it for the recent spate of attacks on policemen for which it has claimed responsibility.

Judge Goldstone has warned Makwetu that if he refuses to appear before the commission, "it will have no alternative but to compel his presence at a public inquiry".

On Tuesday Makwetu stated he would rather go to jail than appear before the commission if he is subpoenaed. Failure to appear could mean that he will be liable for a year in jail or a R4 000 fine.

On Wednesday a man calling himself Tafara Rafara, the field political commissar of Apla, issued a warning to Judge Goldstone that he would be held responsible for action taken against Makwetu.

"Apla wishes to place on record that Goldstone will be held responsible personally for any blood that will be shed as a result of his irresponsible actions," he said.

But in a statement issued from Dar-es-Salaam the next day, Apla denied any knowledge of the man and distanced itself from his threat. "It is definitely not Apla policy to target civilians," said Apla's chief information officer, Johnny Majozo.

Apla has been reported as saying the organisation will continue to target security force members until a constituent assembly is established.

On Wednesday the Goldstone Commission withdrew an invitation to the president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, to appear before it. He had been asked to discuss media reports linking "organisations affiliated to Azapo" to a grenade blast in the offices of a company linked to the Paul Simon tour. Azapo had opposed the tour.

In a letter to Azapo, Judge Goldstone said the organisation's insistence that neither it nor its youth wing, the Azanian Youth Organisation, was involved in violence during the tour meant the commission would take the issue no further.



Mr Justice Goldstone

Goldstone drops Azapo invite

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Goldstone Commission has withdrawn its request to Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe to appear before it and discuss the alleged involvement of its youth wing, Azayo, in violence associated with the recent Paul Simon tour.

Mr Nefolohodwe declined the request by the commission investigating violence and intimidation this week after the matter was discussed by a meeting of the organisation's central committee.

In a letter turning down the invitation, Azapo's secretary general Mr Don Nkademeng told Mr Justice Goldstone that Azapo and its president were in no way linked to any acts of violence. Consequently the organisation "saw no need to involve themselves at this stage".

APR 21/21/92
Mr Nkademeng said it was now history that all Azapo's Paul Simon demonstrations were peaceful.

He also stated responsibility for the handgrenade blast at PA Sounds, the company that provided sound during the tour, had been claimed by the exiled Azanian National Liberation Army.

In his letter, delivered to Azapo on Wednesday, Mr Justice Goldstone said: "In view of your assurance that Azapo and its president were in no way linked to the activities in question, the commission will take the matter no further".

Meanwhile, the commission this week renewed its request to PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu to come before it and account for activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Mr Makwetu declined the invitation saying he was not responsible for the actions of Apla.

UNREST DEATH TOLL

More than 7 000 people have died in unrest-related violence since 1985 and more than 14 000 were injured in the past six years, according to Law and Order Minister Hemus Kriel. (274)

The death toll peaked in 1990 when 2 674 people died and 4 328 were injured. Unrest claimed 7 368 lives between 1985 and 1991 and 14 112 people were injured. The figures excluded unrest-related deaths in 1986, 1987 and 1989. w/mcw 21/2-27/2/92

Laws that encourage violence

DAVID PITMAN sees mischief in the State's stand on dangerous weapons

is in a group gathered with the intent of attacking another person. It is also only applicable in an unrest area.

DEPUTY Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers this week gave notice of a new regulation to control the possession of dangerous weapons at political meetings.

Lawyers for Human Rights believes it will not prevent the violence plaguing South Africa. Moreover, one must doubt whether it is intended to do so.

Let us begin with an incident. On January 18 this year 20 black men armed with an assortment of dangerous weapons were allowed by six policemen to board a train at Mayfair station.

Half an hour before, a person had been killed and three others injured in an attack on the same line. An hour later another person was killed on another Soweto line.

An SAP spokesman, asked for an explanation, said the police would have acted if there had been any threat to a member of the public.

What, in fact, is the legal position?

Section 2 (1) of the Dangerous Weapons Act 71 of 1968 states: "Any person who is in possession of any dangerous weapon ... shall be guilty of an offence, unless he is able to prove that he at no time had any intention of using such weapon ... for any unlawful purpose ..."

Even a layman can see that the police understanding of these provisions is incoherent and indefensible.

The proviso "unless he is

able to prove that he at no time had any intention of using such weapon for any unlawful purpose ..." clearly means that when an accused is charged with a contravention in a court of law, he must prove to the court his innocent purpose in possessing such a weapon. However, mere possession will permit his lawful arrest and disarmament.

Are the police being coherent? If one traces the origin to the attitude, the disquieting suspicion arises that the intention of the police has been that certain people should be armed with dangerous weapons.

As Tony Leon of the Democratic Party said in Parliament this week: "The police action in the past suggests at least a benign neglect by the state. At worst, it behoves something approaching a conspiracy, an official attitude of compliance ensuring one section — always the Zulu section — of our population arm themselves."

During the height of the conflict in Natal in 1990, lawyers acting for communities in that province implored the commissioner and the Minister (Mr Vlok) to disarm persons who carried spears, assegais, pangas or knobkieries in public.

The police response was

that the Dangerous Weapons Act did not empower them to do this. It was pointed out that if the police were in need of legislation to assist them, then the Natal Code, which had been in force in that province since 1891, made it an offence to possess these weapons in these circumstances.

Within a week, President FW de Klerk amended the code, making the bearing of these weapons in public lawful! The ruling was later set aside by the Supreme Court, but President De Klerk has appealed against this decision.

A flurry of regulations, promulgated under the Dangerous Weapons Act and under the Public Safety Act, have followed.

All are based on the premise that section 2 (1) of the Dangerous Weapons Act does not empower the police to arrest and disarm persons bearing dangerous weapons in public. All have the effect of making it lawful to carry such weapons in public generally, for the regulations identify only specific conduct which, if accompanied by the bearing of weapons, will constitute criminal conduct.

Just one example: a regulation of August 24 1990 makes it an offence to be in possession of a dangerous weapon, if one

The legal implication is that this conduct is lawful in non-unrest areas. But the police do not need a regulation to prohibit this conduct. The common law has prohibited it from time immemorial, even in non-unrest areas.

Mr Scheepers now says a new regulation will be promulgated. It will prohibit the possession of assegais, spears and battle axes at political meetings. It is evident that knobkieries, pangas, "ceremonial axes" and iron bars will not be prohibited. The further legal implication is that possession of assegais etc. is not prohibited outside these meetings. It also raises the question of what constitutes a political meeting.

Judge Goldstone has charged the police with being confused about the law's provisions. This last regulation will certainly not assist in clearing up any confusion.

One explanation, deeply disturbing to those who cherish law and legal regulation, is that the state has created a situation which, for reasons that should be explained to the public, is in accordance with their intentions.

● Mr Pitman is chairman of the Witwatersrand Region of Lawyers for Human Rights.

Three more die in trouble spot

DURBAN. — Three people were shot and killed by unknown gunmen in the strife-torn Esikhawini township near Empangeni at the weekend.

In the latest response to developments in the area, African National Congress deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu asked the Ministry of Defence to send in army and police reinforcements.

Political gatherings in Esikhawini were banned yesterday in an attempt to defuse tension surrounding planned meetings there by both Inkatha and ANC supporters.

An ANC spokesman in the area, Mr Bongani Msomi, confirmed that members of the Defence Force, together with a strong police contingent, were standing by.

He said attempts to get

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to intervene were unsuccessful, as he was in the Transvaal.

KwaZulu police

spokesman Lieutenant Colonel H G Back said a man believed to have been an Inkatha supporter was shot and killed outside his house in H Section early yesterday. He said two other people were first shot and then burnt to death in their car in the nearby J Section on Saturday night.

Spent AK-47 cartridges were found at the scene, Colonel Back said.

Mr Msomi said the township was extremely tense yesterday.

According to the ANC, busloads of IFP supporters were transported to the township on Saturday night and were still in the area yesterday.

There were reports that scores of residents were leaving the area because of fears of a resurgence of violence following the banning of all political gatherings by a Mtunzini magistrate on Saturday.

The ban comes after at least 12 people died when Inkatha supporters, bussed into the area to attend a tribal meeting, clashed with ANC supporters last Sunday.

Several incidents of unrest were reported in the Cape. At Bridgetown, near Oudtshoorn, a woman was arrested when a group stoned a police vehicle.

— Own Correspondent and Sapa

Train attacks: Women protest

JOHANNESBURG. —

Hundreds of black women waving flags emblazoned with the dove of peace boarded two trains in Soweto on Saturday to protest against attacks on black commuters.

The peace trains stopped at every station in Soweto and were to travel through the violence-torn townships for a prayer rally at Kaituma.

More than 100 people have been killed since gangs began rampaging through trains around Johannesburg last year.

— Sapa

Women resolve to investigate violence

Soweto
24/2/92

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ABOUT 500 women from various organisations agreed during a peace train ride at the weekend to launch an independent investigation into township violence.

Women from groups including the African National Congress's Women's League, Azanian People's Organisation's Imbeleko, the Pan Africanist Congress, and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action joined the Inter-Denominational

By SIZA KOOMA

Prayer Women's League in the peace ride on Saturday.

Organiser Mrs Masechaba Mabaso said: "We have suffered enough. Our children and husbands are dying in large numbers every day in trains and in the township and this has to come to an end."

Her sentiments were echoed by Imbeleko's Ms Rose Ngwenya, who said: "We have been calling for peace and now we are tak-

ing action. We hope to set up our own investigation and expose the force behind the violence.

"Half the nation is grieving. There is death every day and we are tired of mourning."

The peace trains travelled from Midway and Naledi stations in Soweto to Katlehong in the East Rand.

The women handed a memorandum to Katlehong Station commander Colonel David Dhlamini.

More freedom for colleges

8/Day 24/2/92
INDIVIDUAL colleges of education would have greater managerial freedom and would be responsible for their own future direction, Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais said at the weekend.

Speaking at the inauguration of a new education college campus for further training in Pretoria, Marais said colleges would also determine their own admission policies.

Financing was still a problem area in the administration of colleges.

However, a set of approved treasury regulations would represent a dramatic step forward in the managerial autonomy of colleges.

Over the past four or five years there had been a decline in the number of students and this had led to rationalisation, loss of personnel and the closure of some institutions, he said.

Government appreciated the trauma associated with closures, but ahead was a new era in which colleges would flourish, Marais said.

He believed the remaining institu-

tions would be lean and fit enough to survive in the competitive environment ahead.

Marais said there was no doubt that the "vast task" of retraining teachers would have to be done extremely cost effectively.

"The need for teachers predicates teachers will have to be upgraded while they remain in their classrooms," he said.

Distance education formed at the very least a significant part of the solution, he added.

On the plan to scale down government control over schools — a reference to the model C school plan announced last week — Marais said the reduction of government spending would result in a less favourable personnel provision in the schools.

He did not doubt, however, that educators would maintain existing standards and ongoing upgrading would result in even greater professionalism.

Violence in township rages on

8/Day 24/2/92
SEVERAL people died at the weekend in unabated violence around the country.

At least three people were killed in Empangeni's Esikhawini township on Saturday night, the ANC reported. KwaZulu police have confirmed the killings.

Earlier, all political meetings in Esikhawini had been banned, but the ANC said IFP supporters arrived in busloads.

KwaZulu police said the Inkatha meeting was a memorial service.

The ban on rallies came after 12 people were killed in Esikhawini last Sunday.

ANC northern Natal chairman Aaron Ndlovu has tried to get ANC president Nelson Mandela to ask for

police and army reinforcements.

In Soweto, gunmen wounded three policemen at Moroka police station on Friday night. The PAC military wing Apla admitted responsibility.

In Meadowlands, Soweto, attackers hurled a handgrenade at mourners on Saturday afternoon, killing a woman and wounding four others, police said. The ANC said 11 people were injured.

In Cape Town four men were shot dead and three injured in two separate incidents in Khayelitsha.

Police confirmed the deaths and said a criminal element seemed to be taking advantage of the taxi war.

In the nearby squatter settlement three alleged robbers shot and wounded three men. — Sapa.

African unions 'more free' now

DIRK HARTFORD

DEMOCRATISATION in Africa is transforming the nature of the trade union movement on the continent, according to the head of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU's) Africa desk, Andrew Kailembo.

He said wherever there had been one-party structures governments had tried to control the trade union movement because they saw unions as capable of forming a strong opposition.

But with democratisation, African trade unions were "finding new independence and flourishing," he said. 8/Day 24/2/92

The ICFTU, which represented 102-million unionists in 101 countries, had six new African affiliates and expected more. Zambian, Zimbabwean and Tanzanian trade unions were asserting themselves more vigorously now, he said.

On the downside, he said unions in some countries were fragmenting, often along party-political lines.

In Zaire there were 50 unions, while in Angola there were over 50 unions in Luanda alone.

Kailembo said disaffiliation from party politics and unity between workers was the way to build strong and independent union movements. He added new unions were joining the ICFTU from former Soviet countries, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Kailembo was part of a six-man ICFTU delegation which visited Namibia last week. The Namibian trade union federation NUNW recently disaffiliated from the World Federation of Trade Unions — the ICFTU's main international rival — but has not affiliated to the ICFTU.

32 die in violent weekend

THIRTY-TWO people were killed and 26 injured in weekend violence around the country largely due to handgrenade and AK-47 rifle attacks. *Sowetan 25/2/92*

The worst incidents between Friday night and Sunday night occurred in Natal and on the East Rand when, in three separate incidents, gunmen fired indiscriminately at patrons at two shebeens.

Four people were killed and three wounded when gunmen opened fire with AK-47 rifles on patrons at a shebeen in Sharpeville on Friday night, police said.

In the second incident, three people were shot dead and seven wounded in Katlehong on the East Rand on Saturday.

In the third incident, a group fired into a shebeen in the Mtunzini district of Natal,

killing three people and injuring four others. AK-47 rifle and 9mm pistol cartridges were found at the scene on Saturday, according to police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo.

Further killings were reported in the Cape Peninsula where six men were shot and killed and four injured in two separate incidents on Saturday. *(274)*

It was in Natal, however, that the highest death toll was reported when 15 people died in widespread unrest at the weekend.

Police reported that a further five bodies with stab and hack wounds were found in townships around the country.

Meanwhile, in an assault on the Moroka Police Station in Soweto on Friday, three policemen were wounded when gunmen opened fire with AK-47 rifles. - *Sapa*

Prayer the answer says peace activist

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Sowetan 25/2/92

LEADERS of various organisations should come together in prayer if a lasting and peaceful solution to the violence is to be found.

The president of the Interdenominational Prayer Women's League, Mrs Masechaba Mabaso, said this on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Chatting to Radio Metro host Tim Modise, Mabaso also urged leaders of political organisations to join hands to restore peace in black communities.



"We have, apart from organising prayer meetings, decided to see to it that a commission of inquiry is set up to investigate causes behind the violence," Mabaso said.

Mabaso urged people to "pray honestly" so the enemy could be overcome.

Rachel Stevens of Randfontein said: "Congratulations on your effort. Please bring other communities into the project."

"We need more than one prayer meeting to bring this massacre to an end."

"This was proved in the sixties when women dared the regime when the pass system was introduced."

Another caller said: "The force of women will definitely be stronger and we need more such efforts to bring the whole thing to an end."

Business 'must support peace moves'

THEO RAWANA

action, and to rejoin "the global village".

The signing of the peace accord and the successful launching of Codesa had shown that politicians appeared to have the will, the capacity to compromise and the negotiating ability needed to bring about a democratic and just society.

The white referendum would have the advantage of removing uncertainty, Wrighton said. Whites faced the stark choice between a negotiated democratic constitution and the possibility of civil war and a return to isolation.

"For the first time whites have to vote with their heads and not their hearts," he said. The referendum would also compel the international community and the ANC to spell out their vision for a new SA.

Wrighton said involvement in emerging local and regional dispute resolution committees must be seen as an investment in stable business environments.

SA COMPANIES should ensure their employees were involved in the emerging local and regional dispute resolution committees, Premier Group chairman Peter Wrighton said yesterday.

Opening the Printexpo/Pakproccess and Foodpro exhibition at Nasrec, he said it was essential that business used its organisational ability to mirror the national peace process at local level. (274)

"Involvement in these structures must be seen as a business investment in the creation of stable environments." (2677)

Wrighton said that while politicians were expected to provide the macro framework for growth, business should be pro-active in ensuring investment actually took place, and that entrepreneurial skills were harnessed. (81004 25/2/92)

In the search for a solution, the private sector needed three elements -- to establish confidence and stability, get the consensus of all players on a common plan of

Banks urged to handle farmers with sympathy

GERALD REILLY

Maize Board the go-ahead for the immediate importation of 300 000 tons.

Nampo GM Giel van Zyl estimates the crop could fall below 2.5-million tons, necessitating the importation of more than 4-million tons at a cost of about R2.5bn.

Sapa reports that the Transvaal Agricultural Union's Dries Bruwer said SA did not have the capacity to handle the amount of maize imports required which he put at



Premier Group chairman Peter Wrighton yesterday addressed the opening of an exhibition at Nasrec near Johannesburg. Referring to next month's referendum, Wrighton said: "For the first time whites will have to vote with their heads not their hearts. The referendum will also compel the international community and the ANC to spell out their visions for a new SA."

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

ANC and IFP urged to meet

Political Staff 214

LAW and Order Minister Mr. Hernus Kriel yesterday called on ANC and IFP leaders to hold "long overdue" talks to settle their differences.

He was responding to Mr. Rob. Haswell (DP, Maritzburg South), who asked why no arrests had been made in connection with the killing of ANC leader Mr. S'khumbuzo Ngwenya.

CA 21/2/92

Justices of peace to help stop violence

By Shareen Singh

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STAR 27/2/92

The National Peace Secretariat will receive statutory recognition during the current parliamentary session that would provide for the appointment of justices of the peace to intervene to stop violence.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said this was agreed upon

in the National Peace Accord signed last year, and the Government had given an undertaking that the current parliamentary sitting would pass legislation in this regard.

The Department of Justice would appoint the justices of the peace in consultation with parties in the Peace Accord and the dispute resolution committees. Those appointed would not

necessarily have legal qualifications but "must have wide acceptability in their communities", Dr Gildenhuys said.

The justices of the peace would intervene when informed that certain individuals were planning violent attacks and demand that they stop. If the individuals disobeyed, they would be charged with a criminal offence, he said.

Violence drops, but war goes on

ET 28/2/92

(274)

JOHANNESBURG. — Violence in South Africa had decreased by 15% to 20% since the signing of the National Peace Accord, the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, said yesterday.

Dr Gildenhuys attributed the decrease to the establishment of regional and local dispute resolution committees in terms of the peace accord.

Committees had already been established in eight of South Africa's 11 regions, while another eight had been set up on a local level.

However, in the Peninsula the police yesterday had to deploy 150 reinforcements from Pretoria, bringing to 500 the number of soldiers and police trying to end the minibus taxi war.

Police have set up five static control points around the Nyanga bus terminus, and a number of roving units in Nyanga, KTC, Khayelitsha and Guguletu.

The SAP's regional head of internal stability, Brigadier Frik Kellerman, yesterday met the opposing Webta

No vests for 50% of police

JOHANNESBURG. — A lack of funds has meant that less than half of the 98 000-strong police force have been issued with bullet-proof vests.

A police spokesman yesterday said that only policemen who patrol high risk areas are issued with the protective gear.

Meanwhile, the long-awaited proc-

lamation banning the carrying of "dangerous weapons" in public is expected to be gazetted today.

The proclamation, to be issued by Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers, will bar "dangerous weapons, firearms or replicas thereof" in public places. — Sapa and Political Staff

and Lagunya taxi associations and gave them a week to find solutions.

"I expect an immediate improvement in the situation," he said.

Should the war flare up, an option would be to close down the Nyanga bus terminus, the scene of much fighting. "But people must eat, work and be able to operate," he said.

The ANC said yesterday that it had met Webta and Lagunya to discuss a resolution by the Western Cape ANC to boycott taxis until a unified taxi association was established.

In Soweto, meanwhile, police yesterday dispersed with teargas a mob of about 300 armed men who tried to board a train at 6am. No injuries were

reported

In another incident, two men were taken to Baragwanath Hospital after being thrown off a train between Mamlankuzi and New Canada stations at 8 30am.

The death toll in random attacks by gunmen on residents of Katlehong and Phola Park squatter camp near Alberton on Wednesday night has risen to nine.

At Lipton Tea factory in Maritzburg on Wednesday employees narrowly escaped injury when a handgrenade exploded in front of two minibuses taking them to work. Police believe the attack was linked to a strike at the factory. — Sapa and Staff Reporter

'At least 180 die in violence so far' (274)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — At least 180 people have been killed in political violence in South Africa since the beginning of the year — and 117 of them were from Natal, says the Human Rights Commission.

In a statement released here yesterday, the HRC said in Natal more than 117 people lost their lives in politically-related incidents.

"The signing of the National Peace Accord has brought little if any relief to strife-torn areas. There are indications the role played by the security forces in Natal is an important factor in the increase of violence," the commission said.

The commission has criticised the security forces for failing to protect, bias, involvement in attacks on communities, involvement in assaults on people and failure to comply with lawyers.

Key IFP figure to testify before inquiry

Sowetan 28/2/92

FORMER personal assistant to Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will testify for the first time before a committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation today.

The evidence of Mr MZ Khumalo, who resigned from the IFP following exposures last July of police

funding of Inkatha rallies and other irregularities, may prove central to the committee's findings.

Khumalo's name has been raised by at least two witnesses to the committee which is investigating alleged SA Defence Force funding of front companies fostering violence.

He has been linked in evidence before the commission to a group of 200 IFP members allegedly

trained by the SADF in a military camp in the Caprivi Strip, as well as to Inkatha hit squads.

Former Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser Mr Mbongeni Khumalo said during cross-examination yesterday that, apart from Buthelezi, MZ Khumalo was the most powerful political figure in KwaZulu.

"The resignation of Khumalo in July was not a resignation in total. He retains

a working relationship with and an influence over Inkatha," said Mbongeni Khumalo.

He said he suspected that MZ Khumalo still received a salary from Inkatha.

Mbongeni Khumalo admitted under cross-examination by counsel for the IFP and the KwaZulu government that he had no "personal experience" of the training of hit squads at these camps. - Sapa.



Mothers' Union women from different denominations join in praise at New Canada station.

Women follow the peace path

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Soweto 28/2/92

By SIZAKELE KOOMA
ABOUT 500 women risked their lives and boarded two trains from Soweto to the East Rand to protest against the violence which has claimed the lives of more than 300 people since 1990.

Those, who took part in the peace ride last week, were from Mary Mabaso's Interdenominational Prayer Women's League, the ANC Women's League, the PAC's African Women's Organisation and Azapo's Imbeleko.

The women took this drastic step after renewed violence on suburban trains

It was not the first time



that women have put their lives on the line for peace and unity. In 1990 church leaders led a group of Mothers' Union Women into a trouble-torn Merafe Hoste in Soweto.

Mary Mabaso recalled: "It was very tense. The hostel dwellers said they would not negotiate with women. They said they wanted us out of the premises immediately. They threatened to kill us. But we would not

budge. We ended up praying together and talking amicably."

The same happened last year when she led a delegation to Alexandra township. Both residents and hostel dwellers were furious, she said.

"We will not stop campaigning for peace until the violence stops, neither will we stop because the violence does not end. It is not easy but we will carry on,"

she added.

Throughout the years women have always been in the forefront of marches, demonstrations, sit-ins and prayer meetings - all in the name of peace.

And they have helped quell violence in areas that were previously torn apart by fighting.

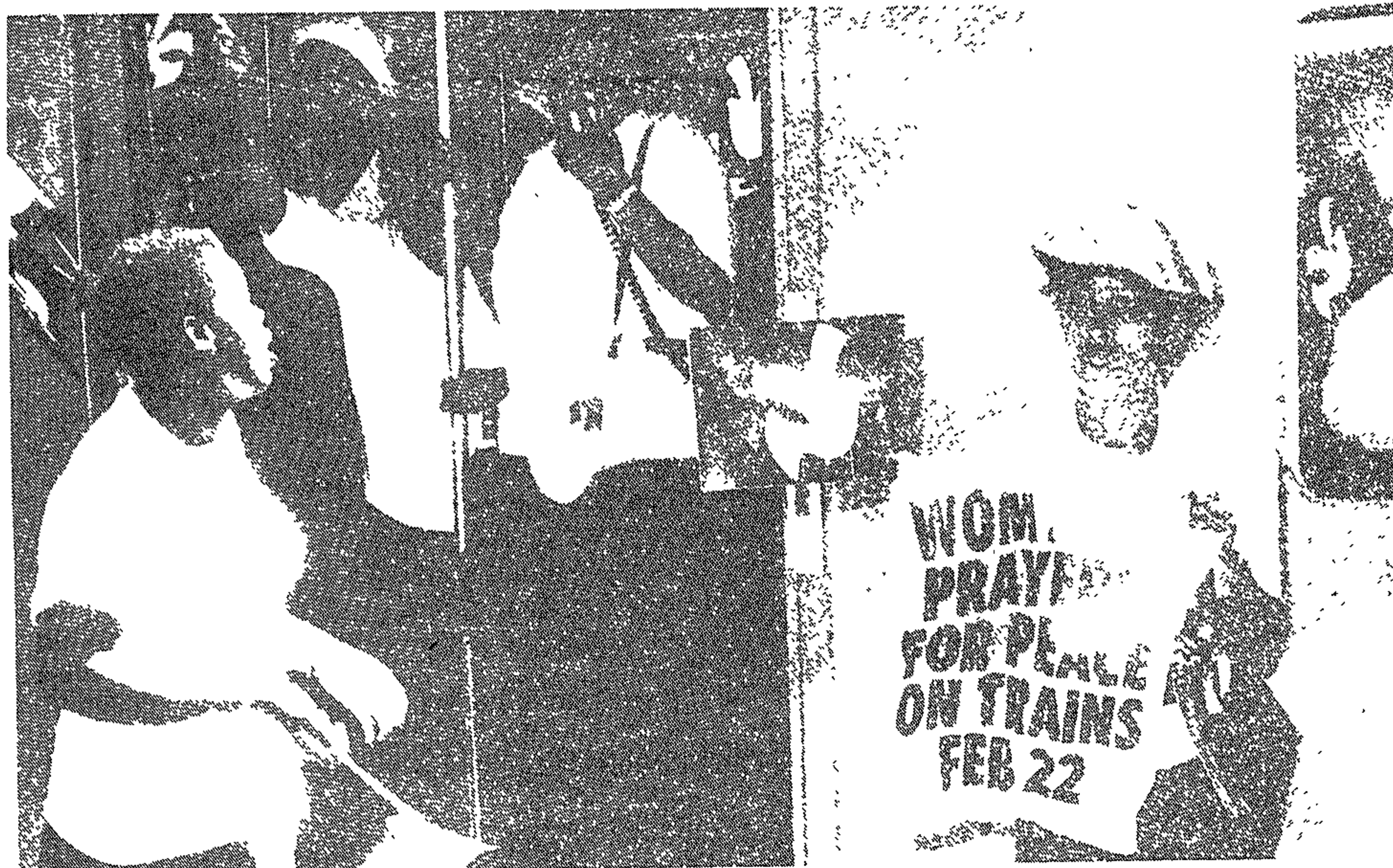
"In 1990 we went to the then Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok to express concern at the number of unlicensed guns in the community. The following day close on 2 000 confiscated firearms were shown on TV. This actually meant the Minister had

heeded our call and it was very encouraging."

Mabaso said during their peace missions they play a conciliatory role. We do not take sides when trying to solve a feud with the warring parties.

She believes there is a lot women can do to bring about peace in the country. There was more humanity in women than in their male counterparts, she said.

The peace delegation has undertaken to probe the train massacres. It also called for the reinstatement of South African Railway police and compensation to families who have lost their loved ones.



Through prayer they have conquered.

Pics: PHANUEL MAHUNTSI

Weapons and firearms to be banned at rallies

STAR 28/2/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A prohibition on the possession of dangerous weapons and firearms at political gatherings is expected to be published in the Government Gazette today.

This follows months of discussions between the Government, the ANC and the IFP, and stems from agreements made in the National Peace Accord.

A political gathering will not include any traditional cultural gathering or any ceremonial gathering.

The prohibition of dangerous weapons and firearms and replicas will apply to any person attending or participating in any political gathering, in or on any public place.

This does not apply to any person in the service of the State who is on duty at the political gathering.

It also does not apply to a

security guard or a bona fide bodyguard rendering a security service at the political gathering.

By agreement, a dangerous weapon is one made to inflict bodily injury, or any object which could inflict bodily injury in an assault.

However, if the person in possession of a dangerous weapon was able to prove they did not intend to use the object unlawfully, they would not be guilty of an offence.

Intimidate

They would also not be guilty of an offence if they did not intend to use the object to intimidate people.

A political gathering has been defined as any gathering, concourse or procession which has been organised, convened or held with the intention to discuss, attack, criticise, promote or propagate the principles or policy of a political party or organisation.

Win a week's stay in a country retrea

SAP killings: judge lashes politicians

STAR 29/2/92

By creating a climate of lawlessness, political leaders have demoralised the police, the Supreme Court heard this week

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN — Politicians, police generals who should put their medals away and get out into the field, and the media were lashed yesterday by a Supreme Court judge, as he jailed four riot policemen and special constables for murder.

Mr Justice Thirion criticised "mealy-mouthed" politicians who turned the country into a "hotbed of political intrigue, violence, double-talk and lawlessness".

It was in this atmosphere that the police had to try to perform their duties of maintaining law and order. "Young men are exposed to scenes of death and violence as grisly as can be imagined," he said.

It was natural that police should become demoralised, and indifferent and insensitive to suffering.

They were given the most difficult police task — riot control — without proper supervision.

"I'm told there are now 250 generals in the police. I think the time has come that some of them can profitably put their medals in a drawer and go and see how police work is performed in the field and exercise proper supervision."

The media was also slammed for widespread

publicity given to crimes committed by policemen which was often "out of all proportion to the seriousness of the crime".

"I'm not so sure that this attitude of the media did not contribute to the accused's decision to do away with the deceased rather than face a possible charge of assault," he said.

Mr Justice Thirion imposed sentences ranging from two to eight years' imprisonment on four young riot policemen and former special constables for murder.

A third special constable was convicted of attempted murder and also jailed for two years.

He found earlier that William Harrington (22),

Frans Erasmus, Philemon Madlala (24) and a 17-year-old formed a common purpose to kill Mbongeni Jama after he was picked up by the policemen and assaulted in the van by some of the special constables and Harrington.

They then drove to a spot in a plantation at Elandskop, where after escaping he was again strangled with a belt by Harrington and later shot in the face by Madlala with a shotgun. The court was unable to find whether Mr Jama was already dead (as alleged by Madlala) or still alive when he was shot.

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Inkatha rejects weapons ban

STAR 29/2/92

ULUNDI — The Inkatha Freedom Party last night rejected "with contempt" the Proclamation on Dangerous Weapons issued earlier by the Government.

In a statement, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the Kwa-Zulu authorities had at no time in its discussions with the South African Government agreed to the terms of the proclamation.

He accused the Government of currying favour with the people plotting its downfall and said a ban would be impossible to enforce.

"We feel it is physically impossible for anybody at whatever level to prevent the Zulu people from carrying their cultural accoutrements, inasmuch as it would be impossible for anybody to stop a white man from wearing a tie," he said.

He said the Government's decision was unilateral and would lead to more violence.

"We would understand it if the South African Government made a proclamation against illegal firearms such as AK-47 rifles, RPG rockets, hand grenades and all hidden arms caches." — Sapa.

VOTE

See PAGE 2

However, local cricket experts said the conditions here would have suited Pringle's bowling.

awake tablets and wines.

● Kiwis will tour in 1994 — Page 18

Zulu's arms 'like tie to white'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A top Inkatha Freedom Party official warned last night that trying to stop Zulus from carrying "cultural accoutrements" would be like trying to stop a white man from wearing a tie.

21-29/12/92

The remark by Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, came on the same day as the government announced regulations prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons in public

places and at political meetings — and on the eve of today's planned IFP march through central Durban to protest against "inflammatory statements by some ANC leaders".

Two other senior IFP leaders, Dr B S Ngubane and Mr V B Ndlovu, also criticised the ban.

And Mr Monty Markow, a senior AWB spokesman in Natal, described the ban as "yet another act of submission to the ANC".

He said "it is the right of any nation, be it Boer or Zulu, to pos-

sess and carry arms".

Meanwhile the ANC, SACP and Cosatu in Natal yesterday urgently requested the President, the ministers of Law and Order and Defence and the National Peace Secretariat to ensure today's marchers were unarmed.

Spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order Captain Craig Kotze warned that police would stop any violence at the march.

● SADF funded KwaZulu cadets
— Page 5 324 (274)

There were no winners

BLOUSES & OVERS

Branching out peace quest

CPRES 113192
THE National Peace Secretariat forged ahead with its search for peace this week despite violence threatening to scuttle all peace efforts.

Announcing the establishment of three more regional conflict resolution committees, the secretariat said it planned to embark on a training programme to equip members with the necessary skills.

A statement said three regional committees were set up this week for the Pretoria, northern and eastern Transvaal regions. This now brings the number of regional dispute resolution committees constituted to eight.

Three more will be established soon in the eastern Cape, northern Cape and western Transvaal.

Committees have already been established for Natal/KwaZulu, Ciskei/Border, Western Cape, Witwaters-

(274)
rand/Vaal, Orange Free State, eastern Transvaal, northern Transvaal and far northern Transvaal.

Local dispute resolution committees have also been established in Thokoza/Phola Park, Soweto, Germiston, Phalaborwa, Cathcart, King William's Town, Whittlesea/Queenstown and Mooi River/Bruntville.

"It should be noted that once these committees have been formed, at the discretion of the members, further organisations and individuals may be co-opted. Members need not be signatories of the National Peace Accord, or supportive of Codesa," said secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

He said the secretariat would soon embark on training programmes for members of the dispute resolution committees.

Training was expected to start by the end of March, he said. — Sapa

Blood of violence stains accord

By S'BU MNGADI

274

13/9/92

IN September 1991, leaders of most political organisations affixed their signatures to a piece of paper in an attempt to end the violence that has claimed more than 12 000 lives in SA since 1982.

Six months later, the clouds of violence still hover.

The bickering between the ANC and the IFP is even threatening to bog down the success of the KwaZulu/Natal Dispute Resolution Committee.

The latest edition of the ANC journal, *Mayibuye*, conceded that all attempts to bring peace to Natal were yielding no fruit.

Mayibuye blames the failure of several local peace initiatives and the failure of the peace accord on the IFP, while the IFP cites ANC attacks on its members for withdrawing from several peace efforts.

In an overview of the six months since the signing of the National Peace Accord (NPA), the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel)

criticises the accord's implementation.

"We believe there are a number of serious weaknesses and contradictions with the Peace Accord, which need to be addressed urgently if it is to receive some measure of success," said Nadel projects officer Tutu Mnganga.

Mnganga says one of the most critical weaknesses of the accord is that insufficient attention has been paid to the question of how it will be implemented.

The accord states: "In view of the lack of peace-promoting mechanisms at grassroots level, it is urgent that these proposals be implemented as soon as possible. Because of the urgency, it is agreed that the proposals be implemented on a voluntary basis at the outset."

Nadel questions how the accord will ensure that all signatories abide by the decisions, if the implementation of the accord is on a voluntary basis.

How much is being done to publicise the NPA, asks Nadel.

In particular, information on whether the NPA has been successfully implemented should reach as wide an audience as possible to generate support for and confidence in the accord.

Codesa Working Group 1 should look at the role that can be played by the SABC in bringing about a climate of free political activity.

In Natal, dubbed SA's killing fields, only two local dispute resolution committees have been set up. In addition, regional sub-committees for reconstruction and development have yet to be established.

The accord provides for the appointment of regional police reporting officers, three of whom will be recommended by the Association of Law Societies and General Council of the Bar.

However, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel can decide not to make an appointment. Nadel questions the wisdom of placing such powers in the hands of the Minister.

Of great concern to those active in the peace process at the moment is the government's proposed ban on dangerous weapons, says Nadel.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers has argued that "the intention of the National Peace Accord was not to deal with the bona fide cultural or ceremonial occasions".

Mnganga said the effect of this was to create loopholes within the proposed proclamation. "How do we distinguish between a political and a bona fide cultural or ceremonial occasion?"

The accord also provides for the right of communities to form self-defence units whose members would have the right to bear licensed firearms and use them in lawful self-defence.

Nadel questions how these units will obtain licences for firearms given the pattern of licences being denied to members of certain organisations and readily granted to members of organisations aligned to the State and governments of self-governing territories.

He also points out that the accord does not provide a definition of private armies and questions the fate of private armies of those organisations which did not sign the accord, such as the right wing.

'No' vote will shatter peace

BONN. — The ANC will renew its armed struggle if a right-wing government comes to power after the March 17 referendum, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu has said. (274)

Interviewed in the German magazine Der Spiegel, he said if President F W de Klerk did not get majority support for a negotiated settlement "then we could have a government of the extreme right which would reintroduce apartheid". C12/3/92

He said in the event the ANC would have to fight such a regime. He called on all "reasonable whites" to vote "yes". — Sapa-AP

The truth is not a pretty picture



274
Sowetan 2/3/92 (213)
ON THE LINE

Aggrey Klaaste

THE ugly, ungainly sprawl of dead bodies on the front pages of Sowetan is becoming the norm.

It is also getting me down.

Newspapers use such dreadful pictures for various reasons.

The immediate reason is aimed at getting what is rather indelicately called the "best" story or picture. In the old days it was called a scoop but with television and other forms of instant communication, scoops are rare.

Sadistic

This does not mean journalists are sadistic or ghoulish. They are forced by dictates of the market - the readers who prefer bad news over good.

Another reason is the endeavour to shock readers, with the intention (the hopeful intention, I must add) that such acts will be stopped.

This sometimes works. Many times it does not. Sowetan tries to be the type of paper that responds immediately, preferably creatively, to problems in the community. If we can shock or advise, cajole or induce readers to be peaceful we give it our best shot.

We start campaigns. We will soon start a peace crusade with the help of our communities and certain organisations.

We will try to reach every mind, touch every heart.

At the start of this year I said I would start a children's crusade, a process that will encourage people to do what is best for the children of South Africa. I have said that every married man and woman knows that the journey to marital bliss is often aided by a love for children.

Personal

I have quoted my personal case. After 18 years of turbulence in the home, we are now sailing together as a family. If we have to be honest, the essential ingredient that kept the marriage intact came from our kids.

Extending this paradigm

to communities, I believe the essential "glue" that keeps nations together must come from its children

I have suggested that members of all organisations, political and otherwise, of all race groups should have plans to fight for the present and future happiness of our children

I thought that while I am nation building, we should remind ourselves of Steve Biko and how he had his own brand of nation building.

I am not ashamed to say that the fundamentals of my thinking on nation building came from Steve Biko and Black Consciousness. I know I have upset the followers of this creed by not following the political or ideological imperatives behind BC to the letter.

Biko was a revolutionary, not in the orthodox fashion that causes hair to grow on the puny political chests of weaklings, but in an honest and profound manner.

Steve Biko's magic came from a love of people - all people - and what almost seemed like a romantic innocence about the goodness of man.

Saintly

Such saintly people are usually martyred.

Steve Biko could quite easily have taken the fashionable route to fame and "relevance" by using all the accepted slogans and beating his chest with orthodox rhetoric.

What he did - and I am amazed at the way in which political organisations have failed to copy this - was to get intimately involved with communities. Most political organisations claim they have links with what is called "the grass-roots". They are forever doing things for that mystical element called the people. What they actually mean is that the rallies, the funerals, the meetings that they hold are well attended.

I am not suggesting that political organisations are devious. They simply mistake the myth for the fact. They probably honestly believe the things they are



FLASHBACK: The type of picture that is used on the front page of Sowetan. Sometimes people have to be shocked into consciousness.

doing will benefit the people. Many political activists will sacrifice time and money, will go to jail even for the sake of what they call the people. The problem is that they do not seem to be able to translate such noble sentiment into acts of commitment.

Heroes

The people love political heroes. The people, however, also need leadership and support in the manifold complex things that make them human

Unless I am otherwise persuaded, the young men and women who worked with Biko had more regard and care for the people than for political power. What the Black Peoples' Convention and its sister organisations did was to understand the immediate concerns of people. They then attempted to heal the wounds of apartheid and

rebuild the black nation. The fact that they called this Black Power was perhaps unfortunate but right for their time.

The Black Consciousness organisations of the 1970s and early 1980s worked in clinics, in theatre, in schools, in various developmental projects, often with rural communities.

The struggle was not simply for becoming fashionable, but by sweating it out with the people.

Building the total person. That is why they called it a conscious struggle - a struggle to do with the shift in consciousness about self.

The truth of this will emerge in what is being called the new South Africa. Unless blacks are strong about who they are and where they come from, they will not be able to integrate with other nations. There will be little multi-racialism when the dice is

so heavily loaded against black South Africans.

If we had followed Biko's example we would not have dead bodies on page one. The centre in black life would have held.

Dynamic

We would have reinforced our *ubuntu*; would have firmed out our extended families; we would have become an example to the nations of the world by devising a dynamic socialism (with the small "s") that many of us still believe is part of the African ethos

I am afraid we will continue using gruesome pictures on page one of Sowetan. We will sometimes use them on our posters. This is because we often have to defend the actions of our people who have been brutalised by the evils of the past against those who are distinctly contemptuous of us.

Law is unenforceable — Inkatha

ANC pledge to abide by weapons ban

B/Dwy 21/3/92

GOVERNMENT and the ANC yesterday committed themselves to implementing the provisions of Friday's proclamation banning dangerous weapons at political gatherings, despite Inkatha's assertion that it was unenforceable.

This follows reports that both ANC and Inkatha members violated the legislation at separate meetings on Saturday while police attempted to enforce the ban.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday any ANC supporters who carried weapons at political gatherings would be contravening ANC policy and would be subject to disciplinary action.

While stopping short of calling on Inkatha members to defy the ban, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said in a statement at the weekend that trying to prevent Zulus carrying weapons would be like trying to stop people wearing ties.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said government ignored Inkatha's objections to the terms of the proclamation and promulgated it without Inkatha's support despite intensive discussions. He said it was "absolutely unacceptable" that traditional weapons should be politicised in the way they had and denied that the carrying of traditional weapons at political gatherings resulted in violence.

Sapa-AFP reports that about 3 500 Inkatha supporters refused to be searched by police before embarking on a protest march through Durban on Saturday. After appeals by Inkatha leaders, most of the protesters wrapped their spears in news-

TIM COHEN and
DARIUS SANAI

papers but others displayed them openly in defiance of the ban.

In Soweto on Saturday, hundreds of ANC supporters voiced disapproval as police forced them to abandon spears and battle-axes during a march in Pinville.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday police would enforce the legislation. He denied that police did not disarm Inkatha supporters in Durban.

The proclamation prohibits the possession of dangerous weapons at political gatherings. A political gathering is defined as any gathering or procession organised with the intention of discussing, attacking, criticising or propagating the principles or policy of a political organisation.

A dangerous weapon is anything made to inflict bodily injury, or any object which could inflict bodily injury in an assault.

The issuing of the proclamation followed lengthy discussions between government, the ANC and Inkatha during which attempts were made to reach consensus.

The discussions started before the signing of the national peace accord but agreement could not be achieved. At the peace accord meeting in September, it was decided to try to resolve the issue after the accord had been signed.

Felgate said research showed that violence in SA was not the result of people carrying cultural weapons. He described the attempt to ban the bearing of cultural

□ To Page 2

Weapons 21/3/92

weapons as part of an "ANC vendetta" which followed the publication of an ultimatum to government in which the ANC demanded, among others, a ban on the public carrying of dangerous weapons.

"The proclamation will have no effect on the level of violence in SA," he said.

Inkatha had seen every word of the proclamation, and rejected it as a whole, Felgate said.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that Mr Justice Goldstone has written to President F W de Klerk criticising

the conduct of more than 160 Inkatha supporters who attended their public violence trial in Mooi River carrying dangerous weapons. All the accused at the February 14 trial were on remand.

The letter, attached to the Goldstone Commission's second report on Mooi River violence, says: "Such conduct, in the view of the commission, reflects upon the dignity and credibility of the courts and is conduct which the law should not tolerate."

● Comment Page 12

□ From Page 1

Grenade: Crossroads man blows himself up

ET 2/3/92 (274)

A 26-YEAR-OLD man blew himself up while tampering with a grenade in New Crossroads yesterday morning.

Police spokesman Major Gys Boonzaaier said Mr Arthur Sivuyile Siyobi, 26, of Yanta Street, died instantly when the grenade exploded in his hands in Ndabanzi Street about 6.30am.

In Soweto, five men were killed late on Saturday night.

A pedestrian walking in Orlando West was attacked and killed by a group. Three men were arrested.

Soon after this another man was dragged out of his house in the area and was stabbed and hacked to death.

Passengers in a minibus shot at pedestrians in Jabulani at 1.30am on Sunday. Two pedestrians, both men, were killed.

At 3am members of the flying squad spotted a stolen car in Zondi. The driv-

Guguletu protest march

Staff Reporter

NEARLY 200 city township residents marched to the Guguletu police station on Saturday in an ANC-organised protest to condemn the ongoing violence in the townships.

In a memorandum the marchers also called for an urgent meeting between the ANC and leading police officers to discuss the role of the police and effective policing in those areas.

The memorandum condemned the recent attacks on ANC members who were also leaders of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association.

er of the vehicle allegedly refused to stop when ordered to do so. Several shots were fired and the driver was killed. Police are investigating.

At Heidelberg in the Transvaal policeman accidentally shot and killed a man when he was attacked in Ratanda on Saturday night.

And in Kattlehong, a policeman's wife was shot and killed by a group. Her house was petrol-bombed. — Sapa

ANC will obey ban on weapons

ET 2/3/92

(274)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and the government yesterday committed themselves to implementing Friday's proclamation banning dangerous weapons at political gatherings, despite the IFP's claim that it was unenforceable.

This follows reports that ANC and IFP supporters violated the ban at separate meetings on Saturday, while police attempted to enforce it.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday any ANC supporters who carried weapons at political gatherings would be contravening ANC policy and would be disciplined.

While stopping short of calling on IFP members to defy the ban, the party's chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose said in a statement at the weekend that trying to prevent Zulus carrying weapons would be like trying to stop white men wearing ties.

In Soweto on Saturday, hundreds of ANC supporters voiced disapproval as police forced them to abandon spears and battle-axes during a march in Pimville.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday police would enforce the legislation. Inkatha official Mr Walter Felgate

I'm behind a 'yes' vote, says Kaunda

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda last night expressed his full support for a "yes" vote in the March referendum.

Dr Kaunda said at a press conference here there would have been no need for a white referendum under normal circumstances, but an abnormal situation prevailed in South Africa.

He referred to President FW de Klerk as an honest and sincere man and said that if he had seen fit to call a referendum the best thing to hope for was a "yes" vote.

Dr Kaunda is visiting South Africa to participate in a conference organised by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. — Sapa

● White protection "a paradox", says Mandela — Page 2

said the government promulgated it without Inkatha's support.

The proclamation prohibits the possession of dangerous weapons at political gatherings. A political gathering is defined as any gathering or procession organised with the intention of discussing, attacking, criticising or propagating the principles or policy of a political organisation.

A dangerous weapon is anything made to inflict bodily injury, or any object which could inflict bodily injury in an assault.

● Armed IFP hold off cops — Page 6

Murders not 'work of ANC'

Sowetan 3/3/92

THE ANC had nothing to do with any violence or murders taking place in the Orange Free State, says Mr Nelson Mandela.

He was speaking at a media briefing in Welkom on Monday at the start of his visit to the Northern Free State.

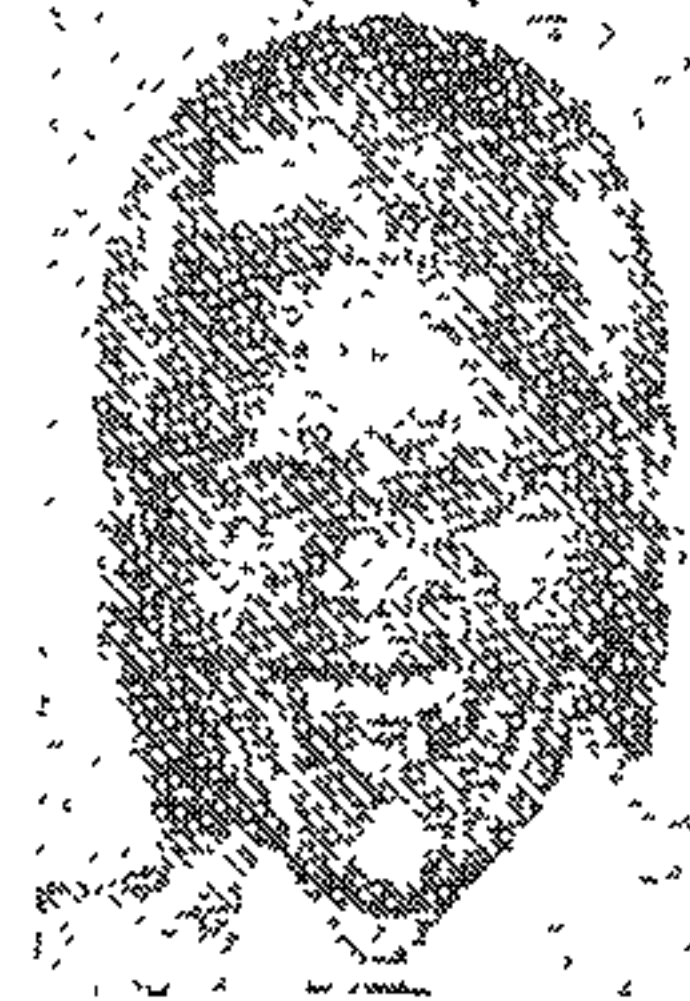
The visit kicked off a campaign to visit the 14 regions of the ANC in South Africa to ascertain the state of the organisation and to ensure that the ANC was ready to participate at all levels - national, regional and local - in the peace process.

Mandela said he felt everyone should be involved in the campaign for a peaceful democratic South Africa. This was one of the main reasons for his visit.

He said the ANC was prepared to give any help it could to put an end to violent crimes.

The ANC was also prepared to help people and organisations affected by the drought.

Mandela said the ANC



NELSON MANDELA

had been shocked by recent murders in the Free State.

"The killing of any human being is a tragic event, especially when the killing appears to be systematic," he said.

He said the media had presented these murders as only affecting white farmers, but in the Welkom township of Thabong three businessmen had recently been murdered.

"It affects all population groups. The focus by the mass media is not accurate," said Mandela.

It was regretted that valuable people like businessmen and farmers were be-

ing lost. The ANC expressed sympathy to the next-of-kin of those who had been killed.

Mandela said the ANC could not be held responsible for any form of violence. The SA Police had stated clearly that the farmers' deaths were not acts of any political organisations but purely criminal.

He had been appalled, on a recent visit to the Northern Transvaal, by the destruction caused by the drought.

Food prices were rocketing because of crop failures. This placed an enormous strain on a community which had fought poverty, disease and the lack of basic facilities for several years.

Mandela said the ANC was prepared to help wherever it could. It would not make promises it could not keep. It was in contact with a number of charitable organisations and was prepared to help them focus their attention on areas which most needed aid. Sapa.

2 582 died in 1991 unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — Politically-related violence claimed the lives of 2 582 people in 1991 — an average of 215 deaths every month. (274)

However, security force implication in such deaths compared to previous years dropped dramatically to 3,9 percent, while "vigilante-related" causes accounted for 77,9 percent of fatalities.

These statistics were released yesterday by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) in its annual review of politically-related violence in the country for the year 1991.

Saying the figures showed vigilantism in political violence was gripping South Africa, the HRC said it had recorded 2 011 deaths and more than

2 500 injuries judged to be perpetrated by vigilantes.

"The highest death rates (caused by vigilante action) were recorded in May 1991 (292) and September (274) where there were major explosions of violence in the PWV region.

"The PWV accounted for 50,4 percent of all vigilante-related deaths, with Natal following closely behind on 44,3 percent."

During 1991, 100 deaths resulting from security force action were recorded, the HRC said, adding that it was a substantial reduction from the more than 300 deaths the year before.

"Similarly, the number of persons injured dropped dramatically from over 3 000 in 1990 to around 700 in 1991." — Sapa. ARC 4/3/92

Ciskei pulls out of peace body

Sowetan
4/3/92

CISKEI has pulled out of the Border regional peace committee.

This comes after the disclosure of African National Congress' plans for a campaign against Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

At a Press conference yesterday, Ciskei's director general of justice, Mr Viwe Notshe, said since the formation of the Border-Ciskei regional dispute resolution committee, the ANC-led tripartite alliance had displayed total disregard for the principles of the National Peace Accord.

The committee had become simply a forum for the airing of political points of view and the scoring of political points, Notshe said.

The homeland, however, reaffirmed its commitment to the National Peace Accord.

Regretted

Reacting to the Ciskei's decision, the ANC said it was "not surprised", but regretted the step.

Ms Marion Sparg, the Border region's publicity secretary, said the Ciskei administration had "never been interested in peace from the start".

It was also significant that the decision came just as Ciskei was required by the peace committee to explain why Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act had not been repealed.

This section had been used to ban ANC meetings.

Nevertheless, the ANC hoped Ciskei would rethink its decision.

"The only way to achieve peace in the region is for all parties to sit together and discuss the situation honestly and squarely," Sparg said.

4/13/92
B/10
274
2 582 died last year

A TOTAL of 2 582 people died =
an average of 215 deaths a month
= through politically related vio-
lence in SA last year, the Human
Rights Commission said yesterday.

Security forces' implication in
the deaths dropped to 3,9%, while
vigilantes accounted for 77,9% of
fatalities, the HRC reported in its
annual review. (274) ~~274~~

Hit squad hearsay, witness admits

(274)

Cr 4/3/92

PRETORIA. — Mr Mbonjeni Khumalo, a witness before the committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating allegations made by the Weekly Mail, admitted yesterday he had no first-hand knowledge of hit squad training or activities by Inkatha members.

Mr Khumalo's claims were among the main reasons for the commission setting up a committee to investigate allegations of possible SADF involvement in training an alleged Inkatha hit squad.

Under cross-examination by Mr Louis Visser SC, for Inkatha, he said he had heard about training from members

of a group who had spent six months in the Caprivi Strip preparing to become bodyguards.

He had never seen the men trained in any skill that would define them as a hit squad member nor had he seen any activity that could be linked to a hit squad.

Earlier yesterday Mr M Z Khumalo, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former personal assistant,

Commission will not call Makwetu

PRETORIA. — Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu will not be required to appear before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into public violence and intimidation, commission chairman Mr Justice R J Goldstone said yesterday.

Instead, the commission is considering whether the issue which led to Mr Makwetu's highly publicised refusal to appear before the commission — violence by trained and armed people — should itself be the subject of an inquiry.

"Until a decision is taken and the terms of reference for such an inquiry have been finalised, the commission considers it would be inappropriate to enforce the attendance of a witness from only one group which may have relevant evidence," said Mr Justice Goldstone. — Sapa

who resigned in the wake of allegations of SA Police funding, told the committee he knew one of the Caprivi trainees had been involved in the killing of a student.

He said he did not know the victim was a member of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The hearing continues today. — Sapa

2 582 die in '91 violence

JOHANNESBURG. — Throughout South Africa in 1991, 2 582 people died in politically-related violence — an average of 215 deaths every month, according to the independent Human Rights Commission (HRC).

However, security force implication in such deaths compared with previous years dropped dramatically to 3,9%, while "vigilante-related" causes accounted for 77,9% of fatalities.

In its report for last month the HRC said it had recorded 104 deaths in politically related violence.

Ninety-two people died through vigilante action while a further nine were killed by

Nearly 80% slain by 'vigilantes'

alleged hit squads during the month.

"Only three deaths were attributed to security force action in January, compared with an average of 8,3 for the last 12 months. Also, the number of arrests, 287, is well below that of last year's average of 772," the report said about security force activity.

With regard to vigilante killings, the HRC said the 92 deaths represented the fourth

successive decrease from the peak of 274 in September last year — the month the National Peace Accord was signed

The HRC said two deaths were recorded while the victims were in police custody.

At the end of January, the assessment said, there were 13 political and 285 non-political offenders on death row, while 417 political prisoners were accounted for in South Africa proper and the "independent"

homelands.

In its annual review of politically-related violence in the country for 1991, the HRC said the figures showed vigilantism in political violence was gripping South Africa.

It had recorded 2 011 deaths and more than 2 500 injuries judged to be perpetrated by vigilantes.

During 1991, 100 deaths resulting from security force action were recorded, the HRC said, adding that it was a substantial reduction from the more than 300 deaths the previous year.

Turning to alleged hit squad activity, the report said 60 political activists were "eliminated" in 1991 compared to 21 the previous year. — Sapa

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CI 4/3/92

THROUGHOUT
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"The highest death
rates (caused by vigi-

Political violence claims 215 lives

Sevetan 5/3/92

lante action) were recorded
in May 1991 (292) and Sep-

tember (274) where there
were major explosions of
violence in the PWV area.

"The PWV accounted
for 50,4 percent of all vigi-
lante-related deaths, with
Natal following closely
with 44,3 percent."

During 1991, hundred
deaths resulting from secu-
rity force action were re-
corded, the HRC said,
which was a substantial re-
duction from the more than
300 deaths the previous
year.

"Similarly, the number
of persons injured dropped
dramatically from over

3 000 in 1990 to around
700 in 1991.

"While the deaths and
injuries inflicted by the se-
curity forces are still at an
unacceptable level and are
to be deplored, neverthe-
less it is clear that the cen-
sure of their methods by
various commissions of in-
quiry has had its effect,"
said the HRC.

Turning to alleged hit
squad activity, the report
said 60 political activists
were "eliminated" in 1991
compared to 21 the previ-
ous year.

"The number of those
injured also tripled but this
must be regarded as inci-

dental, since the intention
of such hit squads is not to
main, but to kill," it
charged.

Rightwing actions in
1991, the report continued,
were again a mixture of or-
ganised premeditated at-
tacks and impulsive and ir-
rational outbursts of vio-
lence against innocent vic-
tims.

"The number of deaths
decreased slightly from 26
in 1990 to 21 in 1991, but
injuries inflicted increased
substantially from 138 to
178."

Insofar as the number of
deaths was concerned, the
rightwing was relatively in-

significant, being responsi-
ble for 0,8 percent of
deaths.

On detentions, the HRC
said, there was a marked
decrease in 1991 after the
high of 1 671 in 1990.

"However, the figure of
1 093 is still higher than that
of 1989. The marked de-
crease of detention in terms
of the Internal Security Act
in the second half of the
year follows amendments
to the Act in June."

It added that 87 percent
of detentions occurred in
the "independent" home-
lands, with most being de-
tained in the Ciskei after the
promulgation of a State of

Emergency on October 28
last year.

The emergency was sub-
sequently overturned by the
Ciskei Supreme Court on
December 9 1991.

The HRC also said it re-
corded no deaths in deten-
tion for the year, but had
found that 10 people had
died in police custody in
politically related circum-
stances.

Dealing with political
trials, it said three people
were convicted of treason
in 1991 as opposed to none
the previous year. The
number of people con-
victed of terrorism fell to
only one in 1991 from 11 in

1990 and 85 in 1989.

The number of con-
victions for attending il-
legal gathering rose
from 37 in 1989 to 69 in
1990 and again to 84 in
1991.

"As in 1990, the sen-
tences being meted out
(in 1991) were lighter
than in the past. There
was only one death sen-
tence passed.

"The trend away
from heavy sentences is
largely the result of the
relaxing of the Internal
Security Act and vari-
ous other laws as well as
the changes in the politi-
cal scene being reflected
by the court in their ap-
proach to punishment,"
the HRC noted.

The report also noted
that Section 205 of the
Criminal Procedures
Act was used on at least
six occasions - with
journalists being jailed
for up to 14 days - to
force them to reveal
their sources in a crimi-
nal trial. - *Sapa*.

'Hit squad' raid goes wrong

CT 5/3/92 (274)

PRETORIA. — False information from an ANC informant led to a dawn raid on a Heidelberg farm — allegedly used by a hit squad said to be murdering train commuters — the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry has revealed in an urgent submission to the office of President F W de Klerk.

A statement yesterday from the Department of Justice on behalf of Mr De Klerk said the raid was initiated on information from the ANC on Thursday last week.

The raid uncovered nothing and the information was proved to be false.

In the wake of the incident the commission has accepted the ANC's bona fides, but made it clear that the information was false.

The ANC's attorney who had detailed evidence from an informant, told the commission that neither he nor the ANC doubted the information, but they had no means of verifying it.

The statement said it hoped the prompt action by the commission and the support given to it by the police would publicly demon-

Witness suffers 'amnesia'

PRETORIA. — The committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry investigating Weekly Mail allegations that the defence force trained Inkatha personnel, adjourned early yesterday after one of the main witnesses could not remember facts of his previous employment — or what he did prior to a conviction for fraud.

For most of the afternoon's cross-examination by Mr Johan Rabie, for the defence force, Mr

Mbongeni Khumalo told the committee he could not remember what he did at Durban petrol refineries or when he worked for two of them.

Mr Rabie told commission chairman Mr Niel Rossouw, SC, the committee should "either adjourn or the witness must be compelled to answer" questions.

Mr Khumalo's cross-examination will continue today. — Sapa

strate the commission's resolve and ability.

"These events again demonstrate the danger of relying upon unchecked reports concerning public violence and intimidation," the commission said.

On the same day the allegations were heard, it was decided that their seriousness and the impressive detail furnished called for the commission to use its powers of search and seizure.

Two commission members joined the February 29 raid. A large police unit was briefed be-

fore dawn on the precise nature of the operation. Fifty-two policemen, nine police helicopters, a medical doctor and a paramedic helicopter moved in on the farm. They were also accompanied by two ANC officials.

● The police acted promptly and professionally in reaction to hit squad allegations made by an ANC member to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, an ANC statement yesterday said. The ANC had made it clear the allegations had not been verified, said the statement — Sapa

B/day 5/3/92

Political deaths down

THERE had been a significant drop in the number of deaths and injuries related to political violence in the week ending yesterday, the Human Rights Commission reported. (274) (274)

A total of 34 people were killed and 49 injured, compared to 60 dead and 107 injured the week before.

Violence is now 'a political strategy'

STAR 6/3/92

Staff Reporter

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The threat of violence and coercion had become an acceptable political strategy in some circles and threatened to become entrenched in the post-Codesa political culture, SA Institute of Race Relations head John Kane-Berman told business executives.

Speaking at an Institute of Management function yesterday, Mr

Kane-Berman said the Government, through years of repression and bannings, had taught its extra-parliamentary opposition that violence was often the only strategy to which the Government responded.

As long as people and parties felt their voices were not heard, they would resort to violence, he warned. Tactics over the years had included strikes, stayaways and

the killing of black town councillors who had been labelled collaborators.

A recent SAIRR survey showed a third of all South Africans had been intimidated or coerced at some point in their lives. Violence developed its own a momentum in a vacuum where law and order could not operate.

He added violence also occurred in the context of poverty and joblessness — both rife in SA.

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OFS DP's Hamilton Mota killed

By ANTHONY JOHNSON (274)
Political Correspondent

THE vice-chairman of the Democratic Party in the Free State, Mr Hamilton Mota, was killed in QwaQwa this week.

DP sources said it was still unclear whether his death was politically or criminally motivated.

The chairman of the DP's national council, Mr David Gant, said yesterday the party learned of Mr Mota's tragic death with "great shock and dismay".

Mr Mota, who relinquished his leadership of the Basuto United Party to join the DP, was a senior member of the DP's national council.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

w/mant 6/3-12/3/92

REPRESSION (274) (275)

THIRTY-FOUR people were killed, 49 injured and 64 arrested in political violence during the period February 28 to March 4, according to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) weekly report.

The number of people killed and injured have dropped significantly since last week's high of 60 killed and 107 injured. However, the HRC notes that arrests have almost doubled from 34 last week to 64 this week.

VIGILANTE-RELATED ACTION

THE HRC attributes 28 deaths and 26 injuries to vigilante-related actions. Six train attacks claimed six lives and 18 people injured in the PWV area (274)

The other incidents occurred in the Natal regions.

SECURITY FORCE ACTION

THERE has been an increase from last week's one recorded death and nine injuries to three people reported killed, 19 injured and 64 arrested by security forces. (274) (275)

Two of these deaths occurred in the East Rand townships of Thokoza and Sharpeville.

The other was recorded in Inanda, near Durban, where police raided a house and killed an Azanian People's

w/mant 6/3-12/3/92

Liberation Army cadre. (274) (275)

HIT SQUADS w/mant 6/3-12/3/92

THE assassination of the Estcourt African National Congress branch chairman on February 29 brings the total number of people killed by hit squads to 21 since the beginning of the year.

HUNGER STRIKER (274) (275)

UMKHONTO we Sizwe operative Petrus Mothupi has been on hunger strike for the past nine weeks at Odi hospital, according to the HRC.

His weight is reported to have dropped from 68kg to 43,5kg. He is serving a 15-year sentence, 10 for attempted murder and five under the Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act.

Meanwhile, Christopher Makgale suspended his hunger strike on February 27 after 79 days. This followed a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope. w/mant 6/3-12/3/92

IMMIGRANTS (274) (275)

The net gain of migrant professional, semi-professional and technical occupations was 1013 from January to November last year, according to the Central Statistical Services.

There were 834 new immigrants in 1990.

w/mant 6/3-12/3/92

Commission comes up daisies

PRETORIA. — Sunflowers and Barberton daisies yesterday appeared in evidence before the committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating Weekly Mail allegations of South African Defence Force funding of Inkatha hit squads.

The reference to flowers was an indication that Creed Consultants, an alleged SADF front, did not give Inkatha members "inflammatory" lectures.

Mr Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, asked Mr Mbongeni Khumalo — a

CT 7/3/92 (274)
former Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser and one of the chief sources of Weekly Mail allegations — if Mr Khumalo remembered the analogy in lectures that South Africa was like a Barberton daisy with little common ground in the centre and it was desirable for South Africa to become like a sunflower with a lot of common ground in the centre.

Mr Khumalo, who had organised the personnel to attend the courses, said he did not remember this

When asked about the training 200 Inkatha members received on the Caprivi Strip in 1986, Mr Khumalo said the instruction included training in the use of AK-47s, hand machineguns, grenades and shotguns.

Mr Rabie denied that Creed had given any training to any of the 200 Caprivi trainees or that training courses given in 1989 and 1990 had espoused an eye-for-an-eye approach.

The committee adjourned to April 7. — Sapa

Amnesty slams cops

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 BY THEMBA KHUMALO

AMNESTY International has tarred the police and IFP with the same brush and blamed them for much of the township violence in its report to the United Nations. *C/Pren 8/3/92*

Quoting several incidents of violence involving the ANC and IFP supporters, the report accused the police of being reluctant to intervene, especially when the ANC was on the receiving end.

Amnesty, a human rights watchdog body, concluded its investigation after a month's visit to South Africa late last year.

The report says that although much political violence appears to result from conflict between the ANC and the IFP, Amnesty was concerned that members of the police and military had been directly responsible for some of the killings.

"At the very least the security forces were indirectly responsible by colluding with the IFP," it said.

Report to UN says police fanned violence

There was overwhelming evidence "that the security forces favour Inkatha and are against the ANC and its allies. This has resulted in killings and other human rights violations".

It cited an attack by alleged IFP supporters on Swanieville squatter camp last year as a classic example of police and IFP collusion. Twenty-nine people died and scores were injured during the attack.

The report said: "The police did not respond to pleas for assistance from camp residents."

"On the contrary, witnesses have stated that policemen in uniform and white men in plainclothes actively took part in the attack. Although 12 men were subsequently charged with 29 counts of murder, no police have been suspended from duty pending an investigation into their conduct at Swanieville."

The report also said the killing in December last year of 18 Bruntville township residents in the Natal midlands was another example of police collaborating with the IFP.

During the attack by alleged IFP supporters, who were armed with an assortment of sharp weapons, witnesses said they saw police and military vehicles in the vicinity.

"The security forces failed to intervene, except to fire teargas at the embattled residents," said the report.

It said in an attack nine hours later by as many as 1 000 IFP supporters, the security forces again failed to intervene while the assailants attacked houses and brutally murdered residents. Among the dead were two pensioners in their 70s, nine women and two children who were six and eight years old.

"An opposition member in parliament who visited the scene expressed incomprehension and disbelief at the security forces' failure to contain these attacks in daylight," the report said.

It said police complicity was not limited to incidents involving Inkatha. Witnesses identified police among attackers who raided the homes of ANC supporters in Khayelitsha in Cape Town between July and September last year.

Despite President de Klerk's public commitment to investigate vigorously all allegations of unlawful activity of the security forces, Amnesty continued to receive numerous reports of security force involvement in torture, extra-judicial executions and human rights violations - which resulted neither in the suspension of security force members implicated nor prosecutions, the report said.

Activists and witnesses who made statements against the police were allegedly harassed, threatened with death and falsely charged and, in some cases, shot and wounded by suspended policemen, the report added.

Asked to comment, spokesman for the State President's office Casper Venter asked City Press to refer the Amnesty report to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence.

Census reveals upheaval

By BRIAN POTTINGER

SOUTH Africa is a nation in turmoil, a people in the midst of a historic upheaval. Blacks in hundreds of thousands, in millions perhaps, migrate from farm to city; whites flee from city to suburb, from Natal and the Transvaal to the Cape. Everything is in flux, nothing certain.

This is the picture drawn by the first, raw results of the 1991 census, released last night.

These first figures show that the principal reality of South African life is change: change in numbers, in lifestyles, in housing, in educational standards, and in the basic impulses of love and marriage.

The embattled white population has shrunk, and aged. In 1991 there were

50 000 fewer whites than five years earlier, living longer but having fewer children. The black population was up by 1.5 million — not counting the so-called independent states — and 40 percent of them are under the age of 20, but maybe the pace of their growth is slowing.

The population of South Africa was 26 288 390, again not counting the four independent homelands, but that was probably an undercount. The figures have still to be refined and adjusted.

Meanwhile, however, even the raw data show a country in the throes of upheaval, caught up in an industrial, political and demographic revolution that will leave nothing the same as it was.

● See Flight to the Cities: Page 10

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ARC 10/3/92

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Call for ban on all weapons

The Argus Correspondents and Sapa

THE Human Rights Commission last night called for a blanket ban on the carrying of all weapons after a bloody weekend of political violence in which more than 34 people were butchered.

The HRC charged that a recently proclaimed Act banning the carrying of weapons in public was at best a half-measure. The ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons did not extend to all public meetings, a loophole described by the commission as "an invitation to disaster".

Meanwhile, Alexandra township and Kallahong continued to be major flashpoints yesterday, while a woman was gunned down in Tembisa, outside Kempton Park, where two people were killed on Saturday.

A further seven people were killed in Alexandra yesterday in two attacks from a hostel, bringing the death toll in the strife-torn township since Saturday to 14.

At least 15 have been wounded in the spate of attacks which started with the ambushing of an Inkatha Freedom Party funeral procession on Saturday.

Police said at 8.30am yesterday about 30 men appeared out of a hostel and "shot wildly" at another group, killing two and wounding two.

Later, a man was stabbed and another fatally shot. Yesterday afternoon four more were killed when snipers fired shots from the windows of a hostel in Alexandra, police said.

By last night Alexandra Clinic had treated 156 people with stab and bullet wounds since the outbreak of violence.

Spokesman Dr Tim Wilson said the injury toll increased by 18 at 4pm yesterday, when three people with bullet wounds and 15 with stab wounds were admitted.

Five people were injured in attacks from a moving train on other East Rand train commuters yesterday morning. Two people were injured at Lindela station outside Kallahong and a further three at Germiston Station.

A Tembisa woman, Gladys Nzimba, was shot dead by unknown people in Umthambeka section while on her way home about 12.30pm.

On Sunday morning three people, including a policeman were killed in a pre-dawn raid on Siluma View residents in Kallahong on the East Rand. Residents claimed the killing of Constable James Rikhotso, 25, Joseph Magope, and Victor Masia were in revenge for the killing of an ANC defence unit leader in the township in January, allegedly by police.

Steven Mbasa and Maria Ledwaba, were seriously injured in the attack.

On Saturday Phofedi Gilbert Thobejane and Maria Shibane were shot and killed by unknown gunmen while attending the funeral of an ANC member in Tembisa.

The weekend death toll in political violence in Natal climbed to 17 yesterday, police said. Worst hit were Durban's Malukazi township and Mpumalanga between Durban and Maritzburg, where seven and six people died respectively.

Business Staff

THERE is growing evidence that the present climate of violence in SA is contributing significantly to debilitating stress levels among the country's managers, says Maxine Jaffit of Zimble Consulting Group (ZCG).

The cost to this country of the violence currently being experienced is far more insidious than appears on the surface, she said.

"This, in turn, is having a negative effect on their productivity and the profitability of the organisations for which they work."

ZCG, a management consultancy which specialises in stress diagnosis and control, has developed a computer-based method of accessing the factors which contribute to reduced productivity and effectiveness in the work-

SA violence sapping staff productivity

place.

"While management stress is not unique to SA, the situation here has long been exacerbated by the social, political and economic tensions. However, the general climate of violence which has steadily worsened in recent months, is now clearly beginning to have an insidious impact on productivity."

She points out that individuals have to contend with violence, or the threat of violence, both in their personal and business en-

vironments every day.

"Interviews conducted by ZCG with 500 managers throughout the country over the past 12 months reveal a growing mood of hopelessness and uncertainty about their ability to protect their families, or provide for their future, as a direct result of the violence."

In addition, the volatile situation in the workplace, where managers have to contend with the conflicting political, social and economic aspirations of various groups of employees, also creates a negative impact on productivity.

While banks and other institutions provide counselling to employees who have been the victims of attacks, little is done to assist those who have to live and work with a constant threat of attack.

CT 10/3/92

Eighteen killed in unrest at weekend

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JOHANNESBURG — Eighteen people were killed and 11 injured in weekend unrest.

Three people were shot dead by a rampaging mob of 200 in Katlehong yesterday. Police said a municipal policeman was wounded.

Five people — four men and a woman — died in separate incidents of unrest in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, yesterday.

Police reported finding three bodies with bullet wounds and two with stab wounds.

At Sharpeville, one person was killed when mourners were leaving the funeral of an IFP man on Saturday. One person was wounded.

A 14-year-old boy was found dead after unidentified people fired at mourners during a funeral in Rantanda, near Heidelberg, on Saturday.

In Natal, seven people were reported killed and four others injured yes-

Prayers for taxi-war end

MORE than 1 000 Christians of all races gathered at the KTC squatter camp sports grounds yesterday to pray for peace and an end to the taxi war.

The prayer meeting, organised by the Inter-denominational Ministers' Association of South Africa, followed recent waves of violence between the two warring Peninsula taxi associations.

The meeting was concluded by a protest march to Nyanga police station, where the church leaders called for impartial policing in the taxi war. — Sapa

terday in the war between hostel and shack dwellers at Umlazi.

An SAP spokesman, Captain Hamilton Ngidi, said seven men were killed and four women were injured.

Meanwhile, a pregnant woman and her unborn child died of gunshot wounds in an attack on their car at Ngonyameni, near Durban, yesterday.

Her husband was shot in the chest and is in a serious condition. A daughter, aged 12, was shot in the arm. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

IT IS time, once again, to sound a clear warning about the violence sweeping the country and to reiterate the fact that, if we can't find a way to break the pattern, our hopes for a just and peaceful society may never materialise.

Violence in our society contains a double danger. First, as repeatedly pointed out by the ANC, it seriously jeopardises South Africa's chances of a free and fair election. It was this concern that lay behind the ANC's insistence that one of the five Codesa working groups be appointed specifically to look at the creation of a climate for free political participation

Beyond elections, however, there is a very real danger that violence may become ingrained in the very fabric of our society. Death ceases to shock. Assassination becomes the order of the day. And revenge inevitably follows revenge.

Eventually society is paralysed by feelings of helplessness and apathy in the midst of a conflict that appears to have no possibility of resolution.

South Africa has not yet reached that point and, indeed, there is reason to believe that the violence is being deliberately fuelled by forces whose objective it is to destroy the precarious peace structures being initiated on a number of levels

Alliance

This is why, as the ANC has stressed, one needs to look at the hidden agenda behind the violence — at who will benefit from it, and how.

Hit squads are nothing new in South Africa. Throughout the '80s, assassinations and killings of ANC people formed part of the overall strategy of the Botha regime.

The question is, why have these continued? Increasingly there is evidence that structures set up in the mid-'80s are still alive and well and operating under security force front companies that show little sign of having been disbanded or investigated.

De Klerk's refusal to take investigative action on overseas

Stop the violence before hopes for a peaceful society die

CT9/3/92

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**ANC
Viewpoint
by VINCENT
DIBA**

hit squad operations is simply a case in point, as is the too narrow frame of reference of the Goldstone Commission

The link between Inkatha and the security forces is also grave cause for concern. The Trust Feed case demonstrates, through the police's own testimony, that there has been collusion at the highest level between police and Inkatha to kill and attack Inkatha's opponents.

These disclosures, following as they do on the allegations of former Inkatha officials such as Mr Mbongeni Khumalo, suggest a firm and long-standing alliance between government and Inkatha — an alliance that, like the hit squad operations, appears still to be firmly in place.

In the past two weeks a further series of ominous and terrifying events have occurred in the Western Cape.

In Khayelitsha, a number of killings and arson attacks have taken place in which, according to witnesses, white men in balaclavas played a part.

In KTC, residents have experienced a series of attacks where police appeared unable or unwilling to protect them.

And only last week in Nyanga, on the eve of a major



MBONGENI KHUMALO: Allegations led to disclosures about collusion between police and IFP.

unity congress involving a number of civic associations, an unidentified marksman shot at a number of civic leaders, killing Lucas Mbembe, chairman of the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association and chairman of the Nyanga ANC branch.

These are just a few of many locally reported incidents. Daily we receive reports of attacks, threats and unexplained actions both on the Peninsula

and from as far afield as Oudtshoorn and Montague.

The attitude of the police in these incidents is extremely unsatisfactory

At Nyanga Terminus alone, ANC executive members have repeatedly observed heavily armed taxi drivers chasing people away from buses, and often attacking members of the community.

The police, who in other circumstances would intervene, simply stand by and watch these incidents — many of which continue sporadically over a full day or more.

Police

The ANC is committed to peace, to doing everything in our power to work for a political climate in which people, communities and organisations can operate without fear or threat.

We have stated repeatedly that we will not tolerate or condone violence in any form and will, in our own ranks as well as elsewhere, expose and condemn it.

Daily we intervene in situations where conflict threatens and we are, in addition, active on a wide range of structures aimed at mediating in and monitoring the violence.

Yet these efforts are continually frustrated by our inability, despite the Peace Accord, to achieve sincere co-operation from the security forces or government

Last year, for example, the police made a show of complying with the Peace Accord provision to set up a police unit to investigate complaints against the police. At its head, however, they appointed three ex-security policemen, one at least still conspicuously involved in political matters.

Reasons

A letter from the Joint Forum on Policing suggesting the inappropriateness and unworkability of the proposed composition of the unit, has to this day evoked no response — despite persistent attempts to resolve this important issue. We can no longer view these incidents and activities as random and unrelated to each other.

While the ANC is not given to charges of conspiracy, the signs are that it is time to look seriously at violence as a whole — to look behind the reasons why the violence is happening, its aims and, above all, who stands to benefit from its continuation

Peace demands a major effort. It demands a visible and demonstrable commitment from every organisation, every structure and every individual involved in conflict of any kind.

There can be no doubt now that the government is unable to demonstrate such a commitment in relation to its security forces and that their subjection to multi-party control has become an urgent prerequisite for peace.

The alternative is grim. If the violence continues, if the energies of those organisations committed to peace are continually diverted by the efforts of those committed to the fuelling of conflict, we face a future in which those genuinely and honestly concerned with finding democratic solutions for South Africa may indeed struggle in vain.

□ Vincent Diba serves on the ANC Western Cape Regional Executive with responsibility for conflict resolution and is ANC representative on the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

Secret force behind the slaughter

STAR 11/3/92

ANYONE who has watched television news with any consistency over the past two years and has been an armchair witness to the horrific scenes of blacks slaughtering blacks in South Africa's townships could be forgiven for reaching with despair at the barbarism of it all, and concluding that it might be best, after all, if the whites carried on running the country.

Undoubtedly an evil spirit does lurk in the hearts of many of those involved in the killings. However, there is also a pattern, a political rationale behind the political violence which, since those heady days when Nelson Mandela was released and peace appeared so tantalisingly to beckon, has claimed more than 2700 township lives.

A four-month investigation I carried out with a BBC team for the "Assignment" documentary series shows it is entirely misguided to view black South Africans as more responsible for violence than whites.

Our programme, entitled "War on Peace", provides evidence that the intelligence security forces of the South African government have pursued a strategy over the past two decades deliberately designed to turn blacks violently against blacks.

This strategy is the secret of a State machine all of whose functions have been subordinated to keeping "the communists" of the ANC at bay.

While Government policy under F.W. de Klerk has changed dramatically, the machine is still ticking over and could career dangerously out of control.

In the 1970s, with the ANC largely dormant inside the country, the threat to white South Africa was perceived to lie in the neighbouring coun-

tries, where left-wing governments helped the ANC's external military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The beauty of the system South Africa devised is that it got foreign, black insurgents to go to war for it, thus causing political damage abroad and at home.

Dependent on South African money, training, supplies, weapons and logistics, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the beauty of the system South Africa devised is that it got foreign, black insurgents to go to war for it, thus causing political damage abroad and at home.

On a smaller scale, the "black-on-black" secret came to be applied successfully inside South Africa in the shape of a clandestine security police unit known as the Askaris. The mas-

termund here was an officer called Jac Buchner. He interrogated more than 250 captured ANC guerrillas, "turned" about 100 of them and created out of them the Askaris, whose main job was to supply intelligence on ANC military activities.

As General Buchner told us with a smirk: "We have a lot to be thankful for in South Africa, for the black community and for the black soldiers, the black policemen who were loyal to the Government of South Africa and brought out the information we needed."

While he insists he has no blood on his hands, what he cannot dispute is that the information his Askaris obtained

was turned ferociously on ANC members inside and outside the country. South African commandos carried out raids on houses where ANC members lived in neighbouring countries, invariably killing women and children in the process, and a hit-squad in the Askari set-up intercepted and killed ANC members as they entered the country.

The man who headed this specialist unit was Eugene de Kock.

The successes of the likes of General Buchner and Lieutenant-Colonel de Kock, ANC leaders admit, obliged the ANC in the mid-1980s to focus its attention more on internal "mass ac-

tion" than on guerrilla war. It was then that the SADF hit on its most brilliant stratagem. To use the Zulu Inkatha movement as it had used Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The military intelligence link has been spelled out by a former SADF major, Nico Basson, and a former Inkatha Central Committee member, Mphahlele Khumalo, who said he left the organisation last year because he no longer wished to function as an SADF agent.

The security police, who work closely with the military, were exposed as Inkatha funders through the Inkatha scandal in July. Inkatha did not, however, explicitly point to the police con-

nection in the Zulu-on-Zulu war in which Inkatha has been engaged in Natal against ANC supporters since 1986.

More than 4 000 have died, most between 1987 and 1989, when General Buchner ran the security police in the Maritzburg.

According to a report recently compiled by human rights lawyers, the KwaZulu police — often described as Inkatha's military wing — have been implicated in the killings of 104 non-Inkatha people, most of them in the past two years.

Pointing again to the close collaboration of the South African police and military, Mr Khumalo told the Weekly Mail in January that military intelligence front-companies had launched an internal inquiry to try to weed out the officers who had leaked information for our programme — The Independent News Service. □

most dangerous hit-man was Daluxolo Luthuli, a captured ANC guerrilla who passed through the hands of General Buchner.

Security policemen to whom we talked for the programme but who refused to appear on camera for fear of their lives have confirmed to us in several conversations in recent weeks that today, 2½ years into Mr de Klerk's "new South Africa reforms", dirty-tricks collusion with Inkatha, the ANC as the target continues unabated.

One officer told us he knew that the political violence obeyed the dictates of "a central cog" in Pretoria.

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Fury over arms search

THE SA Police and angry mobs of armed men faced off in two separate incidents yesterday as a new ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons went into effect.

Three thousand Inkatha supporters in Durban refused to be searched before marching through the city. After appeals from their leaders most of the men wrapped their weapons in blankets, but others openly paraded sticks, spears and knob-kierries.

Hundreds of ANC supporters also voiced their disapproval as police forced them to leave behind spears and battle axes during a march against alleged police brutality in Pimville, Soweto.

No injuries were reported during the confrontations. S/Time's 11/3/92

Peace song launch hailed by committee

STAR 12/3/92

By Thabo Leshilo

(274)

The chairman of the National Peace Committee (NPC) John Hall yesterday made another plea to South Africans to work for peace and bring an end to the violence that has become endemic in the country.

Mr Hall was speaking at the launch of the "National Peace Song" held in Johannesburg.

"Peace in SA must come from the grassroots. It cannot come from the leadership (of political organisations) and the National Peace Committee."

He added that the success of the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into political violence and intimidation, and other structures of the National Peace Accord (NPA) depended on "the decision of our society to bring about peace".

Mr Hall said he was visibly moved by the efforts and dedication of the 40-odd musicians who made the single — "Peace In our Land" — a reality.

The song, which urges South Africans to forget their past and build a new nation, was written by talented popular composer Sello "Chicco" Twala.

Chicco (29) told The Star the single took a month to write



Peace in our Land . . . popular composer Sello "Chicco" Twala took a month to write the "National Peace Song".

and a further two months to record.

Duma Ndlovu, of Word of Mouth Promotions, the company commissioned by the NPC to produce the song, said the single would be released at the end of the month.

NPC vice chairman the Rev Stanley Mogoba said all proceeds from the sales of "Peace in Our Land", which has all the makings of a chartbuster, would go to the Victims of Violence Fund.

The volunteer artists are Hugh Masekela, Brenda Fassie, Chicco Twala, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, P J Powers, Blondie

Makhene and African Youth Band, Pure Gold, Tsepo Tshola, Amanda Ngudle, Nhlanhla Phewa, Jimmy Mgwandi, Lawrence Matshiza, Dukes Seathlolo, Little Sister, No Friends of Harry, MarcAlex, Mercy Pakela, Nana Coyote Motijoane, Annelene Malebo, Paulus Gwala, Geodfrey Mthimkulu (Zasha), Zamo Magubane, Vusi Shange, Ricardo and The Rockets, Sibongile Khumalo, Lungi Dlamini, Thandi Sikhutswa, Nomthandazo Njakazi, Dukes Mhlongo, Buli Arosi, Bongani Masuku, Mzwake Mbuli and engineer Richard Austen.

Peace Accord bursts into song

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Accord-sponsored peace song was yesterday launched here as part of the second phase of a reported R1,4 million advertising campaign to promote its work — and foster peaceful coexistence through song.

Titled "Peace in Our Land" the song combines the talents of 24 South African musicians and groups, including trumpeter Hugh Masekela, Brenda Fassie,

the group "No Friends of Harry", MarcAlex, P J Powers and the Children's Choir of Soweto.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Mr John Hall said the song would help promote peace. "Peace must come from the ground, it can't come from the national political level," he said.

One of the organisers of the song, Mr Duma Ndlovo, said he could not remember any black singer ever starting a song with the words "South Africa, we love

you".

(274)
Negotiations are underway to produce a peace album with "Peace in our Land" as the title track. C.T. 12/3/92

All the artists donated their services and proceeds from the song — due for commercial release by the end of March — are to be placed in a fund for victims of violence. Organisers of the song are hoping to have it broadcast before March 17. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Civics aim

for end to

South 21/3-24/3/92

violence

The recently-launched national civic organisation is evidence of a trend of unity among black communities, reports Sechaba ka Nkosi.



Moses Mayekiso

WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS may be divided into "Yes" and "No" camps as seen in this week's referendum on reform, but black communities are uniting at grassroots level.

Evidence of this trend is the launch of the national civic organisation in Uitenhage last weekend.

The event was the culmination of years of work by the National Interim Civics Committee (NICC) to bring local branches from 14 regions into one national body — the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco).

Almost all the community organisations and liberation movements, including the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), are represented in the regional committees of Sanco.

In other branches, like the one in

Alexandra township near Johannesburg, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is also represented. Sanco secretary-general Mr Dan Sandi says the civic movement is a representative forum where non-racial unity can be attained.

"One becomes a member of the community organisation because one is a resident, thus the whole movement takes the nature of every resident being a civic member and every civic member a resident," says Sandi.

Sanco sees itself playing an important role in ending the violence and in working towards and participating in an interim government.

Its president, Mr Moses Mayekiso, says: "We know the feeling of the people on the ground, and everyone has to swallow political affiliations for the sake of our socio-political empowerment of our people."

Mayekiso beat ANC expert on local government Mr Thozamile

UNITY AMONG all civic organisations in the Western Cape seems unlikely to be achieved in the near future.

The Western Cape United Squatters Association (Wecusa) has vowed to stay out of the unity process as long as the "long-standing issue of attacks on its members by the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) remains unresolved".

This stand and the related allegations follow Wecusa's absence from the launch of the Civic Organisation of the Western Cape (COWC) two weeks ago.

Wecusa was a member of the regional interim civics committee, which was charged with bringing about a merger between the WCCA, the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA), Wecusa and the Cape Arcus Housing Action Committee (Cahac) to form Cowec.

Wecusa regional vice-chairperson Mr Enoch Madywabe said "Before the merger, the WCCA burnt down shacks of our members and a vehicle belonging to Wecusa at Green Point in Khayelitsha."

"When we reported the matter to the interim committee, a meeting attended by WCHDA, Cahac, Wecusa, the ANC, WCCA, Cosatu was convened."

"Wecusa members told the meeting they could not forfeit their right to operate among the shack

Feud delays unity in Western Cape

South 21/3-26/3/92

dwellers as we had a long history of co-operation with them."

"We found that the WCCA was jealous that we were operating among the shack dwellers. They said they had a right to operate in the shacks."

Madywabe said the meeting decided that the WCCA should operate in the townships and not in the squatter settlements.

When Wecusa had demanded that the burnt vehicle be replaced, an ANC national official, said he would take the matter to his national executive committee, but had not reported back.

Madywabe said that after the shack dwellers had been allowed to return to their areas the shacks were burnt down again, resulting in the death of three people.

"We have been trying in vain on various occasions to get the WCCA to sit down and resolve the matter with us," Madywabe said.

"Since then we suspended our participation in the interim committee. We feel that we cannot engage ourselves in unity talks with WCCA until the matter of the harassment

of the shack dwellers has been addressed."

Madywabe said Wecusa found there was no trust between the organisations as one member was engaged in acts of violence against Wecusa.

He said that a week before the launch of Cowec, two men from the WCHDA and two men from the WCCA approached Wecusa and said there would be a launch of a united civic the following week.

The men said they represented an "organising committee" for the launch. This kind of behaviour further bore testimony to the fact that the regional interim civic committee cannot be trusted," he said.

"How can Wecusa, being a member organisation, be told that there would be a launch without being involved in the decision-making?"

"How can an organising committee be formed without our knowledge?"

Despite SOUTH's attempts for two weeks to get comment on Wecusa's allegations, Cowec's secretary and chairperson refused to respond.

squads. Whether the new national civic organisation can play a meaningful role in the transition remains to be seen.

But the very launch of Sanco is a huge step towards unity among blacks.

"We will do everything in our power to defend all the gains made so far and we will not rest until BLAs are gone and replaced by non-racial local governments," says Sandi.

Sanco had an important role to play in the One-City debate, another executive member Mr Henry Fazzac said.

"They are in the position of informing authorities about the needs of the people and how they

see development, their role is not to replace elected local authorities but to inform them," Fazzac said.

He warned, however, that civics should not sign any agreements at a local level as this may have "implications for national negotiations".

Other members elected to top positions in Sanco are vice-president Mr Lechesa Tsenoudi, of the Transvaal, assistant secretary Mr Penrose Ntonti, from the Border, treasurer Mr Thobile Gidigadi, of the Transkei Civic Association; publicity secretary Mr Maxwell Marnase, of the Port Elizabeth People's Civic Association and regional director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa—

ALA and Pen

Musicians strike the right chord for peace

By CHARLOTTE BAUER

WMA 133-1913/92
"... Politicians, stop lying and fighting/Come join hands and be one/An eye for an eye won't build us/Bring peace in our land..."

THE lyrics are desperately direct. Penned by pop phenomenon Chicco Twala and performed by more than 40 of this country's top musicians and singers, *Peace in Our Land* is the National Peace Accord's post-apartheid answer to all those songs once so anxiously funded by the state Bureau for Information.

The record was launched at Gallo this week as part of an effort to boost the flagging public profile of the accord, signed so hopefully on September 14 last year by everyone from FW de Klerk to Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Joe Slovo and Nelson Mandela, with the slogan "peace now — not another death later."

More than 1 200 deaths later, South Africa seems no closer to normality. "We know we hurt each other/Never

showed any love at all/Our lives will never be the same again..." And so the song goes.

"Yes! Yes! We must all say yes. Peace means yes —

do you understand what I'm saying?" The irrepressible Chicco used the opportunity of introducing the record to the media to get in a bit of referendoming.

Chicco Twala

Peace in Our Land, unlike the cheery, evangelical "official" ditties of the past, is neither sunny nor bright. Sung to the backing strains of Hugh Masekela's mournful trumpet, the song is a searing, richly layered ballad.

Hopes for the impact of the song, recorded by artists who waived all fees to make it, run high among their ranks. "Music affects all South Africans... we're a country of singing fools. It's time to lay down our weapons and raise our voices for peace," said Masekela.



Sipho Mnguni, a director of Word of Mouth Productions, the company that initiated the production, echoed his thoughts. "Musicians can appeal to the conscience of the people and inculcate a spirit, a desire for peace. I'm positive that this song will contribute to the process."

The National Peace Accord needs that confidence. Earlier this week its chairman, John Hall, called together media representatives and editors to ask for more consistent support for the peace campaign which has been continually upstaged by almost ceaseless rounds of violence.

All proceeds from sales of the record will go to the Victims of Violence Fund. Artists who have made this musical initiative possible include Brenda Fassie, Marc Alex, Ricardo and The Rockets, PJ Powers, Paulos Gwala and Pure Gold, Tshepo Tshola, Little Sister and the Children's Choir of Soweto.

Can the peace accord work? See PAGE 16

ON the face of it, the National Peace Accord (NPA), signed on September 14 last year, has so far failed to stem the level of violence. In the days leading up to the referendum, carnage in conflict-ridden areas like Natal, East Rand and Vaal townships and Soweto has flared with alarming intensity, provoking hot-headed accusations and counter-accusations.

Both the Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress, have, on several occasions, blamed each other and the police for flouting the NPA.

Since the NPA, close to 1 200 people have died in political violence, according to figures supplied by the Human Rights Commission. The past week alone has claimed close to 100 lives — already the highest figure recorded this year for a seven-day period.

It would be foolish to pretend that death, fear and panic are no longer part and parcel of township life — in some places, peace monitors admit, things have simply got worse.

But to presume that the NPA could hand down a “quick fix” solution in the space of six months is perhaps as naive. Many of the peace bodies are up and running; others are still in the embryonic stage.

Behind the scenes, the many people involved in NPA structures, from the top level peace secretariat and peace committee, down to the regional dispute resolution committees (RDRCs) and grassroots local dispute resolution committees (LDRCs), are still involved in the delicate process of seating warring parties around the table.

Eight RDRCs, on which representatives of the ANC, IFP and government get together with police, outside mediating bodies and other interest groups, have so far been established, with three others likely to be operating by the end of the month. Eleven LDRCs are operating, with about 30 others in the pipeline. Representatives from the ANC, IFP, local government, churches, trade unions and other community groups make up these bodies.

The fact that so many structures have already been established is a victory in the short term, says Peter Gastrow, peace secretariat member and Democratic Party spokesman for law and order.

“In many instances people are communicating for the first time. But it doesn’t mean that committees are ready to settle violence from the moment of creation.

“The structures are fragile to start with. There is a high level of mistrust and it’s extremely difficult for them to operate as a cohesive group. The formation itself takes a long time and for the committees to begin to act as a whole is a long and difficult process.”

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall estimates that it’ll be

Fragile structures in a ‘subterranean world of horror’

W/Mail 13/3 - 19/3/92

(274)

Since the National Peace Accord was signed six months ago, 1 200 people have died in political violence. Has the peace failed — or did we expect too much? By PHILIPPA GARSON



John Hall ... We can't give up

Photo: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

another six months before the NPA — finding its way in a “subterranean horror world of civil and internecine war” — begins to make real and visible inroads.

“We have to keep our heads down, keep at it and not give up. Though there are times when the frustrations are great,” he admits. In the meantime he says, the NPA is “already helping South Africans to find each other”.

Those working at regional and local level stress the need for monitoring bodies and non-aligned service organisations to mediate, facilitate and act as

centres where complaints can be lodged on a 24-hour basis. Without them, meetings deteriorate into political posturing and never-ending arguments. Furthermore, non-political conflicts often turn political when there is no recourse to independent, non-aligned bodies.

“We need more provision made for structures that are accountable to communities and not political parties ... if we’re concerned about the future of our political ethos,” says Steve Collins, co-ordinator of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South

Africa’s (Idasa) community, conciliation and mediation services in Natal.

He also stresses the need for more full-time NPA employees: most of those people on regional and local committees have other party-political commitments, over and above full-time jobs.

Bodies like Idasa and Independent Mediation Services of South Africa (Imssa) are being called in to watch over and advise in committee meetings and offer mediation training. “Although no space was created for these bodies (by the NPA) we are using them,” says peace secretariat chair Antonie Gildenhuys.

Imssa director Charles Nupen, who chairs of the Witwatersrand/Vaal Triangle RDRC and the Greater Soweto DRC (which straddles the regional and local levels) agrees with the peace secretariat’s idea that the communities take charge of their own local peace bodies. A seasoned industrial dispute mediator, Nupen is all too aware of the prickly path towards conflict-resolution and consensus.

“What the NPA seeks to do is establish problem-solving structures where these structures have never existed. You can’t simply impose problem-solving methods and approaches on the participants who have, and are continuing, to experience conflict, where significant levels of mistrust exist.”

This process, he says, is a lengthy one. “But despite the difficulties experienced on the ground I think that within these structures there is already a greater level of understanding and communication and I believe in time the NPA will begin to produce results and probably already has.”

Imssa is already running mediation training programmes with the hope that all parties, including the police, will participate.

Crucial to the success of the NPA, says Nupen, is the top-level commitment of the parties, who need to drive the process with more vigour.

On the ground, disillusionment with the NPA is rife. Those who know about it have by and large lost faith, as violence simply escalates.

Despite this, both Inkatha and ANC local peace committee members in the turbulent East Rand township of Thokoza, who set up their structures long before the NPA was signed show optimism — and at least speak the same language of peace.

Though Imssa and the Alberton Industrial Association have made weighty inputs, local ANC and IFP leaders on the committee stress the need for a permanent watchdog body and for the drawing in of other community bodies not answerable to either organisation.

A more popular campaign, they agree, is urgently needed to filter the NPA message down. A simplified version of the NPA document is in the process of being drafted.

But ordinary people still reject a long document imposed from above, says Inkatha leader Abraham Mzizi, who points out that people are more likely to accept and understand peace initiatives translated into slogans and songs.

Meanwhile, the panic and fear that hangs over communities sparks rumours, which in turn catalyse violence: “Rumours are impossible to stop. People keep on talking and obviously if you’re told someone is plotting against you, you start building your defence,” says Mzizi.

Local ANC leader Dume Nkosi, now adept at donning the “objective glasses” of the peace committee, says far more discussion is needed at ground level.

When people continue to die, and meetings carry on, “our members feel hurt. They say why do you still talk to them?” The challenge, he says, is for the LRDC to be regarded as a legitimate body and act more timeously and effectively when violence flares.

Goldstone commission to probe taxi war in city (274)

Weekend Argus Reporter *ARG 14/8/92* (275)

THE Goldstone commission of inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation will begin an investigation on Monday into the causes of the taxi war in the Western Cape.

The commission has called on people with information to testify and has said evidence can be given in camera.

The vice-chairman of the commission, Mr Niel Rossouw, will begin the three-week inquiry in the NG Church synod hall on the corner of Upper Orange Street and Grey's Pass, Cape Town, at 9am on Monday.

Anyone who would like to give evidence can contact the commission office (☎ 235 508) and ask for Mr Johan Slabbert or Mrs Pelton, or the Urban Monitoring Action Committee (☎ 462 2412).

Political violence claims 200 lives in poll run-up

(214) 14/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 200 people have been killed in a disturbing new pattern of political violence aimed at disrupting voting and negotiations since the announcement of the white referendum three weeks ago.

This is according to the independent Human Rights Commission which this week said the death toll was almost double that for the 21 days before the referendum was announced on February 20.

"It is not only the exceptionally high level of the death rate which leads us to this conclusion, but also the largely random manner of most attacks, aimed, it would seem, at terrorising township communities and creating a general impression of chaos," said the HRC.

Echoing this view, the African National Congress said the killings fell into two categories: Those killed in random attacks intended to create fear and division among blacks; and the murder of black people from all political affiliations who had been targeted for assassination.

"Centuries of indoctrination have resulted in extreme white South African racial prejudice and hatred, and the violence afflicting the black communities can only work in favour of a No vote," said the ANC.

"The only forces that gain are those against peace and freedom."

Anger at this apparent disregard for black lives was reaching boiling point, said the ANC statement.

Meanwhile, lawyers for Human Rights have offered a R10 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of violence perpetrators.

LHR said a delegation of the independent International Commission of Jurists would arrive in South Africa at the weekend to gain first-hand knowledge of the continuing carnage.

"It is our view that the killings taking place in this (Witwatersrand) region and others are not sporadic and nor are they mindless — they form part of an orchestrated campaign."

Six people died and two were seriously injured in overnight unrest-related incidents, according to yesterday's police unrest report.

Many of the incidents took place on trains in the PWV region.

Police said two men were killed by gunmen between Boksburg East and Dunsward Stations on the East Rand. Another man was killed by gunmen at Kutala Station in Kallangong.

The bodies of three men were found by police at Daveyton, Benoni. One had been burnt to death in a stolen vehicle and the other two had died of hack and stab wounds.

In Alexandra, a man was seriously wounded when gunmen fired a number of rounds at him.

Six people died on the Witwatersrand on Thursday, four of whom were victims of yet another attack on train commuters.

Police said the bodies of the four were found at Boksburg Station at 7am.

A man and a woman were burned alive in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg, when tyre "necklaces" were put around them and set alight.

Another man was admitted to the Alexandra clinic after he was shot in the chest and head.

Police said the attacks happened hours before a joint peace declaration was signed in the township by, among others, ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) representatives.

The warring sides have decided the IFP will bury its dead today with the ANC funeral tomorrow.

Fifteen people died in South Africa on Wednesday, mostly in other attacks on train commuters in the Reef area.

A commuter boycott of Reef trains was being contemplated to stem the death toll, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said this week.

Facing growing criticism from both the ANC and Inkatha about its ability to contain the murdering, the police emphasised they were doing their best under the circumstances.

Police work on trains was being constrained by a huge commuter load and by lack of co-operation from the public, said police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said police seized two pangas on Thursday night after conducting body searches on commuters at Mankuzi station near Orlando. — Sapa.



JOHN HALL: He thinks the Peace Accord has run into serious, possibly fatal, problems.

Peace hopes stillborn

STAR 14/3/92

274

JUST six short months ago South Africa was thrilled to see its normally fractious political leadership standing shoulder to shoulder to pledge themselves to peace by signing the National Peace Accord.

Conceived with such high hopes at a crucial juncture in South Africa's history — with violence threatening to tear apart the fragile hopes of a new South Africa — the National Peace Accord now seems to have been stillborn.

Whether random, unthinking, unreasoning or malignantly controlled and carefully planned, violence still threatens to derail even the best intentioned efforts at building a true democracy.

Since the announcement of this week's referendum, more than 200 people have died in violence that neither the Accord nor its signatories seem able even to define, let alone stop.

What then has

happened to the Accord? Were the expectations too high? Are South Africans simply a violent people?

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall thinks not, but admits that the Accord has run into serious and possibly fatal problems.

In an exclusive interview this week he revealed it was "on the cards" that after the dust has settled following next week's referendum, the signatories will be asked to reconvene in an attempt to save what remains of the commitment to peace.

Earlier in the week Hall appealed to the press not to allow the Accord to die of neglect. "We need to be challenged," he said.

"We need to be asked why we have failed to halt the violence and exactly what we are doing about it.

"Then at least we will once again be in the public eye and have a chance of influencing the course of events".

The Accord consists of three main bodies: a National Peace Committee, made up of representatives of the signatories,

IN the run-up to next week's referendum the question of violence has again raised its ugly head, threatening to wipe out many of the gains of the past months. Many of those who vote "no" will no doubt in a way be voting "no" to violence. The National Peace Accord was created to stop violence. KEN VERNON, the Deputy Editor of the Saturday Star, looks at the organisation and why it has failed in its task.

that monitors the implementation of the Accord and makes recommendations on its performance; a National Peace Secretariat that co-ordinates the work of local and regional Dispute Resolution Committees; and a Commission of Inquiry that investigates violent incidents and makes recommendations on how future incidents can be avoided.

An initial problem for the Accord arose from one of the assumptions on which it was formed: the belief that much of the violence is politically motivated and therefore, by bringing together political parties, political differences would be ironed out and violence defused.

However, it has proved almost impossible to

decide how much of the violence is politically inspired and how much is not.

This in effect has hamstrung the Accord right from the outset.

"Where violence is clearly of a political nature — such as in much of Natal — the Accord has the machinery to handle the problem and we have had several important successes there," says Hall.

"But what can we do about train violence?" he asked.

"Tracing much violence back to political supporters or instigators is very difficult.

"But these difficulties are always going to be there. In spite of them, the Accord has to be able to work — or we might as well not exist.

"To work we have to rely on the political parties and the local dispute resolution committees. If they can't do anything then we have the wrong signatories to the Accord."

Another problem has been that the major players often seem to prefer to negotiate bi-laterally rather than through the Accord's more cumbersome process.

To many the Accord has seemed to be little more than a forum for "motherhood and apple-pie", full of good intentions but without any real teeth to do the job it was intended to do.

Once proposed, no one could really not afford not to come to the party, for who would dare to be seen to be against peace?

"There is that aspect,

but the reality is that the parties did sign and that gives it a certain degree of power

"Having signed, they cannot be seen to be ignoring or contravening the Accord. The recent situation involving the Ciskei and the ANC plan to destabilise that country is a case in point.

"The machinery of the Accord was used to generate publicity that facilitated — if not forced — a compromise agreement.

"Publicity is very important to the effective working of the Accord, and, this is where the media, especially the press, can play an important role. No political party can afford to be seen breaking with the 'motherhood and apple-pie' aspects, do they?"

"On bi-lateral talks, that's fine. The point is not who makes the peace, but that the peace be made. The Accord has no power to force parties to do anything — except by firstly talking to them, and secondly by generating publicity."

Hall points out that while the Accord was signed six months ago, it

has taken much of that time to implement the various sections of the agreement, so that it may be too soon to make a final judgment on the viability of the organisation — even given the obvious problems it is experiencing.

"The Accord has been born. It is still only crawling. But if its parents continue to nurture it, it will walk. I believe the Peace Accord will work. It has to."

ANC, IFP share accord of blood

274 288 STAR 14/3/92

THE African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, two of the main signatories to the six-month-old National Peace Accord, yesterday blamed each other for the violence racking South Africa.

ANC information director Dr Pallo Jordan said the ANC had "done everything possible" to end the violence.

He accused some signatories, mainly the IFP, of being "to a large extent" responsible for the violence.

"The accord can only be as effective as the commitment of the signatories. It would be a miracle if it could achieve anything when some of the signatories are not committed to it,"

Jordan said.

Kim Hodgson of the Inkatha Institute said more than 20 of the organisation's office-bearers had been murdered since the accord was signed.

"There seems to be a very clear trend. The ANC leadership is actively participating in organising incidents of violence."

**MONTSHIWA MOROKE,
STAN HLOPHE
and SAPA**

Whenever perpetrators of violence against the IFP had been arrested, those responsible had been either ANC supporters or members, he said.

The worst carnage yesterday was in the Dur-

ban township of Umlazi, the scene of yet another ANC-Inkatha clash. At least 18 people, including 15 women and a child, were killed when hostel residents from Unit 17 attacked the nearby Uganda squatter settlement.

In another incident, three men, believed to be IFP supporters, were

hacked to death and thrown off a moving train travelling between Soweto and Johannesburg. Eight others were injured.

One of the dead men, wearing an Inkatha T-shirt, was covered with his lumberjacket. He had been stabbed to death.

Witness Peter Gallon said he had heard screaming from the train.

"I looked back and saw people being stabbed with knives and hacked with pangas by a group of people and later pushed from the moving train."

"I will never forget the pain those people were

● TO PAGE 2.

Violence

● FROM PAGE 1.

in. It is hard to forget. This madness should stop. People have lost their humanity."

In Phola Park squatter camp near Tokoza on the East Rand, a man was allegedly shot dead by police yesterday in what residents said was an unprovoked attack.

In another incident near the squatter camp, policeman Sergeant Ockert Kriel (22) was wounded by AK-47 fire.

A police spokesman

said the two shootings did not appear to be related.

The dead man was identified by residents as James Jan Ntsokwana, a labourer at a nearby brickworks. He was believed to be a widower father of three.

Police drew their weapons when removing the body as a crowd at the scene grew angry and moved forward.

The Human Rights Commission has said 204 people have died in political violence during the past three weeks.

274 288 STAR 14/3/92

New look at Peace Accord on cards

STAT 14/3/92 274
KEN VERNON, Deputy Editor

THE ONGOING violence in the run-up to Tuesday's referendum has threatened to put the skids under the National Peace Accord just six months after it was founded.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said in an exclusive interview this week that it was "on the cards" that after the referendum the signatories would be asked to reconvene to discuss the apparent inability of the Accord's machinery to curb the ongoing violence.

In the six months that it has been in operation the Accord seems to have been ineffective in lowering the rate of violence, making its continued existence dependent on a re-examination of its functions.

Despite difficulties, Hall believes the Peace Accord can succeed.



● Full report: Page 11

People in profile

Mr John Hall (274)

Chairperson of the National Peace Committee

"Violence doubled in the second month of this year — what the hell is the Peace Accord doing?"

This outspoken remark comes not from a critic of the Peace Accord, but from one of its chief architects and current chairperson, Mr John Hall.

"We should be pinned to the wall if we are not achieving anything," he said this week.

"There are a helluva lot of bad eggs out there who don't want the Peace Accord to operate.

"There are loose cannons, and even some people who do it for fun. There is plain thuggery, and gangsters, masquerading under a political cloak."

At the same time, Hall said, he believed the Accord, and especially its eight regional committees and the dispute mediation procedures, had made a difference — such as at Middelburg and Thokoza.

Hall reported how at the President Steyn mine — where violence had accompanied the VAT strike last year — a peace committee had been formed, and segregated queueing came to an end. *South 14/3-20/3/92*

With a nod of amusement at South African society, he added: "After two weeks this was abandoned, and the miners are back to segregated queueing, but now it's okay."

According to him, the Accord is effective because it is legitimate and most people want peace.

Unlike the United Nations, which had been forced to set up peacekeeping military forces, "South Africa has not crossed the rubicon of violence".

"People still want to find peace. If we had a peacekeeping force to keep people from each other's throats, the whole negotiations process would stop."

The police, according to Hall, need to be given credibility and built up.

Peace Secretariat officials acknowledge that sometimes the police are players in violence, "but in the long run, they must be keepers of the peace".

Hall gets impassionate when he speaks about how some people "are paying lipservice to the Accord".

He tells of the need for the secretariat to be diplomatic in its reprimands.

Revealing his style, he commented that it needed to be asked whether occupying government buildings in Ciskei was an infringement of the Accord, or was simply "robust politics".

Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo had contacted the Peace Secretariat at an early stage of the Ciskei crisis, and negotiations were now underway for his administration to rejoin the Border peace committee, he said.

As a man with a mission, the Barlow Rand businessman is under no illusions about the difficulties of his job. But he is determined that the public and the press should do their bit in maintaining the struggle for peace. — GUY BERGER

A cry for peace by local stars

By SANDILE MEMELA 15/3/92

PEACE In Our Land, the song launched this week by the National Peace Committee and a star-studded line-up of the country's artists, needs almost R300 000 for its production costs, radio time and promotion.

The song, recorded in Downtown Studios in Johannesburg, is an independent initiative by the cream of local musicians. None of the artists who participated in the song will be paid and money raised from sales will be donated to help victims of violence.

It was composed and produced by Chicco Twala



CHICCO TWALA

and features Brenda Fassie, Hugh Masekela, Mzwakhe Mbuli, Marc Alex, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Sibongile Khumalo, Tsepho Tshola, PJ Powers, Blondie Makhene and Vusi Shange among others.

The record will be played on all the radio stations.

Project co-ordinator and Word of Mouth co-director Duma Ndlovu told City Press that the cost of the venture amounted to between R200 000 and R300 000.

Legendary Hugh Masekela said music was the ideal medium for getting across the peace message.

"Music affects all our people. It is time to lay down our weapons and raise our voices for peace. As a musician I am mesmerised by Chicco's composition."

Sankomota lead vocalist Tsepho Tshola said his participation comes from the bottom of his soul.

"When one looks at the credibility and quality of all those involved you can feel that this is a genuine appeal for peace."

Yvonne Chaka Chaka said that the song contained such a strong message that it would even make the Conservative Party change its mind about dragging the country into an abyss.

Violence takes its toll on kids

CHILDREN living in violent areas are increasingly nervous, anxious, unable to concentrate and have learning difficulties, new research shows.

In a project started in September last year, the South African Association of Learning and Educational Disabilities drew its findings from a survey of Cape Peninsula schools.

The survey, aimed at identifying difficulties children have in learning, reading, fluency and understanding, found a number of those diagnosed as learning disabled were troubled because of urban violence.

Of 97 responses to a questionnaire, 31 percent of the teachers said violence was a primary cause of learning problems.

Miss Maureen Archer, the association's president and a lecturer on learning disabilities at the University of Cape Town, said: "Teachers have noticed an escalation in anxiety in children who come from areas where violence is endemic."

By KURT SWART

This was especially the case in areas affected by the Western Cape's long-running taxi war between rival associations, which has killed about 30 people.

Schoolchildren at John Pama Lower Primary, in Nyanga, have learned to lie face down on the floor when shooting starts at the adjacent taxi rank.

Teachers at a creche which also borders the taxi rank have to cope with hysterical toddlers during gunbattles involving taxi

drivers and the police. One of the staff said: "There is no way we can soothe them. We can only wait until they calm down by themselves."

A teacher in another area said "many" children were exposed to violence.

"Their fathers and older brothers are taxi drivers involved in fights. This causes anxiety and fear in the children."

"Lack of concentration and nervousness in class promotes slow progress."

Miss Archer said the violence influenced the children to the extent that it

occupied their minds.

"Some can be fluent at reading, but when questioned, they reveal they have not understood what they have read. Comprehension is impaired when the mind is elsewhere," she said.

"This is also the case in mathematics, where there is a need for speed, accuracy and sustained concentration."

"Children also exhibit anxious behaviour. In one case, a child would start to cry as soon as the teacher looked at him."

The violence also caused

absenteeism, with many children being kept from school for long periods by fearful parents.

Some children are being kept in hiding following a spate of abductions of schoolchildren. Children of taxi drivers are rumoured to have been kidnapped by rival taxi association members as a means of gaining leverage.

"Solutions to the learning problems lay with teachers and the community giving much-needed support and assistance to the children," Miss Archer said.

UNLESS drastic measures are taken to prevent the escalating violence that is ripping townships apart, the National Peace Accord faces collapse, sources in the organisation said this week.

The sources said this bleak picture also emerged from the latest train violence – by Friday more than 25 people had died in train violence since last weekend.

“There is a feeling in the NPA that some signatories of the peace accord merely signed the document to impress certain quarters. But their track record shows that they are not truly committed to the letter and spirit of the document.”

NPA sources declined to identify signatories guilty of this practice.

Violence spreads and it seems nothing can stop the blood

“It’s become common for one section of the community to point fingers at others for starting violence. But when they are supposed to substantiate or come forward there is a lot of foot-dragging or total reluctance to co-operate.”

The fortnightly NPA meetings between chairman John Hall and his executive committee to scan reports of violence nationwide showed violence was on the increase.

This had happened despite the establishment of nine dispute resolution committees. The main task of these committees is to identify trouble spots.

Despite concerted efforts to bring peace into the townships, Hall says, the NPA was often faced with two major problems. Firstly, after signing the document committing their organisations to peace, party leaders did not do their best to convey the message to their supporters. Instead, they indulged in posturing and unnecessary recrimination.

The second problem was that rumours and finger-pointing by members of the community were often common factors during violence.

Hall has no doubt that the third-force element plays a role in perpetrating the violence. “In fact, there are lots of third forces with their own agendas nowadays.”

Amnesty International

The police are not immune from allegations of partiality towards certain organisations. In its recent report to the United Nations, Amnesty International bluntly accused the police of siding with the IFP.

Violence continues unabated while the Goldstone Commission gathers evidence to establish the source of violence. In its provisional report to parliament, the commission accuses the ANC and IFP of being responsible for most violence through the political intolerance of their supporters.

Part of the violent campaign is to convince whites that they are not secure under Nationalist Party rule and that it would surrender them into the hands of the “anarchic black government”, sources say.

Train attacks continue despite police assurances that they will intensify patrols to protect commuters.

Hall says despite the spectre of violence, his committee will keep up with the pressure in the hope that logic will prevail above political emotions.

BY THEMBA KHUMALO

C/P/rev
15/3/92
274

KILLING THE

ACCORD

Peace 'is up to the people'

CS 16/3/92
(274)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Peace would not come in a blinding white flash — it would take time and a lot of hard work, National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall said at the weekend.

Since the signing of the National Peace Accord on September 14 last year, almost 1 200 people have been killed in political violence. Mr Hall said, however, that there were no new strategies for the accord to reach its objectives. It was now up to the people.

The accord had not been given enough time to prove itself and its two crucial structures — the national peace secretariat and the Goldstone Commission — had only been working for a matter of weeks.

Although the accord appeared to be a failure on the surface, the structures were in place and on track, Mr Hall said.

There were many uncontrollable elements that had to be handled at the community level, using the forces of law and order. Peace had to come from the grassroots and be supported by political leaders.

The local dispute resolution committees were mechanisms to get the community — including local police — involved in the process.

Mr Hall said he was convinced that, despite its many "birth pains", the accord was the one structure that could offer a chance of peace in the absence of an elected, fully representative body.

Peace 'is up to the people'

PEACE would not come in a blinding white flash — it would take time and a lot of hard work, national peace committee chairman John Hall said last week.

Since the signing of the national peace accord on September 14 last year, almost 1 200 people have been killed in political violence. Yet Hall said there were no new strategies for the accord to reach its objectives. It was now up to the people

The accord had not been given enough time to prove itself and its two crucial structures — the national peace secretariat and the Goldstone Commission — had only been working for a matter of weeks.

The secretariat's latest attempt to reach grassroots level is a song recorded by 40 local musicians and launched last week. Hall said it was hoped this would publicise the structures. Although the accord appeared to be a failure on the surface, the structures were in place and on track, he said.

There were many obstacles, not least that leaders of political structures had not given the effort their fullest support, Hall said. "They have signed and they attend

meetings, but they are not driving it with enough vigour."

There were many uncontrollable elements or "loose cannons" that had to be handled at the community level, using the forces of law and order. Hall said peace must come from the grassroots and be supported by political leaders.

The local dispute resolution committees were mechanisms to get the community involved in the process, and this included local police. A further challenge facing the accord was to find representative community leaders, but because elections were impossible, those who came forward were not always representative, he said.

"Two weeks later they would be ousted by another group and we would have to start all over again."

Hall said he was convinced that, despite its many "birth pangs", the accord was the one structure that could offer a chance of peace in the absence of an elected, fully representative body.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

ANC, IFP ²⁷⁴ undertake to end violence

Sowetan 17/3/92
By JOE MDHLELA

THE African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party bore the responsibility of ending the violence in the country, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Kotze was responding to questions on the violence that has claimed at least 230 lives since the announcement of the referendum four weeks ago.

"Violence will only abate when Inkatha and the ANC show a commitment to end it," Kotze said.

He called on the two organisations to do everything possible to ensure that their members helped to comply with the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

ANC spokesman Dr Pallo Jordan said no one had demonstrated that the ANC had a hand in the fuelling and inciting of violence.

"We cannot say the same about the directorate of military intelligence," Jordan said.

Inkatha Youth Brigade spokesman Mr Themba Khoza said not only were their members dying from ANC armed activities, adding that community members were being targeted too," Khoza said.

Harms evidence: R1m claim

Supreme Court Reporter

AN East London businessman has brought a R1 million Supreme Court action against Incorporated General Insurance Limited (IGI) and its chairman for remarks made before the Harms Commission of Inquiry.

A further R2m defamation action was withdrawn yesterday by Jalc Holdings SA (Pty) Ltd, which offered to pay the wasted costs.

Mr Christo van Rensburg, of Beacon Bay, said in papers he

had been defamed by Mr Ivan Michael Allen Lewis, chairman of IGI, before the Harms Commission of Inquiry in June 1989.

Mr Lewis had testified that Mr Van Rensburg had produced a bag of what could have been uncut diamonds as security for guarantee insurance.

Mr Lewis had intended to imply that he was a dishonest businessman, who had illegally possessed and dealt in uncut diamonds which he had tendered to get Jalc guarantee insurance.

Mr Lewis had acted in his capacity as chairman and managing director of IGI. (274)

Mr Van Rensburg opposed an application by IGI and Mr Lewis for postponement because they had not received all relevant documents. CT 18/3/92

Mr Justice E L King postponed the hearing sine die and ordered Mr Van Rensburg to pay IGI and Mr Lewis's wasted costs.

The costs to be paid by Jalc would be determined later.

In respect of the latest specified calendar year or 12-month period for which information is available, what was the (a) total number of (i) South African Airways, (ii) other commercial and (iii) private flights that landed at Port Elizabeth Airport, (b) capacity percentage of the above South African Airways flights, (c) total number of passengers (i) arriving at and (ii) departing from Port Elizabeth and (d) total weight of freight transported (i) to and (ii) from Port Elizabeth Airport?

B357E

The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

The Managing Director of TRANSNET LIMITED has furnished the following information in reply to the hon member's question:

- (a) (i) 6 550 (1 January 1991-31 December 1991).
- (b) 66,55%
- (a) (ii) and (iii), (c) (i) and (d) (i) and (ii)

This information must be obtained from the Department of Transport.

SAP: printing presses

156 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order.

- (1) Whether any branches and units of the South African Police have their own printing presses, if so, (a) which branches and/or units, (b) where are these printing presses located, (c) how many are there in total, (d) how many persons are employed to man these printing presses and (e) what categories of material are printed;
- (2) whether any material printed on these presses is used for distribution amongst civilians, if so, what kind of material is distributed?

B382E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes
- (a) Division Logistics
- (b) Pretoria
- (c) One (1)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Own Affairs

Rented houses: Port Elizabeth

42. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Housing and Works

How many houses being rented in the Port Elizabeth metropole were owned by (a) the Government, (b) Port Elizabeth Municipality, (c) Uitenhage Municipality and (d) Despatch Municipality as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B358E

The MINISTER OF HOUSING AND WORKS:

On 29 February 1992 the following units being rented in the Port Elizabeth Metropole, were owned by

(a) Government	Houses — 209
	Flats — 1 335
(b) Municipality of Port Elizabeth	Houses — 404
	Flats — 535

(c) Municipality of Uitenhage	Houses — 26
	Flats — 36
(d) Municipality of Despatch	Nil

Permanent/non-permanent housing units

43. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Housing and Works:

- (a) What was the total number of (i) permanent and (ii) non-permanent housing units in the (aa) previously White area of Port Elizabeth Municipality, (bb) Port Elizabeth District, (cc) previously White area of Despatch Municipality, (dd) previously White area of Uitenhage Municipality and (ee) Uitenhage District as at 31 December 1991 and (b) what is the estimated number of persons per housing unit as at the above date?

B359E

The MINISTER OF HOUSING AND WORKS:

I regret that I am unable to supply the required information due to the fact that my Department does not keep the relevant statistics, and the local authorities concerned also indicated that they are unable to supply the necessary information.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Nactu up in arms over peace accord

6/ day 18/3/92
THE National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) intends taking legal action against employers who force workers to accept the peace accord and businesses' political positions, says Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana.

The 250 000-strong labour federation also intended taking legal action against police after its president, James Mndaweni, was arrested on Monday and questioned on his alleged involvement with the activities of the PAC and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Nactu's PWV region pulled out of the anti-VAT alliance campaign yester-

day, claiming the alliance's "unilateral action was based on demands not canvassed with Nactu".

However, Nactu said it would continue to co-operate with the alliance on other issues.

Nactu said Mndaweni's arrest was part of a campaign by police and employers to force it to sign the peace accord.

A number of companies organised by Nactu affiliates were forcing workers to sign the peace accord and accept the "current political process". This undermined Nactu's position, Ngcukana said.

DIRK HARTFORD

Thousands protest budget

So mletan 19/3/92

(274) *(initials)* *(initials)*

THOUSANDS of people staged marches in centres throughout the country yesterday to protest against the "apartheid" national Budget.

The protests were organised by the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the SA Communist Party.

In Cape Town, about 10 000 people gathered on the Grand Parade.

Protesters carried placards with slogans which read: "Stop the Bosses' Budget Now!" and "Bury the Poverty Budget Now!".

Leading the march there were Cosatu leader Mr Jay Naidoo, ANC executives Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Dr Allan Boesak and SACP chief Mr Chris Hani.

Traffic came to a virtual standstill in Johannesburg as thousands of people marched through the city centre to John Vorster Square police headquarters to present a

memorandum.

The Johannesburg march was led by ANC stalwarts Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Pallo Jordan.

In Pretoria thousands of ANC supporters marched on the Union Buildings to register their protest over the Budget. Marchers, comprising mostly members of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu Alliance, left from Brown Street and marched through the city at midday.

He said it was unrepresentative of the majority of people in the country and served to maintain the privileges of a minority at the expense of the majority.

The area around Parliament was almost impassable as the large crowd in the area blocked all entrances and made it impossible for people to enter or leave the building.

The Pretoria marchers were led by lawyer Mr Mathole Motshekga, Dr Abe Nkomo, Mr John Nkadameng and Mr Moses Mayekiso.

Marshals lose control at Cape Town rally

Monday 19/13/92
MARSHALS temporarily lost control of thousands of people taking part in an ANC-led march yesterday as the group approached the Roeland Street entrance to Parliament.

Sapa reports that a group of about 150 singing and chanting youths surged ahead of the front ranks and ran past policemen towards the entrance to Parliament, reports Sapa. Some of the group taunted policemen and waved placards in their faces.

Police reinforcements and a riot control vehicle with a water cannon were brought to the scene. Policemen with shotguns took up position.

A tense standoff ensued outside the entrance to the H F Verwoerd Building which houses the offices of most government offices and ministers. Chanting and singing supporters demanded to be let in, but were held back by a cordon of policemen. After about 20 minutes marshals shouting "move, move" managed to get the crowd moving and the tail end of the march proceeded slowly back towards the Grand Parade.

SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani said the "people's Budget" march to Parliament marked the beginning of "an intensive campaign to force the government to redress the problems of our people".

He told the rally "We have assembled in our thousands to begin an offensive against this government

which represents rich people.

"We will continue coming out in our thousands until all our demands are met."

The principle demands of the people's budget include the scrapping of VAT on all food and medical services, decent housing, proper health services, adequate pensions and a drought relief programme.

Cosatu president John Gomomo called on supporters to "eradicate this minority government and replace it with a nonracial, democratic government".

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that in Johannesburg, an estimated 7 000 people from the ANC, SACP and Cosatu marched to John Vorster Square to show their opposition to the Budget and to call for a stronger police presence to stop the violence sweeping the Reef.

In an open letter to President F W de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, handed in at John Vorster Square, the alliance focused on the recent violence. Since the Peace Accord was signed six months ago, it said, the police had done nothing to quell the violence.

A large crowd took part in a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to hand over a memorandum protesting against the "arbitrary" Budget, among other things.

In Natal, Cosatu staged three mass pickets in Durban, Kokstad and Matatiele.

Gun ban to curb train violence

DON HOLLIDAY
Crime Reporter

GUNS, including those belonging to licensed firearm owners, and dangerous weapons will be banned from all trains and stations from Monday.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said police would do everything in their power to enforce the prohibition and appealed for rail commuters' cooperation.

The prohibition was a further measure to curb violence on trains, the spokesman said.

From Monday it will be an offence to take any firearm or dangerous weapon on to the premises of the Rail Commuter Corporation, except where an express exemption has been made in the prohibition.

The prohibition does not apply to security forces or Spoor-net employees who possess dangerous weapons for their work. These employees would, however, have to provide written proof that their weapons were required.

The chairman of the South African Gun-owners' Association, Mr Ian Lehr, said today it was unreasonable that the prohibition should apply to licensed guns in the possession of their lawful owners.

Police ban all weapons at rail stations

Crime Staff *STAN 20/3/92*

Police yesterday announced a blanket ban on all dangerous weapons at stations and on all railway property.

Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel also announced that toll-free telephone numbers had been made available so that commuters could report crimes without any cost.

He said the ban would be published in the Government Gazette on Monday.

Three men were killed and at least 16 others were injured on trains in Johannesburg and Soweto yesterday. Seven people were injured in an attack between Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations.

A man was hacked to death and his body dumped at Longdale station. Another man was shot and thrown from a train at Langlaagte station.

The body of a man was found at Leeuhof station, Vereeniging.

Eight more people were injured in four other attacks on trains in Johannesburg.

At Phumolong station, Soweto, a man was found stabbed in the head. He was admitted to Baragwanath Hospital.

Toll-free numbers will also be displayed on stickers at all Metro stations. In Johannesburg the number is 0801-11-141.

● Two men were shot dead and a woman was gang-raped when eight armed men wearing balaclavas burst into a Khayelitsha home early today.

● Meadowlands was the scene of more violence yesterday.

A 24-year-old man was taken to hospital after being stabbed and set alight. At about 6.30 pm a photographer saw a man who had been shot in the face but survived. Earlier in the day six people were injured when a grenade was thrown into a queue of people at a taxi rank in Meadowlands.

Early today, an assegai-wielding man was shot when he allegedly attacked a policeman in Soweto. He is under guard in hospital.

● In Alexandra, police found a body of a man with bullet wounds yesterday. Local political organisations have called for a stayaway and a march next Thursday in protest against the violence.

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Those who stand to gain

274 FM 20/3/92

It has become almost predictable that when an important political event is in the offing, violence and the killing rate suddenly shoot up in the townships (where unrest has, admittedly, simmered for the past seven years).

The pattern again fell into place in the run-up to the referendum. In the past three weeks, at least 270 deaths were reported in politically related outbreaks of violence. More than 50 died in the four days before polling day.

Alexandra township became a flashpoint



in spite of the visible coming together on March 12 of the ANC, Inkatha, PAC and Azapo to issue a joint peace declaration. This followed a sniper attack on mourners at an Inkatha funeral a week earlier.

It doesn't take an adherent of conspiracy theories to suspect, therefore, that an organised thrust is behind it all. But who with the means to unleash it stands to benefit from orchestrating this violence?

Wits political scientist Tom Lodge speaks for many observers when he reckons that it is in the white Right's interests to present a picture of government's inability to control the townships, of ungovernability and mayhem in the hope of showing the ruling NP's incompetence. This underlies one component of the violence, which apparently employs black *agents provocateurs*.

Its other component could well involve disgruntled elements in the ANC camp giving vent to their frustrations over the white referendum. Lodge suspects that not everyone in the ANC is happy with the leadership's co-operative attitude over the referendum and would have found Nelson Mandela's call to whites to vote in it demeaning and offensive.

"It is conceivable that some people are

giving vent to this feeling by raising the general tempo of violence." That would be one ingredient; there is of course also the tit-for-tat killing that it generates.

By the same token, other elements that might arguably stand to benefit from fomenting violence may be those on the far Left who also reject Codesa as a sellout (of blacks) — that is the PAC-Azapo camp. However, hardly anyone seems to think they have anything to do with provoking bloodshed — because they are simply far too disorganised and lack the resources.

This is why the theory of a sinister "third force," comprising rogue or former security force elements, won't go away. Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) director Brian Currin says it's interesting that, on a radio show last week, NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe implied that there might be "some force out there" with a different political agenda.

Van der Merwe said he found it hard to understand the surge in violence — which is emphatically not in government's interests. Currin himself avers that the violence of the past fortnight "is the exact opposite of

what President FW de Klerk would have wanted

"I must come to the conclusion, therefore, that the last two weeks' events can only have been instigated by people with an interest in sowing violence and with the resources to do so. This tends to corroborate the suspicion that a 'third force' exists."

Currin firmly believes that unless government takes urgent steps, there could be serious repercussions. He maintains that what is required to stop the slaughter is an independent peace-keeping force in the townships, to replace State security forces.

If there was ever any rationale in allowing (so to speak) violence to continue in order to undermine the ANC, that objective must now be dead, says Currin. While conceding that black political competition is a factor in the violence, "it is very naive to think there is no element in the security forces which will put a match to the tinder."

Among earlier examples of violence suddenly flaring ahead of some big event, Currin cites De Klerk's peace indaba early last year, which was boycotted by the ANC and others prior to the signing of the Peace Accord and the period just ahead of the first meeting between ANC and Inkatha leaders.

Meanwhile, LHR has taken the unusual step of advertising a R10 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of people involved in attacks on commuters, township residents, those attending vigils and funerals and other victims of the current violence "The killings are not sporadic. Nor are they mindless. They form part of an orchestrated campaign," says the LHR, adding that experience in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into public violence has demonstrated the urgent need for informants on the arming, training and funding of those perpetrating the violence.

It has also instituted a special witness protection programme. Unless people within the structures perpetrating this violence come forward, says LHR, peace accords and commissions are doomed to failure. Currin says there has been "lots of feedback" since the reward was announced.

Such developments bring into question, yet again, Mandela's unqualified — and perhaps irresponsible — accusations that government can, if it wants to, stop the violence, with the implication being that the State is behind it.

In a speech to business executives on March 4, Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman concluded. "A balanced view of violence necessitates recognising that all the major parties possess various types of weapons, including automatic weapons, that professional killers have been trained by the Left as well as by the Right; that people of all political persuasions are the targets of assassination; that most of the victims and most of the attackers cannot readily be politically labelled; that the ANC, IFP and the PAC all have innocent blood on their hands, as do the security forces, the comrades, the vigilantes and the warlords; and, above all, that most of the victims are probably innocent parties."

He continued: "It involves recognising that attack leads to counter-attack, that violence feeds on poverty and joblessness and squalor and that there are ethnic, ideological and strategic rivalries at work, along with conflict between haves and have-nots."

□ It is estimated that more than 11 000 people have died in political violence since 1984, more than half of them since January 1990

FRAUD

Bleak futures

The bogus Rand Merchant Bank (RMB) futures trader who cost the bank R4m through alleged fraudulent dealing was not

Call for end to violence

By JOE MDHLELA

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THE Centre for Black Economic Development has called for an end to violence so it could continue to promote "a spirit of entrepreneurship."

The CBED director, Mr Sam Muofhe, said his organisation's efforts were also hampered by unemployment and retrenchment, which had crippled the economy.

"We see our children living without proper nourishment, indeed, often going to bed with empty stomachs," Muofhe said.

He said the spirit of enterprise among blacks had to be nurtured through grassroots organisations like burial societies, *mehodisoano* clubs and societies.

With violence so prevalent, it would be difficult to realise the vision espoused by the CBED, Muofhe said.

People in pain



Residents of the trouble-torn Alexandra Township fleeing their homes in fear of violent attacks yesterday.

Sowetan 20/3/92 (274) Pic: JOE MOLEFE



THE foundation for peace has been laid. To make peace work should remain our top priority. We must all join hands and bring violence to an end — now.

— FW de Klerk, State President.



We appeal to all our people: Do not allow yourselves to be used by forces that want to keep us in bondage! For the sake of our country and our future, stop this violence!

— Nelson Mandela, ANC



Now that we have sorted out the racist referendum, our No 1 priority is peace. This unnatural violence cannot be allowed to continue.

— Archbishop Desmond Tutu



We need to give peace our total commitment and support at all levels. We cannot allow our nation to be destroyed in this irrational and despicable way.

— Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP



The PAC's motto is: Peace among the Africans. The violence must be stopped.

— Bamey Desai, PAC



We must fight relentlessly for peace. This is no way in which to build a nation.

— Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Azapo

COMMENT

THERE is a growing conviction that township violence is becoming endemic.

The desperate situation in our township calls for desperate ways of changing it.

Sowetan responds to the cries of help because it is our duty to do that, and also because we are part of that community in pain.

We have responded to such pleas in the past. We will continue to do so.

We will put a spotlight on the areas under strain, so that both the perpetrators of the violence and the victims realise everybody is touched and seriously affected by the violence.

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SOWETAN

COMMENT

● From page 1

There is an urgent need for creative solutions. *Sowetan 20/3/92*

We have contacted most of our leaders and their feeling is as one — the violence must stop.

Our deep compassion for those in distress must be translated into action.

We know there are various levels of action that must eventually be used to heal this wound.

We thank the leaders who have committed themselves to this call to peace. We respect their sincerity.

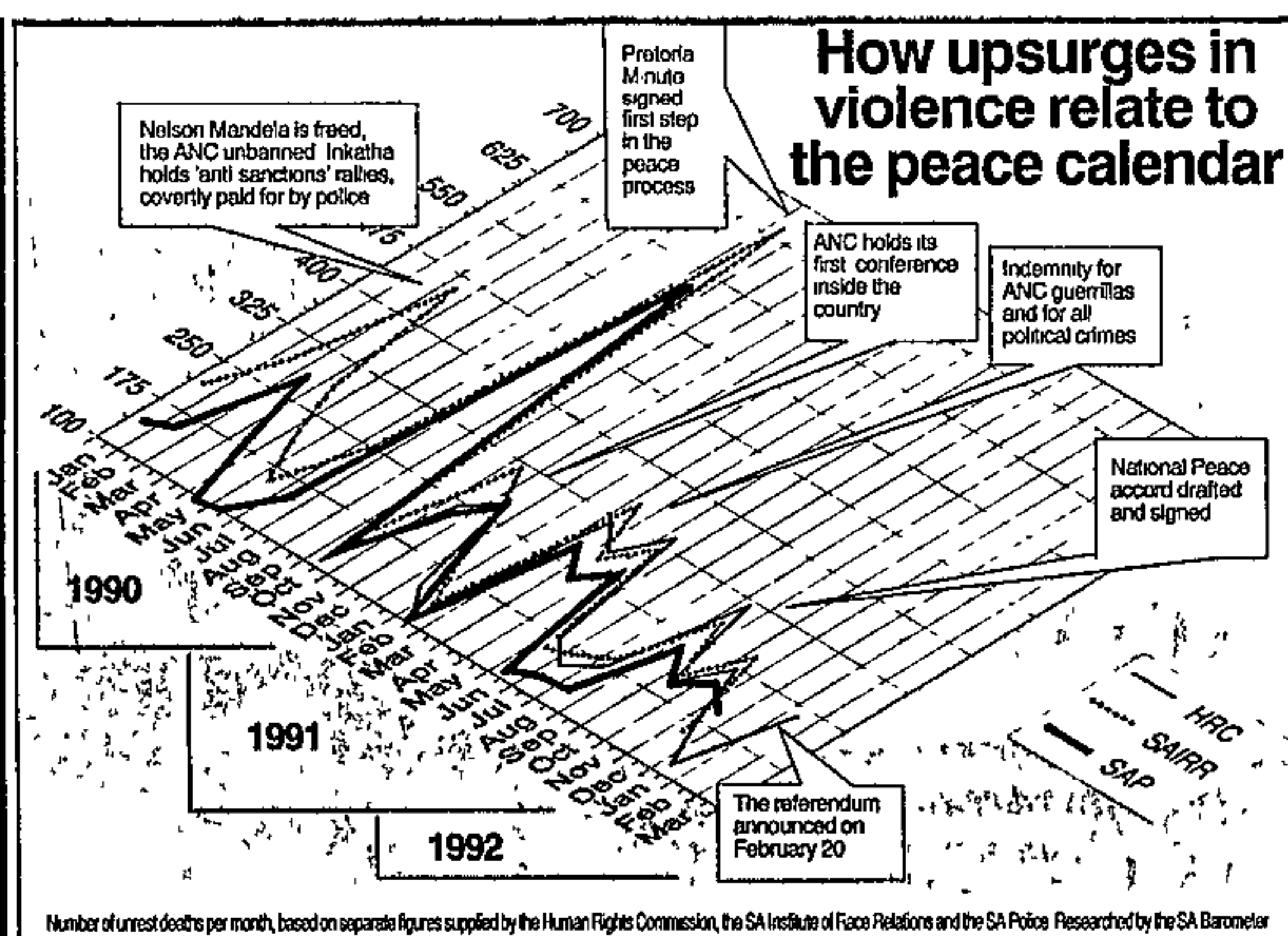
We implore our people to listen to the leadership.

By THE EDITOR

WALLSLEEPER COUCH
SAVE R200 R299
DINING ROOM SUITES
4-PIECE BRASS & GLASS
DINING ROOM SUITE
SAVE R240 R359

BIG DEALS
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TELEPHONE 333-8911 OR 333-3438
CORNER ROTZKE AND KLEN STREETS, HILBRO
TELEPHONE 725-5555
OPEN TILL 8pm

5'2" 1070
budget robes
SAVE R250 R199
3-PIECE KITCHEN UNIT
CROCKERY
Free Standing Base
SAVE R500 R599
100s MORE ITEMS TOO
NUMEROUS TO MENTION



The monthly toll ... Figures compiled by the police and the two research organisations often differ, but the peaks are the same and frequently coincide with key developments in the reform process

Who's fomenting the violence this time?

WMA 20/3-26/3/92 (274)

VIOLENCE in the three weeks leading up to the referendum has left more than 300 people dead and an estimated 600 injured, lending some support to the theory that attacks are being orchestrated to coincide with major political events.

"We were appalled but not at all surprised," commented a Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman, who said the increase had been inevitable because of the organised manner in which attacks often took place.

The violence flared up after President FW de Klerk's announcement of the referendum on February 20, with a greater number of the incidents taking place in the Transvaal and Natal.

The incidents included clashes between rival groups, train killings, grenade attacks, bombings, sniper killings, gun battles between police and hostel members, train killings, stabbings, shootings and hackings.

In the northern Johannesburg township of Alexandra — the flash-point of much of the Transvaal violence — 10 bodies were reported to have been found by police last Sunday.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed on Alexandra and Sharpeville failed to halt the killings.

In one of the worst reported incidents of last weekend, the bodies of five men with their hands tied behind their backs were found in Kettlehong, near Germiston. They had been shot and spent AK-47 cartridges were found at the scene.

In Durban's Umlazi township fighting also continued unabated. This was despite an increased security force presence since the massacre of 18 people — 15 women and two children — allegedly by Inkatha supporters and kwaZulu police at the nearby Uganda settlement two weeks ago.

While allegations from organisations such as the African National Congress, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Human Rights Commission abounded that the violence had been provoked to scare whites into a no vote, voting instead went in favour of De Klerk's reforms.

At the weekend ANC president

In keeping with trends over the past two years, violence surged in the run-up to the referendum, reports

LINDA RULASHE

Nelson Mandela again blamed the government for the carnage, threatening to withdraw his organisation from negotiations in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

On voting day itself, unrest in black townships seemed to take a backseat while the whites-only referendum took centre stage.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman described the situation in the townships as "all nice and quiet" by 7 30pm on Tuesday while a duty officer at the Pretoria police station confirmed that no reports of incidents had been received from the various regions by late Tuesday.

Accusing De Klerk of "blatantly" attributing the violence to political rivalry between black organisations, South African Communist Party political bureau member Jeremy Cronin asked "Why should there be a dramatic upsurge in 'black' political rivalry in a whites-only electoral campaign in which all major black leaders agree there must be a yes vote?"

"Will De Klerk only take our warnings about a third force seriously when 100 whites are killed on a weekly basis?"

Referring to De Klerk's concluding campaign speech in which he said there were no longer bombs in supermarkets and no longer attacks on soft targets, Cronin retorted "What is a passenger train, or a mini-bus, or a township house?"

"By 'soft' De Klerk can only mean 'white'."

Cronin said the "horrific upsurge" in violence in the course of the referendum campaign had been of no benefit to the ANC and its allies, nor to Inkatha.

The only beneficiary, he said, had been the white right-wing no vote campaign. All the evidence had pointed to sinister third force elements who were prepared to win

white no votes with the blood of blacks.

The Inkatha Freedom Party differed regarding the third force theory. Inkatha's secretary for the West Rand, Humphrey Ndhlovu, said his organisation abhorred acts of violence and intimidation but queried how one could talk about a third force "if we did not know what the first and second force was".

Meanwhile, in response to continuing attacks on black train commuters, South African Rail Commuter Corporation managing director Kobus Nel said his organisation had stepped up security measures on trains and stations considerably since the attacks began.

A security project costing more than R250-million had been launched by the corporation, which manages all Metro train services country-wide. In other moves, the corporation was also considering the introduction of audio-visual monitoring of trains and was offering up to R25 000 for information on culprits.

Nel added that 250 stations throughout the country — where Metro business was being conducted — were policed on a 24-hour basis by the South African Police to maintain law and order. "The remaining 150 stations or halts are presently subjected to intensive and extensive SAP patrolling but arrangements are underway for these also to be fully policed."

The Azanian People's Organisation has said it is going to seriously consider embarking on radical moves to bring a halt to the violence on the trains.

Azapo media liaison officer Khangale Makhodo said "Azapo is contemplating a train boycott especially on the Reef and will discuss the matter with other organisations before taking a final decision."

However, SARCC stations operator Coen Van Niekerk said there was no point in creating misery for the millions of passengers travelling by train.

Nel said "Although the corporation, its contractor (Spoornet) and the security forces have thus far — because of legal limitations — been hampered in their actions in certain circumstances, measures will soon be implemented to give the corporation wider powers to act effectively."

1 400 violent deaths despite peace accord

SHARON SOROUR
Weekend Argus Reporter

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POLITICAL violence in South African townships has claimed more than 1 400 lives since the National Peace Accord was signed last September, according to Professor Jaap Durand of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

Speaking at a committee meeting yesterday, Mr Durand said local dispute resolution committees were being established so that communities could "deal with the horror effectively".

The four-week-old committee, which operates under the National Peace Secretariat, had identified areas where there was violence or the potential for violence in the Western Cape.

Violence occurred in Nyanga and Khayelisha and there was potential for violence in Grubbouw, Villiersdorp, Port Nolloth, Oudtshoorn, Carnarvon and Wolseley. ~~21/3/92~~

Police liaison officer Captain Attie Laubscher confirmed more than 1 400 people had died in townships in unrest-related violence throughout the

country since September 1991, when the accord was signed.

Local committees had started informal talks in order to allay fears and suspicions before formal structures were set up, Professor Durand said.

"The urgency of the matter must not lead to rushing things inconsiderately... it is then so easy to scuttle your own efforts," he warned.

Committee chairman Mr Graham Higgs said the area covered by the committee stretched from Namaqualand to Beaufort West to Knysna and then back to Cape Town.

"About 15 million people live in this region," Mr Higgs said.

Chairman of the National Peace Secretariat Dr Anthony Gildenhuys said the National Peace Accord rested on three pillars — the National Peace Committee, the Commission of Inquiry into Political Violence and the National Peace Secretariat.

The role of the secretariat was to prevent violence through facilitation and mediation. The dispute resolution committees operated under the secretariat.

"The National Peace Secre-

tariat cannot point fingers at past violence but must look to future violence and its elimination," he said.

Dr Gildenhuys said violence was caused by the quest for political dominance by political groups nationwide, revenge, hatred, gangsterism, socio and economic problems and general disputes the community had with local authorities.

The eight committees operating in the country, did so in a part-time capacity and therefore did not have the necessary infrastructure at the moment.

March 21 to March 26 1992

Killings increase with referendum

South 21/3 - 26/3/92

SINCE the referendum was announced three weeks ago, 307 people have lost their lives in political violence, which has also left 602 casualties.

"Perpetrators were working hard to destabilise the referendum and with it the process of negotiation," said Human Rights Commission (HRC) spokesperson Ms Safoora Sadek. "It's not only the exceptionally high death rate which leads us to this conclusion, but also the largely random manner of most attacks, aimed, it would seem, at terrorising township communities and creating a general impression of chaos."

SACP central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin attributed the "horrific upsurge" in violence to "the sinister third force prepared to win white 'no' votes with the blood of blacks".

"The only beneficiary has been the white right-wing no vote campaign, as Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party has admitted," said Cronin.

HRC figures indicate that the rate of 3,6 deaths a day in January soared to 11,9 deaths a day in the past week. Cronin reacted with disgust to President FW de Klerk's claim that the violence was predominantly the result of "political rivalry between black organisations".

"Why should there be a dramatic upsurge in 'black' political rivalry in a whites-only campaign in which all black leaders agree there must be a 'yes' vote?" Cronin asked.

Quentin Wilson

Help revive peace accord, leaders asked

SA's political leaders would be asked to rededicate themselves to peace and give fresh impetus to the national peace accord, national peace committee chairman John Hall said at the weekend.

Invitations would be sent to President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others who had signed the initial accord last September, Hall said.

More than 1 200 people have been killed in political violence since the accord was signed.

In an interview at the weekend, Hall said

8/23/92
WILSON ZWANE
there were obstacles, not the least that political leaders had not given the accord their fullest support. They signed it and they attended meetings but they were "not driving it with enough vigour".

It was "on the cards" that after the referendum euphoria had subsided, signatories to the national peace accord would be asked to reconvene so as to "save what remains of the commitment to peace".

Hall's statement came amid criticisms of the national peace accord.

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PAC president Clarence Makwethu said recently the accord had failed to ensure a stable and peaceful society in which justice prevailed.

Key players in dispute resolution committees, set up in terms of the accord, have questioned the commitment of Inkatha and the ANC to peace.

Barry Jammy, chairman of the Greater Soweto dispute resolution committee sub-committee on train violence, said recently his committee was not making much headway because Inkatha and the ANC were not demonstrating total commitment.

Whites 'care for their own'

By JOE MDHLELA

IT TOOK the burning of a white teacher in Kaitleng for white administrators to look seriously into the crisis in black education, Azanian People's Organisation leader Dr Gomolomo Mokae said at the weekend.

Mokae was speaking at a commemoration ceremony for Sharpeville Day, organised by the university's Black Consciousness Movement student supporters at University of the Witwatersrand.

He said while the act of burning was despicable, it only served to prove that whites can be driven into action only when one of their own suffers the indignity of being brutalised like the white teacher who was burnt.

He said it took much persuasion to charge Sanlam employees allegedly involved in the deaths of blacks at Witbank when a kombi in which they were travelling rolled down a ravine and burst into flames.

Mokae said the authorities were doing very little to stop the violence claiming the lives of thousands of black people.

"If this violence were to be displaced from black ar-

cas and taken to white areas, white South Africa would feel threatened and act with urgency," he said.

He described Codesa as the condensed version of the liberation struggle.

"It often happens that condensed versions of anything are mediocre copies of the original," he said.

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Weapons ban takes effect

Crime Reporter

(274) ARE 23/3/92

THE controversial prohibition on guns and dangerous weapons carried by train passengers came into effect at midnight but no special police operations to enforce the ban have been planned.

A police spokesman said body searches of passengers would take place as a matter of course, but he did not rule out future crackdowns.

People would be searched on all lines in proportion to the level of crime on the lines.

The ban has been criticised by gun owners who said it unfairly compromised people who carried firearms for self-protection.

Inkatha march to protest for peace

THOUSANDS of Inkatha Freedom Party members marched through Johannesburg on Saturday in a massive demonstration of strength to "protest for peace".

The marchers made their way to John Vorster Square police headquarters, where their leaders handed over a memorandum.

Earlier in the week, IFP officials released lists containing names of supporters who they said had died in sectarian violence.

On Saturday, wave after wave of shield and stick-

wielding IFP supporters made their way down Commissioner Street to John Vorster Square.

Bystanders, many of them looking apprehensive, stood well back.

IFP marchers brandished shields, sharpened sticks, poles and other implements, including battle axes. Police and other security personnel lined the streets.

Last Thursday the IFP announced its "a programme of protest action for peace" to start on Saturday.

IFP Youth League Transvaal leader Mr

Themba Khoza said at a Press conference in Johannesburg the protest action had become an "absolute necessity as our communities are being ravaged by proponents of death and destruction."

"Past efforts to achieve lasting peace have not proved adequate and thus more pro-active measures are needed to provide the necessary impetus to achieve peace."

He said the march was not called for Saturday - Sharpeville Day - in an attempt to upstage commemoration services and rallies by other political or-

ganisations which were held on the same day.

"Politically-speaking we obviously have an interest in Sharpeville Day as this was the day people were killed for pursuing the cause we are also fighting for."

"But our march is not for strategic reasons. We are in harmony with Sharpeville commemoration rallies," said Khoza.

Saturday's march started at George Goch Stadium at 10am and then proceeded to the John Vorster Square. A memorandum handed to a senior police officer contained "certain issues of

protest which must be addressed immediately for the sake of peace and stability".

These issues concerned the assassination of IFP members, the increasing use of AK-47 assault rifles by members of the ANC in "armed robberies, killing of policemen and farmers and political deaths".

The ANC leadership's "involvement" at local and national level regarding "acts of violence" on IFP members, and the role of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would also be protested. Sapa.

ANC stayaway call in Nelspruit

THE ANC and Cosatu in the Eastern Transvaal have called for a stayaway tomorrow when Andries Sithole, who was killed in a bomb attack, is buried.

Sithole, of Pienaar Trust, worked as a gardener for Mr Con Booyens, the headmaster of Hoërskool Nelspruit. He died when Booyens' home was bombed on March 16.

African National Congress spokesman Mr

Jackson Mthembu said the work stayaway was the first protest action against violence, terrorism and racism in the Eastern Transvaal.

"The ANC strongly condemns the emergent bomb attacks on citizens' homes and public institutions."

Mthembu said the ANC was convinced that the bomb attack on Booyens' house was the work of "rightwing terrorists".

"The ANC in the Eastern

Transvaal calls on the rightwing . . . to stop their terrorist actions and join negotiations for a peaceful South Africa," he said.

Police have offered a reward of R20 000 for information which could lead to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for the bomb attacks on Booyens' house and that of rector of the Lowveld Agricultural College, Mr Fourie Kritzinger. - Sapa.

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Sowetan

Political rivals in arms race ²⁷⁴report

STAR 24/3/92

Political Staff

A "classical arms race" has developed between rival political organisations seeking to ensure their members are well armed in the ongoing violence in South Africa, according to the 1991/92 Race Relations Survey released yesterday.

Quoting the SAP, the SA Institute of Race Relations report said more than 1 230 AK-47 assault rifles were seized last year. It added, however, that the figure had been described as a "drop in the ocean" by a private security firm.

In its study of 1 236 violent incidents countrywide between January 1 1991 and August 31 1991, the institute concluded that the aggressor could not be identified in

85 percent of cases.

This contrasts sharply with findings by the Community Agency for Social Research that the Inkatha Freedom Party was responsible for 51 percent of the violence over a 12-month period from mid-1990 to mid-1991.

It also contradicts a police report on Reef violence covering the 18 months since February 2 1990 saying the ANC was responsible for 85 percent and the IFP for 40 percent of the incidents of violence.

The institute said its findings indicated that firearms were used in 30 percent of incidents, explosives and "incendiary devices" in 25 percent, "instruments capable of inflicting hack and stab wounds" in 16 percent, and stones in 15 percent.

The survey found that common assault and burnings of people accounted for 8 percent of

cases.

It was not clear what types of weapons had been used in the other 6 percent of violent incidents.

According to the report, the SAP said black policemen were 36 times more likely to commit suicide than black civilians because they were subjected to "extraordinary stress" by organisations that "fanned the flames of hatred against the police".

Six members of the SADF had died in attacks in the townships during the period. In Soweto alone, seven traffic officers had been shot dead in political violence.

The survey quotes the Government as saying a third of the police force and more than 60 000 defence force personnel had been deployed to stop violence between rival groups of black people.

Blame for unrest 'hard to pinpoint'

Own Correspondent (274)

DURBAN — Pinpointing the major perpetrators of the violence in SA was an almost impossible task, says a new study by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The institute's 1991/92 Race Relations Survey released yesterday said various organisations made conflicting statements about last year's political violence.

It said one agency had, on the basis of Press reports, blamed Inkatha for 51% of the acts of violence on the Reef; the SAP for 23%; the ANC for 4%, and other groups for 23%.

Where both aggressors and victims could be identified, the police blamed the ANC for 56% of attacks and Inkatha for 40%.

It said firearms were used in 30% of incidents; explosives and incendiary devices in 25%; hacking and stabbing instruments in 16% and stones in 15%.

The report also said more than 60 000 SADF personnel and one-third of the police force were deployed to stop the violence.

Little investment as isolation ends

THOUGH few foreign investors were prepared to commit money to SA for fear of political instability and future economic policies, the country nonetheless rapidly reversed its international isolation after February 2 1990, says the latest Race Relations Survey.

In a special section highlighting the turnaround in SA's international position, the survey, published by the SA Institute of Race Relations this week, reports that trade delegations from more than 50 countries visited SA during 1991.

However, even though the US lifted the ban on new investment in SA in July last year, the number of US companies present here was "the lowest it had ever been".

The survey says that none of the 215 companies which disinvested between 1981 and August 1991 sold SA subsidiaries to black management, and that only two gave black workers minority stakes.

The number of non-US companies with direct investments in the country increased by 23 to 456 in 1991 — reversing a four-year declining trend.

According to the survey, of those companies that still had direct investment, 156 were British, 132 German and 104 US.


The year also saw the lifting of the ban on flights by SAA over Africa. Flights were opened to a number of new destinations, among them Nairobi, while flights to New York were reinstated.

It was also reported that Czechoslovak Airlines would open an office in Johannesburg in 1992, and that the Malaysian airline was expected to begin flights to SA next month.

SA's progress in ending apartheid also resulted in the general assembly of the UN unanimously urging all countries to restore sporting, cultural, scientific and academic exchanges with SA, said the survey. — Sapa.

ANC has 'hit squad'

Buthelezi charges

CT 25/3/92 (274) 

ULUNDI. — The ANC has made a decision to hunt down and kill the 200 members of the Inkatha Freedom Party who were trained at Mkuze to protect VIPs and government installations, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has alleged.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said a "hit squad" had been organised to operate from Eshowe to kill IFP leaders.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC had moved a platoon of uMkhonto we-Sizwe, its military wing, into the KwaZulu area to do the killing that had taken place.

After Mr Winnington Sabelo, the former member of the Assembly for

Umlazi, was murdered, he had received additional information about the names of other IFP leaders also on the "hit list", Chief Buthelezi said.

He expressed doubt about a meeting between the ANC's national executive and the IFP's central committee because of statements by Mr Nelson Mandela about the IFP's culpability in township violence.

The Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation is to sit urgently in Pretoria on Friday to try to establish sources of the IFP allegations.

• Responding to IFP allegation last night ANC spokesman Mr Sakki Macozoma said his organisation rejected the IFP claim with contempt. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Violence puts skills at risk

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JOHANNESBURG. — Escalating violent crime has increased the risk of large-scale emigration of skilled whites from the country, the South African Institute of Race Relations warns in its annual survey.

In the six months between April 1 and September 30, 1991, there were 146 bank robberies in which more than R12 million was stolen. In one three-month period in Durban 268 vehicles were hijacked, 220 of them at gunpoint, the survey notes.

According to the survey, the Commissioner of South African Police General Johan van der Merwe, denied claims that the police were unable to curb crime. The rate of increase in crime in 1991 was lower than the previous year, the police said.

The commissioner said in his 1990 report that there had been an 8,53% increase in serious crime, the highest rise in 10 years.

There had been a 29% increase in the number of murders during 1990, which the police attributed mainly to "unrest and fighting among black groups", and the number of housebreakings had risen by 20% to over 225 000.

Analysis of the report indicates that housebreaking into residential or business premises occurred at the rate of 25 an hour in 1990, the institute said.

Stressed cops get crisis-call line

Staff Reporter

THE police have announced the opening of a telephone line which will give psychological aid to policemen suffering from job-related stress.

The service will come on line next Tuesday and guarantees anonymity, a police spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said that although policemen had access to psychologists, many were "reluctant" to approach them as they felt this would prejudice their service records.

He said that although this was not the case, the service would enable policemen to talk without the "perceived fears" of repercussions from the force.

Whereas 3% of murder victims in 1990 were white, white residential premises were broken into twice as often as black premises.

The survey reports claims by privately-run security companies that bail conditions for people accused of violent crime are too lenient.

In December 1991, residents of Sandton and Randburg were reported to have raised R200 000 to equip a police station in a cara-

van and buy police cars and equipment.

Turning to the murder of a farming family in December 1991, and other attacks on farmers, the survey quotes the president of the Free State Agricultural Union as saying that while farmers were expected to work and produce, policemen and security forces were centred around black cities and towns to prevent clashes between Zulus and Xhosas, and ANC and IFP supporters. He said political leaders and others who enjoyed continuous police protection seemed to be unaware of the lawlessness in the country.

The survey also points out from the police report that there was a 4% decrease in assaults in 1990, an 8% decrease in cruelty towards children, and 20 000 South Africans, 95% of them black, were raped in 1990.

An official inquiry at the University of Cape Town found that violence against women was rising — with 45% of first-year women students saying they had been sexually harassed.

The survey notes that while black male students were no more culpable than whites, they justified their abuse of women as a customary right.

A deputy vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, said it was untrue that any culture condoned sexual harassment. — Sapa

PAC announces plan to counter violence

JOHANNESBURG — The Pan Africanist Congress has announced a programme of action to halt violence ravaging communities, including a boycott of trains, an international peace commission investigation and a stayaway.

In a statement yesterday the PAC said it would invite an international community commission comprising the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and the European Economic Community to investigate who was instigating the ongoing violence.

The organisation also said it would consult other interested groups about a boycott of commuter trains in the PWV area and a work stayaway to protest against violence. — Sapa

(27) CI 253/92

Permits to take guns on trains available

ARG 26/3/92

DON HOLLIDAY
Crime Reporter

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PERMITS to carry guns on trains will be issued to all licensed gun owners who satisfy police they have valid reasons, according to Captain Loekie Jordaan, head of the police Mobile Unit responsible for safety on trains and at stations.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Her-nus Kriel, this week banned guns and other dangerous weapons on trains as a further measure to stop violence.

Security forces and holders of exemption permits may still carry their guns. Valid reasons for getting exemption permits include carrying guns for personal safety and in the line of duty, such as people carrying large amounts of money for employers, said Captain Jordaan.

Police had begun warning commuters of the ban last Friday and reasonable time would be allowed for the message to spread before it was fully enforced.

Police action would depend on each each circumstance.

No special operations to enforce the ban were planned, but searches at stations and on trains would be conducted in the course of normal patrols.

Operations would concentrate on identified high-crime routes and stations.

All station commanders had the authority to grant permits to carry guns on trains if they were satisfied the applicant had valid reasons for doing so.

● Johannesburg police were in force on Soweto trains today in a desperate bid to halt the violence and killings.

Hundreds of armed members of the Soweto Internal Stability Unit were involved in the pre-dawn operation at stations and on trains, several of which were stopped and all commuters searched.

Passengers appeared to be grateful for the police presence. No weapons were found in this morning's operation.

Meanwhile strict access control, entailing large-scale searching of commuters before they entered Metro property, strict ticket control and thorough policing on stations and trains would be implemented to enforce the weapons ban, said SARCC MD Mr Kobus Nel yesterday.

Metro trains were liable to be stopped and searched at any time, leading to unavoidable delays and necessitating the co-operation of employers.

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Hurdles to peace

MASS action, violence and private armies were obstacles to peace and the drawing up of a new constitution for the country, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Kriel said in Cape Town that the Government wanted private armies disbanded and blamed black political leaders and their differences for the violence in the country.

"There is no getting away from the fact that the violence in South Africa is black on black and that black political parties are using violence to position themselves politically," he said.

Kriel also blamed black leaders for the escalating crime, the vicious murders on Reef trains and in the black community and the influx of weapons across South Africa's borders.

He was supported by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer - who were all speaking at a Press briefing - that there was also no need for mass action in the present political climate.

"Mass action in a society in transition, as we are in, is definitely not desirable," Kriel said and

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

added that it had been proved that violence always occurred "during, before or after" peaceful demonstrations.

Police often had to handle dangerous situations about which they were often being criticised.

"But it is also the duty of political leaders to stop the fighting.

"They must really start talking to each other and stop using violence to position themselves politically."

The three Ministers concurred that the police had no role whatsoever in the violence and said it had to end before an interim government could be installed.

On the question of private armies they said these should be disbanded before interim rule - and this could include the security forces of the homelands and self-governing territories.

This was non-negotiable, Meyer said and added: "This principle is applicable to all

● To page 2

Mass action, violence obstacles to talks

● From page 1

political parties and will have to be applied in all circumstances."

He said the ANC and the Government had reached and agreement on the issue of private armies in the DF Malan Accord last year.

In terms of the agreement both parties accepted the principle that there was no need for private armies in a democratic state.

Meyer referred to the Government's proposals for interim rule which were contained in a document tabled at Codesa on Monday in which it was said that

an agreement could be reached on private armies.

It is understood that Government was aware of the ANC's predicament over the immediate disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

There is train of thought in that this predicament could be avoided and some form of compromise, possible in the form of screening and incorporation of individual MK cadres into the army.

This would not affect the standards of the South African Defence Force, because individual recruits would have to go through training.

Sowetan

26/3/92

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Local peace committees 'on the way'

STAR 27/3/92

By Carina le Grange (274)

Expectations that the National Peace Accord and the Peace Secretariat should produce peace were naive, director of the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa, Charles Nupen, said last night.

Mr Nupen, who is also chair-

man of the Witwatersrand/Vaal region dispute resolution committee established in terms of the National Peace Accord, was addressing the Five Freedoms Forum's annual meeting in Johannesburg.

He described the length of time it took to get local committees off the ground. He

stressed, however, that these mechanisms were trying to respond to the unprecedented levels of violence being experienced. Having said the peace accord provided some hope, he said all parties to the accord had to be asked how many people had been deployed at flash points to implement the accord

Peace body's failure ANC's fault ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ ₍₁₀₀₎ Hall

STA 2 27/3/92

The establishment of a dispute resolution committee in the Border-Ciskei region was disrupted by the ANC's plan to destabilise Ciskei's government, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said yesterday.

He was responding to the resignation on Wednesday of Border-Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee chairman Reg Mason.

"Mr Mason showed himself to be a fully dedicated chairman and worked incredibly hard to establish the dispute resolution committee.

"The procedure was disrupted by the ANC's plan to destabilise the Ciskei government. He obviously felt that the resolution of that problem was in the hands of the politicians and his committee could not function.

"In his view, this was an exercise in futility. The position will be resolved and we need to carry on with the peace procedure," said Mr Hall.

Earlier this month, Ciskei uncovered plans by the ANC to

launch a destabilisation programme in the homeland.

Ciskei then called for the suspension of negotiations at Codesa until the ANC renounced its plans. The issue was resolved at a Pretoria meeting between Ciskei, the ANC and the SA Government.

"In good old Peace Accord tradition, it is one step forward and two steps backwards," Mr Hall said.

He refused to comment on a string of allegations against the National Peace Committee, including claims that he had not responded to requests by Mr Mason to bring Ciskei back to the regional peace table.

The ANC said it was appalled at Mr Hall's statement and rejected his allegation that the organisation was responsible for disruption of the regional dispute resolution committee.

ANC Border region publicity secretary Marion Sparg said the attempt to lay the blame entirely at the door of the ANC was a deliberate misrepresentation of facts.

The ANC found it strange that Mr Hall had decided to

highlight only one point mentioned in the lengthy memorandum which Mr Mason had submitted to substantiate his reasons for resignation. Most of these reasons related to problems experienced with the agreement reached in Pretoria between the ANC and Ciskei, Ms Sparg said.

In keeping with that agreement reached, the ANC had revised its first document on the campaign and dropped some of the clauses to which Ciskei had objected. The campaign, as it was now, consisted of peaceful political protest.

The ANC said it was unfortunate that a National Peace Committee member had decided to issue such a statement at a time when it had been agreed at a meeting that two members of the National Peace Secretariat, Gert Myburgh and Ayendra Naidoo, would attempt to mediate in the dispute to facilitate a peaceful solution in terms of the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

The ANC added that it remained committed to the Peace Accord. — Sapa.

THE political conflict and violence which continues to bedevil parts of the Transvaal, Natal and the Western Cape is not only causing untold suffering to the communities involved, but is undermining local and international confidence in South Africa's ability to peacefully resolve her problems.

In spite of the signing of the National Peace Accord by 20 organisations including the government, Inkatha and the ANC in September, violence continues unabated. (2 238 people died in unrest-related incidents in 1991, slightly down from 2 674 in 1990.)

For some time, the patterns of violence have been repeating themselves; of attacks and counter-attacks, attempts at a peace settlement, then just as a settlement seems possible, another killing.

It soon became clear that there were forces at work outside of the warring factions, who were determined to derail any peace initiatives and the national negotiating process.

Part of State structures

The Black Sash believed that the destabilising "third force" was part of the State structures, and that they were supporting one side in the conflicts, with a view to undermining and destabilising the ANC and its supporters.

This was borne out by our monitors in the field, who saw the police's overriding role as being one of omitting to do their job.

The continuing revelations in the Weekly Mail of the involvement of the South African Defence Force's Military Intelligence in secret funding and training of Inkatha, and the funding of conservative front organisations, begin to substantiate what we have always believed.

Although the actual figures are in dispute, (Allister Sparks estimates that between 80% and 95% of the police force, and 70% and 80% of the SADF) it is generally accepted that a large proportion of South Africa's security forces support the Conservative Party.

It is also accepted that this element in the security forces could well be a real impediment to transi-

Officers of peace crucial to birth of just, civil society

(274)

CT 27/3/92

JENNY DE TOLLY

national president of the Black Sash, sees a pattern in the persistent violence in many parts of South Africa.



tion to a new order. All countries need an honest, neutral peace-keeping force — violence increases where law and justice are inactive.

As Paul Graham (projects director at Idasa) has noted, structures and activities which increase the accountability of security forces are essential. But these need to be created to enhance the police's ability to act professionally, rather than to sideline them. There is no alternative to the security forces — only they have the resources to police. Enabling them to become officers of the peace is the only way forward.

The Peace Accord is meant to do just that, but there are grave doubts about whether the Peace Accord will be able to hold the signatories to the principles to which they have committed themselves.

Monitoring compliance

I believe that monitoring compliance of the accord and exposing non-compliance is one way in which we can begin the process of building a civil society.

Our monitors and those that they work with have already contributed to this process, which should be expanded and given more recognition by the establishment of formal teams of independent monitors with recognised authority.

This is one mechanism that could begin to make the police, and all other arms of government for that matter, become accountable to the broader population...

Preparation must begin

As we hurtle through negotiations at Codesa, some form of all-inclusive election seems close at hand. It will be a momentous occasion when ALL South Africans can vote together in democratic elections. But, if our elections are to be free and fair, preparations must begin now.

There is a long process involved in preparing the population for the vote, which includes voter registration, education on voting procedures, helping voters to make an informed choice through wide exposure to all of the political parties' points of view.

Media, especially the electronic media and the radio in areas where illiteracy is high, have an important role to play. It is important that these media should be placed under the control of an independent commission. This should happen long before the elections, in order to build up the credibility so sorely (and justifiably) missing in the SABC.

There is a crucial role to be played by independent, formally recognised monitors, whose role it is to ensure that a code of conduct for fair election procedures in all aspects of the election process be adhered to. This will be especially important in South Africa where political intolerance has been, and is, part of our national psyche, and where intimidation is used as a method of persuasion.

□ Extracts from Mrs de Tolly's presidential address to the Black Sash in Johannesburg

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Education department rejects 70 000

CAPE TOWN — About 70 000 applications to study at black training colleges were turned down this year — even though white teacher training colleges were half empty.

Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer said yesterday 70 000 applicants were refused admission to colleges falling under his department.

Earlier this week, Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais said although his department's training colleges had a capacity of 10 150, the number of students

enrolled was 5 471.

This means there are 4 689 empty places at "white" training colleges.

Marais said the number of students at the white training colleges declined from 13 077 in 1986 to 7 934 last year.

De Beer said his department had a maximum number of students who could be enrolled at each college of education, as well as the intake of first-year students.

Political Staff

Interim govt 'the key to ending violence'

VIOLENCE would not stop unless SA got an interim government with sovereign power to take charge of the security forces and gain access to government covert operations, SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said last night.

Speaking at the Wits University arts students' graduation ceremony, Chikane said the peace accord could only deal with open organisations, and that it was only the government of

the day that could deal with covert operations.

"The apartheid system has created a dangerous and disastrous culture of violence and intolerance among whites and blacks ... which threatens the negotiations process," he said.

Democratic principles for whites were only upheld within the framework of apartheid.

"For blacks, the system and laws created a situa-

tion where they had to fight for every single right and demand for justice. And for every articulation of their rights, violence was used against them," he said.

Chikane said universities faced a difficult challenge in redressing inequalities as they were called to start from a situation where only 10% of black students who wrote matric in 1991 gained university exemptions.

Special educational and training programmes were needed to turn the tide.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

New means of entering legal profession proposed

THE Association of Law Societies has proposed new entry routes into the legal profession.

An association spokesman said until now the only route had been that law graduates with B Proc or LLB degrees had to complete two years' articles at an attorney's firm before being admitted to the profession.

The new routes would alleviate the problems many law graduates experienced in obtaining articles of clerkship.

If the proposals were accepted it would mean the traditional system of articles could be shortened, or replaced, by community service at the offices of public defenders, law clinics or similar organisations.

The community service would be aimed at giving graduates wider representation in criminal cases as well as in civil actions. Should this system be introduced, about 600 more people would be able to represent members of the public in court.

It would operate under a legal aid dispensation and could be funded from the existing legal aid budget and a part of the savings the system would bring about. Advantages of the system would be:

- ☐ Wider representation of accused;
- ☐ Fewer people sentenced to jail;
- ☐ Big savings for the Correctional Services Department;
- ☐ Widespread extension of the legal aid system;
- ☐ Enhanced chances of entering the profession; and
- ☐ More employment for law graduates and attorneys.

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PRETORIA — The Inkatha Freedom Party was acting on hearsay information when it warned of a massive ANC attack on its members, hostels and leaders.

This emerged in Pretoria yesterday at an urgent sitting of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

The sitting followed a press conference on Monday when the IFP alleged it had information of a large-scale attack planned on Zulu people in general by the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The IFP also claimed more than

'Huge ANC attack' on Zulus all hearsay, judge told

STAFF 26/3/12

40 000 arms were hidden on the Reef for this purpose.

Mr Justice Goldstone repeatedly asked people on the stand whether their information had been verified.

Musa Myeni, IFP leader in the Transvaal, conceded that the press statement could have been inflammatory and may have had an "alarming and shocking effect", but said his main concern was to warn his people.

"It is absolutely impossible to verify such informa-

tion, as gathered by our intelligence people on the ground, within 24 hours," said Myeni.

"Although we informed the police, the closeness of the attack dates (March 25 and 26) left us no time to warn people or verify the information."

John Mlangeni, West Rand chairman of the IFP who gave the information to Myeni, said he had been told about the imminent attacks by two cleaning women. Although he knew only one of

OWN CORRESPONDENT

See 'Alexandra in Focus'

— Pages 10 and 11

their names and did not know where they worked, he had no reason to doubt their information.

Mlangeni could not say whether the women had personally overheard the planning of the alleged attacks, or whether they had heard it

second-hand.

Concerning the alleged attacks on IFP leaders, Mlangeni said he had received this information from two party members who had been told by a Rustenburg recruiting officer. He could not explain where the Rustenburg man had picked up his information, although this could be checked.

Myeni later said he had received similar information from a woman who had heard it from an unidentified policeman.

Mr Justice Goldstone then asked him whether the effect would have been different, or less inflammatory, if the press statement had started. "According to information from two cleaning women, of whom we only know one name, and information from an unknown man and an unidentified source."

"Yes, your lordship," said Myeni.

Siphiwe Nyanda, acting MK chief of staff, said he had been personally in-

voiced in investigating the allegations and had not found any truth in them.

"The allegations are not true, and I find it strange that a man of Mr Myeni's intelligence would use information he did not verify. This is nothing more than political propaganda."

On behalf of MK, he assured the judge that no attacks were planned on the hostels or homes of Zulus or during the Easter weekend, saying he was totally committed to the Peace Accord. Mr Justice Goldstone did not make a finding, saying he would report to the State President.

Jurists panel meets Coetsee

A DELEGATION of four eminent international jurists investigating violence in South Africa yesterday met Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee to discuss the issue.

The delegation from the International Commission of Jurists has been in the country for two weeks, and will present its findings to foreign governments and the United Nations.

The four are: ICJ secretary-general, Mr Adama Dieng of Senegal; Mr John MacDonald, QC, of Britain; Judge Enoch Dumbutshena of Zimbabwe; Mr Christian Ahlund of Sweden; and Mr Philip Amoah of Ghana.

(274) 21-28/3/92

'Cleaning ladies' gave info to IFP

PRETORIA. — The Inkatha Freedom Party based its recent allegations of an ANC campaign against its members on unverified information received from two "cleaning ladies", an unknown man from Rustenburg and an unknown policeman.

This emerged yesterday in a special sitting of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry charged with the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

The one-day sitting of the commission in Pretoria was called urgently by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone following public allegations from the IFP leadership earlier this week that the ANC/SACP alliance planned to launch a terror campaign against IFP leaders, members and supporters and in particular residents of Inkatha-supporting hostels on the Reef.

IFP Transvaal leader Mr Musa Myeni admitted to the commission he had not verified the information, which he had received from the organisation's West Rand chairman, Mr John Mlangeni, and an IFP member in Alexandra, who had heard it from a policeman. (274) CT 28/3/92

ANC deputy commander and acting uMkhonto weSizwe Chief of Staff Mr Siphiwe Nyanda told the commission that all the allegations were untrue.

IFP taken to task over 'ANC terror'

South 28/3-2/4/92
THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was rapped over the knuckles this week in a remarkable statement by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

Issued by Mr Justice RJ Goldstone, chairperson of the commission, the statement responds to Transvaal IFP claims about "underground ANC structures" about to launch a "terror campaign" against Inkatha leaders and residents of Inkatha-supporting hostels.

Because of the seriousness of the allegations, the Commission will meet urgently on Friday when the

IFP in the Transvaal will be required to disclose the sources of allegations to the commission.

"In the meantime I would appeal to the public and in particular members of the IFP not to act on what are at this time unsubstantiated allegations," said the judge.

The alleged plan, according to the IFP, was being "engineered by MK commanders in Soweto".

The judge said: "The IFP statement contains other very serious allegations concerning the 'terror campaign' which I consider not to be in the public interest to repeat".

— Sapa

Terror plot was

ANC battle story

came from cop

2 cleaning ladies

By MARTIN NTSOENGOE and Sapa

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'hearsay'

ALLEGATIONS by the Inkatha Freedom Party that the ANC was plotting a "terror campaign" against its members were all hearsay, the Goldstone Commission heard this week.

The IFP had based the allegations on unverified information received from two cleaning ladies, an unknown man from Rustenburg and an unknown policeman.

This emerged on Friday in a special sitting of the commission charged with the prevention of public violence and intimidation.



MUSA MYENI

The one-day sitting of the commission in Pretoria was called urgently by Justice Goldstone following public allegations by the IFP leadership earlier this week that the ANC/SACP alliance planned to launch a terror campaign against IFP leaders, members and supporters and in particular residents of Inkatha-supporting hostels on the Reef.

IFP Transvaal leader Musa Myeni admitted to the commission he had not verified the information which he had received from the organisation's West Rand chairman John Mlangeni and an IFP member in Alexandra who had heard it from a policeman. The commission may convene again to hear the policeman's version.

According to the information the ANC/SACP was to attack houses belonging to IFP members and supporters, destroy hostels where IFP members lived and attack members travelling by bus from the Transvaal to Natal.

Myeni said his worst fears had been confirmed by reports that ANC Youth League general secretary Rapu Molekane had been arrested in Soweto, allegedly for possessing illegal firearms.

Myeni also told the commission he was further vindicated by the fact residents had marched on Madala hostel in Alexandra, resulting in the injury of 100 people.

ANC deputy commander and acting Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Sphiwe "Gebuza" Nyanda told the commission that information contained in the IFP press statement was untrue.

Said Nyanda: "It is very strange that a man of Myeni's calibre and intelligence used the information in the way he did."

"The allegations are totally untrue, and amount to incitement."

With regard to the arms and ammunition allegedly found in the possession of Molekane, he said the Pretoria Minute recognised that the ANC had arms caches in the country. "But we are not using these to attack anybody."

He said MK remained committed to the Peace Accord.

Myeni admitted that the effect of the statement could have been inflammatory, but he had only intended it to alert people of possible dangers.

Myeni admitted that he had not alerted IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi or IFP Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose to the fact that the information came from two cleaning ladies, an unknown man from Rustenburg and an unknown policeman.

Justice Goldstone said the commission would report to the State President on the issue as a matter of urgency.

Blood, sweat and tears

Sowetan 30/3/92

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NATION building is a process that combines deep commitment, sweat and perhaps tears. It is a valuable experience as it is not simple nor popular. The words I read out when Nation Building was launched in October 1988 at Shareworld are hauntingly prophetic: "We are saying instead of fanning the flames for the next explosion, implosion in fact, let us start building now. I have a feeling in my bones that the next upheaval will surely lead to the wastelands."

Everything tells me so. The economy is depressed; there are many frightened and unhappy people. All it needs is a match to the dynamite stick for things to blast off."

The irony is, while I was right I did not realise the match would come from such unlikely quarters. The first match was lit by President FW De Klerk on February 2 1990, when he released political prisoners and unbanned political organisations.

The match was lit by among others, shadowy groups described variously as the Third Force; by black and white radicals panicked into thinking the ANC was making a deal with the National Party; by peasants operating in the milieu of complete dislocation.

The destabilisation of black life, the collapse of the civic

By AGGREY KLAASTE

order, the tearing apart of the social fabric have resulted in a social pathology that was historically primed for a lit match.

The Nation Building festival was started to capture the spirit of the initiative. It has succeeded and has become one of the biggest cultural events in South Africa. Very soon it will become the biggest cultural week on the continent.

The events that celebrate Nation Building take place from the end of September to the end of October annually.

The highlights include the massed choir event, an electric choral concert with 1 000 black and white voices singing separately and together, the prayers for the nation and family life and parenting, which is assuming a national aspect.

We are proud of Nation Building not only because it has given a soul to Sowetan, but because it has become an idea used by most South African leaders. It is an idea that has given us international exposure.

Finally it is the idea that has made us an unbreakable link with our market, our communities.

Frontline appeals for end to violence

STAR 30/3/92

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HARARE — The one-day meeting of Frontline states held in Harare at the week-end ended with the leaders calling for the removal of obstacles to the peace process in South Africa.

In a communique issued after the meeting, the Frontline leaders appealed to South African blacks to end the factional battles in which thousands of people had been killed in the last few years.

"The summit called for an end to this carnage," the communique said.

The leaders noted the positive outcome of the whites-only referendum and considered the likely impact of that result on the peace process.

The summit expressed the view that more remained to be done for the democratisation process to succeed.

"In particular, the remaining obstacles to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to constitutional negotiations ought to be removed," the communique said.

The meeting reiterated its strong appeal for unity among black South Africans, especially between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, in the face of constitutional talks.

"A special appeal was made to the liberation movements to recognise their common objective and to unite in the face of the common enemy."

The summit, which was chaired by President Robert Mugabe, noted with grave concern the escalation of violence in South Africa resulting in the loss of innocent lives and the destruction of property.

Reaffirming its continued support to the South African lib-

eration movements until victory was achieved, the summit expressed its determination to continue monitoring the evolving situation in South Africa closely and effectively.

It invited the liberation movements to inform the next OAU ad hoc committee meeting in Tanzania on April 28 on their preference with regard to the composition, mandate and location of a monitoring mechanism for this purpose.

Mr Mugabe said the international community should retain sanctions on Pretoria until the reform process was "absolutely irreversible".

He told a news conference that the big white "yes" vote was not enough.

"I think those who have lifted sanctions on the result of the referendum are being deceitful," said Mr Mugabe. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Violence: Jurists blame Buthelezi

CT 30/6/92

(274)

JOHANNESBURG — A team of civil rights lawyers from overseas have blamed the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for the escalation of violence in black townships. They recommended that Kwazulu police be placed under South African Police command.

In their preliminary report after their two-week mission here, the International Commission of Jurists team also said the African National Congress had stepped up violent attacks since last September.

Supervision

"It is clear that it would not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one person, one vote basis today in the parts of South Africa we have visited," they told a news conference in Johannesburg.

"We believe that South Africans should consider inviting an international election monitoring team to supervise the run-up to elections, as well as the election process itself," they said.

In the past four weeks more than 300 people have been killed in political violence, and government negotiators have called on black politicians to establish peace if constitutional talks are to advance.

The five-man ICJ team said the KwaZulu Police were biased against foes of the Inkatha Freedom Party and flagrantly joined in attacks on township residents in strife-torn Natal.

"There is overwhelming evidence that they are one-sided and openly

Violence toll 14 at weekend

PRETORIA — Fourteen people were killed in countrywide violence at the weekend, according to police and medical reports.

Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg, recorded eight deaths late on Friday and on Saturday. Twenty-seven people were injured in the township, which has seen a resurgence in violence in the past three weeks.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed three people were killed when unidentified assailants in a minibus sprayed AK-47 bullets at residents at random.

In the Transvaal, late on Friday, police found the bodies of two unidentified men at Orlando West in Soweto and Vosloorus near Alberton. They had been shot.

At Mashana Reserve, near Empangeni, four people died in separate incidents late on Friday and early on Saturday.

A man was stabbed to death, a woman was shot and killed by unidentified gunmen, another man was stabbed to death by a group and the body of a man with gunshot wounds was found, police said. — Sapa

join in attacks by members of Inkatha on people in their homes," the jurists said in the preliminary report.

They said they had toured hostels, "and we are satisfied that many hostels in the Transvaal are today used as Inkatha barracks".

"It is our view that Chief Minister Buthelezi carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of violence."

But they pointed out that the ANC had resorted to more violence since the first mission of the ICJ in September last year.

"We are also satisfied that the amount of violence caused by the ANC has increased since we were last here." — Sapa

Violence: Buthelezi 'to blame'

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Sowetan 30/3/92

A TEAM of civil rights lawyers from overseas on Saturday blamed Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the escalation of violence in black townships.

The lawyers recommended that KwaZulu Police be placed under South African Police command.

But in its preliminary report on its two-week mission here, the International Commission of Jurists team said the African National Congress had stepped up violent attacks since September last year.

"It is clear that it would not be possible to hold free and fair elections on a one-person, one-vote basis today in the parts of South Africa we have visited," they told a news conference in Johannesburg on Saturday.

"We believe that South Africans should consider inviting an international election monitoring team to supervise the run-up to elections, as well as the election process itself," they said.

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"There is overwhelming evidence that they are one-sided, and openly



**MANGOSUTHU
BUTHELEZI**

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They said they had toured hostels, "and we are satisfied that many hostels in the Transvaal are today used as Inkatha barracks."

"It is our view that Chief Minister Buthelezi carries a heavy responsibility for the escalation of violence."

But they pointed out that the ANC had resorted to more violence since the first mission of the ICJ in September last year.

"We are also satisfied that the amount of violence caused by the ANC has increased since we were last here. In the absence of the effective enforcement of the laws, this perhaps is inevitable."

The team said violence had increased in the country since last September but added that the Government had shown signs of commitment to ending violence.

"The Government appears now to be committed to playing their full part in bringing violence to an end," they said.

The mission said more deaths in train attacks could have been averted

if the authorities had deployed troops months ago as they had done in the past few days.

"Legislation in respect of dangerous weapons in recent years has lacked any coherence... We think the Government made a mistake in ducking the issue of dangerous weapons."

The Government recently banned the carrying of weapons on trains in the latest measure to halt the mayhem on commuter trains.

In its recommendations, the ICJ team said KwaZulu Police should be brought under a unified South African command. It said South African Police officers had been sympathetic to this proposal.

They also urged the Government to continue deploying troops on railway stations.

"This will work, it requires greater political will than the Government has shown so far."

In other proposals, the team said political leaders, especially leaders of the ANC and Inkatha should promote the National Peace Accord at grass-roots level.

Hostels should be searched and inmates disarmed and the compounds be replaced by homes for families and unmarried people.

The ICJ team included Mr Adama Dieng, from Senegal, who led the delegation; British lawyer John MacDonald, former Zimbabwean Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena, Swedish lawyer Christian Ahlund and Ghanaian lawyer Philipp Amoah. - Sapa.

IFP rumours were 'propaganda'

ALLEGATIONS that the ANC and the SA Communist Party planned to assassinate IFP leaders, destroy hostels and kill Zulus was political propaganda and an incitement to murder.

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Testifying last Friday before the Goldstone commission of inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation, ANC deputy commander and acting Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Mr Sphiwe Nyanda dismissed the allegations as untrue and unsubstantiated.

The urgent sitting in Pretoria was called following allegations by the IFP that the ANC/SACP alliance were planning a terror campaign against its members.

Inkatha leader Mr Musa Myeni said he had received this information from West Rand chairman, Mr John Mlangeni. Mlangeni had said he had been told about the alleged imminent attacks by two women cleaners and an

By MONK NKOMO

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unnamed IFP member in Rustenburg.

Questioned by Mr Justice Goldstone, both men admitted they did not take any initiative to verify this information. Nyanda said the ANC investigated the allegations and found they were untrue. The ANC had arms caches in the country, but did not intend using them for this purpose in accordance with the provisions of the Pretoria Minute.

Asked by Mr Justice Goldstone to comment on the evidence given by Myeni and Mlangeni, Nyanda said: "It is very strange that a man of Myeni's calibre and intelligence could use unsubstantiated information the way he did."

AFTER an acquaintance of five or so years, I know Martin Rosen to be an arresting, attractive businessman who does not suffer foolish talk gladly.

What I did not know is he enjoys international prominence as one of South Africa's leading proponents of corporate social responsibility.

I did not know he is widely acknowledged by environmentalists and scientists to have enhanced public awareness of ecological issues.

The piece I received from Pick 'n Pay, where Martin is marketing director and sits on the board, also tells me how he organised the largest recycling campaign of its kind by any company in African history and that he has created solutions to critical environmental problems affecting his country and his people.

I now know he has a string of awards, including the Rotary Foundation Paul Harris Fellowship Award for outstanding service to the community in 1988, the Outstanding Achiever of the Year by the Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1990 and one of the Ten Outstanding Young Persons of the World by JCI in 1991.

I did not know all these things about Martin when we first approached Pick and Pay to sponsor our Nation Building family project. At one meeting Martin was plainly unimpressed by my idealistic talk on rebuilding family structures.

He said he could give me a million bucks if I made the faintest bit of sense.

That raised my anger. I took a long breath and launched into an exposition of Nation Building that sounded pretty deep even

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to my obviously biased ears.

Every year after that I had to get to his office to listen to him deliberately taking Nation Building apart and then helping me put it together again.

This year was most interesting. Among the most serious things Martin pointed to was the violence. He wanted to know very seriously what Nation Building was doing to heal the country.

Defensive

He had me on the defensive. He wished to know what Nation Building was saying or not saying to the ordinary white folk, particularly after they took the enormous and courageous gamble to vote "yes" in the referendum.

Once again I had to draw a deep breath and explain that Nation Building was about growth, slow, painful

but lasting growth; that growth did not take place in one day. That this was a process, taking place for the time being unnoticed, but that would spring to spectacular notice one day.

I said Pick 'n Pay should be there when that happened. I said what we were doing today in places like Pietersburg, Bloemfontein, the PWV areas and further afield, was to plant the seed for black family structures that had been smashed by apartheid. We were also building the type of confidence that would make blacks equal to ruling this country.

I said Nation Building was not a popular initiative, with bells ringing and crowds cheering and some such political razzmatazz. Nation Building is serious, and is what all serious people should be doing now if we are looking to a peaceful future.

What we are forging to-

gether now is pertinent, particularly to the violence.

The panic from some senior political leaders that leads to violence is caused by a massive inferiority complex. These chaps have lost the ground from under their feet. These people are dangerous.

The violence results from the collapse of civic order; from the tearing apart of the social fabric, starting with the breakup of the family. Until we earnestly try to sew together this chaos brought about by apartheid, things will continue to fall apart.

Alien

There is simply no way we should allow a proud people like the Zulu to go about self-destructing this way. It is alien to Zulu culture, ethos and pride. They are a regal people (and I am not fooling because I have Zulu friends who are like that) with a very proud history.

Apartheid and its hateful structures have hit at the very heart of Zulu pride, torn out the soul from them.

Martin, while he is a pragmatist, understands such visionary talk. And while it takes some doing to convince him, he has a sense of the task before us; a task that means putting together what has been systematically taken apart by the social engineering of black life.

If there is one person I do wish to disappoint, it is Martin Rosen. There are many like him, not necessarily white or in business. There are many black and white politicians, some excellent friends of mine, who think I have hold of some curious idea but that I did not exactly know where I was going.

Some of my best friends believe I am either an incurable romantic or I am up to gimmicks. It shocks me to hear the latter because I am deeply affected by what is happening to my people; as shocked as I was five to six years ago when I went to see Dr Buthelezi and Dr Oscar Dhlomo about the violence. It was then confined to Natal.

I told them it was insulting to me to see Zulus kill Zulus. It was a shameful thing to happen not only to Zulus but to blacks in general, and, more importantly, to oppressed people all over the world.

The enormity of the tragedy now affecting people who have struggled against the evil of apartheid, fought against it, died for it for so many years, is great. It must shake the hearts of men and women all over the world.

I am rather glad there are people like Martin Rosen. I am glad he does not take bull. That gives me the confidence that we could well come out on top.

Alliance sees Minister on 'poor' enforcement

By Guy Jepson

STAR 31/3/92

Senior ANC alliance officials met Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and top police officials in Pretoria yesterday for discussions on the enforcement of weapons laws, links between the South African and KwaZulu police, and police conduct.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance said the meeting, at police headquarters, held at the request of the alliance, was conducted in a constructive spirit and that a number of suggestions had been made to Mr Kriel.

The statement said the alliance delegates had expressed particular concern at:

- The poor enforcement of leg-

islation on dangerous weapons.

- The lack of confidence in the functioning of the police liaison system, particularly in the PWV region.

- The pending transfer of four SAP stations to the KwaZulu police on Wednesday.

- The inability of the police to protect residents from crime and, in particular, from attacks by hostel dwellers and on trains.

Reacting last night, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said if the twin problems of crime and political violence were to be solved and if lasting peace was to be achieved "forums must be created for discussion and co-operation on this crucial issue.

"The SAP and the Government are committed to finding solutions to the pressing problems of violence and crime and are obviously prepared to co-operate at all strata of society and with all sections of the community to reach these goals."

The alliance statement said Mr Kriel had been accompanied at the meeting by his deputy, Johan Scheepers, and Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe.

Alliance representatives included Cosatu negotiations coordinator Jayendra Naidoo, ANC national working committee member Sydney Mafumadi, and Aziz Pahad, an ANC national executive committee member.