

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL
1991

JUNE — AUGUST.



De Kerk calls for an end to violence

egotation — and against the violence, intimidation, senseless loss of life and destruction of property.”

violence, a multi-party conference as a forerunner to real constitutional negotiation would already have started

"Were it not for the violence, we could already be talking in all seriousness about a new constitution under which all South Africans would enjoy equality of treatment and an

portunity in every respect." — Sapa

SA on threshold of peace — FW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA stood on the threshold of a breakthrough towards progress and reconciliation both at home and abroad, President F W de Klerk said last night.

However, violence and intimidation remained the chief stumbling blocks on the road to a new South Africa, he said in his Republic Day message to the nation broadcast on television.

Mr De Klerk said that were it not for the violence, a multi-party conference serving as a forerunner to real constitutional negotiations could already have started.

The government and other parties "could already be talking in all seriousness about a new constitution under which all South Africans would enjoy equality of treatment and opportunity in every respect".

Mr De Klerk said international sanctions and boycotts against South Africa were crumbling and were it not for the violence, new investment

would be streaming into South Africa to help end joblessness, poverty and other backlogs.

"Therefore, the termination of intimidation and violence is the highest priority."

Mr De Klerk said last week's conference on violence and intimidation in Pretoria was a significant starting point.

"The foundations were laid for follow-up actions in which all may become involved — also those who could or would not attend the conference."

Anxious

(Church leaders will continue their efforts to broker a more inclusive peace process when they visit Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi on Monday).

Mr De Klerk said that South Africa and all its people were demanding involvement and participation now in the struggle against violence and in the process for peace.

"All are waiting anxiously for us to succeed.

"The world is waiting to welcome us back. Our neighbours want us to prevail. Africa is waiting for our success.

"South Africans are yearning for a new beginning."

Mr De Klerk noted that 30 years after South Africa became a Republic, "the harsh reality remains that millions of our citizens do not enjoy the rights citizenship usually brings with it.

"These citizens do not feel free. They feel dominated, disadvantaged and deprived of rights.

"For them the commemoration of Republic Day has very little meaning.

"South Africa, therefore, still is a divided country and a house divided in itself."

Mr De Klerk said the country had been caught up in a continuing spiral of suspicion, conflict, violence and intimidation "for far too long".

"For all too long we have been in a dead end of international isolation. And the negative consequences did not fail to ensue."

This was not what the majority of South Africans wanted. They wanted peace, prosperity, progress and participation.

"They wish to be fully part of South Africa.

"They are asking for representation at every level of government so that they may be loyal to South Africa together and be proud together of belonging to a strong and united nation, without sacrificing their own, unique cultures and traditions."

Mr De Klerk said these were features of the successful democracies and represented cornerstones for the building of a nation in South Africa as well.

'Mindless'

"This is our goal. We can reach it.

"We can break out of the cul de sac of division, conflict, impoverishment and rejection.

"We can break through to peace, progress, prosperity and representation for all."

However, all leaders and their followers now had to stand up and be counted in the struggle for peace and reconciliation through negotiations — and against the violence, intimidation and "mindless" loss of life and destruction of property, Mr De Klerk said.

WHILE the government has reacted with outrage and horror to the burning of pictures of presidents and prime ministers during a march on Friday, the ANC sees it as part of the normal political process.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said from Johannesburg yesterday that the ANC Youth League had organised Cape Town's anti-Republic Day march, led by SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter and Mrs Albertina Sisulu of the ANC.

The Youth League had also planned the ceremonial burning of a coffin inscribed with the words "bury the racist republic", a cloth in the colours of the South African flag and later a cardboard cut-out figure of President F W de Klerk.

On the coffin which was burnt were pictures of Dr H F Verwoerd, Mr B J Vorster, Mr P W Botha and Mr De Klerk.

Ms Marcus said: "To our knowledge, nobody was aware in advance of these planned burnings except the youth."

But she did not wish to dissociate the ANC leadership from such actions.

ANC Burning in effigy 'normal, healthy'

Although such incidents "caused an outrage" in South Africa, they were in fact a normal part of the democratic process, she continued.

"Think of the Muppet Show in Britain, or Spitting Images, or the programme 'Yes, Prime Minister'. These take the mickey out of politicians, but they are part of a healthy democratic tradition."

The leadership needed to know it could be spoken about or treated irreverently, she said.

Effigies were a common part of protest

marches in other countries, she said. Burning an effigy or a picture of someone was very different from being violent towards them.

Politicians also had to put up with being cartooned, she said.

Both Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and NP director of information Mr Renier Schoeman had a full go at the ANC for the burnings over the weekend.

Mr Schoeman said it was "a repulsive and scandalous act, in extremely poor taste". The Youth League was making vulgar attempts to attract attention though unacceptable behaviour which would impress nobody, he claimed.

Dr Viljoen said: "The presence of prominent leaders of the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party implies that they apparently had given their approval to this behaviour."

"This kind of inciting behaviour places a large question mark over the serious intent and sincerity of the ANC leaders towards the fight against violence and intimidation." — Staff Reporter and Sapa

Stopping slide into anarchy

The only way to good government is to have a national accountability policy, says Unisa's Health Psychology Unit director VICTOR NELL.

TERROR, pain, death these are one's ultimate fears. To be helpless, to endure pain, to die. We pray that when we die, it will be peacefully, and without pain.

But when a society is falling apart, when the centre no longer holds and there is no longer any real law, when the police no longer do their job (cannot, will not), when death roams the streets and emergency telephones ring endlessly, unanswered, terror comes closer.

The nightmare is to wake, to find violent strangers at one's bedside, to be violated, killed or nearly killed — this is the terror that turns the poor into refugees and the wealthy into emigrants.

Lawlessness is terror. All of us, black and white alike, fear for our safety and our children's safety, whether we live in Meadowlands or Sandton, in Norwood or Eldorado Park.

It is small comfort to know that we will not be the first society to slide into the pit of lawlessness. In the 1970s, visiting Mobutu's Congo, in Kinshasa, a city of sleeping watchmen and stinking gutters, VS Naipaul asks where in this run "does the sense of responsibility, society, the State, begin?" No-where.

In Peronist Buenos Aires, he writes, there is still a law for distinguished and well-known people, "but below that there is no law. People are taken away and no one is responsible."

"No one really knows who does what or why Buenos Aires is full of shocked and damaged people."

What stands between every society and the abyss of lawlessness is its own determination that the law be upheld, and its police force. Trotsky called the police the only true international. It is they who must keep terror at bay, answer the ringing telephone, come between me and the bedside intruder.

If there is any way back from this abyss, it begins with an answer to an historical question. Where does the slide into lawlessness and anarchy begin.

in the Congo, in the Argentine, in South Africa?

I think the rot starts in an insidious way, when public servants don't bother to do the jobs they are paid to do properly, and find out that they can get away with it.

In South Africa, we're in a pretty bad way.

The police don't do their job — can't, won't — which is to ensure that each of us can sleep safely in bed and move safely around our city.

The traffic police don't do their job, which is to reduce death on the roads. South Africa has a road death rate 10 times higher than it ought to be.

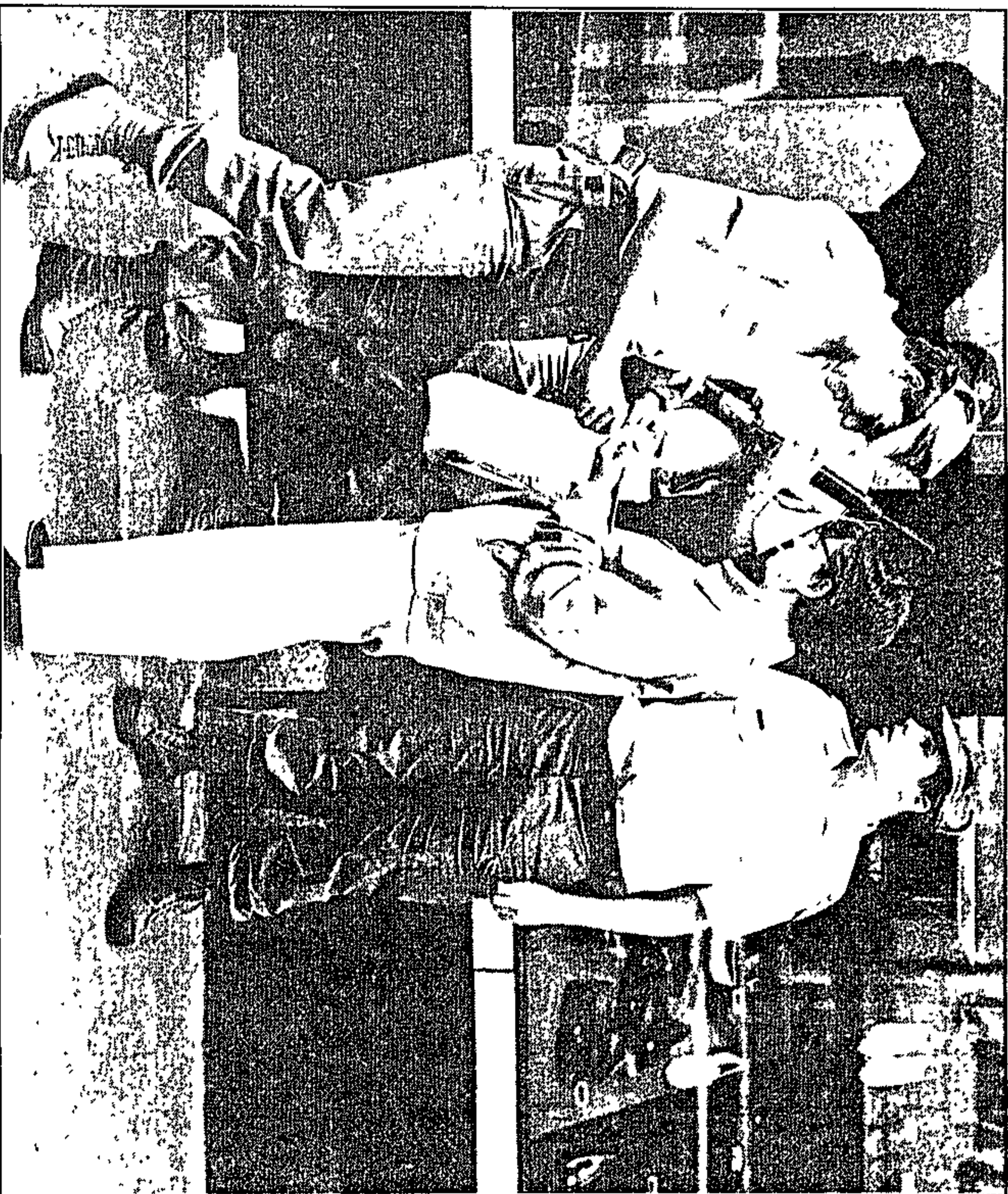
A lot of school teachers don't do their jobs, and there are horrifying stories about drunkenness, dereliction of duty and gross incompetence. Many academics are no better. They don't show up at lectures, break appointments with students, convert three-hour classes into 25-minute chats — but still get promoted and, if they live long enough, get to be professors.

In fact, many get promoted — policemen, traffic officers, school teachers, academics — not for doing their jobs well, but for just sticking around.

There's one little word that makes the difference between true democracy and fake democracy, between good government and bad, between a society that continues to be governed by the rule of law and a society sliding into anarchy.

That word is accountability. Accountability is at the heart of democracy, and it means something very simple: a person is accountable to another if he or she is under a duty to answer to that other for his or her actions, and is subject to disciplinary steps if those actions have been inadequate or irregular.

In a democracy, the "others" to whom teachers and academics and the police and the traffic police are accountable is the public they serve, represented by an elected body whose job it is to ensure that people paid out of the public purse do their



The police and the public... a policeman searches the bag of a pedestrian during a cordon and search operation in Johannesburg. It is the police, says the writer, who stand between society and the abyss of lawlessness.

jobs well — or suffer the consequences.

Let's focus on the lawlessness that is bringing terror into our hearts and homes. Just from the columns of The Star in recent weeks, one can write a book of horror stories.

●Beverley Nowikow had her bag with cash and credit cards snatched at the Rand Show. "Police based near entrance 6 just laughed at me when I told them was I robbed." (The Star April 3).

●Father Dermott Mills, a

priest in Meadowlands, writes that the police laughed at him when he asked them to disarm a group of Inkatha people on April 28, a day on which many Meadowlands residents had been wounded or killed (May 17).

The road back to law and order in a country sliding into anarchy has two components. The first is to affirm the difference between the police and the army. An army serves the State; the police serve the people. The people are not agents

of State policy but of the law and their duty is to uphold the law of the land impartially for every man, woman and child living in it.

This is the first step toward restoring the rule of law, and also the most urgent to establish mechanisms to guarantee that the police cease to be agents of State policy. The Sunday Star has spelt out some of the requirements for this massive depoliticisation of the police (May 12) which can in the short term bring to an end the

slaughter of innocent people in political violence.

The second component in a return to law and order is slower and less spectacular, but ultimately the only way to ensure effective and impartial law enforcement.

It is to make the police accountable in the full sense of the word to the communities they serve by placing them under the control of elected local police authorities that are representative of the community.

The duties of both the police and of local police authorities would be determined by Parliament making laws that reflected the will of the people.

Local police authorities would not be able to use the police force to serve their own political or ideological ends because they would be prevented from doing so by their statutory duty to uphold the law. Failure to carry out this duty would lead to an immediate court challenge by aggrieved citizens or the police themselves.

But within this statutory framework, local police authorities would fine-tune police policy — which laws were to be enforced with special vigour and which with less, which kinds of behaviour would receive police attention and to which would they turn a blind eye.

Accountability requirements would include a police duty to report at least annually to the local police authority on key statistics such as the number of crimes reported, arrests made and the residual number of unsolved crimes; and the number of emergency calls received and police response times.

The authority should also be able to implement personnel policies that rewarded leadership excellence and responsiveness to community needs.

Finally, the investigation of complaints against either the police or local police authorities would be conducted by regional authorities that were independent of the executive and had wide statutory powers to investigate irregularities.

In the flood of policy documents and discussion documents for our new South Africa on land policy, health policy, economic policy, sport policy, I have seen nothing at all about police policy.

Are the bad old ways to be continued? Or will an accountability duty be firmly placed on the police and the traffic police, on teachers and academics, and on everyone else who is paid from the public purse?

In the long term, the only way good government and the rule of law will return permanently to this country will be through the formulation and application of a national accountability policy. □

Weapons traditional to most tribes

Where ²⁷⁴ does ^{19.00} ^{20/6/91} tradition

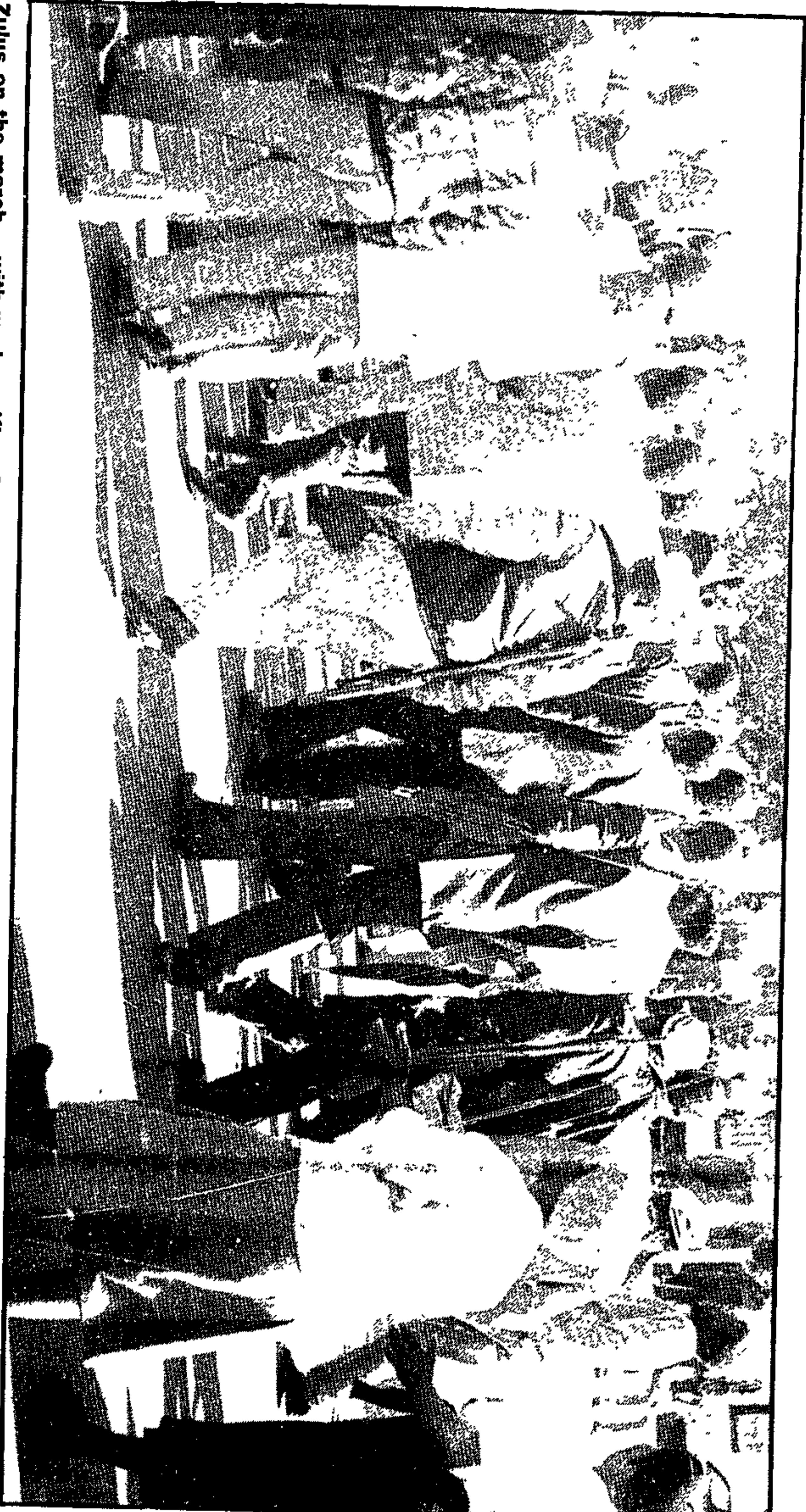
end and violence begin?

mission to devalue the Zulu culture," said the old man, who declined to be named because "the media has a hostile attitude" towards his organisation.

PWV spokesman for the ANC, Ronnie Mamoepa, points out the contradiction in the attitude of government ministers who "have come out as champions of African culture, becoming more African than Africans themselves".

"It is this very government that has, over the years, sought to fight the development of African culture," he said.

"We want to make it clear that this issue is not directed at a particular party or tribe only. What we are finding is a misuse of these traditional weapons - as weapons of destruction, not as before when they were only displayed in times of war, celebration or victory.



Zulus on the march - with modern rifles. This Inkatha rally at George Goch stadium went ahead without police intervention.

conditions exist which call for such a display. It is in this context that we call for the banning of these weapons in all public places throughout the country, whether declared unrest areas or not," said Mamoepa.

A document compiled by a senior researcher at the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case), Dr Dave Everett, says so-called "traditional

weapons" were used in some attacks from July 1990 to April 1991, although firearms were used in most.

"The future over the right of Zulu men, in particular, to carry 'traditional weapons' has gone to the point where it threatens to derail the negotiation process.

"This has served to obscure the

weapons which are actually being used by respective parties in the conflict, according to the media, especially those used by supporters of the IFP," the document states.

"This gives an impression that the so-called traditional weapons are traditional only when carried by Inkatha supporters," comments Everett.

The South African Communist Par-

ty's (SACP's) PWV region endorses the Case findings, saying popular organisations and the labour movement have been the main targets of attacks in which so-called traditional weapons have been used.

"We believe this violence still serves the same purpose as the violence under the state of emergency: to

□ VIOLENCE

DRESSED in "traditional" attire and brandishing "traditional" weapons, the hostel dwellers' regiments are a caricature of Zulu life.

A few metres away, battle-scarred Reef township residents clear the way and watch from a distance.

But what are traditional weapons? To the regiments they are just a symbol of manhood to which every Zulu-speaking man is entitled. Township residents, on the other hand, are baffled by the definition of "traditional".

This emerged after research conducted by AIA on the complications surrounding such weapons as assegais and pangas, which the ANC and other organisations have demanded should be banned in public places.

Sylvia Twala, an elderly Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) member from Katlehong, says that as far as she knows the traditional weapons in question are common to most African tribes and not only to Zulus.

However, the events on May Day this year made her doubt her historical knowledge of the issue, she says.

"In our rally at Orlando Stadium we were searched and even our Zulu-speaking colleagues had their weapons confiscated. Yet hardly 50 kilometres away at George Goch stadium, the Inkatha rally went ahead without any police intervention - even though supporters were heavily armed," she said.

However, a card-carrying Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) member claims the traditional weapons belong only to the Zulus, as they are the only tribe with "warrior-blood".

He acknowledges the misuse of some traditional weapons, saying these should only be carried at traditional ceremonies, but supports the misuse because "the ANC and its township-supporting residents go around with knives and guns in their pockets".

"Now they want the white government to ban our weapons. That is a

smash the people's organisations, to create an atmosphere of helplessness and fear within our communities, and to ensure their militancy is not expressed in any form," says regional office spokesman Jabulani Moleketi.

"Unlike from 1984 to 1989 when the State had to buy guns and teargas, now they simply employ vigilantes with rudimentary weapons to wage a war against the people at a very cheap cost."

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman argues that the issue is not traditional weapons, but weapons that kill.

"Even historians argue that warriors were not allowed to carry dangerous weapons in public, so the issues at the moment are those of police not acting impartially to stop the killing and terrorising of the people, and the use of dangerous weapons under the disguise of traditional weapons," says Coleman.

Senior Natal ANC and SACP activist Jeff Radebe, who also heads the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) project on Natal violence, doubts the historical legitimacy of "traditional weapons". He refers to JW Colenso's "Digest of Zulu Affairs".

In 1880 Bishop JW Colenso, the then Bishop of Natal, collected information on the military organisation of the Zulus. He interviewed two men who had been members of the pre-conquest Zulu army under Cetshwayo kaMpande, the last pre-conquest independent Zulu king.

They argued that spears were not to be carried in public. At the great annual Umkhosi (first-fruit ceremony) for example, Zulu culture and tradition demanded that spears were not to be carried.

"The Umkhosi lasts one day only, with all the regiments dancing before the King. No weapons are carried for fear of accidents - the men have their sticks only," the Zulu soldiers told the Bishop - AIA.

City Press 30/6-91

FWA, to call up troops

(2714)
(254)
ct 13/6/91

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The South African government will move within days to quell township violence by deploying Citizen Force soldiers on an unprecedented scale, South Africa's ambassador to the US, Mr Harry Schwarz, predicted yesterday.

It was learnt separately that President F W De Klerk is planning a major address to Parliament on the issue, which could come as early as tomorrow.

Mr Schwarz was confirming remarks attributed to him by the Washington Times in an

interview on Tuesday, in which he said the government would move to end the violence "within a week".

"It will have to be ended, either by agreement or by government action." Pressed by the Times on when the action might occur, he replied: "Today is the 11th... within a week."

He described the violence as "largely a struggle for political turf" between the ANC and Inkatha.

Questioned yesterday, Mr Schwarz — who has full access to Mr De Klerk — declined to be drawn on whether he had received specific information from the government.

He would say only that he had read Mr De Klerk's recent pronouncements carefully. "I am making these statements based upon what he says." He said Mr De Klerk was "extremely unhappy" with the current situation.

Mr Schwarz predicted that "very substantial forces" would be used to keep ANC and Inkatha factions apart.

"I think order can be maintained with large forces — Citizen Force units — rather than exposing small numbers of police."

Citizen Force units had been deployed previously, but in "small numbers", he said, indicating that they would be used on a larger scale than ever before.

He said the government had "done everything it can to get people to a peace conference", and had been "extremely reluctant to use major force".

He realised that there would be "adverse effects both locally and internationally", but added: "The violence cannot be tolerated and allowed to happen."

"If you are the government of the day, you

have a responsibility to maintain law and order," he said.

The Times report caused jitters in the Bush administration, which is hoping to lift the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's sanctions soon after the end of the current parliamentary session in Cape Town.

"This is a very sensitive six weeks," an official said.

Officials were also puzzled as to why Mr De Klerk would opt for a drastic increase in security measures at this stage. The administration's own analysis was that the violence was easing.

Asked about claims by a former SADF military intelligence officer that the military had been giving Inkatha AK-47s acquired in Mozambique, Mr Schwarz said: "I can't believe it's true."

Violence must end before talks - Slabbert

274
Sowetan 12/6/91

THE new South Africa cannot be held hostage to a few prominent "politicos," according to Idasa's director of policy and planning Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Interviewed in the latest issue of Idasa's journal, *Democracy in Action*, he stressed that transition affected "the whole of our national life", and everyone in some way could play a role in seeing that transition away from apartheid moved towards a democratic outcome.

South Africa had no choice but to negotiate for democracy, he said.

Although this would mean negotiating substantial issues like a democratic constitution, at this stage it meant bargaining about the very conditions that made negotiations possible.

These included:

- * A pact on violence - an agreement that it had

to stop before negotiations could proceed;

- * A national contract on the economy - an agreement that everything possible should be done to get growth and redistribution going in economic life; and

- * A common commitment to share responsibility for managing transition - to agree on interim arrangements to move from apartheid to democracy.

If such conditions were met, said Slabbert, new structures could emerge which would not only demonstrate to all South Africans "how we managed transition but also how we can jointly begin to understand the challenges inherent in democratic government".

Slabbert stressed that these structures did not have to wait for "one day magic" from the top down. - Sapa

Wessels on violence (274)

THE ongoing violence in South Africa and its consequences proved that grave mistrust and misunderstanding still prevailed among its people, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Leon Wessels, said yesterday.

"This may be a temporary setback to the negotiating process, but ultimately South Africans will have to solve our problems by coming together," he said when he opened the new session of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. CT 15/6/78

"Violence leads to nothing and offers no lasting solutions."

Unrest, deaths, drop dramatically since peace summit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE number of unrest incidents — as well as deaths and injuries to security force members and civilians — has declined dramatically since the May 24-25 peace summit in Pretoria.

Figures supplied by the Ministry of Law and Order yesterday indicated that unrest incidents dropped by roughly half, from 659 for the 18-day period prior to the conference,

to 384 for the 18 days following the summit.

Civilians fatalities dropped from 132 to 46 and security force deaths declined from six to three in the same period.

The number of civilians injured dropped from 104 in the pre-conference period to 30 in the post-conference period.

However, the number of security force injuries rose from 11 to 12. This was attributed to larger num-

bers of police being deployed during the second period.

From June 1-12, three members of the public were injured by security forces.

There were 248 incidents of political violence — 65 in declared unrest areas — and 114 in the Western Cape, largely as a result of the taxi war.

The figure for Natal was 27. A spokesman for the ministry, Brigadier Leon Mellet, attributed

the decline in violence to the increased manpower deployed by the police in the past two weeks and "an apparent change in attitude of all those involved."

He said police "hoped and trusted" that protest actions planned to commemorate the June 16 Soweto uprising this weekend did not result in demonstrators resorting to "illegal action or resorting to 'emotional incitement'".

Brigadier Mellet said that the the

police would take the "necessary preparatory measures" for the at least 48 planned marches and would be ready to intervene in case of any "disorderly behaviour".

He said police appealed to all those participating to ensure they did not become involved in any violent or illegal acts — it was the individual's responsibility to check the legality of actions in which he took part.

THE historic Parliamentary session to repeal the fundamental laws of apartheid is ending on a sour note, sadly, with both the NP and the ANC dragging their heels on the negotiation trail and blaming each other.

Not for a long time has the outlook seemed more gloomy and filled with foreboding, just when the contrary might have been expected.

There is little joy or celebration as the hated laws of statutory racism at last fall away. Violence is pervasive and the mutual confidence essential in the management of the transition has evaporated.

To what extent this doom-laden mood is the result of posturing and bellicose rhetoric on all sides, or whether it goes deeper, is not clear.

However that may be, the Nationalist government has lost confidence in the ANC as joint managers of the transition and has embarked upon a sharp change of course, unleashing SABC television and other media resources in an anti-ANC propaganda campaign of remarkable intensity.

The government, we conclude, has been persuaded by the intelligence establishment that it can whip the ANC at the polls if it goes into coalition with Inkatha and other anti-ANC groups. Meanwhile the government also seems to fancy it can manage the transition successfully on its own.

The ANC, for its part, increasingly suspects that it might have been the victim of a gigantic confidence trick, designed to get the NP government off the hook, internationally, and once this has been achieved, to see that the ANC is weakened and marginalised as a political force.

Price of violence

Many of the things the NP government is now doing and saying seem to vindicate such suspicions. Yet the ANC would be wise to suspend judgement before finally crying foul. The NP government might yet find it has overplayed its hand, notably with Inkatha, and misjudged the international mood.

Whatever the truth, if neither Mr De Klerk nor Mr Mandela go out of their way soon to restore a working measure of trust, there is going to be stormy weather ahead.

Ultimately it will be back to the

Time for F W to curb violence and restore trust

274
CT 14/6/91



**Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW**

negotiating table because there is no real alternative, as the NP will discover, but there could be considerable damage done on the way back to the table, with widespread disorder and international confidence fading entirely.

The NP could yet pay a considerable price for failing to disarm the Zulu vigilantes and curb the violence. Its strategists may dream on about an alliance with the newly-aroused powers of Zulu tribal nationalism but before they can win an election in alliance with Inkatha or anybody else the NP will need to have negotiated a new constitution.

And until the NP rebuilds a working measure of co-operation with the ANC it will not have much chance of securing a new constitution and holding fair and free elections which will enjoy legitimacy at home and abroad. Mr De Klerk cannot have it both ways. His new strategy is riddled with contradictions, unless of course he is acting in bad faith, which is unthinkable.

Fog of doubt

Nevertheless, the doubts and suspicions on the ANC side are growing, as Zulu vigilantes run amok on the Rand and seem to do so at will. It is Inkatha which is gaining ground in the North as a result, as the Burger has noted. It is Inkatha, in fact, which is now the principal beneficiary of political terrorism

Mr De Klerk would do well to reflect. The suspicions of recent times have been compounded a thousand-fold by the categorical statement of a retired SADF officer to the effect that SADF intelligence has been deliberately fanning the township violence, funding and supplying weapons to the Zulu vigilantes.

His statement, supported with a wealth of names and detail, says the SADF, which mounted a secret dirty tricks campaign against Swapo in the UN-supervised Namibian election, is now unleashing a domestic destabilisation campaign to ensure that the National Party remains in power after apartheid.

Plausibly deniable "dirty tricks" were certainly part of the stock in trade of SADF intelligence and Special Forces in the Botha era, drawing on huge secret funds voted by Parliament in the Special Defence Account and spent on such squalid enterprises as the CCB death squads.

If it is shown that the SADF is at its old game, targeting the principal opposition to the Nationalist government, the negotiations will go on the rocks. This, no doubt, is why the SADF is invoking the Official Secrets Act to silence the officer in question.

The onus is on the State President to dispel the fog of doubt and suspicion, making good at last on his solemn undertaking to root out illegal operations by the clandestine arm of the State.

Let Mr De Klerk crack down strongly on vigilantism, curbing all forms of political violence and restoring the confidence of South Africans and the world community.

Govt backs away from troops plan

254 274
CT 14/6/91

Political Correspondent

BOTH the government and South Africa's ambassador to the US, Mr Harry Schwarz, yesterday backed away from suggestions that Citizen Force troops were about to be deployed on an unprecedented scale to quell township violence.

Mr Schwarz was widely quoted in South African newspapers yesterday as predicting that "very substantial forces" would be used to keep ANC and Inkatha apart and that the government would move to end the violence "within a week".

"I think order can be maintained with large forces — Citizen Force units — rather than exposing small numbers of police," he told reporters at a luncheon in Washington.

The remarks attributed to Mr Schwarz caused a stir both in South Africa and abroad and government spokesmen moved to dispell any impression that a crackdown led by the military was imminent.

However, Mr Schwarz told the Cape Times from a hotel in New York last night that he had "no information of any kind that would lead me to make a statement that there would be a huge troop deployment within a week".

'Misquoted'

He acknowledged that he had said he thought order could be maintained in the townships with large numbers of Citizen Force troops rather than small numbers of police, but that he had been expressing a personal view.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement yesterday that "Mr Schwarz was misquoted".

Mr Botha said his ambassador in Washington was not referring to any specific decision to call up Citizen Force units on an unprecedented scale.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, Dr D Herbst, said there was no move to deploy more soldiers in the townships. He said the role of the SADF in combatting violence had not changed. "The SADF acts in a supportive capacity to the SAP when asked to do so," he said.

● Sapa reports that a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, could also not confirm the report of massive troop deployments.

Senator Sisulu discuss violence

276
Soweto
10/6/91

VIOLENCE and ways of dealing with it were the main topics of discussion between Australian Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans and ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu in Soweto yesterday.

Evans told reporters afterwards that the violence in South Africa was depressing, but it was possible to stop it. He said he had discussed this with the Government in Cape Town.

Sisulu told reporters he was confident about moves towards stopping the violence. There was "great potential" for peace, he said.

Sanctions

However, he added that the Government had to move further on the question of violence. He said the ANC had already taken steps in addressing the violence.

Sisulu said they had not discussed the question of sanctions, but the "real discussion" between Evans and the ANC would take place today.

Evans is on a week-long visit to South Africa.

- Sapa

SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

Views differ on 'third force'

By MOKGADI PELA

THE path to a new South Africa would be rocky because of the violence sweeping the country, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

Mt John Kane-Berman told Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise during the new Face the Nation programme that because of the violence, the life of the present Government might have to be prolonged.

Berman refuted allegations of a "third force", saying the current violence was a backlash against coercion and intimidation.

He said other factors contributing to the violence were unemployment with about a million youngsters loitering in the streets, squalid conditions, scarcity of resources and conflict among political organisations.

Reacting to Berman's comments, Neo of Johannesburg, said the violence had assumed proportions similar to those in Mozambique and Angola.

"It is perpetrated by the same forces that sponsor Unita and Renamo. Their intentions are to ensure that black majority rule under either Azapo or ANC doesn't come," she said.

Govt tie to attackers is clear, says ANC

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

ANC leaders at the weekend directly accused Government security forces of complicity in political violence.

The massacre at Swaniesville near Kagiso had produced conclusive evidence of complicity between police and the marauding men, the ANC said.

At a Press conference near the north-western Cape coastal town of Langebaan, the ANC said that the single most significant strand in all the violence was that it was ANC members or potential members who were killed.

The Government knew that something was going to happen in Kagiso, so the area was declared an unrest area on May 11, ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said.

A day later, 1 000 men marched from a hostel in Kagiso to the Swaniesville squatter camp and murdered nearly 30 people.

Marcus pointed out that the men were on the rampage for two hours.

"That would not be possible without complicity," Marcus said.

The men then carried their loot back to their hostel under police escort, she said.

Only six people were arrested after the incident and of these three were released because "they could not be linked to the case."

Police at the time said that they had

Are the security forces out to "get" the ANC? What do you think? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30 and 5pm today and share your opinion with the nation. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

arrived at the scene only after the attack had taken place. They said they had escorted the men home to prevent further violence.

Marcus also said that at least three Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres have been "eliminated" in recent months.

One MK member was killed by security force members, who said "he had reached for a grenade".

Marcus said it was obvious he was killed unarmed, or at least while he had been in no position of threat to his killers.

"If you looked at the scene where he was shot, you will notice that his blood was on his bed and against the walls above his bed," she said.

ANC leader Mr Steve Tshwete said: "If you look at recent statements made by (Minister of Constitutional Development) Dr Gerrit Viljoen, you will see that he always expresses the desire to destroy the ANC."

The ANC's Mr Sakkie Macozoma said the police had always been good at infiltrating the ANC when it was banned and there was no reason why they could not infiltrate a hostel.

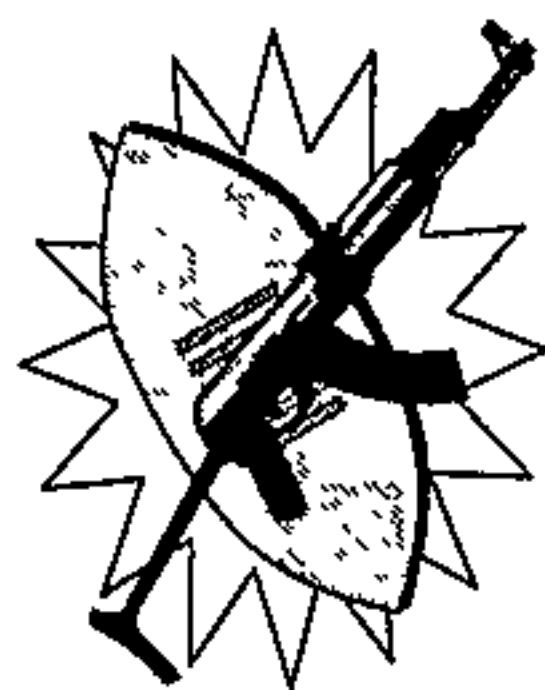
274
Sowetan
17/6/91

Fm 14/6/91

CAUGHT IN THE CROSSFIRE



LOCAL PEACE FORUMS ARE IMPORTANT IN RESTORING ECONOMIC LIFE



Violence in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area has sharply affected perceptions of the nation's economic well-being. It followed what has happened — and is happening — in Natal.

The violence in Natal has led to investors shying away from the area, and the entire regional economy is suffering. Spin-off effects include consumer boycotts, strikes and stayaways — and industrial violence has become more commonplace too, with high death tolls in some strikes.

The *Innes Labour Brief* reports that in the first half of this year violence in the Transvaal cost the economy some R3bn. This includes the deaths of 1 800 people, the destruction of about 2 000 shops and factories, expenditure on security forces and the cost in lost production of national and regional stayaways.

Businessmen often find themselves in the middle of the conflict, and how they react and the strategies they choose will influence the climate in which they will have to operate in future. How have they been coping so far?

In Natal, businessmen have been involved in mediating between warring factions — and trying to address the socio-economic problems that underlie the violence — for at

least two years. Their involvement has increased worker loyalty and productivity at companies that have shown concern.

John Hall, an executive director of Barlow Rand and president of the SA Chamber of Business, notes that unless violence is dealt with, attempts to confront socio-economic problems are doomed.

"Housing in poor black areas often doesn't get under way because of theft and violence," says Hall. "If the whole community (including whites) gets involved in achieving peace, leading to stability and the restoration of building projects, the whole mini-economy benefits. In many areas, one finds business getting involved with church leaders, trade union and community leaders."

Hall, who is also chairman of Middelburg Steel & Alloys, has direct experience of such a process. Last year, he says, "we virtually had Beirut in Middelburg. There were a hundred Casspirs in the township. Rioting mobs were moving out of the townships toward white areas. Large and small traders were suffering. Employees had problems getting to work. The tension had an impact on workplace productivity."

Middelburg Steel realised it had to get all community leaders together, including Conservative Party town councillors, church leaders, police and comrades.

"It wasn't simple," Hall recalls. "The catalyst was when the town council threatened to switch off lights and water to the

township. Tensions were running high."

Middelburg Steel's immediate response was to pay off the township's R350 000 services arrears bill. "Initially it was shuttle diplomacy," Hall says, "before a forum was formed under urgent circumstances." It took just under a week to establish this forum, but the entire community, black and white, conservative and leftwing, realised they needed each other to survive.

The Middelburg peace forum led to innovative job-creation schemes, including a kibbutz-style operation whereby the youth could be trained and given tasks such as growing vegetables commercially for the community. "We are committed to education, health care, job creation, and dealing with issues of homelessness," Hall says.

Not all employers realise, initially, the damaging effects unrest is having on their factory floor. Outside advice and assistance can become essential, but certain actions can help immediately (see box).

These steps are not always readily taken. In one case, a group of companies in Natal was approached by Cosatu to act as mediator in bringing the warring factions together, but did not initially wish to become involved. "We perceived it as political," one of the group's leading MDs, who does not wish to be named, now admits. "There was no visible violence in our area and we did not understand the ramifications of violence in the greater Maritzburg area from where we

Continue

Fm 14/6/91

SOME BASIC MECHANICS OF PEACE

(274) (151)

Employers who are faced with violence in the workplace should consider certain guidelines in dealing with it. They are not hard-and-fast rules, but emerge from the experience of businessmen in conflict situations, particularly in Natal.

☐ Talk to the workers through their elected representatives, such as shop stewards, to establish whether or not the work force wants management to become involved, and if so, to what extent;

☐ Establish what, if anything, is being done by local businessmen's forums such as the chambers of commerce and industry. If they are not doing anything of much use, consult fellow businessmen about establishing a mediating or "peace" forum;

☐ Once such a forum has been established, try to discover the origins of the violence. Community leaders from affected communities, church leaders, unionists and municipal or local authority repre-

sentatives can all be drawn together on a specific day and time — which could involve considerable shuttle diplomacy beforehand;

☐ The police have to be brought into the forum, and liaison structures established with them;

☐ Staff members need to be involved in the forum — and they should be people with whom workers would feel free to go to with their problems;

☐ The youth need to be brought into the forum, which is one way of creating work for them;

☐ Initial help may involve the distribution of food and blankets, and should be done through neutral bodies such as church organisations;

☐ The building of large structures such as new local authority offices can be counterproductive; schemes that bring infrastructural improvements to areas such as water supplies, sewage and garbage

removal, the grading of sand roads, repairs to schools and the establishment of a clinic are far more useful;

☐ Don't probe too much about the political affiliations of your workers, but do ban them from wearing the T-shirts of political organisations other than unions, on the shop floor. Workers must feel that their work environment is a neutral zone;

☐ Assistance can be given to workers who have lost homes through arson or aggression. This could include relocation;

☐ Space on factory premises could be made available for workers who want to stay away from home for a few days to escape intimidation during stayaways;

☐ Transport problems need attention;

☐ If your workers live in hostels, visit them and see for yourself how they live; and

☐ Independent mediation or arbitration services can be useful, particularly in labour disputes.

'Violence used to force compromise' ARG.

By VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

270
26/6/91
17
THE State is using various forms of violence to force the black community to opt for a compromised negotiated settlement, according to the president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

Mr Nefolovhodwe was speaking at a June 16 commemoration service at St Mary Magdeline Church in Guguletu yesterday.

He said the State was forcing black people to accept the settlement in exchange for peace. But Azapo could see through this well-planned scheme of the racist government and rejected it, he said.

"The De Klerk regime and its imperialist supporters are changing the tactics of white supremacy, but are still maintaining capitalists interests.

"The so-called negotiation has caused destabilisation within the black community."

US fans the flames of violence ²⁷⁴ Buthelezi

ARC 17/6/91

ATLANTA. — Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Sunday that Washington will only "fan the flames of violence" in South Africa if its funding favours the African National Congress.

Chief Buthelezi, head of the Inkatha Freedom Party, began a week-long United States publicity campaign with renewed charges that Mr Nelson Mandela's ANC is mainly to blame for starting "black-on-black" township violence.

Chief Buthelezi was introduced by an aide as "the next president of South Africa" before a speech at a church.

Chief Buthelezi, who is to meet President George Bush at the White House on Thursday, said he came to the United States to counter "distortions in the media" which he said depict his Zulu-based party as main culprits in the township killing.

"I've not really come to ask the president for anything except I believe there should be some even-handedness as far

as help that America wants to give to organisations in South Africa," Chief Buthelezi said.

Referring to an as-yet undesignated \$10 million (about R27-million) fund authorised by the US Congress to support development of democracy in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi said there had been suggestions the ANC should get the "lion's share" with far less going to his party.

"Now I think that approach actually fans the flames of violence," he declared.

In sharp contrast to the effusive public welcome given Mr Mandela here a year ago during a fund-raising tour for the ANC, political and civil rights leaders in this black-governed city are largely snubbing Chief Buthelezi's visit.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha had been "sucked into violence" by attacks on its supporters by the ANC, which he said had set a policy of killing black township councillors "merely because they are black councillors." — Sapa-Reuter.

Chance for 2nd summit

Jan 4/6/91
increasing

Own Correspondent

274

DURBAN — A second national summit to end political violence, including Inkatha, the ANC and other political parties, could get under way soon following "positive discussions" between Inkatha and a high-powered church delegation.

The church leaders have been recommended across the spectrum to act as mediators in a bid to end continuing violence.

Political analysts see the visit to Ulundi yesterday by the church leaders as an attempt to convince the IFP of their political neutrality and their ability to act as mediators.

The church delegation was led by Dr Louw Alberts and the Rev Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and included other members of the Rustenburg Steering Committee, a group formed last year.

The Inkatha delegation was led by Dr Frank Mdlalose. Chief Buthelezi was unable to attend.

Clarification

According to a joint statement released after the all-day meeting, the group "committed itself to pursuing ways and means of addressing violence".

The statement said further discussion would be needed "between the two groups, or between individuals from constituent members of the group".

Delegates said the meeting had also identified points needing clarification.

"The meeting, we believe, will probably have given momentum to our respective involvements in the peace process," the statement said.

Inkatha had expressed strong opposition to the churches being charged with facilitating the peace process when this was proposed by Professor Johan Heyns at the Pretoria summit last week.

These objections were based on the SACC's historic political proximity to the ANC.

President de Klerk is understood to be satisfied with the group's political neutrality.

The group now appears to have balanced the SACC component and represents the best possible chance of putting together a neutral facilitator able to convene all the main players.

Peace meeting a low-profile step forward

By PAT SIDLEY

21/6 - 27/6/91

TOMORROW'S peace conference organised by Dr Louw Alberts' facilitating committee of church and businessmen is planned to be a low-level preliminary round of talks which will explore the way forward for further talks.

According to committee insiders, a series of working groups will follow and it is hoped agreements will be reached on specific issues which can then be monitored and checked.

The facilitating committee was formed after last month's Conference on Violence and Intimidation. The state president appointed Dr Alberts, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission and a lay theologian, to pull together a committee which would facilitate peace talks and which has among its members prominent church and business figures who are acting as independent facilitators in their individual capacities.

According to Theuns Eloff, a former church minister of the Gereformeerde Kerk, tomorrow's conference is not intended to be a grandiose peace summit, but "should be a low-profile meeting to discuss processes and not issues ... to talk about the way forward". He stresses that the belief among the organisers and participants is that a large peace summit will not achieve a lasting peace.

The participating organisations will not be represented by their high-profile leaders, but by functionaries who participate in their organisations at a lower level. The government will be represented by the National Party, but will not be represented itself.

The ANC, Cosatu and the SACP have said they will attend and initially Inkatha said it would, but then withdrew. However, significant pressure appears to have been placed on the organisation and it will now be represented by its Central Committee member Walter Felgate. In keeping with the general low-profile approach, Mangosuthu Buthelezi will not be present.

Invitations on the far right of the political spectrum have been turned down.

Inkatha peace pledge to ANC

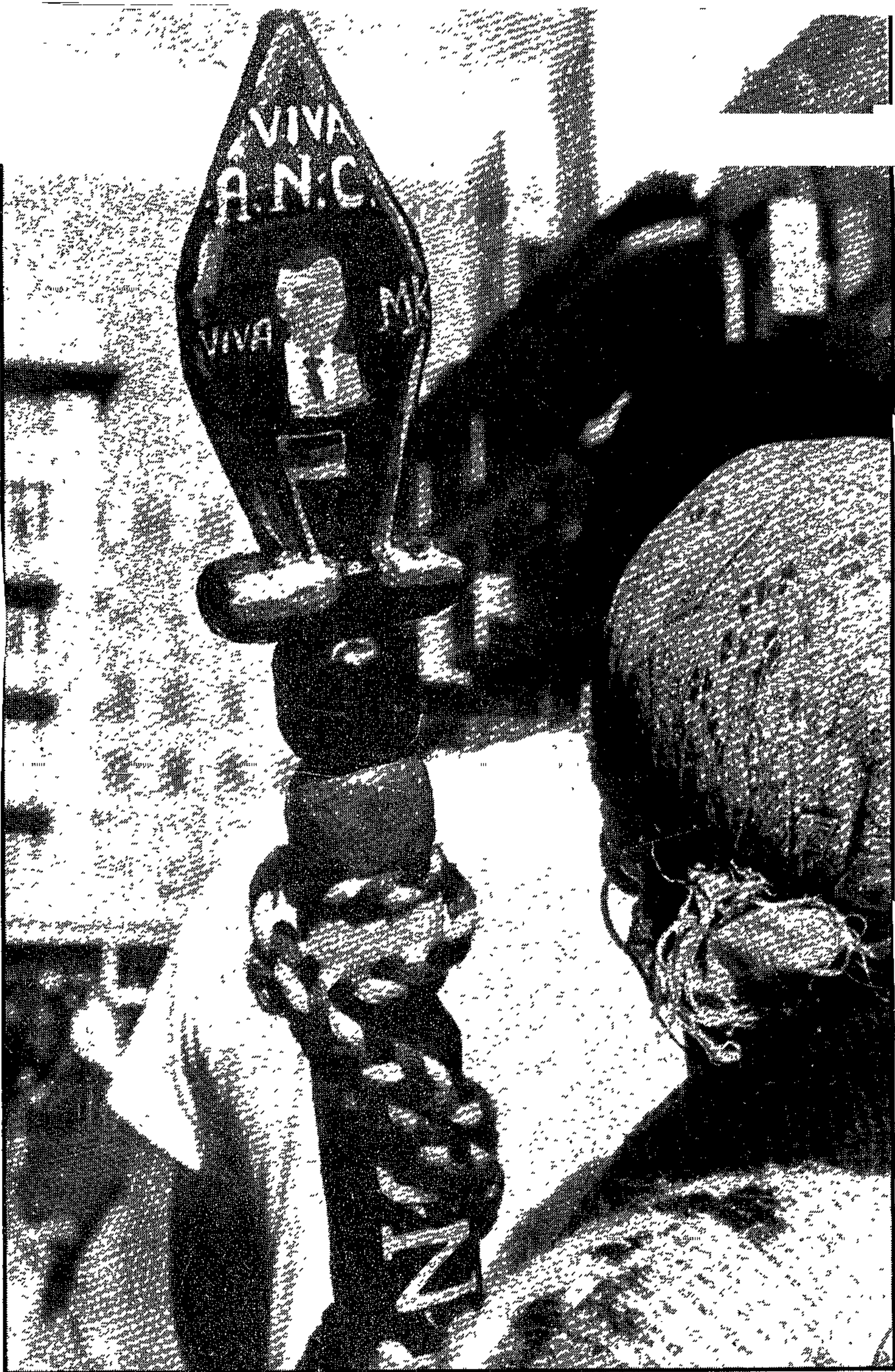
CT 11/7/91 (274)
Own Correspondent
ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party pledged yesterday to ensure that no violence occurred during the national conference of the ANC.

The pledge was made in a resolution passed at the party's central committee meeting here.

"We declare that we will do all we can to ensure that the ANC can hold its congress in peace," the committee said.

The central committee would continue acting as an interim national executive arm of the party.

The IFP also stated that it looked forward to the coming meeting between the ANC national executive committee and IFP central committee to resolve the outstanding problems between the two organisations.



Traditional weapon? Whatever this strange object is, traffic in central Johannesburg ground to a halt as marchers calling for peace, freedom and job creation went past. ■ Pic: MIKE MZILENI

Peace first at June 16 marches

AP News 16/6/91
COUNTRYWIDE ANC marches went off peacefully yesterday, the eve of today's June 16 anniversary.

Several meetings to commemorate June 16 are planned for all over the country today.

At one of the marches heavily-armed police cordoned off the main route to the Vereeniging Police Station, barring several hundred marchers from presenting a petition to police, witnesses said.

The march was one of 48 organised countrywide by the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party to call for

peace, freedom and job creation.

Marchers later presented the petition to a senior police officer at the Vereeniging Post Office.

In Cape Town about 1 000 people marched to Parliament where Cosatu's Western Cape regional vice chairman, Johnny Malebo, handed over a memorandum addressed to State President FW de Klerk.

In Bloemfontein a group of about 500 ANC, Cosatu and SACP supporters marched to the Criminal Information headquarters where a memorandum was read and handed to a senior police officer.

274
In Durban about 2 000 ANC supporters took to the streets. The toyi-toying throng delivered a memorandum to the offices of the Department of Manpower.

Signed by the secretary generals of the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP, the memorandum was addressed to the State President and demanded, among others, an end to political violence, the formation of a constituent assembly and an interim government, and massive job creation.

It also called for a binding code of conduct for the security forces and political parties.

Peace summit date set?

URGENT efforts are in progress to assemble all the main political players for a second national peace summit and Cosatu announced yesterday that it had accepted an invitation for June 22.

However, this date could not be confirmed by government sources or by the organisers' spokesman, Mrs Val Pauquet, who said the matter was extremely sensitive.

Other sources confirmed that the announcement by Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sydney Mafumadi was correct but said it was premature.

Mr Mafumadi said the NP, ANC, Inkatha, Azapo, PAC, SACP and Nactu had also been invited to a June 22 summit.

● The PAC yesterday confirmed the invitation, and said it would respond today. — Sapa

Evans and Sisulu discuss violence in SA

274
CT 10/6/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Violence and ways of dealing with it were the main topics of discussion between Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans and ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu in Soweto yesterday.

Mr Sisulu told reporters afterwards that he was confident about movement towards solving the violence. There was "great potential" for peace, he said.

The "real discussion" between Mr Evans and the ANC would take place today, Mr Sisulu said.

In Cape Town on Saturday Mr Evans reassured the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, that his government had not abandoned South Africa's blacks in their struggle.

Mr Evans paid a 40-minute visit to Bishops court, where the two men had, according to Archbishop Tutu, "frank and very, very friendly discussions".

Senator Evans said he had urged the archbishop and the church to contin-

ue to play a useful role in chairing a peace conference and had explained the Australian position on sanctions.

The meeting was followed by another with Dr Allan Boesak, director of the Foundation for Peace and Justice.

The two said they were "old friends" who saw very much eye to eye on most issues.

Later Mr Evans attended a lunch at Stellenbosch, where the guests included the rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, the principal of the Peninsula Technikon, Mr Franklin Sonn, and their wives.

Yesterday Mr Evans toured the giant Baragwanath Hospital near Johannesburg. He said later that the hospital was under huge pressure because of limited resources.

"Obviously the limitation of resources puts pressure on the hospital staff... but the morale seems to be high. The atmosphere was very good indeed," he said. Sapa

Marches, rallies to mark June 16

By Gary 13/6/91 274

THE ANC, Cosatu and the SACP yesterday announced that they had planned 48 marches and several rallies countrywide this weekend to commemorate the June 16 1976 uprising.

Their news conference was delayed by a bomb threat, but continued after police sniffer dogs were called. No trace of explosives was found.

The marches, which the organisations hope will be the largest since those on February 2 this year, will take place on Saturday under the banner of "Peace, freedom and jobs".

Rallies would also take place on Sunday, the main rally being addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at the FNB stadium near Soweto.

Permission for the marches has been applied for but has not yet been granted, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said.

The main marches will take place in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said other organisations, including the PAC and Azapo, had been approached to take part in the marches and rallies.

Asked about Inkatha, Nzo said the alliance's position was that anyone who supported the aims of the

TIM COHEN

marches and rallies could attend.

The marches aimed to draw support for a memorandum which would be handed to representatives of President F W de Klerk and Saccola president Anton Roodt.

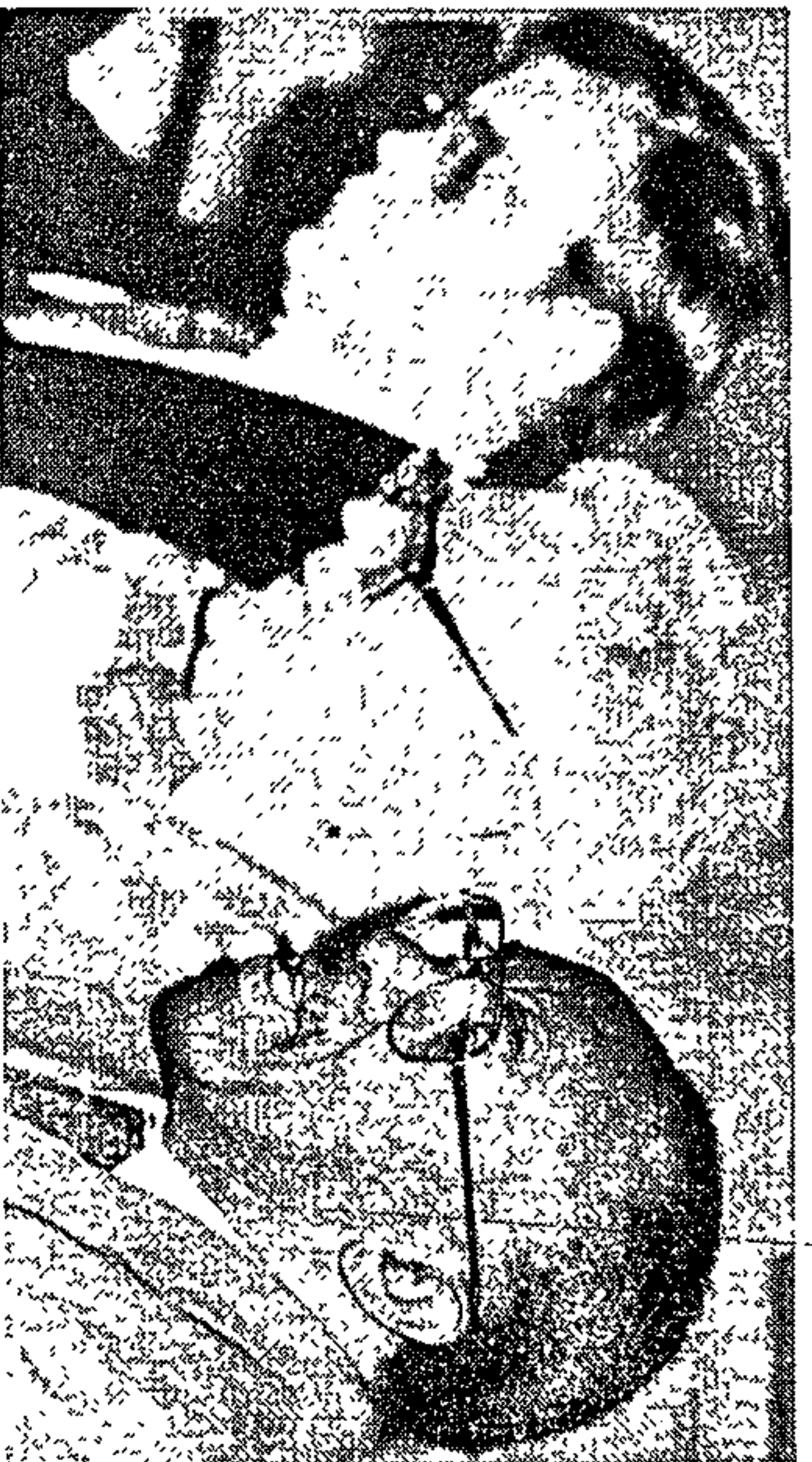
The memorandum calls for all parties to take part in a multiparty peace conference, for a democratic constitution and for government to create jobs.

"As long as violence continues, there can be no progress towards a non-racial, democratic country," Nzo said.

Asked whether the politics of protest were still valid in the light of poor attendance at recent ANC Youth League marches, league chairman Rapi Molekane said although the marches were small, they included many people who had not participated before.

SACP leader Joe Slovo said the marches would also highlight the issue of political prisoners because the ANC wanted to show it would not be blackmailed by the government on the issue.

He said prisoners still in jail were being "held as hostages" by government in an attempt to force further concessions from the ANC.



At the joint ANC, Cosatu and SA Communist Party news conference in Johannesburg yesterday were, from left: Carl Niehaus, Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Fighting cholesterol the corporate way

TANIA LEVY

THE cost to a company of replacing a senior executive who dies of a heart attack has been estimated at between R375 000 and R850 000.

To help identify people at risk of early death from coronary heart disease, a Johannesburg pharmaceutical company this week launched a corporate cholesterol screening campaign.

Logos Pharmaceuticals will provide equipment and staff to carry out the cholesterol check, which involves taking a blood sample from a finger prick, at cost of R7 a person tested.

A spokesman said the financial and emotional burden of heart attacks were enormous for individuals and their employers.

"A bypass operation can cost R50 000, not to mention the lost income and produc-

tivity during recuperation."

"One in every three men and a quarter of all women in westernised SA have coronary heart disease by the age of 60. More than 12 000 people die every year of heart attacks. Most deaths are preventable."

Logos product manager Alyson Prowse said a high blood cholesterol level was now known to be the single most important risk factor in heart disease.

More than 80% of South Africans with a westernised lifestyle had raised blood cholesterol levels.

The risk of heart attack could be lowered by as much as 50% by reducing a high cholesterol level by 25%, she said

June 16 protests: Police chief warns organisers

ARGUS 1969

~~274~~ 274
march or gathering in which he takes part is, in fact, legal".

PRETORIA. — The organisers of June 16 marches and rallies at the weekend must ensure that all the events are legal, and will be held responsible for the behaviour of participants, says Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe.

"The SA Police will take the necessary precautions and will be ready to act in the case of any disorderly conduct," he said in a statement yesterday.

It was the duty of every participant "to ensure that the

"Organisers must note they will be held responsible for the actions of people whom they mobilise and that they cannot shirk this responsibility," the general said.

"Therefore it is absolutely vital that there be strict control over, and even selection of, people taking part."

He hoped the marches would be peaceful. — Sapa

Apartheid alive — Clegg

MONTE CARLO (Monaco). — South Africa's "white Zulu" singer Johnny Clegg believes there is still a long way to go before apartheid is eliminated.

The 37-year-old singer who campaigns against apartheid through his music, suspects the violence between the Zulu-based Inkatha movement and the African National Congress suits the white authorities down to the ground.

"They have the biggest and best-equipped army in the region. The government could end the fighting immediately if it wanted to," Clegg said in an interview.

"There has always been a certain amount of inter-tribal violence. But in no other country have I seen groups of marauders on the rampage being accompanied home afterwards, even pro-

ected, by the police."

Clegg, who was born in Manchester, England, was taken to South Africa by his Rhodesian mother and has ties with Zulus that date back to his childhood.

Attracted as a teenager by music played by Zulu workers, he asked one to teach him the style.

He now speaks the language fluently and can execute the spectacular leaps that form part of Zulu tribal dancing.

The leaps are an integral form of the act he performs with the multiracial group Savuka. They combine Western rock music and African rhythms to convey their message of equal rights.

Clegg, in Monaco to receive an award as best-selling African recording artist of the year, said the violence was not only political. It

also expressed tensions between urban dwellers and rural ones.

"On the one hand there are the churchgoers, with Western consumer values and social structures," he said. "On the other hand is paganism, traditional tribal practices, kinship patterns and territorial allegiances."

"The rural dwellers feel they've always been at the bottom of the pile, and when they invade the townships there is massive theft."

He said the government seemed to be taking a gamble on weakening black factions by letting them tear each other apart, while being aware that overseas investors would hesitate while the violence continued.

"Security and economics are the soft under-belly of the white regime," he said.

"Advances have been made. But repeal of apartheid laws only operates on paper. They have to be accompanied by appropriate economic structures to be effective."

In Clegg's view, the African National Congress (ANC) made a blunder by not including Zulu homeland Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in negotiations with the government after ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was released from prison in February last year.

"Buthelezi has been anti-violence, anti-sanctions and pro-capitalist. But he saw Mandela, head of the armed struggle, pro-sanctions and a socialist, talking to the government. So Inkatha decided it too could put armed people into the streets."

Clegg said Mr Mandela, whom he had met several times since

the ANC leader's release last year, was a statesman and a visionary, hobbled by party politics. Clegg estimates that about one third of the white population is intransigent in its racist attitudes.

"There is a layer of diehards within the army and perhaps the police force. However, a vast number of whites are prepared to take a gamble on the future. But they are not properly represented by the media."

"In the end I believe a multi-racial government will emerge along federal lines, with local politics playing an important part."

"There's a painful period to be gone through. I think it will take from three to seven years for South Africa to find an even keel. Then it will be a magnificent country." — Sapa-Reuter.

ARG 13/6/91 (272)

Church-led initiative gains ground

ACCUS
(274) 14/6/91
(38)

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The ANC, PAC and Azapo meet today to exchange ideas on a church-led peace initiative scheduled for June 22, which will look at ways to end township violence.

Five major players have announced they will attend the church meeting, closed to the Press, at Barlow Rand's head office in Sandton.

The country's two major trade union federations, Cosatu and Nactu, as well as the South African Communist Party and the black consciousness-aligned Azapo, have confirmed they will attend the meeting.

Nactu announced yesterday that its president, Mr James Mndaweni, and treasurer Mr Bob Mashele will represent the federation.

Azapo's acting-publicity secretary, Mr Lybon Mabasa, said his organisation would attend the meeting "as part of the various initiatives to solve our country's problems".

And a Democratic Party source has also confirmed the DP's attendance.

The ANC is also likely to attend as it has been calling for some time for a broad-based peace conference convened by neutral conveners, such as church leaders.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus could not "confirm or deny anything" but in principle supported a meaningful peace initiative.

The meeting is being convened by a facilitating committee established after the government's peace summit last month.

Committee chairman Dr Louw Alberts said negotiations about the date were still continuing with some of the invited parties.

And a facilitating committee spokesman has cautioned: "Until we receive all the responses we can't say anything. If we are assured of full representation the meeting will go ahead."

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Miss Suzanne Vos confirmed the party had received an invitation but was still considering its response.

The Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party have refused their invitations.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said his party would not be represented because it was not involved in the township violence.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said violence was the result of the release of long-term security prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP, and the government's inability to maintain law and order.

ANC warns of bias as govt sets up key judicial commission on violence

CAPE TOWN — Government moved yesterday to establish a standing judicial commission on violence and intimidation, but an ANC spokesman warned it might be regarded as biased because the ANC had not been consulted.

The Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill makes provision for a panel of judges appointed by the President to investigate and make recommendations on the causes and manifestations of violence.

President F W de Klerk, speaking before his recent European tour, said the commis-

sion would be a key element in government attempts to combat violence, answer criticism of security force conduct and create a climate conducive to constitutional talks.

The other element is the peace process which gets under way again this weekend with representations from most of the major political players including the ANC, the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Sources close to the peace meeting said it had been downgraded from summit status to a "meeting to discuss processes". They said a crisis of expectations had emerged as a major obstacle to a success-

BILLY PADDOCK and TIM COHEN

ful meeting. 5/04 19/6/91

The talks were initiated by a group of 12 business and church leaders brought together by Rustenburg Conference co-chairman Louw Alberts and SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

Participating groups will not be represented by high-profile delegates. This will probably result in government figures attending the meeting in their capacity as

NP members.

NP spokesman Renier Schoeman said the NP would attend.

"In the light of assurances given that this meeting is only a planning meeting and exploratory discussions, the NP has decided to attend the meeting," he said.

ANC-aligned groups, however, want government represented at the talks because they consider government part of the violence problem.

Organisers do not hope for anything as definite as a new peace summit to emerge from the talks and stress the need for a

gradualist approach. They hope it will define the process by which decisions and undertakings will take place.

An agenda for the meeting is being drawn up, but it is not final and representatives might decide to discard it in favour of another.

Peace initiatives could, however, be further hampered by ANC objections to De Klerk's commission.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday black South Africans did not have confidence in SA's judiciary, particularly

Commission

after years of what they saw as political appointments to the Bench.

And with De Klerk appointing commission members it is likely to be seen as biased. For anything like this to succeed it must be independent and seen to be independent so that people in the community can trust its recommendations.

The same problem applied to the commission as to last month's Pretoria peace summit — there had been no consultation with the ANC in setting it up. Nor had provision been made for consultation with the ANC on the commission's composition.

She said the commission had no power to enforce its findings which could result in it being another toothless body.

However, it might be useful depending on who was appointed and how deeply they could probe.

Meanwhile, Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said the commission had been dis-

missed at the peace summit and that Inkatha supported it.

Sapa reports from Durban that peace talks between Inkatha and the ANC in the Richmond district in Natal have been arranged for tomorrow.

ANC area leader Sifiso Nkabinde said two other meetings were to be held at the weekend for Richmond refugees so that preparations could be made for their return home. Latest estimates were that between 60% and 80% of the population of the Indaleni and Magoda areas had left their homes because of the violence.

The official unrest report released in Pretoria yesterday said four people died and one person was injured in unrest incidents which occurred mainly on the Reef on Monday.

This brings to 61 the number of people who have died in unrest nationwide since the beginning of June.

Violence

/ and industrial property

Violence, VAT and interest rates put pressure on rentals

B/day 18/6/91

THE violence sweeping South Africa, high interest rates and other political and economic factors are dampening the commercial and industrial property markets.

As most factors determining these markets are bound by supply and demand, the present climate is not only placing rentals under pressure, but is also deterring local and foreign investors.

As a result, few speculative developments are taking place, companies are containing their expansion and the demand for space is dropping off.

Until the violence ends, the situation will continue to deteriorate.

The scrapping of the Group Areas and Land Acts is not expected to have any short-term effect on this market.

However, the introduction of VAT is expected to raise prices across the board and place an additional financial burden on

the man in the street.

Investec Property Group (IPG) MD Marc Weiner says, in real terms, anyone developing a new building after September 30 will probably face a 25% to 30% increase in costs because of normal inflationary increases to wages, materials and other inputs and the added cost of VAT.

Dampen

"VAT is going to hit the developer hard and could dampen commercial and industrial property growth for some years until it has worked its way through the system and the playing fields become level," he says.

Because VAT will become payable on labour costs and professional fees, the cost of any new building erected after September 30 will be increased by 7% to 8%.

The industry is, however, divided on whether there

will be scope for development in and around townships, and when this will occur.

JH Isaacs chairman Les Weil says there will be a move to those areas as there are a number of small businesses operating there already.

"There will be, in the medium to long term, the creation of new cities, with planned residential and commercial/industrial areas.

"People want to cut down travelling time, which will result in a number of developments near black residential areas."

In planning residential areas, land will be allocated for commercial and industrial purposes, he says.

An increasing number of new developments is being pre-let before construction and additional phases are not being built until there is sufficient demand.

While many of the developments coming on-stream were planned two to three

years ago when the property market was more buoyant, there is still demand for quality properties in certain areas.

The CBD continues to be a drawcard because of its location, while environmentally friendly and landscaped office and industrial parks offer increased staff productivity.

Enhance

Although these developments are encroaching into residential areas, developers say they enhance the value and surroundings rather than detract from them.

But the industry is confident that in the short to medium term the downturn in the market will be reversed.

In the medium to long term, it expects increased foreign investment and demand which, in turn, will bolster property values and rental levels.

274

Business and 8 Nov 5/6/91 church leaders in peace bid

Seven prominent South African church leaders joined forces with four representatives of big business yesterday to form an across-the-spectrum committee aimed at bringing political leaders together to end violence and intimidation.

The seven church leaders included in the "facilitating committee" are Dr Louw Alberts, a co-chairman of the National Conference of Churches; Dr Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches (SACC); Anglican Church leader Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Professor Johan Heyns, former moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church; Rhema Church head Pastor Ray McCauley; Dr Gerrie Lubbe, of the World Conference of Religion and Peace; and Dr Khosa Mgojo, president of the SACC.

The four business representatives on the committee are National African Federated Chambers of Commerce chairman Dr Sam Motsuenyane, Bobby Godsell of Anglo American, John Hall of Barlow Rand, and Sean Cleary of the SA Forum for Reconciliation.

The 11 held talks for several hours in Johannesburg yesterday to thrash out the new committee's agenda. Sapa.

New fund for victims of violence supported by all

The quickest way to formulate a system of emergency aid to victims of violence was to set legislation for a new fund rather than amend the provisions of the State President's Fund, Minister of National Health Dr Rina Venter said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to the second reading debate on the Fund-raising Amendment Bill, she said victims of violence were not entitled to aid from the State President's Fund.

The measure to get basic aid as quickly as possible to victims of violence through recognised welfare organisations was only a short-term solution. The problem of the violence had to be addressed.

The board of the disaster fund sat only after something disastrous had taken place and that "is on a very ad hoc basis", so it could not be used for aid for the victims of violence because the unrest was ongoing.

There was no reason why the members of the board of

the Disaster Fund could not sit on the board of the fund to be created for aid to the victims of violence.

The emergency aid would be given to all members of any community affected by violence regardless of their affiliation.

The people responsible should be called on to end the violence, but everything possible should be done to aid the victims.

The Bill was one way of showing Parliament's compassion for the victims of violence.

Earlier Carole Charlewood (DP Umbilo) said more than half the 14 000 people who fled the violence in the Edendale Valley near Maritzburg were children, many of whom did not know where they had come from, and had had to be de-traumatised.

More than 3 000 fatalities of the Natal violence were under the age of 25.

The Bill was supported by all parties. — Sapa.

FW poised to act on violence

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
SALDRU LIBRARY

14 JUN 1991

ARG 13/6/91

(274)

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk seems poised to make further moves against violence next week.

In a major "state of the nation" address to a joint session of parliament on Monday he is expected to announce stepped-measures against violence.

He may also announce his willingness to attend a conference on violence which has not been organised by the government.

Increased use may be made of troops to deal with violence situation in the townships.

Nationalist sources today could not confirm suggestions put about by Mr Harry Scharz, South Africa's ambassador in Washington, that Citizen Force soldiers would be deployed on an unprecedented scale.

Conclusion

They said it appeared to be merely a conclusion drawn from the government's general indication that it would use more policemen and more troops if the situation required this.

There have recently again been conferences on this matter between the police and the military.

The attitude in some government circles is that increased use must be made of troops in the townships in order to free the police to deal with the crime wave.

There is deep concern, also in the outside world, about the violence and movements such as the ANC have criticised the government for not doing enough.

It is thought that the use of more troops will not necessarily create a bad impression in the outside world and there have been indications that inhabitants there prefer them to the police.

Approached for comment today, Ministry of Defence spokesman Dr Das Herbst said there was "no move to deploy soldiers in the townships".

"The situation as far as using the SADF in (combating) internal violence has in no way changed. The SADF acts in a supportive capacity to the police when asked to do so."

June 22 conference

A hush-hush conference in violence is being held on June 22.

Leading players in future constitutional talks, including the government and the ANC, have been invited.

It has been called by facilitators led by Dr Louw Alberts who were appointed at the recent conference on violence which was not attended by the ANC and PAC or their affiliates.

All these bodies are apparently interested in a conference organised by the churches.

Leaks on peace talks spark fears

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

(274)

Concern was expressed yesterday that the "premature leakage" of details of a major new peace initiative being planned for June 22 might jeopardise the sensitive talks.

All of South Africa's major political players have been invited to the meeting, organised by the facilitating committee established last month at the Government-organised peace summit in Pretoria.

The committee, under the chairmanship of Dr Louw Alberts, comprises seven church leaders and four representatives of the business sector.

Plans for the meeting have

been kept a secret up to now because of the sensitivity of the fragile peace initiatives taking place.

The Star was told that news of the meeting might prompt certain political organisations — particularly the Inkatha Freedom Party — to stay away.

A member of the facilitating committee, Professor Johan Heyns, confirmed yesterday that the meeting was being organised, but declined to say who had been invited, nor would he give any clue to where the meeting might be held. He did not expect publicity would jeopardise the meeting.

Earlier, Cosatu assistant general-secretary Sydney Mafumadi told The Star that the ANC,

SACP, PAC, Azapo, Cosatu, Nactu, Inkatha and the Government had been invited.

He said the summit could launch a process which would lead to binding agreements on how to solve the violence.

The Government's peace summit, held on May 24 and 25 in Pretoria, was boycotted by the main extra-parliamentary movements, including the ANC and PAC.

The PAC confirmed that it had been invited, but said it "cannot say at this stage what our response will be".

Inkatha representative Suzanne Vos said she was still trying to confirm which Inkatha representatives had been invited to the talks.

Only the Right will not attend summit

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 20/6/91

(274)

The church-convened peace meeting in Sandton on Saturday would be attended by all the major political parties and organisations, except the Conservative Party and right-wing organisations, the National Conference of Churches (NCC) has announced.

In a statement yesterday, NCC spokesman Val Pauquet said the African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party, South African Communist Party, National Party and the Democratic Party have confirmed they would attend the meeting.

Also to attend will be the Labour Party, National People's Party, Solidarity and trade unions such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

Ms Pauquet said "where many other initiatives" had failed, 12 facilitators from the church and business communities had "achieved a major breakthrough" in bringing the different groups together.

However, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Herstigte Nasionale Party and other right-wing organisations have refused to attend.

Optimism

The one-day meeting comes after a similar Government-convened peace summit in Pretoria about a month ago. Apart from the AWB, no extra-parliamentary organisation, to the Right or Left of the political spectrum, attended the summit.

Ms Pauquet said there was a lot of optimism about Saturday's meeting because many groups had been willing to attend "at very short notice".

"The issue of violence is so complex it is anticipated the meeting will be needed to sift

through a large amount of material which will be presented.

"It will then be up to the meeting to decide what processes, mechanisms and actions are required to positively address the problem of violence in the country," Ms Pauquet said.

She said the Facilitating Committee of 12 had emphasised the meeting would not discuss ideological or political programmes, but would focus instead on "the critical issue of violence and how to end it".

Unlike the Pretoria summit, this weekend's meeting — which will be held at Barlow Rand in Sandton, starting at 2 pm — will not be open to the Press.

Members of the Facilitating Committee were Dr Louw Alberts, the Reverend Frank Chikane, Sean Cleary, Bobby Godsell, John Hall, Professor Johan Heyns, Dr Gerrie Lubbe, Jabu Mabuza, Pastor Ray McCauley, Dr Khoza Mgojo, Dr Sam Motsuenyane and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Govt says it has no plans for extra township troops

Blom 4/6/91

Business Day Reporter

GOVERNMENT yesterday played down reports that it would deploy unprecedented numbers of citizen force members in a bid to clamp down on township unrest.

The Washington Times reported that SA's ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz said government would move to end the violence "within a week".

Reuter reports Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said Schwarz was speculating when he met Washington Times editors on Tuesday.

"It is an ongoing thing. We are constantly deploying troops and police when the need arises. We are not planning any unprecedented deployment at all," Mellet said.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, meanwhile, claimed Schwarz was misquoted.

"What he did was interpret various statements by the State President to the effect that it was government's responsibility to curb and end violence and to maintain law and order," Botha said in a statement.

LINDEN BIRNS reports an SA Defence Force spokesman said the SADF would continue to deploy citizen force members in townships as long as police were understaffed.

A FEW weeks ago, there was a riot in the Washington neighbourhood of Adams Morgan. To the rest of the world, which derived its information from pictures, the incident, especially since it occurred within sight of the White House, seemed to suggest that America's inner cities were edging towards critical mass. A long hot summer, reminiscent of the civil disturbances of the '60s, was thought to be in the offing. In reality, the incident was a pretty modest affair. But for a combination of cowardly politics and creative police work, it would have been nothing more than a Sunday afternoon punch-up.

Adams Morgan is home to a sizeable community of Latin American immigrants, some legal, many illegal and therefore highly edgy about authority. The day the trouble started was a Hispanic holiday, a fiesta. There had been a fair amount of drinking going on. A black woman police officer tried to remove a particularly impaired celebrant from the street. Under the dictates of machismo, the fellow was not about to take orders from a woman. Though heavily outnumbered, she moved to arrest him. He lunged at her with a knife. She shot him.

Riots started flying. Well-juiced tempers flared. Before long a crowd of youths, unleashed by the collective rush that comes from self-righteous anger and too much alcohol, were venting themselves on local property. The police, their ranks swollen with inexperienced recruits brought aboard to assure voters that the city fathers were serious about crime, the former mayor's drug conviction notwithstanding, had no idea how to respond.

Their main tactic was to flood the area with police cars which they then left untended as they milled about trying to decide what to do. Most of the rioters (and frankly, there were not that many) had come from countries in Central America where, either as government con-

The law must act to protect the voiceless victims of violence

214 SIMON BARBER in Washington

scripts or guerrillas, they had acquired a degree of paramilitary training. Unlike most home-grown looters, they knew what to do with vehicles: take the emergency flares from the boot, light them, and stick them in the petrol tank. This works. Soon the street was littered with the burning hulks of R100 000 squad cars. The police, still not doing a lot on the ground, then had the bright idea of dropping teargas from a helicopter. All of which made for excellent television. While the action still only covered a couple of blocks, through the viewfinder of a minicam it looked to all intents as though a war had broken out.

Wars have to have deeper meanings, and one was quickly found. Local activists, claiming to represent the Hispanic community (although such a thing does not really exist — it is a series of quite distinct communities from almost every country south of the Rio Grande) hove into the frame claiming they were fed up with being discriminated against by Washington's predominantly black city government.

Here was something the politicians could get their teeth into. We could have a negotiation premised on the idea that the pillagers were victims. We could agonise about socio-economics and about how

these poor young men had been forced to flee their homelands by American oppression and had to live without wives and children in the equivalent of single-sex hostels with little prospect of work. The new mayor, Sharon Pratt Dixon, vowed to be more sensitive. The idea of recruiting Hispanic cops to patrol Hispanic areas was mooted.

What was not addressed was the question of sheer lawlessness, its effects on the vast majority of the neighbourhood's thoroughly peaceable residents, and what, if anything, the police intended to do about it. The immediate answer to the last question was not much. The "unrest" continued for another couple of nights, spreading to a dozen or so more blocks in the process. The local Press was loath to report it, but most of the "rioters" were now black teenagers who had spotted an opportunity for some free shopping.

Adams Morgan is a highly integrated part of town. Many new immigrants, not only from Latin America but from as far afield as Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Korea, tend to gravitate there, drawn not only by their own kind but by the fact that

yuppies with disposable incomes also live in the area. The result, as it has been throughout this country's immigrant experience, is a bustling medley of small businesses, as owners and employees of which the newcomers seek to stake their claim on the American dream, often in the face of excessive government overregulation.

Not once were the interests of these people considered. Having no spokesmen, they received no ink in the Washington Post, no place at the "negotiations", and, rather more importantly, next to no protection from a police force which seemed afraid to intervene with any vigour lest they be accused of fanning the violence further.

Instead of imposing order immediately — which could have been easily done, the geography of the initial battleground being such that it could have been instantly cordoned off and cleared — Dixon imposed a curfew, forcing all the local shops to close. The police then watched as roaming packs of vandals decided to open the shuttered stores for themselves.

Thousands of lives have been damaged, some perhaps irreparably, not because of some "injustice" hastily cobble together as an explanation for the initial rampage but because the city's authorities abdicated their

responsibility in. They abdicated this responsibility in large measure because they were more concerned with the politics of the situation — in other words with the idiot rhetoric of a few self-serving activists — than with the well-being of ordinary men and women trying to make a living.

Though the injustices are more real, much the same applies in SA where the voiceless victims of such abduction number not in the thousands but in the tens of millions.

Negotiations between government and the ANC, or between the ANC and Inkatha, or a "peace conference" and between as many parties as can bring themselves to participate, will not, in and of themselves, solve the problem. To the contrary, confabulations of this kind run the risk of holding the lives and futures of the many hostage to the political whims and vanities of the few.

Nor does it matter what the outside world thinks. Let it see the townships through the viewfinder of a minicam or the prose of a Press and diplomatic corps that returns each night to some tranquil white suburb to relay that latest outraged pronouncement of the strugglers. So the world may not see the ordinary people, desperate for work, or to reach it in one piece if they have it, so that they may feed their families; for schools in which learning can take place; for homes to which they can return without fear of finding a brother or son has been murdered. They are there and must be protected.

These people have been ignored and abused long enough by politicians of every stripe both in and outside the country, by the NP, by the intimidators, by the sanctioneers. Their safety — their freedom, in truest sense of the word — cannot be subordinated any longer to some craven political calculus or ambition.

If, as ambassador Harry Schwarz has suggested, this means massive deployments of the Citizen Force, so be it. Let the State Department get jittery. The lifting of sanctions will be meaningless if domestic peace is not restored.

Storm over



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

'arms

for IFP'

Sowetan
12/6/91

274



MAGNUS MALAN

By ALINAH DUBE

THREE high school pupils from Garankuwa were killed when violence broke out during an outing to Seshego, Pietersburg.

The three, pupils at Setlaleto High School, were knocked down as they tried to stop the bus in which they had travelled to attend a sports meeting in Seshego on Saturday.

They were Reuben Ndiweni (18), Jeffrey Modiselle (21) and Tebogo Mothupi (18).

Lieutenant Mhlabi Tlomatsana, Press Liaison officer for the Lebowa police, yesterday confirmed the deaths.

He said four other pupils, Priscilla Lebelwane, Simon Molema, Alfred Maluleke and Sefatha Tsaine were among those who were injured in the incident. Sowetan 12/6/91

Lebelwane and Molema were treated in hospital.

● To Page 2

A HUGE storm has broken out over allegations that the SADF is fanning violence in the townships by supplying weapons to Inkatha Freedom Party members as a covert campaign to weaken the ANC.

These stunning allegations were made by former South African military agent Nico Basson in an interview with four journalists on Monday.

An SAP spokesman said yesterday that a charge under the Protection of Information Act (formerly the Official Secrets Act) is being investigated in Johannesburg against Basson.

John Carlin, the Johannesburg correspondent for *The Independent* in London, said Basson, a former SADF major, told the journalists that the SADF has deliberately fanned the township violence of recent months.

Basson said this included funding and supplying weapons to the IFP as part of a comprehensive "dirty tricks" strategy to ensure President FW de Klerk's National Party remained in power after the end of apartheid.

Sowetan Reporter

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday angrily denied allegations of involvement with the SADF.

He said the postulation that the "SADF strategy" was to "build Inkatha through intimidation so as to form a strong alliance with the National Party in the first post-apartheid elections" was simply laughable.

"I'm flabbergasted. I know nothing about this. I categorically deny any implication that Inkatha would approve of, or allow itself to be party to, deliberately fomenting violence and creating ethnic divisions in South Africa."

'Smear campaign'

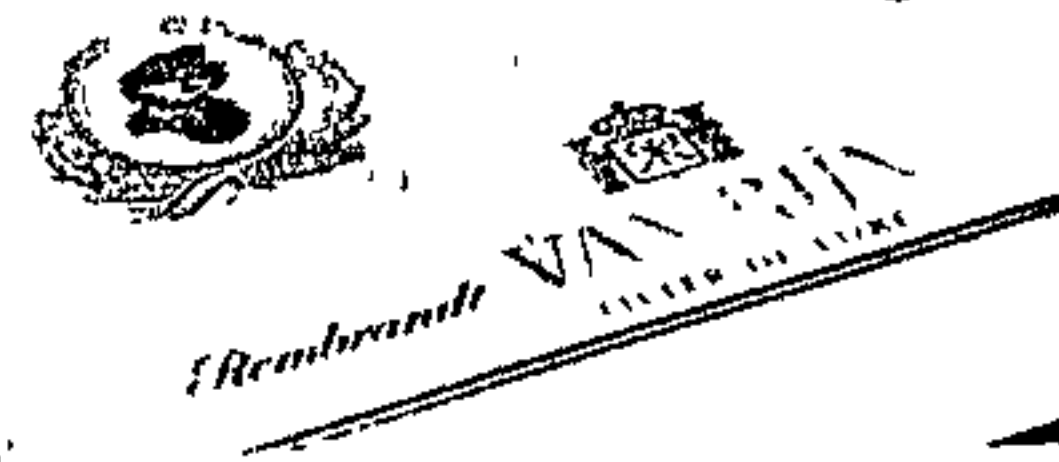
"This is a horrible accusation. It is in line with the anti-IFP smear campaign that has been waged against us from several quarters for quite some time both here and abroad," he said.

Basson, who said he had worked for military intelligence in Namibia in 1989, added that the SADF was also working on plans to attempt, through intimidation, to engineer the elections in neighbouring Angola next year in

● To Page 2

P.T.O.

Each Cigarette a Masterpiece



Big storm brewing over 'arms for IFP'

From Page 1

favour of Unita leader and old ally of South Africa Dr Jonas Savimbi.

He said he himself had been a key player in an elaborate SADF-orchestrated scheme designed to prevent victory in the 1989 elections in Namibia going to Swapo, the eventual winners.

Basson said the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs had worked, and was working, hand-in-glove with the SADF in the deployment of the various stages of the plans.

The plans were codenamed Operation Agree when first devised

at the end of 1988 by Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha.

In April, Basson wrote to De Klerk with a broad outline of the allegations.

The SADF said yesterday that Basson was "bandying about unsubstantiated allegations for reasons of his own".

The statement added: "The Defence Force knows nothing about these plans, which are ridiculous."

In the interview, Basson provided a wealth of detail - including names of senior military officers, names of alleged SADF front-companies in and out of South Africa and names of individuals al-

legedly running those companies - to substantiate his claims regarding the SADF role in Namibia.

He said Namibia was intended as a "dress rehearsal" for the much more ambitious operation currently afoot in South Africa itself.

Violence

He had continued to obtain information on that operation from numerous sources working within the SADF with whom he is in regular contact.

They share his disgust and disillusionment with the SADF's activities but fear to speak out.

The strategy behind the violence, he said, was to create ethnic divisions;

to discredit the ANC, whose military wing has long been associated with the AK-47, and force it into political mistakes.

Another strategy was to build up Inkatha through intimidation so as to form a strong alliance with the National Party in the first post-apartheid elections.

To that end, the SADF had not only provided weapons to Inkatha, but also assistance in setting up township cells.

Secret

Pointing to the estimated eight percent of the Government's defence budget which, it is known, is employed for secret projects, he said it



PIK BOTHA

was on precisely such ventures that the money was being spent.

De Klerk has in recent months refused to answer parliamentary questions on where the secret money is going.

Basson, an SADF officer between 1982 and 1986, said he saw Opera-



DE KLERK

tion Agree unfold in Namibia, where he was summoned by the SADF in January 1989 in his capacity as a volunteer member of the Citizen Force, the army reserve.

He was ordered to set up an ostensibly legitimate operation called African Communications Project with SADF fund-

ing - he personally received R64 000 a month - whose aim was to manipulate information in favour of the pro-South African "democratic" parties opposing Swapo, which had fought a war of liberation against South Africa for 23 years.

Letter

Basson, who said he had survived three attempts on his life, told De Klerk in his letter that he had been motivated in his actions by a "road to Damascus" experience in 1989, when he underwent a radical shift in his political commitment.

He added that he was appalled at the use of State resources for party political ends.

A time to

remember

Sowetan

13/6/91

274



Marches,

services

to mark

June 16

BY THEMBA MOLEFE, IKE
MOTSAPI and MATHATHA
TSEDU

MASS action, including 48 marches countrywide on Saturday, is planned for this weekend as black organisations prepare to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the June 16 1976 students uprising.

This year's commemoration

On Page 2

P.T.O.

Mass action planned

Sowetan 13/6/91

From Page 1

again underscores divisions that exist among the major organisations.

On the one hand, the ANC and its allies, the SACP and Cosatu, have organised a two-day programme of mass protests beginning with countrywide marches on Saturday.

The action will culminate in a rally at FNB Stadium outside Soweto at 10am, where ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will speak.

On the other hand, the

PAC and Azapo join forces with the New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action in hosting a major service at Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto, on Sunday at 10am.

The events of June 16 1976 and the circumstances surrounding the death of the first victim, Hector Petersen, will be relived at the meeting.

The PAC will hold a vigil at Hector's Soweto home on Saturday.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will hold its service

at Diepkloof Hall, Soweto, on Sunday at 10am.

Ironically, the ANC, PAC and Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Harare have planned a joint June 16 commemoration programme beginning tomorrow.

Spokeswoman for the six-person organising committee Miss Sesi Baloyi said a march in downtown Harare will end with the handing of a petition at the South African Trade Mission.

On Saturday, there will be a meeting at the University of Zimbabwe.

A service is scheduled for Sunday at the Mbare sports grounds.

The ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance said in a statement issued by ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo that the June 15 and 16 mass action in South Africa was to protest against violence and support peace, freedom and jobs.

The 48 planned marches are to end with memorandums being handed to State President FW de Klerk and the chairman of the South African Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs.

Peace bid

● FROM PAGE 1.

the meeting of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SA Council of Churches secretary-general, the Rev Frank Chikane, also suggests an ANC disposition.

This may explain why the Government is playing the meeting low-key and only disclosed yesterday that it was sending a delegation — under Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer. (274)

Until then it looked as though only the National Party would attend, which annoyed the ANC as it felt that the Government should be there, because it was implicated in the violence. (274)

But the Government's rather coy approach could well be a deliberate stratagem to mask the fact that the meeting is in a sense a sequel to its own summit.

Inkatha is also downplaying the meeting by sending a small, low-level delegation of two. The agenda seems to be open-ended and will depend upon what the various parties decide.

Because of the fragility of the relations between the attending parties — and in particular the uncertainty about the PAC's position — observers are reluctant to predict a successful outcome.

Although many reports have suggested that the meeting will set up another summit, this is by no means certain.

Government sources will only say that they hope that the meeting

will reach an agreement to work further towards finding solutions to violence.

Some parties involved expressly hope that the meeting does not result in another summit, as they say that ordinary township dwellers caught up in the violence are becoming tired of talk about the violence and want concrete solutions.

They hope this meeting will come up with real hands-on solutions and mechanisms to end the violence, as well as answers to questions about the "third force" for example.

They believe a working group could be formed to continue to examine ways of dealing with violence.

One leading participant said that, even if this might seem a trivial result, it would be a great step forward if it could keep the process alive.

"The achievement here is just bringing these disparate players together at the same table, not so much whether or not they come up with a solution for the violence."

All sides emphasise that it is only a planning meeting and not itself a summit.

Apart from the main players, a host of other parties and organisations, including trade union bodies, will be represented.

But most of the homeland governments and parties have not been invited, much to their annoyance.

The Chamber of Mines's Bobby Godse, Dr Alberts, the Rev Chikane and Archbishop Tutu are scheduled to play leading roles in the meeting.

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE Government, the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha will sit around the same table for the first time today to try to find solutions to political violence.

The meeting behind closed doors in Sandton, organised by a group of churchmen and businessmen, is being seen as a breakthrough because it is bringing together most of the often bitterly-opposed main factions.

Refused

The ANC and PAC refused to attend the Government's peace summit on May 24 and 25, declaring that they would prefer to attend a peace conference organised by the churches — if it went ahead.

It is also significant that the Government and the PAC — the latter so far vigorously opposed to any kind of negotiations — will meet officially for the first time, as far as is known.

The only conspicuous absentees are the Conservative Party and the groups to its right.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, who leads his party's delegation to the talks, also believes it is significant that it is the first meeting of the kind — since the ANC and PAC were unbanned in February last year — which has been organised by an independent facilitator and not the Government. This is something the DP has been pushing for.

Political observers say this is the reason for the success in bringing the participants together.

Broaden

Adroit diplomacy has been exercised to put the meeting together without creating the impression that the organisers favour any party.

Today's meeting is to some extent an outflow of the Government's May summit, where it was agreed that Rustenburg church group leader Dr Louw Alberts should form a committee to broaden participation in the peace effort.

At the same time today's meeting looks a bit like the sort of church-inspired peace effort which the ANC would have preferred to the Government's summit.

The prominent role in

'Citizen Force for townships'

Troops set to quell violence, says Schwarz

B/Dan 13/6/91

WASHINGTON — Government will move to quell township violence by deploying Citizen Force units on an unprecedented scale within a matter of days, SA's ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz predicted yesterday.

It was learnt separately that President F W de Klerk is planning a major address to Parliament on the issue, which could come as early as tomorrow.

Schwarz was confirming remarks attributed to him by the Washington Times in an interview he gave the paper's editors on Tuesday, in which he said government would move to end the violence "within a week".

"It will have to be ended either by agreement or by government action," Pressed by the Times on when the action might occur, he replied: "Today is the 11th... within a week."

He described the violence as "largely a struggle for political turf" between the ANC and Inkatha.

Questioned yesterday, the ambassador — who has full access to De Klerk — declined to be drawn on whether he had received specific information from



● SCHWARZ

SIMON BARBER

government.

He would say only that he had read De Klerk's recent pronouncements carefully. "I am making these statements based upon what he says... I know that the State President is extremely unhappy" with the current situation.

He predicted that "very substantial forces" would be used to keep ANC and Inkatha factions apart.

"I think order can be maintained with large forces — Citizen Force units — rather than exposing small numbers of police."

Citizen Force units had been deployed previously, but in "small numbers", he said, indicating that they would be used on a larger scale than ever before.

He said the government had "done everything it can to get people to a peace conference" and had been "extremely reluctant to use major force".

He realised that there would be "adverse effects both locally and internationally" but added "the violence cannot be tolerated and allowed to happen... If you are the government of the day, you have a responsibility to maintain law and order."

The Times report caused jitters in the US administration which is hoping to lift the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act's sanctions soon after the end of the current parliamentary session in Cape Town.

"This is a very sensitive six weeks," an official said.

Officials said also they were puzzled as

□ To Page 2

Troops

to why De Klerk would opt for a drastic increase in security measures at this stage. The administration's own analysis was that the violence was easing

Asked about claims by a former SADF military intelligence officer that the military had been giving Inkatha AK-47s acquired in Mozambique, Schwarz said: "I can't believe it's true."

He noted that Inkatha had previously been accused of using "traditional" weapons. Now that these had been banned, it was being accused of using AK-47s.

If Inkatha was receiving such weapons, the ambassador was confident that the government itself was not responsible.

TIM COHEN reports that in an earlier development yesterday the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance pledged support for a multi-party peace conference initiated by the group of church and business leaders under the chairmanship of Louw Alberts.

At a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the alliance called for all parties to participate.

The first major meeting of all major political players was planned for June 22, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi said.

The group has already approached the NP, the ANC, Azapo, the PAC, SACP and Nactu, among others.

□ From Page 1

e
v



el Real Estates
ar on the pro-
m Gooding and
r of Intervision,
concept.



sq metres.

00 sq metre
sit R2 000.

IDT to work towards stability

27/6/91
By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

THE problems of in-
stability in South Africa
lay in the competition for
scarce resources such as
land, housing, access to
jobs and opportunities for
quality education.

This was said this
week by Mr Jan Steyn,
chairman of the Indepen-
dent Development Trust.

Addressing the In-
stitute of Directors in
Southern Africa, Steyn
said in seeking a new
dynamic of co-operation,
the IDT had negotiated an
agreement with Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi
and Mr Nelson Mandela
to "co-operate in initiat-
ing and implementing
non-partisan reconstruc-
tion programmes in areas
devastated by violence."

He said the trust had
pursued the approach of
launching development
projects in shack areas
with local leaders.

"Given the com-
plexity of the situation
and the fact that through-
out the world we have
seen that once a cycle of
self-reinforcing civil
violence starts, it is one of
the most difficult prob-
lems to solve. It would be
foolish of us to promise
quick results," Steyn
said.

The IDT would con-
tinue to make what it
believed to be a sig-
nificant contribution to al-
leviating tensions.

Prospects for peace summit brighten

80weten 5/6/91

A SECOND national Umtso on Monday. peace summit to end political violence and which will include both the African National Congress and Inkatha could get under way soon.

In a joint statement after the meeting, the churches' Rustenburg steering committee and Inkatha said the meeting "will probably have given momentum to our respective involvements in the peace process".

"Further discussions

will be needed, whether between the two groups or between individuals from constituent members of the group.

"The meeting committed itself to pursue ways and means of addressing the violence.

"It also identified that there are many more fac-

2-44
tors regarding violence which were not addressed in the declaration and that any future peace initiatives will have to take due cognisance of these."

Inkatha was initially against meeting the church delegation.

Their objections were based on the South Afri-

can Council of Churches' historic connections, which have been seen by Inkatha and the Government as pro-African National Congress.

Inkatha was led by Dr Frank Mdlalose, the church by Dr Louw Alberts, and the Rev Frank Chikane.

'Violence will ruin business'

Sowetan 5/6/91

274

VIOLENCE threatens to destroy South African business, director of Assurance Brokerage Company Mr Kehla Mthembu said yesterday.

Delivering a keynote address at the annual conference of the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce, Mthembu said: "The violence that has permeated our communities has the capacity to destroy social fabrics, deplete business potential and set us many years back."

He told the conference that the country was experiencing one of its worst depressions.

"The value of our money has become a laughing stock compared

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

to other currencies in the world," he said.

"This effectively rules us out as meaningful players on the international scene.

Inflation

"The rate of inflation has been steadily soaring to such an extent that most basic living requirements have been rendered out of reach for the man in the street.

"The workers are continually losing their jobs as most companies have begun various processes of rationalising, retrenchments, streamlining and

down-scaling them.

"Small business is also under pressure as cashflow situations make it difficult for them to plan."

Mthembu said the education system was still inadequate to meet the demands of the majority of the population.

He also said the "threat of Aids is definitely with us".

He urged the black business community to make it their responsibility to find solutions to these problems.

"We need to survive the political scene, which is going through the worst blood-letting orgy ever witnessed in modern times," he said.

Main 'players' together for first time

Breakthrough in search for peace

Star 22/6/91

Million blacks were 'forced' to join protests

SF Times 2316/0911

(274) (452)

By SHARON CHETTY

MORE than one-million black township residents were "intimidated and coerced" into taking part in consumer and rent boycotts and stayaways in the past year.

And at least eight people died every day in politically-related violence this year, according to *Fast Facts*, an SA Institute of Race Relations journal.

To monitor intimidation among urban blacks, the institute commissioned a market research firm to survey 905 adults in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging and the East and West Rand.

Forced

The research by Market and Opinion Surveys in late February and early March reveals that "hundreds of thousands of urban blacks were forced to take part in consumer and rent boycotts and work stayaways".

The publication says: "One in five people who were supporters of the ANC, UDF or SACP said

they had been forced to take part in consumer boycotts, whereas four out of every five Inkatha Freedom Party or Azapo supporters said they had been forced."

A similar pattern emerged for stayaways — about a quarter of ANC/UDF/SACP supporters said they had been threatened while 80 percent of either Inkatha or Azapo supporters had been threatened or had their families or property threatened to ensure that they complied with stayaways.

About one-fifth of ANC/UDF/SACP supporters claimed they were threatened during rent and services boycotts while two-thirds of NP supporters, two-thirds of Azapo supporters and 70 percent of Inkatha supporters were victims of these threats.

The survey covered metropolitan areas with a black population of 5.6-million people over the age of 15.

If the findings were tak-

en as a representative sample, the institute said, it could be assumed that about 1.75-million metropolitan black people experienced coercion or intimidation in the past year.

However, the institute found that the average 8.1 deaths a day from January to May was lower than last year's average 9.5 for the same period while the daily fatality rate for the whole of last year was 10.

In a provincial breakdown, 252 (43 percent) of South Africa's unrest incidents were recorded in the PWV area, 34 (six percent) in the rest of the Transvaal and 174 (30 percent) in Natal from January 1 to April 30.

Firearms

The Eastern and Northern Cape had the lowest number of unrest incidents where 22 (four percent) and 20 (three percent) respectively were recorded.

Firearms — including AK-47s, shotguns, rifles and pistols — were the most commonly used weapons in attacks (27.9 percent) while petrol bombs, hand grenades, limpet and land mines and arson were responsible for 22.2 percent of attacks.

The survey found that axes, pangas, knives, garden forks, screwdrivers, iron pipes, sticks and other unspecified sharp objects were used in 17.6 percent of attacks while 13 percent of attacks were with stones and 3.5 percent were by the necklace method.

Weekend peace talks lauded as 'significant'

6/Day 24/6/91

TIM COHEN

THE weekend's peace meeting was "a very significant step, if not a breakthrough", leading facilitator Louw Alberts said yesterday.

The meeting decided that representatives of government, the ANC and Inkatha, as well as existing members of the facilitating committee, would form a "preparatory committee" to discuss methods to create peace.

The other political parties and trade unions represented at the meeting will not play a role in the committee's deliberations, the meeting decided.

"There was a very remarkable spirit of co-operation," Alberts said. All parties without exception had committed themselves to peace.

He said many people were praying for the success of Saturday's meeting and it appeared God had answered those prayers.

Commenting on the meeting's decision to engage only government, Inkatha and the ANC, Alberts said. "Ultimately the body as a whole decided that what was proposed was best in the interests of success."

There was still hard work ahead, but the meeting was a very vital link in the chain, he said.

The meeting decided the task of the preparatory committee would be to consider and draft proposals in working groups on issues identified as being necessary to end violence.

Some of the key issues include a

code of conduct for political organisations, a code of conduct for the security forces, socio-economic development and reconstruction and enforcement mechanisms.

The enforcement mechanisms include measures such as a statutory standing commission and peace secretariats at national, regional and community levels.

Finally the preparatory committee would consult with other relevant parties and organisations not represented at the meeting, with a view to convene an inclusive forum at which binding agreements would emerge, as soon as practically possible.

The preparatory committee will report on its progress by the first week of August to the relevant parties.

Praise for constructive peace talks

Star 24/6/91

By Mark Suzman
and Peter Fabricius (274)

Participants in Saturday's marathon peace summit yesterday praised the meeting and said they hoped it would play a constructive role in ending violence.

Another more inclusive peace summit and a permanent multi-party initiative to try to end violence are the likely outcome of the talks in Sandton.

According to Dr Louw Alberts, one of the conference's conveners, the meeting, which brought together all the major players in South Africa with the exception of right-wing groups, marked a positive step towards ending the violence.

"I think it was something of a miracle that people of so many diverse views made a concerted effort to secure peace."

The meeting, which was organised by church groups and businessmen, included black and white trade union groups, the ANC, Inkatha, the Government and even Azapo.

Although full details of the summit meeting are being kept confidential, an official press release stated that a new "preparatory committee", which incorporated the facilitating committee that organised the meeting and three members each from the ANC, the Government and Inkatha, would be set up to examine the issue of violence.

The committee would look at issues such as the establishment

of a code of conduct for political organisations and the security forces, and the formation of peace secretariats at national, regional and community levels.

The preparation committee is likely to form working groups which would broaden participation to include homeland parties and perhaps others.

They would report back to their principals by the beginning of August on the possibility of establishing a national forum on violence — "or something along those lines".

Government sources have expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the weekend talks.

Four positive features of the agreement reached were:

- For the first time the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party were working together officially — on the preparation committee — to resolve violence.

- All parties to the talks supported the preamble to the end statement calling for peaceful resolutions to the SA problem.

- The PAC and Azapo, while not agreeing to serve on the preparation committee, had nonetheless agreed to take part.

- Many of the agenda points of the new committee were the same as those discussed at the Government's peace summit in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

The general reaction among participants was that all groups played a constructive role in discussions, although some delegates singled out the Inkatha representatives as sometimes hindering debate.

Groups in bold bid for peace

Sowetan 24/6/91.

(274)

A PREPARATORY committee to establish ways of ending violence was formed at a church-initiated peace conference at the weekend.

The committee, formed at the end of a day-long meeting in Sandton on Saturday, comprises the existing facilitating committee and a further nine members - three each nominated by the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC-led alliance.

A statement released after the closed-door summit said all organisations which attended the planning meeting had committed themselves to working for peace in South Africa and to set up a

special committee in a bid to end the violence.

The organisations further resolved that a code of conduct for political organisations and security forces be drafted. Other resolutions were to:

- * Involve their members and supporters at all levels in ending violence;

- * Work in joint initiatives for this purpose, regardless of political differences.

The task of the preparatory committee will be to draft proposals in working groups on issues seen as necessary to bringing about peace.

Those who attended Saturday's

meeting were the facilitating committee members: Dr Louw Alberts, the Rev Frank Chikane, Mr Sean Cleary, Mr Bobby Godsell, Mr John Hall, Professor Johan Heyns, Dr Gerrie Lubbe, Mr Jabu Mabuza, Pastor Ray McCauley, Dr Khoza Mgojo, Mr Sam Motuonyane and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Participants were: the Democratic Party, the Ministers Council of the House of Delegates, The National Peoples Party of South Africa, the South African Communist Party, the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, the National Party, the Government, the Merit Peoples Party, the Amalgamated Engineer-

ing Union, the South African Boilermaker's Society.

Others were the South African Electrical Workers Association, South African Chamber of Business, Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Metal and Electrical Workers Union of South Africa, Congress of South African Trade Unions, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, National Council of Trade Unions, United Workers Union of South Africa, Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services and the Federation of Salaried Staff Associations of South Africa. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

Fronts for Govt slammed

THE Government was trying to broaden its base by creating fronts which want to achieve their goals through violence, a trade union conference heard yesterday.

Delegates attending the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa conference in Johannesburg also resolved that a "patriotic front" of all organisations be formed to campaign for peace, unity and a constituent assembly.

In order to stop the Government and its allies from achieving their objective, people who wanted to see a new democratic government should unite and fight off the threat, Numsa resolved.

Sowetan 24/6/91

'Breakthrough' peace meeting

274cr24/6/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The weekend's peace meeting was a "very significant step, if not a breakthrough", key negotiator Dr Louw Alberts said yesterday.

The meeting decided that representatives of the government, the ANC and Inkatha, as well as existing members of the facilitating committee, would form a "preparatory committee" to discuss methods to create peace.

The other political parties and trade unions represented at the meeting will not play a role in the committee's deliberations, the meeting decided.

"There was a very remarkable spirit of co-operation," Dr Alberts said, pointing out that all parties without exception had committed themselves to peace.

He said many people were praying for the success of Saturday's meeting and it appeared God had answered those prayers.

Commenting on the meeting's decision to engage only the government, Inkatha and the ANC, Dr Alberts said: "Ultimately the body as a whole decided that what was proposed was best in the interests of success."

There was still hard work ahead, but the meeting was a very vital link in the chain, he said.

The meeting decided the task of the preparatory committee would be to consider and draft proposals in working groups on issues identified as being necessary to end violence.

Some of the key issues include a code of conduct for political organisations, a code of conduct for the security forces, socio-economic development and reconstruction and enforcement

mechanisms.

The enforcement mechanisms include measures such as a statutory standing commission and peace secretariats at national, regional and community levels.

Finally the preparatory committee would consult with other relevant parties and organisations not represented at the meeting, with a view to convening an inclusive forum at which binding agreements would emerge, as soon as possible.

The organisations attending the meeting committed themselves to working for peace with the involvement of their members and supporters at all levels.

They also resolved to work together and with others in joint initiatives to achieve peace, regardless of political differences and to study and research the causes of violence.

52

Four die during national unrest

(274) CT 24/6/91

PRETORIA. — Four people were killed, two others injured and numerous arrests were carried out at the weekend in unrest-related incidents in various parts of the country, police said yesterday.

In their official unrest report, police said the bodies of two men with stab wounds were discovered at Esimozoheni, near Richmond, in Natal.

In Durban, a man died after he was shot at by unidentified assailants, and at Tembisa, near Kempton Park, the body of a man was found.

In another incident, the driver and passenger in a private vehicle sustained injuries when unknown people attacked them in Maokeng, near Kroonstad.

At Old Crossroads, two men damaged a pair of shacks with petrol bombs.

The police also said they had arrested 49 ANC supporters in Dysselsdorp, near Oudtshoorn, after the "militants" occupied the local police charge office.

Police reported negotiating the ANC group into leaving the office before arresting them. — Sapa

THE issue which will dominate the ANC's national congress and determine the shape of its leadership is not whether or not negotiations with President De Klerk and his cohorts should continue.

Nobody who counts for anything in either the present or the aspirant leadership core can really believe that there is now any thinkable alternative to negotiations and no amount of rhetoric which the excitements of the gathering may generate should be allowed to obscure this fact. Even had such an alternative existed, say, four years ago (which in my view it did not), the geni of peace has now been let too far out of his bottle to be put back again by anything short of a national catastrophe.

A long series of formal, semi-formal and informal contacts has fixed the following agenda firmly in the minds of the major interlocutors. The ANC's congress and leadership elections will be followed by a conference which the De Klerk camp would like to title an "all-party conference", but which some of the ANC negotiators would prefer to call a "multi-party conference". This conference will agree on the general principles for a post-apartheid constitution and take steps towards establishing a body which the ANC wants to call an "interim-government" and the Nationalist negotiators want to title a "governing mechanism". This structure will later be followed by something the government thinks of as a "constitution-making body" and the ANC calls a "Constituent Assembly", which it wants elected on the principles of universal franchise.

Capitulated

Of course, getting through this agenda will by no means be plain sailing and the issue of the Constituent Assembly could doubtless prove a difficult sticking point. Nonetheless, many of the other issues are semantic matters which can be settled, given some goodwill and the broad agreement which seemed to have been achieved on substantive issues such as the principle of one person one vote in a unitary state.

Given the extent of these developments, it is no feat to predict that the ANC congress will mandate its new National Executive Committee to continue negotiating. To do otherwise would be crazy, since, on the constitutional and political levels at least, the White Establishment has in effect capitulated to the demands of organisations it outlawed, hounded and tried unsuccessfully to exterminate for dec-

Geni of peace too far out the bottle to be put back now

By
**TONY
HOLIDAY**



ades. The only rider to the mandate will be that negotiations cannot begin in earnest until a climate of peace has been firmly established.

If all this is right, then, in a sense, it ought not to matter who the congress elects to the executive, since Mandela is certain to be elected president. It ought not to matter whether Chris Hanu or Jacob Zuma or Walter Sisulu inherits the post of deputy president. It ought not to matter whether the secretary general's mantle slips from Alfred Nzo's ageing shoulders to be picked up by a younger comrade.

Yet there is another sense in which all this matters very much indeed. It matters because the composition of the new National Executive Committee will play a vital role in determining, not only the ANC's own posture and sense of urgency with respect to negotiations, but also how it is viewed by its own and De Klerk's constituency and by certain foreign players, who have a stake in the eventual outcome.

Fine balance

The make-up of the new NEC will decisively influence the pace at which the ANC readies itself for government by transforming itself into a modern political party, capable of defusing dangerous illusions that it could be defeated in an election. It will determine whether the poisons of mistrust which have entered the political climate in recent months can be eliminated and it will structure the ANC's own perception of its principles and policies and those of its allies in the trade unions and in the South African Communist Party.

What the congress needs to do, in



ALFRED NZO:
Mantle slipping?

my view, is to strike a fine balance between continuity and change. On the one hand, its constituency needs to see a leadership which is genuinely invigorated by new blood, representative of those who have fought the struggle at home during the turmoil of the eighties. On the other hand, great harm could be done if the impression is created that the old leadership and its trusted lieutenants and advisers, who have facilitated the negotiations dynamic up to now have been altogether sidelined or swept away.

Finding this balance will tax the ANC's political wisdom to the utmost limit. Yet, at this juncture, it dare not fail. As one senior ANC stalwart put it to me recently: "It's not just a question of our movement's future we are talking about. It's the whole country's future that is now at stake."

□ Anthony Holiday, a senior lecturer in the philosophy of education at the University of the Western Cape, and a member of both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, writes in his personal capacity.

'Breakthrough' peace summit

274 CT 24/6/91

JOHANNESBURG. — A peace summit at the weekend decided that representatives from the government, the ANC and Inkatha would form a preparatory committee to discuss methods of bringing about peace. The summit was arranged by churches after a previous meeting was boycotted by the ANC and PAC. Right-wing parties did not attend. Key negotiator Dr Louw Alberts described the summit as a "breakthrough".

● Full report — Page 2

Douglas Hurd's visit to South Africa will be crucial, writes Stanley Uys

Looking for a signal of hope

Star 27/6/91 -

~~27th~~ 274

THE dynamics of South African politics have changed quite dramatically since Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd first met President de Klerk in Cape Town 15 months ago (when Mr Hurd was on his way home from Namibia's independence celebrations).

Mr Hurd must be well pleased with the changes that have taken place in South Africa since then, and when he meets President de Klerk in Pretoria on July 8 he may tell him so, even if in guarded Foreign Office-speak.

Mr Hurd is answering to a new prime minister this time — John Major, not Margaret Thatcher.

Mr Major may not be quite as over the moon about South Africa as Mrs Thatcher was, but basically the British government's policy will remain unchanged, although Mr Hurd probably will have more scope now as Foreign Secretary. The message that President de Klerk will get from Mr Hurd's

visit is that opportunity is knocking at South Africa's door.

But Mr Hurd will also be voicing his — and the West's — anxieties that the opportunity might be missed.

The most immediate of these anxieties is the violence. Western governments see it as highly damaging to the negotiation process, and they are not sure whether South Africa's political leaders are getting to grips with it.

Is the Government doing enough to ensure the impartiality of the police?

And is it really necessary for black leaders to arouse the passions of their followers in the way they have been doing?

Arousing passions is the business of politicians, but once a political party prepares for government, as the ANC, Inkatha and others are doing, mobilising the masses becomes a two-edged sword. The mass followers of today become the undisciplined

mob of tomorrow.

However, Western governments on the whole were mightily pleased by the weekend's church-sponsored conference on curbing the violence, and they will wait to see now how the conference's resolutions are implemented.

Western (and other) governments feel they have a legitimate interest in what is happening in South Africa. They are being asked to help provide the financial underpinning for post-apartheid South Africa and they want to be sure they will not be wasting their money. On South Africa's post-apartheid success might depend the survival of much of the southern African region.

In any case, as all South Africa's political leaders will have noticed, the principle of sovereignty — that countries should not interfere in each other's internal affairs — is wearing thinner and thinner in Africa, as increasingly tough conditions are set to secure

external financial support.

Another Western anxiety is that while promises abound of material improvements in South Africa, the actual work on the ground is not commensurate with these promises, and unless ordinary South Africans (blacks more than whites) feel they will benefit from the negotiation process, they will not give it their support. This means material improvements must begin immediately.

Much will depend, therefore, on what Mr Hurd learns at his meetings with President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthi Buthelezi, businessmen and others. The message he takes back to Western Europe, and later to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Harare in October, will be important for South Africa's economic future.

By October, the Commonwealth could be looking at a South Africa that is very different from the one they knew at their last meeting.

The negotiation process might not have started, but if other issues have been cleared up, like the release of political prisoners, there might be no need — for the first time in years — for the Commonwealth to rake over old quarrels about whether to lift sanctions or not.

The importance of a change in the Commonwealth's attitude to South Africa should not be underestimated. Once the barriers come down between South Africa and the rest of Africa, entirely new influences could come into play. It is almost certain that Nigeria, under President Ibrahim Babangida, will become a more significant voice in Southern Africa, overshadowing perhaps even Zimbabwe. A powerful enemy could be transformed into a powerful friend.

The international community is poised to lift sanctions — the European Community and the Bush administration in particular. Even

the OAU is shifting into a more flexible position. Everyone is recognising that the time to start rebuilding South Africa's economy is now, not after the installation of a post-apartheid government. The country cannot afford to lose the precious next few years.

Mr Hurd's visit, therefore, is not just another diplomatic jaunt. It is a serious fact-finding, situation-reading mission that could help to pave the way for South Africa's final readmission into the international community.

If, at his meetings with political leaders, Mr Hurd is made to listen simply to a litany of complaints about each other, he will not feel that his mission has fulfilled its promise.

It is common purpose he is looking ahead — some recognition that, political differences aside, South Africans have the same priority, which is to rebuild their country as quickly as possible. □

Facilitators have taken control of peace talks

SATURDAY's conference on violence, viewed against the background of the similar meeting called by President F W de Klerk in May, was both more successful and more important than media commentary suggests.

Although homeland and political leaders and certain centrist political organisations were not invited, and the CP and related right-wing organisations declined invitations to attend, Saturday's conference was remarkable in that it brought together for the first time the government, the PAC, Azapo, the SACP and Co-satu, as well as the ANC, the IFP and parliamentary parties.

The conference also committed all of these organisations to working for peaceful political change and finding ways of ending politically inspired violence, and locked them into a process from which no party would be able to back out without a tremendous loss of credibility.

But more important than who did and who did not participate, and the concrete action programme agreed upon, is the fact that the conference took the initiative for negotiations out of government hands. Although they would strenuously deny this, Louw Alberts and his fellow facilitators have taken over. The NP no longer calls the shots, and the irony

is that De Klerk was himself responsible for this development.

None of the non-parliamentary organisations attended the earlier meeting. The main participants were the tricameral parties, and the NP and the IFP. Gazankulu was the only homeland to attend. While Eugene TerreBlanche and the AWB made an original and surprising contribution, the CP chose to stay away.

It was no doubt this which prompted Johan Heyns to declare that it was "futile" to continue. He invited everybody present to join a church-organised meeting on violence the next week.

This statement stunned those present. And although De Klerk showed no reaction whatsoever, Heyns's statement would have been like a body blow. Momentarily, the conference teetered on the brink of collapse, with De Klerk facing acute embarrassment.

The result was that the President, in his closing statement to the conference, acknowledged, in Nelson Mandela's words, that government "could not be both a player and the referee". The President went on to announce the appointment of a "continuity committee" consisting of representatives of business, the churches, the NP and the IFP. But he also announced the appointment of

DENIS WORRALL

Louw Alberts as sole facilitator. And whether the President intended this or not, the fact is that Alberts and his facilitators have developed a being and momentum of their own.

While some attempt was made at the May conference to structure discussion by having three interesting and stimulating keynote addresses, the organisers adopted the tricameral protocol and the value of the keynote addresses was lost in hot air, as a series of political leaders, making predictable speeches, all proclaimed their commitment to peace without getting down to specifics. And when the conference did turn to the causes of violence and possible concrete responses, hopelessly too little time was allowed for discussion.

By contrast, Alberts and his fellow facilitators, with no political axes to grind, a profound sense of the urgency of the matter, and lots of negotiating and diplomatic skill, knew just where they wanted their meeting to go and what had to be avoided if it was to get there. (Incidentally, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, with Sean



□ ALBERTS

Cleary, co-chaired the most difficult session. It was my first experience of this remarkable personality in this capacity, and I can truly say he is un-

questionably the most charmingly manipulative chairman I have encountered.)

The ending of violence is not an end in itself. That, surely, must be a stable, broad-based democracy. But the ending of violence is a necessary condition for serious constitutional talks to begin. And herein lies the significance of Saturday's conference for future developments.

Eric Walker, in his life of Sir Henry de Villiers, says that SA's first chief justice, who chaired the national convention, was referred to by delegates as "the man with the oil can". As far as the peace process is concerned, the men (there are no women among the facilitators) with the oil cans have taken charge. And President de Klerk and Gerrit Viljoen, who, with many others, are understandably impatient to see the multiparty conference meet and constitutional negotiations start, would be wise to hold back on that conference until these men with the oil cans have finished this assignment. And President de Klerk would be even wiser were he then to ask them to set up the constitutional talks.

□ Worrall is the MP for Berea and the DP's constitutional affairs spokesman.

The Renamo-style massacres

A NEW phenomenon in the spiral of political violence has emerged over the past nine months: Renamo-style massacres of civilians, carried out by Inkatha supporters.

The Denver station massacre, Sebokeng vigil massacre, Alexandra vigil massacre, Swameville massacre and now the Kiptown train massacre are some of the more horrific and large-scale examples.

In each case the victims were civilians, unconnected with violence. The attackers were, or were alleged to be, hostel-based Inkatha supporters. Each of the attacks bore strong resemblance to the style of random terror carried out by Renamo in Mozambique. And in several there were strong allegations of police complicity in the attacks.

So far the police have had mixed success in bringing the suspects in the following incidents to trial.

● Commuters were returning to their Johannesburg homes on September 13 last year, when a group of Zulu hostel dwellers, armed with pangas,

spears and firearms, boarded the train at Jeppe station and indiscriminately started hacking, stabbing and shooting passengers. Some of the victims were praying as they were murdered.

Another gang was waiting for the train as it came to a halt at Benrose Station in Denver, and they attacked people as they fled from the first gang. At least 20 people were killed and over 100 injured.

The police investigating officer said at the time the attack followed a prayer meeting in which "a certain group of people" had insulted Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini.

A week earlier a group of Inkatha hostel dwellers, wearing red headbands, had attacked early morning Soweto commuters waiting to board the train at Merafe Station. At least five women were injured and one man killed.

The police offered a R50 000 reward in connection with the second attack and in October five Jeppe Hostel residents were arrested and charged with 21 counts of murder and 45 of attempted murder.

A new wave of terror has broken in South Africa, with gunmen mowing down innocent civilians at random.

By GAVIN EVANS and PAUL STÖBER

They were granted bail of R20 000 each. But on May 30 this year charges against the men were withdrawn, after police failed to find sufficient evidence to proceed with the case.

Witwatersrand attorney general Klaus von Lieres told *The Weekly Mail* the magistrate refused to keep the case on the roll because of the delay.

"Three of the suspects in this case are believed to be in hiding, and the police have been unable to locate them. These appear to be the main suspects, and they could still be charged. But it is senseless to charge cannon fodder if you can't charge the leaders."

"We certainly haven't given up and we still hope to find them — and if we do we'll prosecute. We also may launch a formal judicial inquest."

● About 300 Sebokeng mourners were attending the vigil of local ANC activist Christoffel Nangalembe at 2am on September 12 last year when a group of men burst into their tent and opened fire.

Terrified mourners, including young children, were murdered at point blank range. When it was over, 39 people were dead (27 being killed instantly) and at least 13 injured.

Two days later police seized seven AK-47 rifles and detained 11 men and a woman. Eight were later charged in the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court with 38 counts of murder and two of attempted murder.

Residents accused police of leaving the scene of the crime shortly before the massacre. Police confirmed this but said they had been asked to leave.

Residents alleged that some of those involved in the shooting were members of the local Five Star Gang.

However, at every court appearance of the accused there has been a strong Inkatha presence, with members wearing Inkatha T-shirts, and local Inkatha leaders attending.

At the bail application for the ac-

cused, representatives of Inkatha testified they would be prepared to pay bail of up to R1 000 each and local secretary Bula Kubheka offered them the use of the Inkatha office in Vereeniging if they had no place to stay.

Lawyers for the accused requested bail three times but the state has successfully opposed each application and they remain in custody.

The case has been postponed to July 4 for the final decision of the attorney general on whether to proceed with charges.

A lawyer assisting the families of the victims of the massacres, Anton Steenkamp, described this case as "one of the few where there's been good co-operation from the police. At this point we are waiting for the AG's decision and no charges have been instituted yet."

● A tent vigil for an ANC township violence victim was being held in Alexandra township in the early hours of March 27 this year, when three men wielding AK-47 rifles and revolvers burst in, screaming "You are ANC and we are Inkatha!"

They fired randomly, and then hacked survivors to death with pangas and knives, leaving 15 dead and at least 16 seriously injured.

The police acknowledged they had been warned of an impending attack by a group of armed men, but said that when they arrived the group was not in sight — so they moved on.

A week later eight men were arrested and immediately appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court, where they were refused bail.

"There has been nice progress in this case," said Von Lieres. "A senior advocate from the AG's personal staff is handling it, and the men will appear in court again on August 1 on charges of murder and attempted murder."

A section 205 order for the director of the Alexandra Clinic, Alan Robb, to provide information about the massacre victims, was withdrawn last week.

"The withdrawal came in the context of high-level negotiations about a procedure that will apply to all police stations in this area," Robb said, adding that the victims had consented to provide the required information.

● Residents of the Swameville squatter camp on the West Rand were asleep in their shacks at 5.30am on Sunday May 12, when about 1 000 Inkatha supporters wearing red headbands and armed with guns, spears, pangas and axes launched an attack.

At least 27 people were killed, 30 injured and 82 shacks burned down.

Soon after, Inkatha officially confirmed its members were involved, saying the attack came in response to the earlier abduction of two hostel residents.

According to a report prepared by Lawyers for Human Rights, Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies and the Independent Board of Inquiry, the residents gave detailed accounts of police in camouflage uniforms being present during the attack.

The document says that nearly half the witnesses say they saw police Hippo vehicles in the area at the time and several allege that "while men were escorting the attacking group prior to the retreat of the impi."

The impi had marched for 10km to the camp without being apprehended by the police.

At the time police claimed the attack happened while the local riot unit was busy changing shifts, and they denied they were present.

Lawyers for Human Rights representative Laura Pollecut yesterday said they were assisting the police Criminal Investigation Division with their investigation, and after independent ballistics tests would hand over firearm cartridges collected by residents after the attack.

When the attack began, said their prayer was disrupted by men who shouted, "Today we are going to kill you all, Mandela's children."

Peace talks could be the next casualty

By CARMEL RICKARD

PEACE talks could be the next casualty of the sudden upsurge of violence in Natal and elsewhere.

Already African National Congress-Inkatha peace talks scheduled for the Richmond area have been called off, following the weekend massacre of 23 people in the Natal midlands.

Condemnation of the renewed conflict has come from both the ANC and Inkatha, and there have been allegations of the involvement of a "third force" as well as the security forces, a claim denied by the police, who have announced that 13 people have been arrested in connection with the killings.

While the Richmond talks are off, at this stage it seems the working groups set up to formulate a peace process after last weekend's church and business facilitated conference are going ahead with full ANC participation along with Inkatha, government, business and church delegates.

However there are fears that pro-peace talks elements within the ANC will lose ground because of the sudden spate of attacks.

These killings will be very much in the mind of delegates to the ANC conference next week. Those already disposed to criticise peace talk schemes will be able to use the killings as ammunition to shoot down peace plans.

The violence could strengthen their hand against delegates who believe that it is precisely when violence intensifies that talks become more urgent.

While the physical attacks continue, there have been coincidental verbal attacks on ANC intelligence chief and southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma.

The most recent was a document entitled *Open letter to comrade Jacob Zuma*, faxed to the media on ANC Midlands letterheads yesterday from an unsourced fax machine.

The letter raked up the by now well known allegations of MK unhappiness with Zuma's handling of operations during the period before the ANC was unbanned, alleged he was "directly responsible for the murder of MK commander Muziwhake (sic) Ngwenya also known as Thami Zulu", and demanded an explanation from him of "excesses" which occurred under his leadership.

Midlands officials have denied their office had anything to do with the letter.



PEACE TRAIN ... The annual conference of the SACC was interrupted when church leaders took the commuter train from Johannesburg station to Kiptown to show solidarity with the victims of this week's train massacre. Passengers on the train sang hymns and prayed with the SACC leaders, who then met all the delegates from the conference at Kiptown station, where a service was conducted.

Photo: GUY ADAMS

Prayers, then the cry: 'We're killing Mandela's children!'

DRAMATIC new evidence has emerged that a second gang was involved in the gruesome attack on Soweto commuters in a Johannesburg-bound train on Tuesday.

Survivors of the attack told *The Weekly Mail* that as they leapt from the train to escape the gunmen who had shot dead six commuters, more gunmen emerged from the veld behind Nancefield hostel and opened fire on the fleeing passengers.

Eye-witness accounts suggest the entire operation was carried out by a highly organised and sophisticated gang, who planned it with military precision and then took refuge in the hostel.

At least six people died and 18 were injured when men armed with firearms and pangas attacked train commuters early on Tuesday morning between Kiptown and Nancefield stations.

The attack came days after all South Africa's major political organisations met in Sandton to work out how to end the violence gripping townships.

The African National Congress said it noted with grave concern that "every time there are movements towards peace and meaningful initiatives taken, a fresh wave of violence occurs."

From their hospital beds, the surviving victims of Tuesday's attack told *The Weekly Mail* how a group of men,

Witnesses say two gangs were responsible for this week's Soweto train massacre — and both took refuge in the Nancefield hostel. **WALLY MBHELE** reports

some dressed in tracksuits and black coats, randomly opened fire on commuters. Their victims included participants in a church service.

People lay flat on the train's floor to avoid bullets, while others were forced to jump from the moving train.

As the train approached Nancefield station, a second gang of gunmen emerged from the veld behind Nancefield hostel, the survivors said. The men opened fire on passengers who were trying to escape.

A regular commuter on the 6.30am train, Dannie Hlabangwane, of Chicken Farm squatter camp, was shot in the right hip. He told *The Weekly Mail* the assailants were young men in their early twenties.

When the train pulled out of Kiptown station, he said, the two men — who were Zulu-speaking — politely asked for matches and he gave them a box.

The two men pulled out guns and started shooting. Hlabangwane screamed and tried to escape to another coach.

"Those men were very accurate, they did not miss, they were perfect and did not speak as they shot."

"I was hit in the right hip and immediately fell down, pretending to be dead," he said. Some people were shot while lying down.

When the train arrived at Nancefield station, said Hlabangwane, the shooting stopped. The only sound was that of people groaning in pain.

"I tumbled onto the platform and saw the gunmen running in the direction of the hostel. Then I heard the sound of gunfire coming from that direction."

"I tried to stand up, and realised there were people firing at us from behind the hostel. The two groups then dashed into the hostel," said Hlabangwane.

Japhtha Masuku of Rockville, who was on the last coach but one, told *The Weekly Mail* he saw people rushing to his coach in panic. "We couldn't identify who was fighting and who was on the run. I then saw people going down as shots rang out in our coach."

He fell to the floor, with panga and gunshot wounds in his head.

Angeline Ndlovu, who was taking part in a church service on the train when the attack began, said their prayer was disrupted by men who shouted, "Today we are going to kill you all, Mandela's children."

SA churches slam violence

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Council of Churches (SACC) yesterday expressed anger and concern that the recent spate of violent incidents in the country indicated "yet again" the existence of forces intent on destabilising various peace initiatives.

The SACC, which is holding its national conference in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, also expressed "frustration over the inadequate and, in many instances, superficial analyses of the violence by the news media and the general apathetic response of the public to the ongoing conflict, especially in Natal and the Transvaal".

"This conference condemns these massacres outright. It encourages people to defend themselves and their

communities in a responsible way as effectively as possible against similar attacks and to do whatever they can in maintaining a climate of justice and peace so that the process towards negotiation and reconciliation can continue and can contribute to the building of a new South Africa."

The conference urged the government to discharge, effectively, its responsibility for providing security to all the people of the country and to seek ways of democratising the security forces as a matter of urgency.

To show solidarity with the relatives of the six people killed in Soweto on Tuesday morning, the SACC gathered in prayer at Kliptown yesterday. — Sapa

Cops involved in killings, says Mandela

274
28/6/91

EMPANGENI. — The police are directly involved in killing innocent and defenceless people in the country, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing about 600 people packed into the local town hall, Mr Mandela charged that evidence of the involvement of the security forces and Askaris in violence was "overwhelming".

"The government may have tried to persuade the police force not to use these methods, but the government has created a monster and it will be difficult to use the same police for the transformation to democracy," Mr Mandela said.

He added that the SAP had been trained to regard demonstrations by black people as a "declaration of war on white supremacists".

He also alleged police were directly involved with "some organisations" in attacking innocent people. He did not name the organisations.

Mr Mandela's allegation comes just days after renewed claims by the Natal Midlands branch of the ANC that security forces were involved in recent Inkatha-ANC fighting in Richmond and Greytown.

The ANC leader urged black people

to "unite to pursue our liberation together".

"We must not march against one another, we must join forces and march against our common enemy."

Black peoples' opponents were using the strategy of dividing Africans to conquer them, he added.

The ANC was concerned about re-establishing the relationship between the Zulu kingdom and itself.

To this effect, he hoped to meet Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini in August.

"I would like him to know I regard him as my king just as I regard other Zulu kings as mine."

He said Zulu kings like Shaka and Dingaan were not only heroes of the Zulus, but heroes of all Africans.

Commenting on the ANC's relationship with the government, he said his organisation still held the "strategic initiative".

Sanctions were still in place and "the government's argument that sanctions are crumbling is propaganda".

The ANC had defeated State President F W de Klerk as the government had now accepted the ANC policy of a non-racial democracy, he concluded.

— Sapa

End these massacres — SACC

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) this week hit at the media's superficial analysis of the violence in the country and the public's general apathy to the ongoing conflict.

A large SACC delegation interrupted the body's national conference in Johannesburg on Thursday to pray for peace at Kliptown squatter camp near Soweto where a spate of attacks has claimed scores of lives

this year.

The delegation of foreign clergy was headed by SACC president Khoza Mgojo and general secretary Frank Chikane. They were accompanied by local and international journalists.

Chikane said the SACC was outraged by further massacres in Klip-town, the most recent on Monday when unknown gunmen opened fire at unsuspecting train commuters, killing six and leaving 23 wounded.

Chikane also slated the

Taylor's Halt attack last Saturday which left seven members of one family dead, the only survivor being a seriously injured eight-year-old boy. He also condemned the Richmond violence which left 16 dead in one weekend.

Chikane condemned the "inadequate, and in many cases superficial, analysis of the violence by the media — and the general apathetic response of the public to the ongoing violent conflict in the country, especially in Transvaal and Natal".

"As Christians we believe that all human beings are created in the image and likeness of God, and for that reason human lives should have value and dignity.

"To take someone's life is one of the most serious crimes against God. A massacre is far worse, because it is a coldly calculated mass murder."

He called on the government to provide security to all and to urgently "democratise the security forces".

ANC furthers call to State to act effectively on violence

By **BARRY STREEK**
Political Staff

ONGOING violence and the credibility of the security forces, particularly the police, are seriously threatening the fragile process towards negotiations for a new constitution.

The African National Congress is convinced that not only is the police force biased against it but that, by failing to act timeously and effectively against the perpetrators of violence, the police are also actively assisting those who want to emasculate the ANC.

This was emphasised at a Press briefing by ANC spokesmen over the weekend at Club Mykonos, near Langebaan.

And there is a very real danger that unless decisive action is taken by the government to deal with the issue, negotiations will not get off the ground in the foreseeable future.

With chilling detail, the spokesmen cited example after example where they were convinced the police could have acted but had not done so.

Shocking pictures

For instance, Ms Gill Marcus said the hostel-dwellers involved in the attack on the Swanesville squatter camp on May 12, when 26 were murdered, had walked for two hours, attacked the camp and then walked back for another two hours.

The police could have prevented the attack but did not do so. The police had arrested six people, but three were released afterwards.

She said the ANC could not understand why the police were not able to prevent the attack, why so few arrests had been made and why the government refused to have a public inquiry into the matter.

Other ANC spokesmen at the briefing cited the dramatic but shocking pictures which were published in Rapport of a man being stabbed and killed by a spear. Although the murderer was photographed by the newspaper, he had not been arrested.

They also referred to the column by the Sunday Star journalist, Jon Qwelane, when he witnessed a gang attacking someone inside a police station; the arming of unemployed workers, mainly from Lesotho, in towns such as Odendaalsrus, Welkom and Virginia; and the failure of the police to prevent the Three Million gang attacking taxis at a rank in Kroonstad which was next door to the local police station.

Failure to act

They quoted examples where middle-level cadres and MK members had been made targets and killed.

In Kroonstad, it was said, details of 10 cases, where individuals were named, were handed over to the police for the attention of the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Justice but no action had been taken.

Indeed, the ANC is convinced that there is a nationwide trend of not only promoting violence against it, but also of failing to act against those who are using violence against them — and this was even taking place in areas where there was no conflict between the ANC and Inkatha or where Inkatha was not present.

The police will undoubtedly have a different version of these events and while debate about the facts is desirable in order to establish the truth,



ADRIAAN VLOK: Decisive action needed on violence and the role of the security forces.

the hard reality is that a major player in the negotiations, the ANC, is convinced that a campaign of violence has been launched against it and that the security forces, particularly the police, are unable or unwilling to stop it.

And that reality has to be addressed because it is regarded by the ANC as one of the major obstacles in the way

of the All (or Multi) Party Conference.

The government could, of course, choose to ignore these deep-seated concerns, but that would be short-sighted and it could derail the negotiation process.

Hopefully, however, the government will realise the seriousness of the problem and enter into immediate negotiations with the ANC in an attempt to deal with the issue.

Commission required

It could give sober consideration to a proposal by Professor Kader Asmal of the ANC's constitutional committee for the appointment of an independent commission to consider complaints against the police, particularly about complaints of police omissions.

"Anything that increases confidence in the police is necessary," Professor Asmal said.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, could also consider appointing ANC security experts as advisers or liaison officers to deal with immediate complaints and problems as they arise.

Mr Saki Macozoma told the briefing the ANC wanted the government to do what any normal government would do and that was to arrest people who resorted to violence. Which, it must be said, is a perfectly reasonable demand.

What is beyond doubt is that decisive action is urgently needed to deal the ANC's perceptions of the violence and the role of the security forces. Failure to do so could have far-reaching and tragic consequences for South Africa.

Inkatha ²⁷⁴ to attend summit ^{CT 18/6/91}

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha will attend the new peace summit due to be held at the weekend, completing the line-up of major players who have announced they will participate.

Inkatha spokeswoman Ms Sue Vos confirmed yesterday that the organisation had accepted the invitation extended by a group of 12 business and church leaders.

The Inkatha Freedom Party would be represented by central committee member Mr Walter Felgate, she said.

Conference organisers were anxious about the attendance of Inkatha, following the "premature" announcement of the meeting last week by Cosatu's assistant general secretary Mr Sydney Mafumadi.

So far it is known that the NP, the ANC, the SACP, Cosatu and Nactu will also take part in the meeting, which is intended to be a "talks about talks" discussion.

The CP, the AWB and the HNP have rejected invitations to the meeting. The PAC and Azapo have not yet announced their intentions, although it is known that they have been invited.

Conference spokesman Ms Val Pauquet yesterday declined to discuss the participants or the date of the conference, but said an announcement could be expected today.

Inkatha says it will attend peace summit

TIM COHEN

274

INKATHA will attend the new peace summit at the weekend, completing the line-up of major political players who have announced they will take part.

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos confirmed yesterday that the organisation had accepted the invitation extended by a group of 12 business and church leaders.

The Inkatha Freedom Party would be represented by central committee member Walter Felgate, she said.

Conference organisers were anxious about the attendance of Inkatha, after the "premature" announcement of the meeting last week by Cosatu's assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi.

Mafumadi said at a Press conference last week that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's demand that all parties take part in "the initiative for a multiparty peace conference" referred to the initiative undertaken by the business and church leaders.

The three organisations demanded that the initiative produce "detailed agreements and enforcement mechanisms to achieve peace".

The organisations feel these agreements should include a code of conduct for political parties and for the security forces.

So far it is known that the NP, the ANC, the SACP, Cosatu and Nactu will also take part in the meeting.

The CP, AWB and the HNP have rejected invitations to the meeting. The PAC and Azapo have not yet announced their intentions, although it is known they have been invited.

Conference spokesman Val Pauquet yesterday declined to discuss the participants or the date of the conference, but said an announcement could be expected today.

The team of "catalysts", under the chairmanship of leading churchmen Louw, Alberts and the Rev Frank Chikane, have been engaged in sensitive behind the scenes negotiations to secure the participation of a representative portion of SA political groups.

Alberts was mandated by the recent government-sponsored peace conference to establish a "facilitating committee".

New step in bid to curb violence

A Bill to establish a permanent commission of inquiry on the prevention of public violence and intimidation was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

A memorandum to the measure, the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill, said the aim of the commission, whose five members would be appointed by the State President, would be to strive for a community free of violence and intimidation.

It said these crimes, whether of a political origin or not, were criminal lawlessness.

"The prevailing climate of violence and intimidation is being seen as the single major obstacle on the road to a fully democratised and peaceful dispensation.

Star 19/6/91
"In view of this, it is of the utmost importance that violence and intimidation should receive attention at all levels of public life."

A draft version of the Bill was published for general information in April. The main function of the commission would be to inquire into the phenomenon of public violence and intimidation in the country and its nature and causes.

Powers ⁽²⁷⁴⁾

Provision was made for the establishment of committees and institutes attached to universities, as well as the appointment of individual researchers.

The commission is to be given powers of investigation.

"On completion of an inquiry, a report must be submitted to the State President, who may make known for public information the facts and findings.

"The report must, inter alia, embody such recommendations as the commission may deem necessary in order to prevent a repetition or continuation of, or to combat, public violence and intimidation."

The chairman would be either a judge, a former judge or a senior advocate with not less than 10 years' experience. Another member would be a person who had held judicial office as an advocate or attorney, or held the post of professor of law. — Sapa.

NP will attend church summit

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

1976/41
274

The National Party (NP) has become the last major political player to announce that it will attend this weekend's peace summit.

The announcement, made yesterday, came a day after the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) confirmed it would attend the summit.

The church-organised meeting is now assured of attendance by all the major political players.

The NP and the IFP, which both attended the Government's peace summit in Pretoria more than a month ago, were the two major organisations whose attendance was not guaranteed.

The African National



Chief Buthelezi... IFP has confirmed it will be at weekend meeting.

Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) are some of the organisations which did not attend the Government-convened meeting, but their various spokesmen have indicated they

will attend this weekend's meeting.

Right-wing organisations such as the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) have rejected invitations to the meeting.

The AWB was the only right-wing organisation to attend the Pretoria peace summit.

Other major parties and organisations which will attend the weekend summit are the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the National Council of Trade Unions, the Democratic Party, and some parties within the Houses of Delegates and of Representatives.

Violence commission could hamper peace

274

Political Staff

27 19/6/91

THE government's planned standing commission on public violence and intimidation could become another stumbling block on the path to peace because there was no consultation prior to setting it up. When he announced the measure, President F W de Klerk said it was one of the key elements in the government's drive to combat violence, answer criticism of security forces and create a climate conducive to constitutional talks.

The commission is to be staffed by members of the judiciary appointed by Mr De Klerk.

However, ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday that blacks did not have confidence in the judiciary after years of political appointments.

"And with De Klerk appointing them, it is likely to be seen as biased. For anything like this to succeed, it must be independent and seen to be independent," she said.

There had been no consultation with the "broad democratic movement" to set it up nor was there provision for consultation over those appointed to the commission.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ms Sue Vos said the party supported the commission.

274
CT19/6/91

Senior Inkatha man for summit

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday confirmed that senior central committee member Mr Walter Felgate would attend Saturday's peace initiative under church leader Dr Louw Alberts.

The IFP will join the PAC, ANC, Cosatu, SACP, Nactu, SACC and other organisations including government representatives at the meeting, billed as a "peace summit".

But this week Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the IFP did not regard it as a peace summit, but as a continuation of a process already under way.

Conference organisers were anxious about the attendance of Inkatha, following the "premature" announcement of the meeting last week by Cosatu.

The CP, AWB and HNP have declined invitations.

A PAC spokesman said yesterday that the organisation would attend if it was a "preliminary meeting to set up a full-scale meeting of all parties".

Analyst
tic 58

enter an
n lasting
e years,
o First
economist
ans.
national
the SA
ers' Asso-
n Durban
ggemans
Minister
is's state-
upswing
ater this
2/6/91
business
justified
unds —
es were
ier and
would
economy
ng when
sked to
consti-
to three
ernment
ll upon
20bn to
ng.

Full attendance expected at weekend peace summit

274
Blouay 20/6/91
TIM COHEN

THE 12 church and business facilitators announced officially yesterday a "major breakthrough" because of the attendance of a wide range of political groups for this weekend's meeting on violence.

The group announced that the ANC, Azapo, the DP, Inkatha, the Labour Party, the NP, the National People's Party, Solidarity, the PAC and SACP would attend.

In addition Cosatu, Nactu, the Council of Mining and Building Unions (CBMU), the Federation of Salaried Staff Associations of SA (Fedsal) and the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) would attend.

Diplomacy

Conference organisers expect that government will also be represented, separate from the NP.

Most of the political groups would be sending up to three representatives. Among the political representatives at the meeting will be DP leader Zach de Beer, ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, SACP leader Joe Slovo and Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate.

"Behind the scenes shuttle diplomacy which has taken place over the past weeks by a peace facilitating group of church and

businessmen has paid off," the group said in a statement yesterday.

The organising group's spokesman Val Paquet said Saturday's gathering, described as a discussion, proposal exercise, was viewed with optimism because so many groups had been willing to attend at very short notice.

"The issue of violence is so complex that it is anticipated that the meeting will be needed to sift through a large amount of material to be presented on Saturday," Paquet said.

"It will then be up to the meeting to decide what processes, mechanisms and actions are required to address the problem of violence in the country."

No quick-fix solutions were expected, but Saturday's meeting was viewed as the beginning of a process which could lead to long-lasting solutions.

"The facilitating committee has emphasised that this meeting will not discuss ideological or political programmes, but will focus on the critical issue of violence and how to end it," Paquet said.

The CP, the AWB and the HNP have turned down invitations to attend.

ANC questions lull in violence

274
JONATHAN REES

POLICE yesterday attributed an apparent downward trend in township violence to a change of attitude in communities following the recent peace summit, but the ANC said it showed government could turn violence on and off "like a tap".

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said they expected government to allow violence to surge again before the weekend peace summit if it "did not like the agenda". The current lull, he said, was a government attempt to legitimise the last peace conference, which ANC did not attend.

The ANC was also expecting government to attempt to discredit it by allowing a flare-up of violence either before or during its July national conference.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said besides more intense security force actions, people were divorcing themselves from violence.

The SAP yesterday reported no incidents in their daily unrest report — only the third time this year this has happened.

Police spokesmen warned however it

was too early to assume the violence had ended, saying a single violent incident could easily cause a renewed flare-up.

Yesterday the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said last month was characterised by an exceptionally high number of security force arrests and the highest monthly death toll this year. Most deaths were attributed to "vigilante action".

The HRC said 366 people were killed and 2 574 arrested last month.

Sixty-one people have died in unrest-related incidents so far this month, bringing the total death toll for 1991 to 1 269.

□ Sapa reports an independent unrest monitoring group consisting of church groups, health organisations and human rights bodies will be launched in Johannesburg today. Spokesman Jenny Button said they had the support of the ANC and Inkatha, and aimed to find the root cause of violence to help end unrest.

Widen parties

JOHANNESBURG. — Police say the drop in township violence is the result of the recent peace summit, but the ANC says it shows the government can turn violence on and off "like a tap".

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the ANC expected the government to allow violence to surge again before the weekend peace summit if it "did not like the agenda". The current lull, he said, was a

Govt 'turns unrest on and off' (274)

CT 20/6/91
government attempt to legitimise the last peace conference, which the ANC did not attend.

Meanwhile, the police yesterday at first reported no unrest incidents on Tuesday. However, a police spokesman later

confirmed that a group of men stoned and shot at a minibus in Khayelitsha about 8.30pm.

Three shacks were petrol-bombed in Old Crossroads this week resulting in damage of about R1 700, police said.

● An independent non-aligned unrest-monitoring group comprising church groups, health organisations and human-rights bodies will be launched in Johannesburg today. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Violence meeting pulls many groups (274)

CT 20/6/91
JOHANNESBURG. — Twelve church and business leaders yesterday announced a "major breakthrough" because a wide range of political groups will attend this weekend's meeting here on violence.

The group said the ANC, Azapo, the Democratic Party, Inkatha, the Labour Party, the National Party, the National People's Party, Solidarity, the PAC and the SA Communist Party and various unions would attend.

Conference organisers expect that the government will also be represented, separate from the NP.

Political representatives will include DP leader Dr. Zach de Beer, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo and Inkatha central committee member Mr Walter Felgate.

The group's spokesperson, Ms Val Pauquet, said the CP, the AWB and the HNP had turned down invitations.

Announcing the formation of the ...
Letsebe from the SA Black Social Workers' Association, Lara Greenspan from Jews for Soc.
Church moderator Nigel Udan, and Rob Thomson from the Methodist Order of Peacemakers.

Summit 'could lead to tackling violence'

B10 am 21/6/91 (274)

DURBAN — If all the organisations attending this weekend's peace summit acted "in good faith" it would be possible to address the problems of political violence and other obstacles facing negotiations, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Addressing an SA Property Owners' Association (Sapoa) conference, Mbeki said if violence and other obstacles were overcome, constitutional negotiations could begin soon.

Mbeki also said the quality of life for blacks had to be improved to aid prospects for peaceful change.

On the church-convened peace summit, he said the ANC hoped that out of it "will come a binding commitment for political organisations and the security forces".

"We're in contact with the government in removing the obstacles and hope it can be done as quickly as possible so that agreements are implemented and the way opened to negotiations."

He said violence had become an obstacle to negotiations, adding that "fortunately, everyone — including government and Inkatha — recognise that violence is an obstacle and needs to be addressed".

The ANC had hoped that by this time the

process of beginning to discuss a new constitution would have begun.

PETER GALLI reports Mbeki said the quality of life for blacks had to be improved to aid prospects for peace.

Ways in which funds for this could be raised included increased taxation, local and foreign borrowing by government, the restructuring of state expenditure and local government financing.

"About R10bn is spent annually on defence and this situation will have to be changed as the threat of attack from other southern African countries will be greatly reduced in a new SA. The state Budget will have to be restructured," Mbeki said.

The ANC was also talking to Old Mutual and Sanlam about voluntarily contributing funds, he said.

□ The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) said yesterday it would send a high-powered delegation to the weekend peace summit in Johannesburg.

In a statement, Sacob said president John Hall and director-general Raymond Parsons would head the business delegation to the summit.

Sacob attended government-sponsored peace talks in Pretoria recently. — Sapa.

● See Pages 4 and 15

367,25	367,40	1056,77	1060	2,8748	0,3469	3,3100	0,2976	1,7885	4,6974	16,80	1056,77
MOVE											MOVE

Johannesburg (011) 836-8315 (also complaints Hotline from 6.30 am)
 Cape Town (021) 488-4911
 Durban (031) 308-2022

Monitoring body launched

by TIM COHEN

REPRESENTATIVES of 29 organisations yesterday announced the launch of a body called Peace Action which will monitor violence and support unrest victims.

The monitoring effort includes a 24-hour emergency number that can be called to report incidents of violence. The monitor on duty will act impartially and "respond appropriately", a statement said yesterday.

Organisations involved include Lawyers for Human Rights, the Black Sash, Jews for Social Justice, the SA Black Social Workers' Association and Catholic groups. Lara Greenspan from Jews for Social Justice said independent monitoring meant parties could be held accountable to their own public commitments to peace.

Sapa reports from Durban that more than 35 unrest monitors and researchers, along with an SA Police representative, converged on Maritzburg this week for a two-day meeting on monitoring political violence.



Announcing the formation of the Peace Action monitoring group in Johannesburg yesterday were, from left: Anne Letsbe from the SA Black Social Workers' Association, Lara Greenspan from Jews for Social Justice, Presbyterian Church moderator Nigel Uden, and Rob Thomson from the Methodist Order of Pescemakers.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Net income before taxation
 Taxation
 Net

Coetsee gives undertaking on violence

CAPE TOWN — There would be negotiations to obtain the broadest possible support for the proposed commission on public violence and intimidation, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

"That is my undertaking," he said in his reply to debate on the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill.

These negotiations would include all organisations that could be described as extra-parliamentary, including the AWB.

The commission would act as an advisory body, not as a court, he said.

Coetsee said legislation was also being prepared to allow for the establishment of reconciliation boards to help prevent violence at ground level.

These boards would involve the greatest possible sector of the broad community in preventing and combating public violence and intimidation.

They would investigate and report on any incident of public violence and intimidation in their area, and make recommendations on steps regarded as necessary or useful to ensure a peaceful community.

In addition, consideration was being given to expanding the role of the office of Justice of the Peace to involve them directly in mediating differences that disturbed community relations and that could manifest themselves in public violence and intimidation.

The Bill, which was closely linked with the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill, was in its final stages of completion and would soon be published for information and comment. — Sapa.

At
on
sit
cla
(Pt
Lin
ca
By
C
Co
Da
economy
existing
Rapo
ervation
or Comm
governme
acceptable
The pre
53
Ken
T

new

Intimidation under attack

Legislation was being prepared to allow for reconciliation boards aimed at preventing violence at ground level Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the second-reading debate on the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill, he said the Bill had its origins in suggestions made at last month's peace conference in Pretoria. *Star 21/6/91*

The boards would be established in an attempt to involve the greatest possible sector of the broad community in preventing and combating public violence and intimidation.

The boards would investigate and report on any incident of public violence and intimidation in their area, and make recommendations on steps regarded as necessary or useful to ensure a peaceful community.

In addition, consideration was being given to expanding the role of the Office of Justice of the Peace in order to involve them directly in mediating differences that disturbed community relations and that could manifest themselves in public violence and intimidation.

The Bill was in its final stages of completion and would soon be published for information and comment.

Mr Coetsee said the proposed legislation would provide for the establishment of a permanent commission of inquiry on the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

It should be seen neither as just another State-appointed body, because the arms of the State would themselves come under scrutiny, nor as an instrument to bring the security forces into discredit. — Sapa

Why the haste to pass anti-violence Bill, asks DP

According to the Minister of Justice himself, the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill was flawed legislation, DP spokesman on law and order Peter Gastrow said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the second-reading debate on the Bill, he said Minister Kobie Coetsee had wanted to amend the Bill, but had been unable to do so because it was being pushed through Parliament in such a hurry.

"This Bill was not discussed by the standing committee. Not at all."

Mr Gastrow asked why the Bill had been placed before the standing committee only three days before the end of the session, and why no attempt had been made to explain to the committee the background to the measure or the reason for the urgency.

"It's a sad state of affairs. It's a blot on the department's image and on parliamentary procedure."

Had the DP been able to discuss the Bill in the committee, it would have asked whether those involved in the violence had been canvassed in the preparation of the measure, Mr Gastrow said.

As a result, the commission on violence was being asked to proceed with a definition of public violence that was far too narrow to enable it to do its work properly.

One subsection of the Bill had been described by the Bar Council as unworkable.

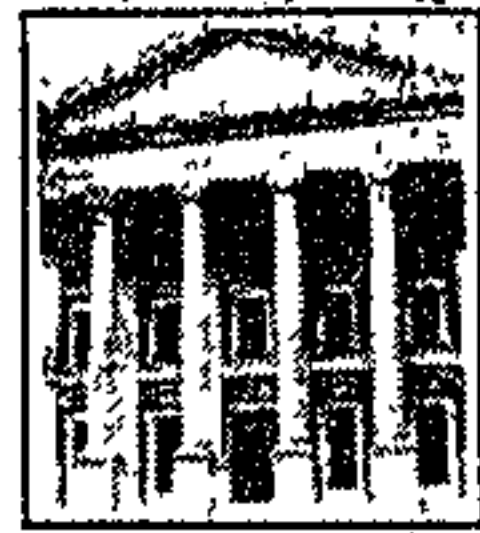
Clause 8 allowed the commission to subpoena witnesses, but the issue of the protection of those witnesses had never been raised.

"We weren't allowed to discuss that, we didn't have answers, and I still don't know if witnesses will come."

The Bill did not provide adequate protection of those witnesses who made statements in-

274
Stev 21/6/91

Parliament
1991



criminating themselves, he added.

Despite its defects, the DP supported the Bill and hoped it would work.

P Naidoo (Solidarity nominated) said his party shared the reservations expressed by Mr Gastrow, but supported the Bill.

Dr Corné Mulder (CP Randfontein) said the way the committee had been treated was scandalous.

"It was forced through, bang bang, there it goes... this is the National Party's definition of consensus: be reasonable, do it our way."

The Bill was so authoritarian that it would make SACP leader Joe Slovo and other Stalinists green with envy, he said.

The commission was to be appointed by the State President, and it would report back to him.

The President would then decide whether to publish its report, or parts of it.

A commission could subpoena a person against his will, and that person was not entitled to legal representation.

"If this is how the new South Africa will work, I don't think anyone will want anything to do with it," Dr Mulder said. — Sapa.

Govt accused of rushing violence bill

274
CT 21/6/91

Political Staff

THE government was yesterday accused of rushing the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill through the parliamentary process in an undemocratic and dictatorial way.

Opposition speakers criticised the way the Bill had been forced through the committee stage for it to be approved before today's ending of the parliamentary session.

The bill gives effect to the standing commission into public violence and intimidation, announced by President F W de Klerk last month.

Mr Peter Gastrow, DP MP for Durban Central, said the bill was flawed legislation and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee had admitted as much.

He said Mr Coetsee had wanted to amend the bill but had not been able to because of the haste with which it was being pushed through Parliament.

"This bill was not discussed by the standing committee. Not at all.

"Someone played the fool with the committee," Mr Gastrow said.

The DP would, however, support the bill.

Nominated Solidarity MP Mr Poon-samy Naidoo said his party also had reservations about the bill, but supported it. He said it had been pushed through the committee in an undemocratic and dictatorial way.

The CP MP for Randfontein, Dr Corné Mulder, said the committee had been treated in a scandalous way: "It was forced through. Bang, bang, there it goes . . . this is the National Party's definition of consensus: Be reasonable, do it our way."

The NP MP for Umlazi, Mr Piet Mathee, said the government had the responsibility to create a forum to end violence. The bill was designed to fulfil this role.

Mr Coetsee said the bill was published in the Government Gazette in April this year and MPs should have seen it. It was, therefore, not steam-rolled through Parliament.

He said the commission would be preceded by negotiations designed to get the broadest possible participation, including that by extra-parliamentary groups.

President De Klerk's failure to curb political violence is marring his historic achievement in the 1991 session of Parliament and casting a shadow over the prospects of negotiation.

Right from the start there were doubts about his readiness to cross the security moguls and their supporters in the NP caucus, as he would have been obliged to do in excising the malignancy in the clandestine security apparatus which he inherited from President Botha.

After the slaughter in the rampages of Zulu hostel-dwellers on the Rand and the continuing death toll at the hands of mystery gunmen, the suspicion has become overwhelming in the ranks of the ANC

that there is a concerted strategy in play to destabilise the organisation, with a capability to turn political violence on and off at will to suit a hidden political agenda.

Hard evidence to support this assertion

is not readily available, although there are certainly sources from within the SADF, such as ex-Major Nico Basson, who assert that it is true.

It is well to be wary of conspiracy theories, however, whether of the Right or of the Left. If it is sensible to discount sweeping claims that the ANC is simply the tool of a communist conspiracy, so too should we be careful in jumping to conclusions about a sinister plot which is orchestrated in Pretoria.

Faith badly shaken

Yet it is not difficult to see why the ANC's faith in the political impartiality of the security forces is badly shaken, given Pretoria's record of clandestine dirty tricks at its expense, particularly in the Botha era after the appointment of General Magnus Malan as Chief of the Defence Force and later as Minister of Defence.

The political demise of General Malan was predicted at regular intervals following Mr De Klerk's historic speech of February 1990. After the CCB fiasco this conviction hardened when the SADF, with his apparent blessing, was seen to be staging a cynical cover-up of the CCB's activities and running rings around the Harms Commission. And this after Mr De Klerk had solemnly pledged himself to cut open the

Why is Malan still Minister of Defence?



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

death squad scandal "to the bone".

Still nothing happened. With General Malan resolutely at his post, the theory became current that Mr De Klerk was keeping him on, in spite of everything, because his continuing presence was reassuring to the increasingly restive right wing.

Now, at length, when it is plain that the right wing regards General Malan as a hopeless weakling who has sold out to black domination, this scenario has entirely lost credibility. So why is General Malan still the Minister of Defence?

By now there are not many explanations left which make much sense. One surviving is that Mr De Klerk has had little choice in the matter because the sacking of Magnus Malan and a shake-up at the top would have triggered a mutiny in the SADF, particularly in those clandestine quarters which have had access to vast secret funds and arms caches.

Political control

There is a similar explanation, containing elements of the first, offered by the influential newsletter Africa Confidential, which is supposed to have close links with British intelligence. This explanation, advanced with considerable aplomb, holds that Mr De Klerk's purpose in keeping the old guard on

side has been to contain and control them politically.

Africa Confidential believes that Mr De Klerk is winning a see-saw battle with the most cynical and destructive elements in the security establishment, people who have the potential to sabotage his drive towards non-racial democracy.

This is the explanation which carries most conviction, although I am by no means as confident as Africa Confidential seems to be that Mr De Klerk is winning the battle against these sinister forces which are acting, I have no doubt, entirely without his approval or consent.


This well-informed publication confidently asserts that "without doubt" members or ex-members of the security forces have actively promoted the recent Rand violence to destabilise the ANC.

Uneasy lull

They have done so very successfully, so much so that it is difficult to see how Mr De Klerk could be thought to be winning a battle against them. There is a lull on the Rand, for the moment, apparently as a result of a crackdown on the hostels. But for how long?

By no means all the violence can be attributed to the mystery killers in the shadows. As learned analysts rightly point out, the ANC has suspended the armed struggle but has yet to make the key strategic choice between revolution and negotiation.

Nevertheless, the primary responsibility for keeping the peace rests with the State, which has the necessary resources at its disposal. President De Klerk's success or failure in the next six months in establishing a climate for negotiation could shape this country's destiny for some time to come.

 Management Study tour and visited the following countries

England

- Civil Defence training college, Easingwold.
- The Home Office, Whitehall.
- Central Energy Generation board, London
- Thames Barrier, flood control.
- Cavney Island chemical and petrochemical plants
- International Oil Tanker Owners Association.
- Swindon Constabulary: Emergency control on the M3 highway (London to the West Coast)
- Bristol Informary.

Switzerland

- International Red Cross: Zürich
- Swiss Civil Defence.

Austria

- International Atomic Energy Agency.

Italy

- Italian Rescue organisation and civil defence mobile Columns

- (2) No agreements were concluded or support obtained

- (3) No

Black schools: average period textbooks used

461 Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Training:

- (1) (a) For what average period are textbooks in Black schools under the control of his Department used and (b) in respect of what period is this information furnished;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B1203E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- (1) (a) Because textbooks were only for the first time issued in 1987 by the Department, it has not yet been possible

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

to determine empirically the average lifespan of textbooks

- (b) Falls away.

- (2) No.

SAP: official duty at political meetings

462. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) With reference to his reply to Question No 6 on 21 May 1991, how many members of the South African Police (a) were officially on duty at the public meeting held in Welkom on 2 May 1991 and (b) are sent on average to comparable political meetings that may possibly be disrupted;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B1204E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

- (1) (a) 30 Members.

An additional 36 members were on standby for immediate response should it have been necessary.

- (b) The numerical strength of members at political meetings varies from meeting to meeting and no rigid guidelines exist on this. The number of members at political meetings of this nature usually do not exceed 50.

- (2) No.

Kutloanoeng/Meloping/Thabong: remuneration of administrators

463. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

- Whether a remuneration package has been agreed upon in respect of the administrator of (a) Kutloanoeng (Odendaalsrus), (b) Meloping (Virginia) and (c) Thabong (Welkom); if so, (i) what is the total remuneration package, and (ii)(aa) from which vote and (bb) by which national, provincial or other authority is such remuneration paid, in each case? B1205E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

- (a) Yes
(b) Yes.
(c) Yes.

(i) Kutlwanong	R1 800,00 per month
Meloding	1 500,00 per month
Thabong	2 000,00 per month
Total.	R5 300,00 per month

- (ii) (aa) Kutlwanong: The Kutlwanong Town Council's budget vote for members' allowances.

Meloding: The Meloding Town Council's budget vote for members' allowances.

Thabong: The Thabong City Council's budget vote for members' allowances.

- (bb) Kutlwanong: The Administrator's remuneration package is paid by the Kutlwanong Town Council

Meloding: The Administrator's remuneration package is paid by the Meloding Town Council

Thabong: The Administrator's remuneration package is paid by the Thabong City Council.

Virginia/Welkom/Odendaalsrus/Bethlehem: co-ordinating centres

464. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the State President:

- (1) Whether any local co-ordinating centres have been established in respect of (a) Virginia, (b) Welkom, (c) Odendaalsrus and (d) Bethlehem if not, why not, if so, (i) who are the members in each case, (ii) how are such members chosen and (iii) how often do these committees meet,

- (2) whether minutes are kept of such meetings; if not, why not; if so,

- (3) whether such minutes are available for scrutiny by members of Parliament; if not, why not; if so, in what manner are they made available? B1206E

The STATE PRESIDENT:

- (1) (a) (b) (c) (d)—Yes

- (a)(i) (b)(i) (c)(i) (d)(i)—As per annexure

(a)(ii) (b)(ii) (c)(ii) (d)(ii)—The Local Co-ordinating Centre is composed of official functionaries and representatives of the private sector who are involved in actions of implementation to address the local needs of communities

- (a)(iii) (c)(iii) (d)(iii)—Monthly, (b) (iii) — Quarterly and according to need

- (2) Yes.

- (3) No, the minutes of Local Co-ordinating Committee meetings are, as in any other organisation, a domestic matter which are not placed freely at the disposal of people who are not members of the specific institution. The involvement of Members of Parliament who have an interest in a specific area is welcomed, however, and information on the activities will be made available readily to such Members of Parliament on request.

LCC: List of Members—Bethlehem

The Town Clerk Bethlehem City Council

Die Stadsklerk Bethlehem City Council

The Regional Officer SA Police

The District Commanding

The District Commandant SA Police

Mr A P Kok

Mr G J Pretorius The Regional Librarian

Mr C H Venter Education and Culture

Mr W M van Tonder Training

Mr Olivier Krizinger The Postmaster

Mr S A Marais The Area Manager

Mr D Helm Goods and Passenger Superintendent:

Mr P M Fouche Transnet

The District Engineer Department Man-

power

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Big meeting today aims to thrash out peace

(274)

ARGUS
22/6/91

Weekend Argus Correspondents

PRETORIA. — A major step to ending the violence could be taken today when most key players in the peace process meet for the first time to discuss the problem.

Organisations and parties attending the meeting include the African National Congress, Azapo, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Communist Party, the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Labour Party, the National People's Party, Solidarity, Cosatu, Nactu and the South African Chamber of Business.

The Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging declined their invitations.

No quick fix is likely but it is hoped to thrash out "processes and mechanisms" to end violence.

The meeting, being held in Johannesburg, could lead to a full-blown peace summit.

A draft agenda for the meeting, which is scheduled to last 10 hours, has been circulating among the invited parties, represented by senior leaders.

Each party or organisation will be given five minutes to give its input and all the contributions will be assessed at the end of the meeting.

Several weeks of behind-the-scenes shuttle diplomacy by a facilitating committee, established after the government's peace meeting, led to a major breakthrough in organising the most representative meeting yet to discuss violence.

A facilitating committee comprising Dr Louw Alberts, the Rev Frank Chikane, Mr Sean Cleary, Mr Bobby Godsell, Mr John Hall, Professor Johan Heyns, Dr Gerrie Lubbe, Mr Jabu Mabuza, Pastor Ray McCauley, Dr Khoza Mgojo, Dr Sam Motsuenyane and Archbishop Desmond Tutu will have a rotating chairmanship.

From Johannesburg, a correspondent says it is significant that the government and the PAC — the latter so vigorously opposed to any kind of negotiations — will meet officially for the first time.

Monday 14/6/91

Leningrad opts for tsarist past

LENINGRAD — Leningrad has snubbed Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and his Communist Party by voting to revert to its pre-revolutionary name St Petersburg, unofficial voting results show. (279)

Electoral officials contacted at 14 of the 21 polling districts early yesterday said all showed a clear majority for restoring the name given by Tsar Peter the Great.

The independent news agency Interfax said preliminary returns on Wednesday's vote gave 55% to St Petersburg.

The vote, if confirmed when official results are announced later, will not have the force of law as any name-change must be confirmed by the Russian republican parliament. The still-powerful Communist Party says the matter would need to be approved by the national Soviet parlia-

ment, where it has a stronger presence.

Gorbachev intervened in the campaign to urge voters to preserve Leningrad as a symbol of Lenin and a testament to the city's resistance during a 900-day siege by German troops in the Second World War.

But radical mayor Anatoly Sobchak, the Russian Orthodox Church and others argued that the Battle of Stalingrad lost none of its prestige for that city's subsequent name-change to Volgograd.

Radicals in cities across the Soviet Union celebrated election victories over the Communist Party last year by restoring the pre-revolutionary names of streets and cities. Thus Gorky on the Volga reverted to Nizhny Novgorod, Kalinin became Tver and Ustinov became Izhevsk once more. — Sapa-Reuter.

It's off to the US for President Yeltsin

MOSCOW — Boris Yeltsin won the Russian republic's first presidential election and, apparently, received enough votes to avoid a run-off, Tass quoted the chief election official as saying yesterday.

The victory strengthens Yeltsin's hand against Communist Party stalwarts who oppose his programme to transfer ownership of state-owned farms and factories to individuals and shift political control from the Kremlin to the republics.

Yeltsin beat five rivals, including former Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, the Communist Party favourite.

The white-haired Siberian is likely to travel to the US next week to demonstrate his independence from Mikhail Gorbachev.

"According to preliminary results, BN Yeltsin was far ahead of all his rivals, winning more than 50% of the vote," Vasily Kazakov, chairman of the Russian central election commission, told the official Soviet news agency.

A second round in the elections for the president of Russia apparently will not take place, Kazakov was quoted as saying.

The 61-year-old Yeltsin was resting at home yesterday and planned no immediate comment on Wednesday's historic vote.

Gorbachev, who has never faced a popular election, did not endorse any of the candidates for the newly created post of Russian president.

"I am ready to co-operate with anyone who will be elected by Russians," he declared after voting on Wednesday.

Preliminary results showed Yeltsin strong in major industrial cities, but

weaker in farm regions, considered Ryzhkov's stronghold.

Ryzhkov advocates a more gradual transition from a centrally planned to a market economy.

Preliminary results also indicated victories for two other radical reformers seeking re-election to the top jobs in the country's two largest cities, where the powers of the mayor have been greatly expanded.

Moscow mayor Gavril Popov received 59%-77% of the vote, Tass reported.

Leningrad mayor Anatoly Sobchak received 70% of the vote in Leningrad, said Yuri Levin, a member of the city's electoral commission.

Celebration

Though the Russian presidential vote was not the first in the Soviet Union — the republic of Georgia elected a reformist executive last month — it is the most significant because of Russia's prominence.

Russia has more than half the Soviet Union's 285-million people, three-fourths of the country's territory and most of its natural wealth and industry.

Yeltsin said on Wednesday, after casting his ballot, that the election was "a celebration of the Russian Federation's sovereignty. For the first time in its 1 000-year history, the Russian people are electing their president in a direct vote."

Although Yeltsin is popularly called the president of Russia, he actually has been the chairman of its legislature since May 1990. The new, more powerful post of president of Russia was created last month by the republic's parliament. — Sapa-AP.

'Govt expected to attend peace summit'

GOVERNMENT was expected to agree to attend the church- and business-sponsored peace summit due to take place on June 22, a senior government source said yesterday. 610 am 14/6/91

This came after the country's second largest labour federation, Nactu, announced that it had joined Cosatu and the ANC in accepting invitations to attend.

Government was considering the invitation issued by the "facilitating committee" brought together by church leader Louw Alberts, and viewed the matter positively, the source said.

274
Business Day Reporter

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance has already agreed to attend the summit, which arose from the government-sponsored peace conference held last month.

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said yesterday the organisation was still considering attending the conference.

Sapa reports that Nactu yesterday also agreed to take part in the summit. Assistant general secretary Mahlamolo Skosana said the meeting would take place at the Barlow Rand company headquarters.

Stage set for peace pow-wow

Star 15/6/91

274

PIERRE CLAASSEN

CAPE TOWN — The stage is set for the first all-party conference to be assembled for a day-long endeavour on June 22 to unite the church, business and the full political spectrum against political violence.

Although formal confirmation of the summit — scheduled for Barlow Park, the Sandton headquarters of Barlow Rand — is only likely to come at or immediately after the weekend, it is understood there is now little danger of it being derailed.

The summit aims to unite all the political players around a set of binding principles and a code of conduct which the churches and other organisations can enforce and incorporate into peace programmes.

The June 22 conference will not be a public "talking shop", such as the first summit called by President de Klerk on May 24 and 25 at the CSIR Headquarters near Pretoria. This time the organisers' intention is to hold the talks behind closed doors and to release only a closing statement to the media.

So far Azapo and the entire ANC "family" of organisations, which stayed away from the previous Pretoria peace summit, have announced their attendance. Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) will also be present.

The Government and Inkatha are among those who have not yet declared their formal acceptance.

The PAC, also absent from the previous summit, has also indicated it would attend any summit convened by a neutral body. A spokesman said on Thursday the current convenors were viewed as neutral.

Secretive high-level negotiations followed Dr Louw Alberts's appointment by the summit, which charged him with putting together the required "neutral convener" which would ensure the participation of all parties.

Dr Alberts, co-chairman of the Rustenburg Declaration group of churches (National Conference of Church Leaders in South Africa), with the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, appointed a mix of clerics and businessmen in their personal capacity which more or less reflects the full political spectrum.

A special visit to the kwaZulu capital and headquarters of Inkatha Freedom Party was required to convince the IFP that the group was not an extension of the SACC.

Inkatha had expressed vehement objections to the churches' mediating role when it was proposed at the Pretoria summit. Securing its agreement was one of the Alberts Committee's most daunting challenges. — Sapa.

Marshals save Inkatha man at peace march

Sunday Times Reporters
AN ANC "Peace, Freedom and jobs for all" demonstration in Johannesburg yesterday took a nasty turn when a member of the Inkatha Freedom Party was roughed up. But the man was saved by marshals monitoring the march.

Other marches organised by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu were held in 45 centres around the country. They were relatively peaceful with attendances ranging from about 5 000 in Vereeniging to 200 in Port Elizabeth.

In Durban, irritated motorists hooted continuously and shouted abuse while waiting for marchers to pass.

Petitions, signed by the secretaries of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, were handed over at all 46 centres.

They were addressed to President FW de Klerk. Comic relief at Johannesburg's march was provided by a hand which emerged from a John Vorster Square police cell, waving an ANC flag

Violence

The 4 000-strong crowd, led by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, SACP leader Joe Slovo and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, acknowledged the gesture with delighted whoops and waves.

The petition handed over in Johannesburg was similar to those handed in at all centres where marches took place.

It read, in part: "We, the people of South Africa, are marching to protest and demand peace."

"We believe the violence wrecking our country must stop. As long as violence continues there can be no progress towards a democratic country."

"To achieve peace we demand that state violence and state support for vigilantes must stop (and that) no dangerous weapons be carried in public."

Employment demands included a call for a moratorium on retrenchments and an end to privatisation and rationalisation.



ON THE MARCH ... Joe Slovo with the ANC's Aziz Pahad and Alfred Nzo yesterday

Peace talks will go ahead

LEADERS from across the political spectrum will meet next weekend to seek ways of ending violence. *Times 16/6/91*

A facilitating group, set up by Dr. Louw - Alberts, is optimistic that the summit will take place, although final arrangements have yet to be confirmed. (270)

The conference will be held behind closed doors in Johannesburg.

So far Azapo and the entire ANC "family" of organisations have said they will take part.

The PAC has also said it is prepared to attend a peace summit convened by a neutral body.

Violence and unrest cuts flow of tourists

Star 17/6/91
By Michael Chester

Internal unrest and violence were the main reasons behind a multimillion-rand drop in earnings in the tourism business, according to the SA Tourism Board.

Satour chairman Piet van Hoven said these factors had resulted in sharp cutbacks in the flow of visitors from overseas in recent months.

He estimates that the number of foreign tourists fell by more than 17 percent in the January/February season compared with a year ago.

Internal violence had seriously worsened the set of problems caused by a global slowdown in international holiday travel which was experienced during the Gulf conflict.

The tourism industry had also been hit by a large drop in the number of local holidaymakers as the economic recession and unemployment had made deep dents in household budgets and forced families to take shorter and fewer holidays.

However, Satour had launch-

ed an aggressive marketing campaign to counter the downwards trends, and the outlook had been much improved by the success of the recent international tourism indaba held in Cape Town, Mr van Hoven said.

Renewed interest in South Africa as a global tourism magnet had also been generated by Satour marketing drives in Britain, Italy, Germany and Switzerland, in particular.

Initiative

Further positive results were expected from initiatives to attract more foreign tourists travelling on executive incentive schemes offered by several major companies.

Dozens of companies in Europe had already sent representatives to explore the potential of South Africa as a special holiday package to be offered as executive bonuses, he said.

Several hundred employees of companies in Italy and Portugal had arrived on incentive scheme holidays recently and more were expected from

France, Germany and Spain.

South Africa had also been selected as host country for 12 international business conferences, each planned to pull in between 500 and 1 800 delegates.

"The worldwide network of Satour offices is operating in top gear to draw more tourists," said Mr van Hoven.

"In co-operation with SA Airways and key members of the travel trade, we are running seminars and workshops everywhere from South America to the Far East."

New services planned by Austrian Airlines and Cathay Pacific Airlines promised to yield good results in two-way flows of tourists as well.

At home, Satour was laying out special holiday programmes to cope with the steadily growing interest of black families.

"Despite the setbacks caused by internal unrest and violence in the first few months of the year, plus the global fall in international travel caused by the Gulf War, we're still optimistic about the outlook for tourism results for 1991 as a whole," Mr van Hoven added.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The chances of an end to violence soon are negligible, says the latest edition of the Innes Labour Brief.

In a 10-page focus on violence, writers Duncan Innes and Matthew Kentridge predict that the next few weeks will be highly volatile.

The government will try to enforce its partial ban on the carrying of spears and will have to ride out the backlash from Inkatha supporters.

Decisions will be made soon on the future of the hostel system.

"If a solution is found that is acceptable to all parties, it will have an

'Little chance' of end soon to violence

274
25/17/6/91
immediate favourable effect on the violence."

However, the document says the ANC will take a more hardline approach in its dealings with government.

This is because it feels the government has not taken enough steps to end violence and because the present leadership does not wish to seem soft in the run-up to the elections for the NEC in early July.

"Inkatha will also maintain as high a profile for itself as possible, to try to steal some of the ANC's media limelight.

It would also attempt "to reinforce the message it is sending to the government that it will no longer play ball as readily as before".

While the ANC is the clear loser from violence, "this does not mean the government is engaged in a campaign to cause havoc".

Marches mark 1976 killings

Soweto 17/6/91

274

SOUTH Africa's major cities and towns on Saturday witnessed a wave of protest marches, organised jointly by the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu.

The marches were held a day before the 15th anniversary of the June 16 1976 student rebellions in which hundreds of people died in clashes with police.

Earlier this week, the ANC and its allies announced that 48 marches would be held nationwide on Saturday to demand peace, freedom and jobs.

The ANC-led alliance demanded:

- * An end to "state-sponsored violence";
- * The release of remaining political prisoners;
- * General amnesty for exiles;
- * A binding code of conduct for the security forces and political parties;
- * The setting up of a Constituent Assembly and interim government;
- * An end to "state support for vigilantes";
- * A moratorium on retrenchments; and
- * An end to privatisation and rationalisation.

Thousands of protesters converged on city and town centres and then proceeded to police stations or Government offices to present petitions containing their demands.

The petitions were addressed to State President FW de Klerk.

Leaders of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu led the marches.

Permission for a number of marches was turned down in towns under the control of the Conservative Party.

Despite reports of a heavy police presence at the marches, there were no immediate reports of clashes between police and protesters.

At John Vorster Square, SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo told a crowd: "The struggle for peace is not the struggle for peace of the graveyard, but peace for all the people of this country."

A petition was then presented to police.

Protesters, singing anti-Government songs, dispersed peacefully.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, led several thousand protesters in a march through central Pretoria. She handed in a petition at the local Manpower offices.

The petition included a demand for the resignation of Education and Training Department Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Mrs Mandela told the crowd: "The Government has gained the strength of destabilising the ANC and blamed the organisation for having lost control of the country . . . It is the Government that has lost control of the country, not our leaders, who have never had control of the country before." - Sapa.

No end to violence soon — study

13/10/91 17/6/91

274

THE chances of an end to violence soon are negligible, says the latest edition of the Innes Labour Brief.

In a 10-page focus on violence, writers Duncan Innes and Matthew Kentridge predict the next few weeks will be highly volatile.

Government will try to enforce its partial ban on the carrying of spears and will have to ride out the backlash from Inkatha supporters.

Decisions will be made soon on the future of the hostel system.

"If a solution is found that is acceptable to all parties, it will have an immediate favourable effect on the violence."

However, the document says the ANC will take a more hardline approach in its dealings with government.

This is because it feels government has not taken sufficient steps to end

TIM COHEN

violence and because the present leadership does not wish to seem soft in the run-up to the elections for the National Executive Committee at the ANC's congress in early July.

"Inkatha will also maintain as high a profile for itself as possible, to try and steal some of the ANC's media limelight as attention turns to the ANC congress."

Gains

It would also attempt to maintain a high profile "to reinforce the message it is sending to government that it will no longer play ball as readily as before".

While the ANC is the clear loser from violence, "this does not mean that the government is engaged in a

sinister top-level campaign to cause havoc in the townships".

"It is true that the government stands to gain from a weakened ANC, and there is no doubt that President F W de Klerk delayed releasing his anti-violence measures in April until just before his European trip in order to reap maximum benefit from the announcement.

"It is also true that the government welcomes the fact that the ANC is losing credibility in the eyes of some of its erstwhile supporters," the document says.

But government had to be careful because it could not allow the ANC to become too weak or too discredited.

"It needs a negotiating partner and it needs to limit the antagonism which already exists between the parties if negotiations are to be successful," the document says.

Key players line up for peace talks

Legal apartheid's end hailed at home and abroad

Political Staff

THE end of legal apartheid, widely hailed at home and abroad, raised hopes today for faster progress towards constitutional negotiations for a new, democratic South Africa.

The fall of the last major apartheid law, the 41-year-old Population Registration Act, voted into history last night, was welcomed by foreign leaders, industrialists, businessmen and all parties in parliament except the Conservative Party.

However, reaction from the ANC and the PAC was sharply different both said apartheid was not dead and lived on in a constitution founded in apartheid.

Moves for a multiparty conference to prepare for negotiations are to go ahead — President De Klerk says it could take place before the end of the year while Democratic Party leader Dr Zakes Motaung says he hopes it will be even sooner.

But the ANC and the PAC, opposed to a multiparty conference at this stage, said there could be no movement before all political prisoners were released and the government had dealt with the violence.

In the United States the release of prisoners is also an issue in spite of warm praise for South Africa from President George Bush and other US officials. They said four out of five US conditions for abolishing economic sanctions had now been met. But the final condition was the release of all political prisoners.

In his speech to parliament yesterday Mr De Klerk said the government would do everything in its power to get a multiparty conference off the ground. He said a final breakthrough on this was near and the vast majority of South Africans wanted to see action now.

Dr De Beer said the urgent matter was to get the multiparty conference going as soon as possible. While Mr De Klerk had said that this could be before the end of the year, he would like it to be substantially earlier.

In a television interview last night President De Klerk conceded that the constitution was still temporarily based on race in view of the continued functioning of the tricameral parliament and the fact that black people still did not have the vote. He said the country's new priority was to negotiate a new non-racial one.

"It is now on top of the agenda to bring about a new constitution through negotiation," Mr De Klerk said.

What they say about the end of apartheid, page 2

He said he favoured a referendum as a method to test attitudes to a new constitution. A general election would not give a clear indication on the single and fundamental issue of a new constitution.

Dr De Beer said he thought the government should get in touch with the ANC immediately after its Durban conference next month with a view to making arrangements for a multiparty conference.

Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC spokesman in the Western Cape, said it was nonsense to think the scrapping of the Population Registration Act meant the end of apartheid.

Mr Manuel said the "death" of the Act did not create a climate for negotiations and called for sanctions to continue until President De Klerk realised that white-minority rule was unacceptable. "This can be done by entering into negotiations which can start only if he has created a climate for them."

He said apartheid was still alive, evidenced by a constitution founded in apartheid; own affairs and general affairs, separate education and a myriad of health departments.

PAC national spokesman Mr Barney Desai said sanctions should be maintained "until we have control over the destiny of our own country and the franchise".

"The world must continue to pressure this administration until it has set the democratic process firmly in place."

He said apartheid laws might have been repealed, but apartheid was alive and would be there for years to come.

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce manpower manager Mr Charl Adams said the withdrawal of apartheid legislation was a "wonderful and good start to end apartheid". But he warned it was only the start and the new South Africa still had to unfold and become a reality.

"This will not be determined by any law but by human relations. I think labour and capital will move closer together now and we anticipate less adversarial rhetoric between the two parties," he said.

In the past apartheid had "bedevilled" the forces operating in the free market system with bureaucratic intervention at various stages. "We anticipate that the withdrawal of this legislation will allow the economy, which was previously subjected to the vestiges of apartheid, to operate in its purest form. Market forces will be able to determine profit and loss," he said.

The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce had always opposed apartheid "from a pragmatic point of view", he added.



Mr F W de Klerk ... taking South Africa along a new path.

less of the race classification of the pupils concerned;

(a) and (b) fall away,

(2) see (1);

(3) every year the Department receives less funds in real terms. The formula would only reflect any addition to the total number of pupils after the second year. However, this year there are 10 538 pupils fewer than in 1989;

(4) no.

Mr R M BURROWS Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask whether, in the light of the reply that he has given, the same situation will arise when students of colour are admitted to teacher colleges?

*The MINISTER Mr Speaker, in a certain sense it will be so, but not altogether, because the formula that is applied there and the procedure differ somewhat. At the moment we are in a process of negotiation with the receiving departments and with certain bodies in respect of the services rendered at education colleges, as the hon member will have noticed in the statement I issued in this regard. We are engaged in such negotiations.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Provincial departments: non-White teachers employed

*5. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether any provincial department of education has taken into employment any teacher who is not classified as White; if so, (a) which provincial departments and (b) how many teachers in total?

B1157E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

Yes,

- (a) Cape Education Department,
(b) two part-time music teachers.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Sexual abuse: cases

282 Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any cases of sexual abuse of (a) boys and (b) girls were reported in 1989 and 1990, respectively; if so, how many in each case;

(2) in respect of these cases, how many (a) men and (b) women were (i) charged with and (ii) convicted of sexual abuse;

(3) how many of the (a) men and (b) women accused of sexual abuse were (i) related to and (ii) strangers to their victims?

B746E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes

For the purpose of the answer no distinction is made between boys and girls as statistics in these two categories are not kept separately.

The particulars in respect of boys and girls are as follows:

	1989	1990
Rape	2 133	2 623
Sodomy	417	475
Incest	354	251
Indecent Assault	1 690	1 553
Sexual Offences Act	991	1 209

(2) and (3)

No statistics are kept of these particulars

To acquire the information which the hon member desires, would be extremely time-consuming and would take place to the detriment of other more important police duties. I can therefore unfortunately not furnish this information

AK47 weapons used in armed robbery

354 Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many cases of armed robbery of institutions and/or business undertakings in White areas in which AK47 automatic weapons were used occurred in (a) the first quarter of 1991, (b) 1990 and (c) 1989?

B949E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 63

(b) 53.

(c) 9

NOTE

From 4 January 1991 until 31 May 1991 the South African Police, in co-operation with the public, seized a total of 582 AK47 rifles.

This illustrates the vigilance and determination of the Police to rid South Africa of the curse of the AK47, which has caused so much bloodshed and misery in our society. Persons smuggling fire-arms into the country and using these arms to enrich themselves in a quick and easy manner, care little about the loss of life which these arms could cause.

Their deeds are abhorrent and are rejected by all peace-loving South Africans. For this reason the South African Police receives a great measure of co-operation from the public in general to trace this type of arm.

This curse in the South African society must be condemned in the strongest possible terms. Those who illegally have arms of this nature in their possession and sow death and destruction amongst innocent persons, are cowardly murderers who do not respect the freedom of movement, rights and safety of others. They will not be accepted in the South African society.

Consequently I emphasise a standpoint which I took previously, that the South African Police will not rest before this curse has been totally eradicated. In this regard I make an urgent and serious appeal to all South Africans to assist and support the South African Police in this respect. There are ample rewards, and the allocation thereof to persons who lead to the tracking down of this type of arm, will be applied consistently.

Violence: deaths of Blacks

357. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many Blacks died in Black townships in (a) the Transvaal, (b) the Orange Free State, (c) Natal and (d) the Cape Province in the 1990 calendar year as a result of violent clashes between (i)

Blacks among themselves and (ii) Blacks and the South African Police;

(2) how many members of the South African Police were (a) injured and (b) killed in each province in that year during or as a result of such clashes in Black townships?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

(1) (a) (i) 1 196

(ii) 69

(b) (i) 51

(ii) 48

(c) (i) 1 050

(ii) 37

(d) (i) 97

(ii) 31

(2) (a) Transvaal

Orange Free State

Natal

Cape Province

Total

(b) Transvaal

Orange Free State

Natal

Cape Province

Total

Old-age homes: waiting lists

375 Mrs C H CHARLEWOOD asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing:

Whether there are waiting lists at any of the old-age homes falling under the control of the provincial administrations; if so, in respect of each provincial administration, (a) at which homes, (b) what is the capacity of each of these homes, (c) how many names are there on each corresponding waiting list and (d) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B1007E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Six die in violence at Mooi River

DURBAN. — At least six people were killed and five houses attacked in retaliation attacks in Mooi River's Bruntville township on Sunday and Monday.

Many people have also fled from the area, police said yesterday. Sporadic gunfire had been heard on Sunday night and Monday, and the present situation was tense.

On Monday, police used teargas to disperse about 200 people who assembled near a restaurant.

At this stage the immediate causes of the violence are not clear, because residents have made conflicting statements.

ANC supporters blame the attacks on Inkatha supporters, who held a meeting in the community hall. Some people allege that the Inkatha supporters went around provoking people, but a counter-allegation is that male "comrades" dressed as women were responsible for the attacks.

● Police yesterday reported

eight incidents of stone-throwing at Nyanga and Khayelitsha, during which a vehicle was damaged before it was set alight.

They said a home in Khayelitsha's Mkaya area was slightly damaged when a petrol bomb was hurled through a window, setting curtains alight.

A spokesman said R5 400 damage was caused when a car was stoned and set alight outside a hostel in Nyanga. — Staff Reporter and Sapa



TAXI LAAGER ... Members of the Lagunya Taxi Association at their new base in Site B, Khayelitsha, where they have gathered to "protect" themselves. Picture: BENNY GOOL

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE new high-powered political forum formed to resolve the township taxi war struck its first obstacle yesterday when the chairman of the former Lagunya association, Mr Headman Nongwejane, rejected it outright.

Mr Nongwejane said his members would accept "nothing" that was agreed upon at Monday night's forum as the new peace committee had "no mandate", unlike the Taxi Crisis Co-ordinating Committee (TCCC).

A spokesman for the new forum, ANC lawyer Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, promised to act "immediately" on being approached for comment yesterday, rejecting Mr Nongwejane's conten-

Taxi boss spurns new peace body

tion that his members were unrepresented at the forum.

"The TCCC was there and the former Lagunya association is part of this," he said.

The TCCC was formed when Lagunya disbanded on April 9 as part of a tri-partite 10-point peace agreement with arch-rivals the Western Cape Black Taxi Asso-

ciation (Webta) and community organisations.

In return, a boycott of both warring taxi organisations was provisionally lifted.

Within days Webta pulled out of the TCCC, citing "favouritism". This resulted in a selective boycott being reimposed on Webta. Violence re-erupted, with five deaths in the past

fortnight.

The new forum, which expands the TCCC with representatives of the ANC, PAC, Azapo, SACP, Cosatu and the Foundation for African Business Consumer Services, is an attempt to get peace talks back on track and address Webta misgivings.

Mr Nongwejane said Lagunya paid out R100 000 to comply with provisions of the 10-point plan and asked what reparation was planned — "seeing as Webta continued along as always and did nothing".

Mr Ngcuka said members of the new forum spent yesterday briefing all ANC branches in Khayelitsha and ap-

To page 2

2 647 died in last year's violence

(274) A total of 2 394 people died last year as a result of "black-on-black" township violence, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said 185 people died in clashes with police and 68 policemen had been killed.

This brought the total number of unrest-related deaths to 2 647.

Mr Vlok was replying to a question by Louis Stofberg (CP Sasolburg).

Stv 1246/91
A further 634 policemen had been injured in township violence, he said.

Township violence claimed 1 196 lives in the Transvaal, 1 050 in Natal, 97 in the Cape and 51 in the Free State.

In the Transvaal 69 people died in clashes with police, while 25 policemen had died and 204 were injured.

In the Free State 48 people died in clashes with police, while two policemen died and 82 were hurt. — Sapa.

Star 13/6/91

Sacob pleads for peaceful negotiations

By Michael Chester

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) yesterday sent out urgent appeals to President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela to ensure the ultimate shape of a new constitution was decided by negotiation rather than violence.

The plea was made in a policy document titled "The Economic Aspects of a New Constitution for South Africa".

It warned that a new constitution enforced by armed conflict would be rejected by the outside world and, in particular, by investors and bankers.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said it was vital the new constitution was regarded as legitimate by international standards.

A multiparty democracy would not be easy to create in South Africa, given the diversities and tensions in our society, he said.

"Any quantum leap in constitutional thinking will require the ground to be well prepared. We may not get a second chance to repair serious mistakes."

● Businessmen have formula for future — Page 19

'Leakage' could threaten talks

Political Staff

(274)

CONCERN has been expressed that the "premature leakage" of details of a major new peace initiative being planned for June 22 may jeopardise the sensitive talks.

All South Africa's major political players have been invited to the meeting, organised by the facilitating committee established last month at the government-organised peace summit in Pretoria.

The committee, under the chairmanship of Dr Louw Alberts, comprises seven church leaders and four representatives of the business sector.

Plans for the meeting have been kept a secret up to now because of the sensitivity of the fragile peace initiatives.

The Argus sister newspaper, The Star, was told that news of the meeting might prompt certain political organisations, particularly the Inkatha Freedom Party, not to attend.

A member of the facilitating committee, Professor Johan Heyns, confirmed yesterday that the meeting was being organised but declined to say who had been invited and where the meeting would be held.

Earlier, Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sydney Mafumadi said that the ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, Cosatu, Nactu, Inkatha and the National Party government were among those organisations invited.

Sources confirmed that invitations had also been sent to Members of Parliament.

One source described the meeting as "a preparatory meeting for a peace summit" to seek solutions to the protracted township violence.

The government's peace summit, held on May 23 and 24 in Pretoria, was boycotted by the main extra-parliamentary movements, including the ANC and the PAC.

Professor Heyns said: "The fact that details have been announced prematurely should not jeopardise matters. The purpose of the facilitating committee is to draw all the major players into a peace initiative."

Mr Mafumadi said Cosatu would attend the meeting.

The PAC confirmed that it had been invited, but said it "cannot say at this stage what our response will be".

ANC aim to create unrest — Viljoen

274 ARGUS 13/6/91

THE African National Congress has been accused of wanting to "create unrest" by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

During an interview on SABC television news last night, Dr Viljoen was asked to react to the release of a memorandum from the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Communist Party and the ANC.

The memorandum called for the release of all political prisoners and for steps to end State and vigilante violence, and it urged all parties to take part in the initiative for a multiparty peace conference.

Dr Viljoen said the ANC just wanted to create unrest, cause disturbances and exercise pressure.

The minister said the ANC, SACP and Cosatu had been "silly" to release the memorandum to the Press three days before it was due to be handed over to President De Klerk, after marches and protests.

The minister agreed with the interviewer that the memorandum merely repeated previous demands. It had already been agreed that many of the demands could be settled only by negotiations.

Dr Viljoen said if the ANC had been serious about becoming involved in the recent summits on intimidation and violence, "and if they had not dragged their feet in regard to the creation of a multiparty conference", many of the organisation's complaints would have been addressed.

He said the ANC's real strategy was to hide its politics of avoidance, to draw attention to its mass action when its constructive policies did not deserve any attention, and also to exercise pressure.

— Sapa.

Church leaders meet Inkatha to seek peace

274
ARG 3/6/91

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A new peace initiative stemming from last week's Pretoria peace summit will be launched today when a delegation of church leaders meets Inkatha and Kwazulu executives in Ulundi.

The planned meeting will be led by Dr Louw Alberts, the facilitator appointed at last week's peace conference in Pretoria, with his Rustenberg Churches Conference fellow coordinator, the South African Council of Churches' The Reverend Frank Chikane.

The Ulundi visit is seen as a breakthrough in that Inkatha has opposed the churches' involvement in all-party cam-

paign that could lead to a peace summit. Inkatha's objections were based on perceptions by the government and Inkatha of the SACC being pro-ANC.

It is understood the government, and particularly President De Klerk, are satisfied with the political neutrality of the church group brought together by Dr Alberts.

The group now assembled appears, observers say, amply to have balanced the SACC component and represents perhaps the best chance of facilitating the peace process.

The plans for the meeting were announced last week by the secretariat of the National Conference of Churches.

Meanwhile, Inkatha leader

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said 153 IFP leaders have been killed recently.

Dr Buthelezi was speaking at a memorial service at Stanger for the assassinated former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

"The fact that the IFP is being targeted for death is shown by the statistic that 37 of the 153 IFP leaders who have died were IFP chairpersons, branch leaders, leaders working for the party, leaders opposing revolution and leaders who have tried to keep politics committed to the employment of non-violent tactics," he said.

"To these 37 chairpersons who were slain we must add another 14 vice-chairpersons and another 14 committee members. We must also add 11 organisers, 14 publicity secretaries, six treasurers and one deputy treasurer who were killed because they held official positions in IFP structures.

"As well as this more than 1 000 members of the party have been killed in violent attacks.

"Twenty-two were burned, some even after having their throats slit, or having been hacked to pieces. Seven were necklaced, 54 were simply shot.

"Four were shot and then burned. Five were shot and then stabbed. Two were shot and then stoned to death. Five had their throats slit and two were completely decapitated."

Hawke fends off leadership challenge

SYDNEY. — Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke fended off a leadership challenge today from his top deputy, Treasurer Mr Paul Keating, who immediately resigned his Cabinet post.

The action came during a 10am caucus meeting in Canberra of the governing Labour Party's parliamentarians, who voted in favour of Mr Hawke 66-44.

Mr Hawke had been expected to win the vote after a weekend of heavy campaigning by both men, but the size of

lected Health Minister Mr Brian Howe to replace Mr Keating as deputy prime minister.

Mr Hawke was expected to name a new treasurer within a day.

Although the leadership showdown was largely seen as a clash of egos, Mr Hawke claimed he was staying on for the party's benefit.

"It would be very much easier personally for me to resign as prime minister," he told a news conference.

"The only reason I stay is because I have received

Major players plan to attend peace meeting

Star 14/6/91
274

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Next weekend's crucial peace initiative seems to be getting off the ground — and hopes have been raised that the meeting might achieve a breakthrough in the fragile church-led process to find binding solutions to the township violence.

Five major players have already announced they will attend the meeting at Barlow Rand's head office in Sandton.

The meeting will be closed to the media.

The country's two major trade union federations, Cosatu and Nactu, as well as the South African Communist Party and the black consciousness-aligned Azapo, have confirmed they would attend the June 22 meeting.

And a Democratic Party source said "there is no ways in which we will not be there".

However, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party declined the invitations.

The meeting is being organised by the facilitating committee,

under the chairmanship of Dr Louw Alberts, set up at the Government's peace summit in Pretoria last month.

However, facilitating committee spokesman Val Pauquet cautioned: "Until we receive all the responses, we can't say anything. If we are assured of full representation, the meeting will go ahead."

Nactu said yesterday that its president, James Mndaweni, and treasurer, Bob Mashele, would represent the federation.

Azapo acting publicity secretary Lybon Mabasa said his organisation would attend the meeting "as part of the various initiatives to solve our country's problems".

Cosatu and the SACP earlier announced their attendance.

The ANC yesterday still declined to confirm or deny whether it would attend but chances are slim that it will not attend, since its alliance partners — Cosatu and the SACP — will be present.

The Government, the PAC and Inkatha — three crucial forces — have not announced whether they will attend.

Army plan to counter violence

274 Sowetan 14/6/91.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Government is planning a massive offensive against the violence in black townships in the form of large-scale deployments of the army to trouble areas.

In a dramatic statement to the media in Washington, the South African Ambassador to the United States, Mr Harry Schwarz, said on Wednesday that President FW de Klerk would send the army into black townships "within a week".

In the meantime, the Government has thrown a cloak of secrecy over the issue.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha yesterday did not deny outright that troops would be deployed, but said instead that Schwarz had been "misquoted".

Botha explained that what Schwarz had done was to interpret a statement by De Klerk to the effect that it was the Government's responsibility to end violence in the country and to maintain law and order.

Schwarz reportedly told American

The Government is reported to be ready to send troops into the townships within days to quell unrest. What do you think? Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 4.30 and 5pm today and share your opinion with the nation. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KhZ.

journalists that it was up to the Government to decide what force to use and that it would do so "within a week."

Schwarz also said De Klerk was "extremely unhappy" with the situation in the country.

He said troops would be deployed on an unprecedented scale, reports from the United States quoted him as having said.

Schwarz also predicted that "very substantial forces would be used to keep Inkatha and ANC factions apart".

"I think order can be maintained with large forces - Citizen Force units - rather than exposing small numbers of police," Schwarz was quoted as having said.

Europe fires a shot across SA bows

Sunday Times
Political Correspondent

THE 12 members of the European Community this week gave the South African government a tough warning to end the political violence in the country.

The strongly-worded message was delivered by the Dutch Ambassador in a demarche — a diplomatic protest supported by all 12 countries. *STimes*

The action is seen as an indication of the frustration of the EC with the government's failure to get to grips with violence and allegations of security force bias. *9/15/91*

To ensure an even-handed approach, similar messages were sent to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, stating it was also incumbent on them to do all they could to end the bloodshed. *(274)*

The Dutch Consul-General in Cape Town, Remert Cohen, said he could neither confirm nor deny that the demarches had been delivered. *(SbA)*

Weapons

However, documents in the possession of the Sunday Times show that the 12 approached the government to say they were greatly concerned that violence could undermine the climate of confidence between representatives of the government, the ANC and the IFP.

In the letter, the 12 welcomed measures limiting the carrying of traditional weapons at public meetings as well as the setting up of a standing commission of inquiry into the prevention and ending of politically inspired violence and intimidation. They urged speedier implementation of the measures.

The EC countries stressed that nothing

□ To Page 2



THUYSEN

pen

scrapping of
watersrand
merger of
black local
said the
not prescribe
cal govern-
to the local

Europe warns SA

□ From Page 1

should be allowed to halt the negotiation process and called on political forces to do all in their power to enable a dialogue on violence and intimidation to take place.

In letters to the ANC and the IFP, the 12 indicated they had told the government in a demarche that primary responsibility for maintaining law and order lay with it. *STimes*

Mobilise

But, the 12 added, it was also up to other parties to do all they could to end violence.

The letters reminded the two parties of agreements already entered into with the government and between the ANC and IFP. They emphasised that only a just and even-handed settlement could solve the problem.

The letters also said the EC countries could not condone armed action amounting to the taking of the law into one's own hands — a clear reference

to the ANC's self-defence units and Inkatha's armed groups.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha responded by saying that combatting violence was uppermost in the minds of President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet.

He accepted that the government was responsible for maintaining law and order and said the peace conference held on May 24 and 25 was a genuine attempt to mobilise the entire spectrum of leadership to combat violence.

He also welcomed the approach by the 12 to the ANC and IFP.

Genuine

"It is to be hoped that the 12 will put it to the ANC unambiguously that it should involve itself directly and concertedly in all genuine attempts in combatting violence," he said.

Mr Botha said he hoped the 12 would encourage the ANC to become involved in follow-up efforts to the peace summit.

Peace group aims for quick results

TIM COHEN (274)

THE committee established to bring together SA leaders to discuss violence and intimidation aimed to complete its work in weeks rather than months, committee member Louw Alberts said yesterday.

Eleven church and business leaders have been appointed to the group as facilitators to hold discussions with political groups and interested parties.

The group includes Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Frank Chikane, Bobby Godsell and John Hall, all of whom will be acting in their personal capacities.

There is one outstanding post on the group, which has been reserved for someone from business, probably black and possibly a woman.

Alberts declined to comment on the group's plans because of the sensitivity of the issue, but said it would act as a low-profile catalyst to bring leaders together to discuss violence.

Although Alberts was mandated by the government-initiated conference to form the group, the group has decided that it should have a rotating chairman. *Biday 6/6/91*

Whether the leaders will be brought together with the intention of holding another peace summit, similar to that hosted by government recently, is not clear.

Alberts has said previously that the leaders would be brought together to create a "mechanism" of some kind, still to be decided on, to deal with violence.



At a picket outside Wits University yesterday, held in solidarity with hunger-striking prisoners, protesters burnt a banner saying "Destroy the myth of De Klerk's new SA".

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Lawyers slate Coetsee claims on prisoners

Biday 6/6/91

WILSON ZWANE

JUSTICE Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday came under fire from lawyers who strongly disputed his statement that all political prisoners had been released.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) national director Brian Currin said in a statement the minister's inference that all prisoners who committed murder, rape or robbery were common law criminals and not political prisoners, was simplistic, misleading and counter productive.

"As an organisation we are presently preparing representations to the Indemnity Committee on behalf of prisoners serving sentences for politically motivated murder. Must we assume, from the Minister's statement, that their cases have already been decided and that we are merely going through the motions?" Currin asked.

Hunger strike committee lawyer Willie Hofmeyr said Coetsee's private views on whether certain prisoners were political prisoners were irrelevant as indemnity committees had been set up to decide on disputed cases.

Hofmeyr said three prisoners — Isaac Mabaso, Johnson Lubisi and Douglas Tyutyu — were convicted and sentenced under

the Internal Security Act and yet remained in prison. "All three were members of the military wing of the ANC and were acting on orders at the time (of their offences)".

Richard Spoor of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) said Coetsee's "insinuation" cast doubt on government's commitment to release political prisoners.

Human rights campaigner Max Coleman said there were 31 prisoners on hunger strike — 14 of those on the 36th day of their strike. He said he was extremely disturbed by Coetsee's comments.

No comment could be obtained from the Justice Department but a Correctional Services spokesman said there were 37 prisoners on hunger strike.

Meanwhile, six prisoners at Barberton Hospital suspended a hunger strike after the ANC recommended they do so as their cause had been joined by the entire region, the Human Rights Commission said.

And an indefinite boycott of white-owned businesses in about 30 eastern Transvaal towns began yesterday.

INESUAY, JUNE 2 1991

FW: Bloodshed a 'spur to peace'

16/11/91
27/12/91

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday that if politicians failed to negotiate an end to the violence now afflicting South Africa, it would be the forerunner of "something much more terrible".

He said he was deeply concerned about the fighting that has killed about 1 800 people in black townships in 10 months, but the bloodshed should impart an urgency to peace efforts.

He said his main wish was for real negotiations to begin on a democratic post-apartheid nation.

"I'm in a hurry," he said.

Mr De Klerk said the killing pained him but strengthened his resolve to achieve a negotiated end to centuries of white supremacy.

He has been criticised for not attending mass funerals for massacred blacks.

"No I haven't done that because I don't regard funerals as a political propaganda vehicle," he said. "I don't think we should politicise the violence issue... and I specifically withhold myself from such a process."

He said too much store was set on the relationship between himself and Mr Nelson

Mandela. "People wrongly conclude that if I and Mandela get along fine, everything is fine. That's not true."

"I don't regard myself as irreplaceable in any way whatsoever... I also know good men with strong qualities in the ANC," he said.

He said he would never negotiate his party or his Afrikaner people into the position of being a dominated, helpless minority.

But he could accept the possibility of becoming an opposition grouping in a true democracy.

On other subjects, the president said:

● The police did not have "a positive image" but they and the government were determined to ensure they acted impartially. If the police force were demotivated, "the country will pay dearly".

● Creative investment for growth and not redistribution of wealth was the key to South Africa's future.

Mr De Klerk said all South Africans would have to make sacrifices during the transition from white rule to a non-racial democracy, but taking from the rich and giving to the poor would "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs". — Sapa-
Reuter

Second national peace summit planned by churches, Inkatha

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A second national peace summit, which would include both the African National Congress and Inkatha as well as other political parties and organisations, could get under way soon, following positive discussions between a high-powered church delegation and Inkatha in Ulundi.

In a joint statement issued after the meeting yesterday, the churches' Rustenberg steering committee and Inkatha said the meeting "will probably have given momentum to our respective involvements in the peace process".

"Further discussions will be needed,

whether between the two groups or between individuals from constituent members of the group."

"The meeting committed itself to pursue ways and means of addressing the violence. It also identified that there are many more factors regarding violence which were not addressed in the declaration and that any future peace initiatives will have to take due cognisance of these."

Inkatha were initially against meeting the church delegation. Their objections were based on the South African Council of Churches' historic connections, which have been seen by Inkatha and the government as pro-African National Congress.

Sisulu briefs Evans on war and peace

8/Day 10/6/91
VIOLENCE and ways of dealing with it were the main topics of discussion between Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and ANC leader Walter Sisulu in Soweto yesterday.

Evans told reporters after the meeting that they had also discussed the issue with government in Cape Town during the past several days.

Sisulu said he was confident about movement towards solving the violence. There was "great potential" for peace, he said.

However, he added that government had to move further on the question of violence. He said the ANC had already taken steps to address the violence.

Sisulu said the two had not discussed the question of sanctions, but the "real discussion" between Evans and the ANC would take place today.

On Saturday Evans met Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town and assured him that the Australian government had not abandoned SA's blacks in their struggle for political rights.

Evans paid a 40-minute visit to Bishopscourt, Tutu's residence, where the two men had "frank and

very, very friendly discussions", Tutu said.

Tutu said he had expressed the deep appreciation which blacks felt for Australia's role in supporting "the black struggle" and had indicated to Evans his distress at Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke's reported enthusiasm for President F W de Klerk's reform announcements in January.

"But he has reassured me and we needed it because I thought we were being abandoned," Tutu said.

Evans followed his meeting with Tutu by calling on Alan Boesak, director of the Foundation for Peace and Justice.

Dr Boesak said he had asked for Australia's continued support and for understanding of the need for a constituent assembly before the constitutional phase and the first post-apartheid parliamentary elections.

Evans later attended a lunch at Stellenbosch where his guests included University of the Western Cape rector Prof Jake Gerwel, Peninsula Technikon principal Franklin Sonn, and their wives. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 4

PAC will meet government only after unity talks

JONATHAN REES

THE PAC would engage government in talks once liberation organisations had established a common position at the patriotic front conference scheduled for August, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said at the weekend.

The PAC was not opposed in principle to negotiations with government, but would only engage in talks as part of a united bloc.

He said the PAC had written to government in December to say the organisation would only discuss details of a constituent assembly, including its composition, details of election dates, voting age and international involvement.

Reports recently said senior government negotiators hoped the PAC might yet be persuaded to join the negotiating table.

Alexander said this was based on a false premise because there were no negotiations. Solutions to SA problems would only come from a democratically elected constituent assembly. *8/Day 10/6/91*

The ANC, he said, had instructions from its members that constitutional negotiations should only take place within that assembly.

The PAC had no policy or tactic preventing it from seeking a democratic solution for SA, but this would depend on decisions taken at the patriotic front conference.

The PAC and ANC executives had decided at the Harare Conference they would not engage government on a bilateral basis.

"Any talks on negotiations or the way forward must follow the conference on the formation of a united front. We don't see ourselves sitting down and deciding for the whole country," Alexander said.

Nine more hunger strikers start eating

NINE hunger strikers have ended their fast at the Johannesburg Hospital after more than 35 days. A Correctional Services spokesman said this left five people still on hunger strike.

Yesterday six National Union of Metalworkers members who are awaiting trial for murder ended their 36-day hunger strike, superintendent Dr Trevor Frankish said.

On Saturday three men convicted in 1989 at Delmas began eating at the Johannesburg Hospital. Correctional

TANIA LEVY

Services said three others ended their fast at the weekend.

A police spokesman said that in Baragwanath Hospital, Thabiso Thekane and Molefe Metsing entered the 40th day of their strike yesterday — the longest hunger strike yet in SA.

Human Rights Commission spokesman Safoora Sadek could not confirm how many prisoners had suspended their fast during the weekend.

Ulundi talks prepare way for new summit

274

B. D. C. 4/6/91
DURBAN — A second national summit on ending political violence, which would include Inkatha, the ANC and other political parties, could get under way soon after "positive discussions" between Inkatha and a high-level church delegation in Ulundi yesterday.

The meeting was part of a continuing attempt by church leaders to act as mediators in attempts to end politically motivated violence.

The visit to Ulundi by the church leaders was said to be an attempt to convince Inkatha of their political neutrality and their ability to act as mediators in a comprehensive summit to end violence.

The church delegation was led by Louw Alberts and the Rev Frank Chikane of the SA Council of Churches and included other members of the Rustenburg Steering Committee — a group formed last year after a number of Afrikaans churches said apartheid was a sin.

The Inkatha delegation was led by Frank Mdlalose. KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was unable to attend.

According to a joint statement released after the all-day meeting, the group "committed itself to pursue ways of addressing the violence".

Own Correspondent

The statement said further discussion would be needed "between the two groups, or between individuals from constituent members of the group".

Delegates said the meeting had also identified points needing clarification.

"In the light of the open communication which took place, the meeting, we believe, will probably have given momentum to our respective involvements in the peace process," the statement said.

Weaknesses in the Rustenburg Declaration were also identified.

THEO RAWANA reports that police spokesman Lt Nina Barkhuizen said in Pretoria yesterday that the weekend unrest death toll was 19.

Unrest deaths were reported from Alexandra, Soweto, Katlehong and Empangeni.

Sapa reports the unrest death toll for the month of May was 276, which was higher than the 196 national monthly average for the past nine months. The figure could be even higher, as people who have subsequently died from injuries sustained in violence are not recorded.

Violence 'threatens economic recovery'

6/10/91 4/6/91 LINDA ENSOR (274)

CAPE TOWN — Violence in SA and the unlikelihood of a significant lowering of the inflation rate are the biggest threats to the real prospects of economic recovery in 1992/93, says Board of Executors' (BoE's) latest Investment Outlook.

BoE senior portfolio manager Rob Lee says the violence threatens to derail political negotiations and inhibit business and investment confidence locally and abroad.

"Failure to deal effectively with the violence will greatly reduce the pace and sustainability of the next economic upswing when it is clear that in our circumstances we desperately require high and sustained economic growth to give the political transition process a reasonable chance of success," Lee says.

He says violence is receiving an enormous amount of attention and it is probable that sufficient success will be achieved "to allow the positive economic and other fundamentals that are developing to have a significant impact on the economic growth rate next year and thereafter".

Lee says single digit inflation is looking increasingly implausible, but could drop to 11% to 12% by mid-1992, with prime overdraft down to 16% in the second or third quarter of 1992. However, if inflation does not fall in the next 12 months, "the expectation of a buoyant economic recovery sustained into 1993 would be in jeopardy".

Despite government policies, inflation remains high at 14,6%. Lee says the major reason is probably the resilience of the level of wage increases to recession and unemployment.

Second peace summit possible

CT 4/6/91

DURBAN: — A second national summit to end political violence and which includes the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC and other political parties could get under way soon following "positive discussions" between the IFP and a high-powered church delegation at Ulundi yesterday.

The church leaders have been recommended across the spectrum to act as mediators in a bid to end ongoing politically motivated violence.

Political analysts see the visit to Ulundi by the church leaders as an attempt to convince the IFP of their political neutrality.

The church delegation was led by Dr Louw Alberts and the Rev Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches, and included other members of the Rustenburg Steering Committee.

The Inkatha delegation was led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

According to a joint statement released after the all-day meeting, the group "committed itself to pursue ways and means of addressing the violence". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

ET 4/6/91

Peace process 'could collapse'

Political Staff

(274)

THOSE who still promoted, planned or condoned violence should be ruthlessly exposed if the whole peace process was to be prevented from collapsing, the Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said last night.

"I don't believe we will have another opportunity to resolve our conflicts at the negotiation table," he told a meeting of the Gardens branch of the Black Sash.

"To play petty politics with this process and those who genuinely participate in it is playing with the future of all South Africans."

Mr Van Eck said the first obstacle to peace was the culture of violence and intolerance which had developed in the country.

Since the early Sixties the present National Party government had sown the seeds of this culture of violence and intolerance when it embarked upon a campaign of repressing, banning and harassing all its main political opponents when it banned the ANC and PAC.



Chief Buthelezi

274 48
'Over a
thousand
Inkatha
officials
killed'

CT 3/6/91

STANGER. — Violence targeted at the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has claimed the lives of more than 1 000 members, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a memorial service for India's assassinated former leader, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Chief Buthelezi claimed that at least 153 Inkatha leaders had been slaughtered for supporting the party and promoting peace, democracy, justice and a multi-party parliamentary system.

He claimed 37 of these were IFP chairmen, who had opposed revolution and had been committed to non-violence.

Others killed because of their IFP positions included 14 vice-chairmen, 14 committee members, 11 organisers, 14 publicity secretaries, six treasurers and one deputy treasurer.

In addition, 18 youth leaders, 18 young unmarried women, 13 married women and more than 1 000 members had been killed in violent attacks, he said.

"If ever there was an attack on a political party that Mahatma Gandhi would have rejected, or Martin Luther King would have rejected, it is these attacks on the IFP. No politics justifies it. No threat is so grave that is is justified. Such attacks cannot possibly build a better future for South Africa," Chief Buthelezi said.

Inkatha would join people "from whatever political camp who are really committed to work for peace and to normalise relationships between South African political organisations", he said.

He also expressed the sympathies of "black South Africans" to the family of the slain Mr Gandhi, to "India's teeming millions, as well as to our fellow South Africans of Indian extraction". — Sapa

Violence: ANC calls for inquiry into police

PRETORIA. — An ANC branch has called for the immediate appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into the police and its handling of the violence.

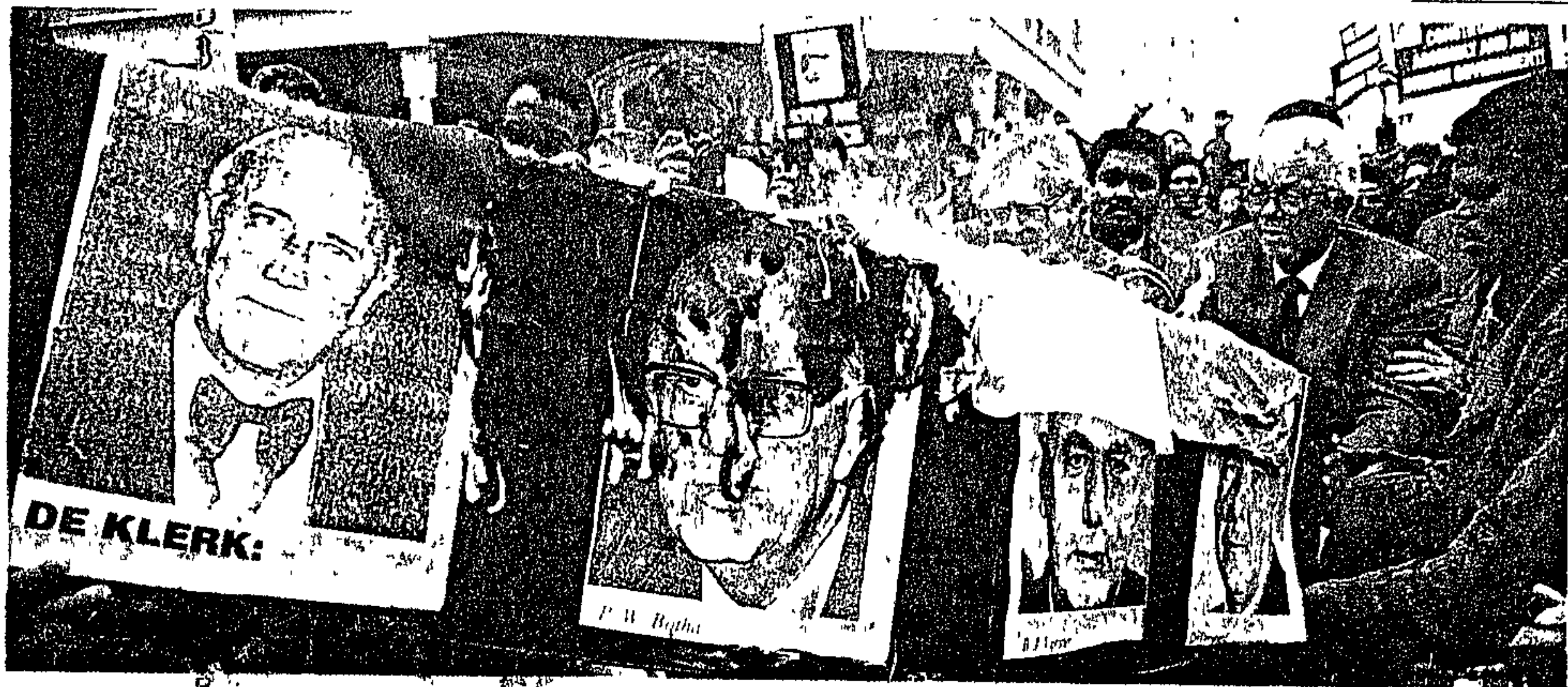
Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, media officer of the PWV branch, said the government should stop the violence as it had the capacity to do so.

"The state has on numerous occasions demonstrated this capacity and indeed it still retains the necessary infra-structure to bring an end to this carnage," he said.

The ANC agreed with sentiments that the police served and protected those who wished to maintain the status quo.

Citing five examples of alleged police unwillingness to end violence, Mr Mamoepa said: "The response from the Ministry of Law and Order in each of these and other instances, was a standard reply — that the police have acted impartially and professionally and our allegations were therefore without substance.

"This attitude by the Ministry of Law and Order calls into question the preparedness of the police to solve politically motivated violence."



Picture LEON MULLER, Weekend Argus

Demos torch the apartheid coffin

CARDBOARD HEROES: SACP leader Joe Slovo and ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu help lower a cardboard coffin adorned with pictures of Mr F W De Klerk and other past presidents, and a paper South African flag, at a protest called by the ANC Youth League to mark the 30th anniversary of the Republic

LENORE OLIVER and DALE KNEEN

Weekend Argus Reporters

ARGUS 1/6/91

DEMONSTRATORS burned a coffin adorned with the faces of three South African prime ministers and State President F W de Klerk in an anti-Republic Day march near parliament yesterday

About 600 supporters of the African National Congress were led by ANC executive members Mr Walter Sisulu, his wife, Albertina, and general secretary of the SA Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo

Back on the Grand Parade, Mr Slovo said that day was the 30th anniversary of "a disgraceful, criminal republic"

"(President) De Klerk goes around the world telling his friends apartheid is dead. We all know that is a lie. The people who govern the country now are the same as those who governed it in 1961"

Mr Slovo held up the coffin, which was draped in an imitation national flag, while toyi-toying ANC supporters lit it in Wale Street

A note with the words "Bury the racist republic" was attached to the coffin alongside photographs of President De Klerk, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, Mr P W Botha and Mr B J Vorster

Mrs Sisulu told the crowd they had been given an "unwanted, racist holiday" but what was desired was freedom for political prisoners and unconditional indemnity for exiles

Sapa reports that police barred about 1 000 ANC supporters from marching to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein in protest against Republic Day

After police said the march had not been given permission, Dr Alan Boesak and Mr Chris Ham negotiated for several hours before the marchers were allowed to go to the nearby Heideveld Stadium

Mr Ham and Dr Boesak addressed the protesters at the stadium and the gathering dispersed peacefully

In Pretoria, police and troops were present when several hundred ANC supporters marched to the Union Buildings in support of demands for a constituent assembly

Among the marchers were Mrs Winnie Mandela, the SACP's Mr Esop Pahad, ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, and a delegation from Contralesa, the organisation of traditional chiefs

Mrs Mandela said when the ANC Women's League met Mr De Klerk he said he did not understand people like her and she told him that South Africa would face mass action never seen before if their demands were not met

About 4 000 people, mostly youths,

marched on the Seshego police station, near Pietersburg, to demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the setting up of a constituent assembly and an interim government ahead of negotiations for a constitution of a new South Africa

A three-member delegation, led by the league's honorary president and former Robben Island prisoner Martin Sehlapelo handed over a memorandum to the police station commander, Capt A M Ngoepe

About 300 ANC refugees from Ndoleni at Richmond converged on the Richmond police station in Natal on Thursday

They demanded that police arrest the "well-known warlords" who were perpetrating violence in the area so that they could return to their homes

Carrying placards reading "Stop police bias" and "Seize all Inkatha weapons", the crowd marched from the Ndoleni turn-off to the police station where they handed a petition voicing their complaints over to the station commander

The police gave the protesters 15 minutes to disperse and gave them their undertaking that they would do all in their power to prevent further outbreaks of violence



Violence eroding consumer confidence

By Blaise Hopkinson

CAPE TOWN — Severe violence in black townships has contributed to most whites in South Africa being pessimistic about the short-term future of the country, says the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch.

In the results of its latest trade and commerce survey conducted in the second quarter the BER has found 58 percent of white consumers expect a deterioration.

Some 40 percent thought this would be slight while 18 percent were "extremely pessimistic" and expect a considerable deterioration.

"Continuing internal political tension, which manifests itself in severe violence in black townships, must undoubtedly be a contributing factor to this pessimistic scenario," the report says.

On the other hand, black consumers showed "relative optimism" in the survey.

White consumers are more optimistic about their personal financial position in the next 12

months and the confidence index of 102 is slightly higher than the 90 in the second quarter of 1990.

The BER forecasts the prime overdraft rate will be lower only towards the end of the year, which will have a negative impact on credit-financed consumer spending.

Salary and wage increases will be "more conservative" while the government sector will aim to keep salary increases in line with or below the lower expected inflation rate of around 13,7 percent.

Most respondents to the BER's survey believe it is the wrong time to buy durable goods like washing machines and furniture.

"A high tax rate furthermore erodes the personal disposable income of consumers, and this hesitant attitude towards durable spending is understandable," the report says.

Survey respondents in the motor trade believe the lacklustre performance of the second quarter will be repeated in the third quarter. This includes both new and used cars.

Searching for keys to peace

SA could benefit greatly from conflict-resolution 'technology', says Ron Kraybill

THE field of conflict resolution has in recent years made important strides in understanding conflict and in developing strategies for effective negotiation. One such breakthrough has been the concept of "deep-rooted conflict", a term coined by Professor John Burton to describe conflicts which seem impervious to resolution.

When I was five I staged a rebellion against my mother. The fight was about who got to sit on the favourite kitchen stool, my younger brother or me.

Mother asked that we take turns, and I refused. I wanted that stool all for myself! Mother spanked me, but still I refused. Three times she took me out and still I insisted on the stool.

I eventually yielded — but not because of the spanking. On the third trip back from the wash-house, my mother started crying!

This demonstrates, at the personal level, dynamics that re-

searchers have come to recognise as typical in many of the world's hot spots, whether the Middle East, Ireland or South Africa.

A fundamental characteristic of "deep-rooted conflict" is interdependency. Mother and son can't walk away and ignore each other. Like it or not, reality for many feuding groups is that their futures are intertwined. Each possesses resources the other needs to prosper — people, skills, markets, land, raw materials, etc. Each can place enormous blocks in the road to true security and prosperity of the other party if they so choose.

A second major characteristic of deep-rooted conflicts is that they involve "basic human needs".

My mother thought the conflict was about property; sharing to her seemed a reasonable compromise.

For me the issue was quite different. My brother, my junior by a year, was bigger than I. This con-

for
3/7/91

274

stantly threatened my confidence. My only hedge lay in the special privileges of age. A five-year-old deserves to get thing not yet available to a four-year-old!

The conflict for me, at root, was not about a stool, but about a basic human need for recognition.

Forces

People think all conflict is about competing interests or scarce material resources — land, money, natural resources, etc. But these are not the driving forces in deep-rooted conflict. They are on the scene as disputed elements, but the real issues are deeper. Security, recognition, identity, human development — these are the needs behind deep-rooted conflicts.

Such needs do not yield to pressure or horse-trading at the bargaining table because they cannot be compromised nor nego-

tiated. Trying to do so creates resentment, blocks progress on negotiable issues and sabotages support for the negotiation concept.

An understanding of deep-rooted conflict implies strategies for dealing with adversaries that differ from conventional wisdom.

One implication: where basic human needs are at stake, it is impossible to permanently suppress an opponent, regardless of military or political power.

In Professor Burton's words, basic human needs "will be pursued", regardless of consequences; they "cannot be compromised, cannot be made subject to some legal judgment, cannot be bargained."

Why does a normally co-operative five-year-old become inexplicably stubborn? Why do people choose martyrdom "for the cause"? Why did the Boers take on the British Empire? Why do many South Africans call for sanctions against their own economy?

History shows that basic needs are irrepressible, that people will struggle against long odds and absorb losses that appear irrationally high in order to meet basic human needs. In the language of rational bureaucrats and planners: people driven by basic human needs do not engage in logical cost/benefit analysis.

The second implication is related: it lies in the selfish interests of each side, where inter-dependency is high, to ensure that the fundamental needs of the other side are met. Such a suggestion, of course, usually brings a cynical response. "You don't know our adversary — nothing less than total surrender would satisfy them!"

Typically, parties view suppressing or out-manoeuvring opponents as a major goal. Such strategies appear attractive in the short-term, but living in close quarters with a resentful adversary proves enormously costly.

When it comes to needs such as identity, respect, or freedom for one's children, humans do not function rationally. "We'll show them," is the response, "no matter what the price."

You can intimidate or even suppress an adversary without meeting his basic human needs, but you can't build and maintain a stable society around him.

A third implication of deep-rooted conflict is more encouraging: there is more room for resolution than parties usually think there is. Contrary to appearances, land, resources, political structures, or wealth are not the fundamental needs at stake in deep-rooted conflicts. Rather, they are avenues to meeting basic human needs. To be sure, they are critical avenues — after all, no community feels secure or respected when its members live in shacks or have no genuine political voice. To suggest that any such conflict could be resolved without serious, painful efforts to address economic and political inequities would be wrong and dangerous.

The point is not that material issues are trivial, but that if basic human needs are identified, acknowledged and addressed, there often exists more flexibility regarding the actual physical arrangements for meeting these needs than was previously thought possible. The hardline opponent of nationalisation may tolerate a mixed economy if he feels confident that he and others will not lose the opportunities for the entrepreneurial challenges of small business ownership, through which

they meet basic needs of recognition and human development.

One final implication of the theory of deep-rooted conflict: special procedures in negotiation are required if true resolution is to result. The temptation is to begin with posturing followed by bargaining to reach a "compromise". The problem with such an approach is that it locks parties into arguing about solutions rather than enabling them to articulate the deep-rooted needs behind the posturing.

Pressure can of course induce parties to compromise, but if compromises don't really address the basic needs of the parties, they only postpone genuine resolution.

One effective strategy is to approach negotiation in stages, with an agreement to set aside bargaining till a secondary stage in negotiation. The first stage is definition of problems and needs. Only after these have been dealt with in thoughtful, non-adversarial settings can the parties begin to constructively debate how to address them.

Assets

Such approaches do not come naturally. Powerful dynamics pull parties away from the thoughtful analysis of needs. Negotiators should discuss jointly what approach they wish to bring to negotiations, so that they have a common understanding of where they will begin, what tasks they will undertake first and why.

Skilled facilitators are great assets, many would say indispensable, in keeping parties on course. Their job would not be high-profile political brokering, but a narrower, more low-key and technical task: to be impartial process consultants. They assist in identifying process options. They help to identify and frame issues for discussion. In short, their task would be to shift the atmosphere where possible from adversarial negotiation towards "joint problem-solving."

Many strides have been made in recent years in the "technology" of negotiations. In the end, the answers for the future must come from the people and their leaders. But properly used, technology is a servant of the people. South Africa could become the world's first major political conflict to benefit from "state of the art" conflict resolution. □

● Ron Kraybill is Director of the Training Centre for Intergroup Studies in Cape Town.



Nominee for No 2 spot . . . Natal hardliner Harry Gwala at the ANC conference yesterday. Mr Gwala and Walter Sisulu are the only remaining candidates for the position of deputy president. Picture: Argus

Discipline essential in defence units – Hani

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

DURBAN — Community self-defence units should be strictly controlled to ensure they did not degenerate into vigilante forces, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

Addressing a media briefing at the ANC's national confer-

ence in Durban, he said great care should be taken to ensure that self-defence units were accountable and disciplined.

"We are going to be very strict at this conference about the need for discipline and accountability," he said.

Although he expected criticism from delegates about the delay in setting up self-defence units, there was "no rush" to do

this because good foundations had to be laid to ensure control and the participation of all political groupings.

However, such structures, in which MK would be used in a training capacity, would not be necessary if the security forces acted impartially.

He said MK cadres were being re-trained to prepare them for incorporation in the

South African security forces.

He admitted they might not have received "adequate attention" since talks with the Government on the suspension of the armed struggle began.

He believed the ANC's national conference would endorse the earlier decision to suspend armed operations. But he would not say whether recruitment for MK was continuing.

Nine die in political violence

ARG 8/7/91

274

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

PRETORIA. — Nine people were killed in various parts of the country in the past 24 hours in what police called politically-motivated unrest.

Five people were shot dead and at least 10 were injured by gunmen who randomly opened fire on patrons at a tavern in Sebokeng yesterday.

Police spokesman Captain Piët van Deventer said two men, wearing balaclavas and dark jackets, began firing at customers with AK-47 rifles about 9.10pm.

"They walked in the direction of the tavern's storeroom and then fired several shots at people inside the serving area as well as outside the building, before driving off."

"Five men were killed instantly. Nine men and a woman were treated at the Sebokeng Hospital."

A man was killed and a woman was wounded when gunmen fired a number of rounds at two vehicles in Khayelitsha.

Police said extensive damage was caused to one of the vehicles when it was set alight.

"As a result of information received police searched a minibus and seized two shotguns, a rifle, a revolver, a pistol and ammunition of various calibre," police said. Three men were arrested.

Also in Khayelitsha, a woman and a youth were wounded when a group set her house alight and fired a number of rounds at them.

In Tembisa near Kempton Park police found the bodies of two men with bullet wounds and a man with bullet wounds in his right leg.

The body of a youth with hack wounds was found in Pateni near Maritzburg after a kraal was attacked.

Senior ANC official Mr John Nkadimeng said at the ANC's national conference in Durban that the government either did not know what to do about violence or knew the source and did not want to do anything about it.

He criticised the government for failing to deal with the problem of violence.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok today condemned the Sebokeng shooting.

Buthelezi fears civil war in SA

48 274 CT 9/7/91

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that violence between black groups had become endemic in South Africa and he was deeply concerned over a prospect of civil war.

He added that the ANC conference had changed little in regard to peace talks and fighting in black townships.

Chief Buthelezi said he was worried by the ANC's refusal to begin constitutional talks until the government ended violence in black townships.

"Violence now is endemic and needs the efforts of us all to defuse it, not just the government alone," he said.

He did not share the ANC's view, expressed forcefully at the conference, that the violence was state terror unleashed on black people in order to preserve white supremacy.

Chief Buthelezi said the violence was "black-on-black" and had to be seen in the context of Mozambique and Angola, where war against white rule had led to years of conflict between blacks.

Asked if he feared civil war in South Africa, he replied "I think we have the makings of it. If we don't succeed (in talks) things may really flare up into a very serious civil war. I'm very concerned about that ... very worried."

DURBAN. — Threats from the ANC, especially its "armed intimidation", left whites no choice but to protect themselves through neighbourhood watches and other "preventative measures" against violent attacks, the leader of the CP, Mr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Commenting on the ANC's national conference held in Durban last week, Mr Treurnicht said it was "totally unacceptable and a sign of weakness that the government continues to invite the ANC to negotiations while it continues making threats of training terrorists".

It also condemned the ANC for allegedly collecting weapons aimed at the "armed overthrow" of South Africa.

Mr Treurnicht also said the ANC was not an alternative government for SA, least of all for whites. — Sapa

He said negotiations on a democratic constitution had to take place, but he could not see the way forward at the moment. "One cannot predict what the next move is and that is really worrying," he said, adding that there was a paralysing "lack of trust all round".

He was despondent at the

ANC's ultimatum over violence and said he had serious reservations about an ANC decision to keep its guerilla wing combat-ready and to set up defence units in violence-torn townships.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not share Mr Nelson Mandela's view that President F W de Klerk was pursuing a double agenda, talking peace while waging war to preserve white rule. He said the State President's dismantling of apartheid laws was evidence of his honesty.

The Zulu leader said he had a good relationship with Mr Mandela but that it was constrained by hardline elements within the ANC. "I am very saddened and often have sleepless nights at the extent of the chasm between myself and the ANC," he said.

Like Mr De Klerk, Chief Buthelezi opposes an ANC demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly to govern the transition from white rule and draw up a democratic constitution.

● Chief Buthelezi yesterday repudiated remarks made by KwaZulu Police Commissioner General Jac Buchner that the homeland's policemen were biased in favour of the IFP. He insisted KwaZulu policemen were not biased towards his party, saying such partiality would not be tolerated. — Sapa-Reuter

Zulu weapons judgment later

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Judgment in a possibly precedent-setting case against the State President, which claims regulations allowing Zulus to carry traditional weapons are discriminatory and should be declared invalid, has been reserved.

At the close of argument in the Supreme Court here yesterday, Mr Justice Didcott said he would hand down his decision at a later stage.

Gunmen kill two Bible class pupils

JONATHAN REES 2/14

GUNMEN shot and killed two young children and wounded a youth when they sprayed a Bible class meeting in rural Natal with AK-47 rifle fire on Monday night.

SAP spokesman Lt Bala Naidoo said the Rev Benjamin Ngidi's four-year-old son Sabelo and six-year-old Duma Siyabonga were killed. Nzuzwa Magwaza, 16, was wounded and was in a satisfactory condition in the Port Shepstone hospital, he said. Naidoo said the motive was unknown as Ngidi was not politically aligned. 10/17/91

Police yesterday reported another three people were killed in unrest incidents. Police said they were fired upon in Daveyton township near Benoni after finding a man shot dead and a Tokarev pistol and spent cartridges on the scene.

The gunmen fled after the SAP patrol returned fire and a wounded man was arrested, the daily SAP unrest report said.

A body with bullet wounds was found at Pateni near Richmond and another man was gunned down in Old Crossroads near Cape Town in the ongoing taxi feud in the area.

A number of shooting incidents and deaths in Natal at the weekend were reported by police yesterday.

Unrest monitors yesterday confirmed nine people died in weekend violence. One monitor said those who believed Natal violence had quietened down were "dreaming".

Moves to make AIDS notifiable

10/17/91

PRETORIA — Government was investigating legislation to proclaim AIDS a notifiable disease, National Health and Population Development Minister Rina Venter said yesterday.

At a news conference to announce a huge campaign against the spread of AIDS, she said the implications of such legislation would be examined thoroughly before a decision was made.

The news conference was held shortly after Venter met health ministers from the six self governing territories.

GERALD REILLY reports Venter said the new anti-AIDS programme would be based on a communications strategy document which would soon be presented to Cabinet.

She said the number of confirmed AIDS cases had risen dramatically to 683 since 1982. It was estimated about 100 000 people in SA were already infected with the HIV virus, about half of whom were likely to die within the next 10 years.

"Moreover the pandemic continues to spread rapidly and at the current rate the number of HIV-infected people will be at least 200 000 at this time next year."

Venter said AIDS education and curbing the alarming spread of the

disease had become a high government priority.

"We believe it to be of extreme importance to get the co-operation of all the political players, trade union leaders, business leaders and others mobilised in a massive effort to stem the spread of the diseases."

She said a major objective was that children should be "AIDS literate" by Std 5.

AIDS cost SA about R20m a year, including R5m spent by the Health Department.

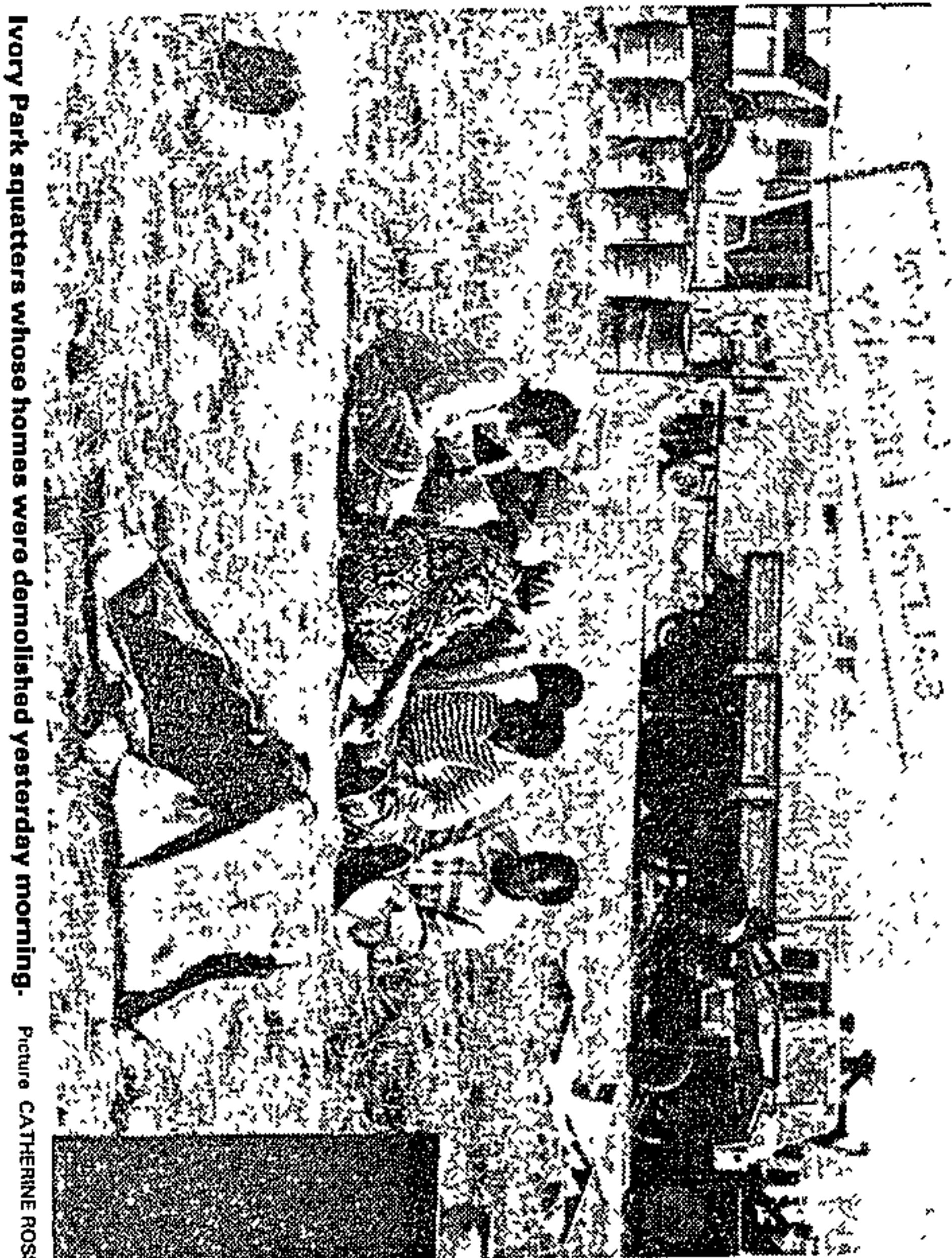
Venter said AIDS was spread mainly through heterosexual intercourse. Mother to unborn child transmission accounted for many of the other cases.

Venter said other issues discussed at yesterday's meeting included the doctor-to-population ratio in the self-governing territories — one doctor to 15 635 people, compared with one to 1 009 countrywide.

The shortage of doctors in rural areas had to be addressed.

She said there was an urgent need to restructure health services. The present system failed to satisfy five basic conditions accepted by Cabinet — accessibility, effectiveness, affordability, acceptability and equity.

She said it seemed the health status of South Africans was deteriorating.



Ivory Park squatters whose homes were demolished yesterday morning. Picture CATHERINE ROSS

Govt unable to sell its township houses

10/17/91

PRETORIA — Despite intensive selling campaigns, government has sold fewer than half its 335 000 units of township housing put up for sale in 1974.

A TPA spokesman said total sales to date nationwide were 125 282 units.

In Transvaal, the sale of houses had been even less successful than the national average.

GERALD REILLY

About two-thirds — 146 934 — of houses available for sale were unsold at the end of March.

DP parliamentary spokesman on black housing Douglas Gibson said the difficulties in selling the housing stock could be partly ascribed to red tape and bureaucracy. He called for the appointment of a Black

Housing minister

Another major reason for the poor sales was the fact that rent and service boycotts enabled black families to live rent-free.

Government should donate houses to those families who had occupied them for lengthy periods and who had paid rents amounting to many times the houses' initial costs, said Gibson.

Men who live with terror — and not a 'thank you'

280 274
JONATHAN REES

THOUSANDS of SA Police members risk their lives daily in the townships of the Transvaal. Apart from physical assaults, these policemen are attacked repeatedly for their inability to end the violence and for their alleged bias.

One policeman told in a wide-ranging interview this week of his perceptions of police work, the frustrations and fears of patrolling townships plagued by endless fighting in which the SAP often comes under fire.

A white warrant officer, he gives the impression of being deeply committed to his role as peacekeeper and mediator in SA's violence-racked areas.

"My worst fear is of being set alight. I can bear being shot."

"I just don't want to be set alight," he says. "I have come close," he adds.

The speaker is a career policeman who has served in the SA Police for 18 hard years in Namibia, Angola, the then Rhodesia and Natal, and is currently working long hours in Reef townships.

Extinguishers

In townships W/O Smit — not his real name — has been attacked with hand grenades, petrol bombs, crude handmade weapons and a variety of firearms.

Township combatants targeting the SAP will cover a petrol-filled ditch with corrugated iron and soil, wait for a slow moving Casspir to get stuck, and set it alight.

"The guys have a great fear of it and now carry police-issue fire extinguishers for self protection ...

and for putting out other burning people."

Riot police constantly risk their lives, for very little appreciation. Smit recognises there are bad elements in the SAP, "but what about us guys breaking our backs to end the violence ... and nobody says 'Thank you.' But that one burnt victim who shows appreciation makes it all worthwhile."

Policemen working the townships say the armoured Casspir has design faults which make it vulnerable to the trained guerrillas who have returned to SA. Smit describes it as a death trap.

He tells of working in low visibility where his men sometimes cannot face getting out of their vehicle.

"I have to turn that fear around. If you hesitate, you and your friends can die, and I have to answer the 'Why?' questions from grieving families at funerals."

He has lost quite a few men, some who had become closer to him than his own family. In dangerous situations, they form a close-knit and interdependent group.

He tells of his radio operator dying in Rhodesia in 1976 from three bullets in the neck, fired by what he called "freedom fighters" who fled across the Zambian border.

Anxious to avenge the death of a friend, Smit walked day and night in hot pursuit to find the insurgents.

A few months ago, Smit says, a warrant officer was killed. He was interceding with warring groups in a Reef township when he was hit by a sharpened assegai

thrown from a distance.

Smit has been wounded three times. In Natal he walked past a man he knew worked for both the police and criminals. "I trusted him, but he turned and stabbed me in the neck. I was scared I was going to die and could not take the knife out until I got to the medical post."

His attacker escaped, "but we got him later, shot and killed in a follow-up operation".

Involved

Smit says his worst experience was going down a 25m "cliff" in a Casspir in Natal. The brakes failed on a bad road one rainy evening and the drivepr lost control, sending the heavy vehicle flying down the slope with men in the back.

Treachery is another constant companion. Smit says in Alexander township a group once randomly stabbed a man to serve as a lure in an ambush. Police were summoned to the deserted area and were fired on as they arrived to assist the wounded man.

Despite — or because of — his experiences, Smit feels personally involved with the people caught up in the conflict.

"I always feel they are my people. If injustice is being done to them, it is being done to me. I feel their pain and their anger, especially when kids are killed and you don't catch the perpetrators."

He has two daughters of his own, aged eight and nine years and growing up fast.

"It's tough on the kids and your relationship suffers. But when you come back it is great to rediscover each other. But you

can never recover the time lost."

Smit believes that small groups control the fears and responses of thousands of township residents, terror-mongers exploiting the violence for their own ends. "Fear rules the townships ... fear of the comrades, fear of the unknown, fear of the police."

Smit says many of the comrades have no compassion or humanity. Visibly angry, he tells how a 15-year-old forced his mother to eat a frozen chicken stuffed with washing powder.

"She had broken the boycott. They held her and forced it down. When we got there she was half-suffocating."

"The children of the 1976 riots are grown up now and know nothing except violence."

NOTE: The SAP requested that certain sensitive details be omitted from this interview so as not to expose policemen to unnecessary dangers.

Hopes dashed for a new SA ²¹⁹ Idasa

Political Correspondent

THE birth of the "new South Africa" was beginning to look like a nightmare to ordinary South Africans, Idasa's says in the latest issue of its journal, Democracy in Action.

The front-page article submits that the hopes of ordinary South Africans for respite from "horrendous violence and unprecedented political turmoil" were being dashed daily by a relentless avalanche of conflict and confusion.

"Political leaders across the spectrum regularly disappoint, serious contradictions are evident on all sides and the acri-

monious climate of accusation and counter-accusation is eroding public confidence in the transitional process."

According to Idasa's director of policy and planning, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leaders in SA are running the risk of getting bogged down in the "immediacy of the moment".

This could easily happen, he argues "if the moment is filled with violence, irritability, posturing and one-upmanship".

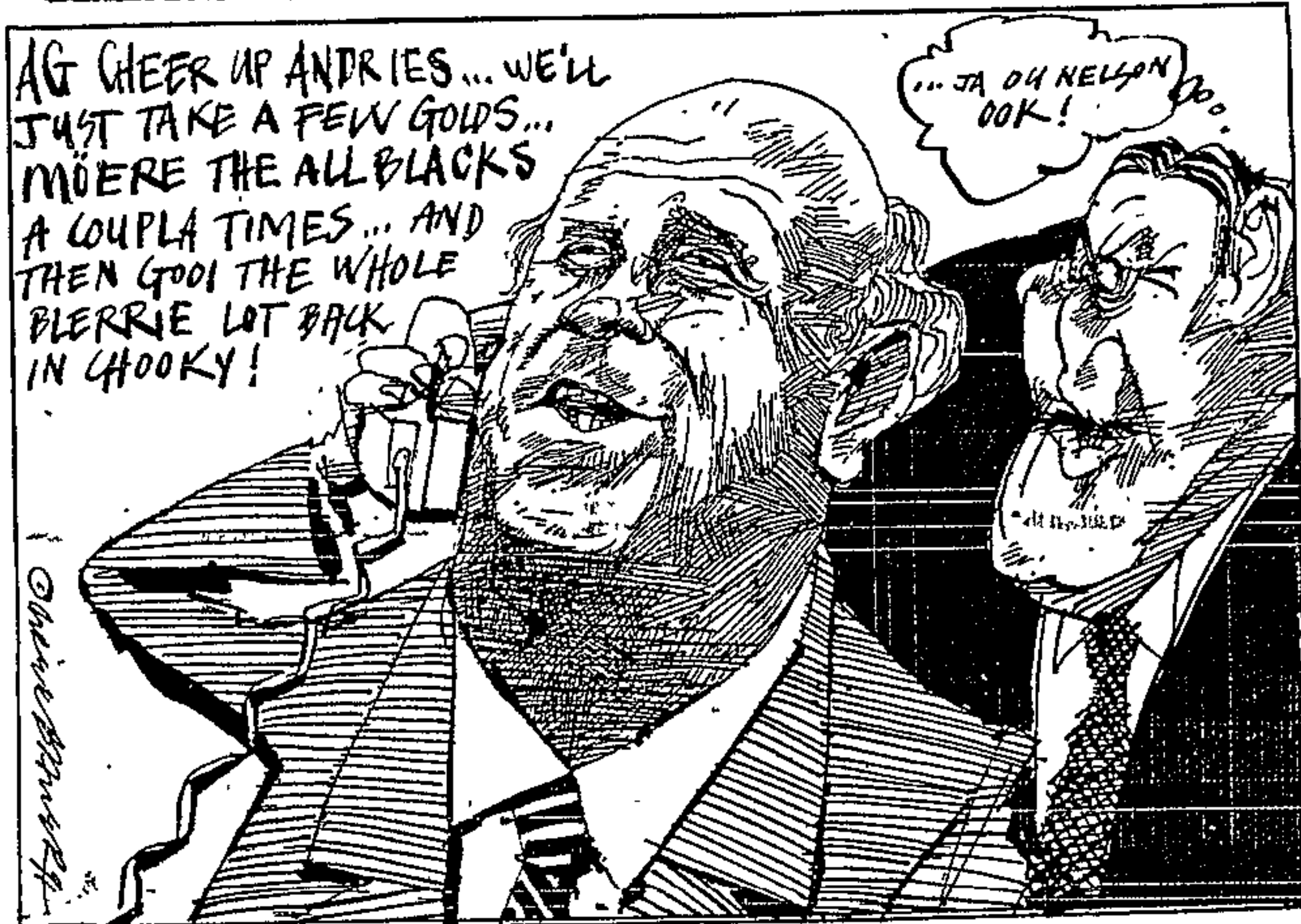
Dr Slabbert emphasises that the future "cannot be held hostage by a few politicians".

He said SA was currently undergoing a

fundamental, two-dimensional transition away from apartheid and "hopefully" towards a democratic outcome.

In the editorial, Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, said that while no one single person or group could be blamed for the wave of violence, it was ultimately the government who was obliged to take concrete action.

Dr Boraine states that so-called traditional weapons should be immediately banned, despite opposition from those who had carried them for generations, as traditional weapons "had become, in the hands of many, weapons of death".



The Seven Samurai come to the townships

W/M out 12/7-18/7/91.

274

AT last week's African National Congress conference, Umkhonto we-Sizwe scored a minor Cuito Carnival over the catering corps. After yet another appalling meal, MK delegates marched in to the conference hall and, slamming their plates down in front of their leaders, asked, "Do you expect us to eat this?" There had been grumbles since the first meal on Tuesday, but when MK took a stand, the caterers were fired — and the inedible gruel was replaced with Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Proof, perhaps, of MK militancy and boldness — and symbolic, definitely, of more significant victories won by MK last week. MK's greatest complaint is it was left out in the cold while the ANC negotiated it into impotence — and its greatest victory is the conference effectively nullified many of the "concessions" the ANC made in the negotiations process over the past year.

While previous agreements strongly curtailed the workings of MK, the ANC resolved last week to "recruit, maintain and develop MK until the advent of a democratic constitution" — and gave its army a job to do inside the country: it committed MK to "act in the defence of the people" by operating and training self-defence units answerable to local civic structures.

To explain this decision, senior MK strategist Ronnie Kasrils invoked the Japanese classic, *The Seven Samurai*: "MK will work just like those Japanese warriors. We will empower communities to protect themselves by showing them how to organise, and then bow out." He paused. "Except, the difference is, we won't bow out."

In Kasrils' pause lurk serious questions about MK's newly-defined role as "defender of the people." What precise role will MK play in organising these self-defence units? To whom will the units be answerable? Can an army that is by definition political operate as a non-partisan peacekeeping force? And even if they can, how will a defence-unit organised by the ANC be able to avoid the stigma of political allegiance?

In a panel discussion reported in the latest *New Era*, ANC PWV organising committee co-ordinator Andrew Mapheto said he understood the frustration that had led to the call for self-defence units, but com-

The ANC has resolved to move its army into the townships as a 'non-partisan' peacekeeping force. Can MK provide a solution to the increasing spiral of violence, or will it function as a political militia that further fuels political fires?

MARK GEVISSER
looks at the issue

mented. "If you don't deliver, our people will judge us on that."

And the initiative might, perhaps unintentionally, provoke more violence by further militarising conflict in the townships, by giving the security forces even more excuse to take action against ANC officials involved in the units — and by further incurring the wrath of political organisations like Inkatha. Security forces also might use the existence of the self-defence units as an excuse to be even more laggarly in stemming the violence.

While Kasrils quoted Nicaragua and El Salvador as successful self-defence units, Mapheto made the critical point that "the concept of defence committees was also employed by Frelimo, which armed people with machetes and such. But the violence itself escalated."

The conference's MK Commission was adamant that MK would not be rolling into townships with "truckloads of AK-47s". MK, it said, would isolate the weapons already in the townships and train people to use them in a disciplined, responsible manner. It wouldn't necessarily train people to fight — rather, it would help with defence and information-gathering strategies.

The ANC initiative is a direct response to a request by the civic associations, who are growing more and more desperate as vigilante groups and "third forces" wreak havoc and the security forces prove themselves incapable — or unwilling — to do anything about it.

"If there are people skilled in defence," commented National Civics co-ordinator Zohra Ebrahim, "then we must rely on them to organise us in an effective and constructive way, rather than having panic set in." She did emphasise, however, that the civic associations and the ANC had not yet discussed the units at a national level.

Both the ANC and the civics believe that

the non-partisan self-defence units should have representatives from all political groupings. But the Pan Africanist Congress does not have an army, and the notion that Inkatha might become involved in training its perceived enemy, the progressive civics, is preposterous. MK, then, will provide the only trained soldiers organising the self-defence units.

MK cadres are not mercenaries, neither are they paid security guards: they cannot be seconded to the civics as a non-partisan "Sandton Sentry" style security force. Will the cadres comply, for example, if a civic association asks them to assist it in bringing to order ANC-affiliated "com-tsoisis" who are out of line? What if they are asked to act in a way that is against their own ideology? It is clear that the higher god they will obey is the ANC, even if the MK Commission emphasised that the units would "fall under the authority of the township's civic associations", the conference resolved that "the ANC is to assume full responsibility for cadres".

It does make sense that MK — which has nothing else to do in this hiatus between armed struggle and a future democratic army — gets involved in self-defence training and puts its skills to use. But does the initiative have real potential to resolve conflict, or is it just an unemployment bureau, placing malcontent cadres in new jobs and making them feel useful? And is there any way that the self-defence units can avoid operating as political militias?

Of course, the ANC could argue that there is already a successful counter-revolutionary militia in operation in the townships. In the face of all other failed options and an utter breakdown in law-enforcement, self-defence units are the last remaining option of desperate communities already under siege: both the ANC and the civics have no choice but to organise their own self-defence.

But both would be wise to remember the lesson of the people's courts: there too, a breakdown of law forced communities to take justice into their own hands; there too, an understandable attempt at crisis-management degenerated into the sanctioning of atrocities as violent as anything committed by the apartheid regime. When a state's abdication of its duties forces civil society to dispense justice and uphold the law, things can go horribly wrong.

Sharp decline in unrest incidents

(274)

Incidents of unrest during 1991 have dropped dramatically when compared to last year, the police said yesterday.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said there had been less than 5 000 incidents of unrest between January 1 this year and June 30 compared with a total for 1990 of 17 088.

There had been 2 476 unrest incidents in July last year compared with only 151 up to July 10 this year.

There had been 878 unrest incidents in January 1990 com-

pared with 545 in the same month this year.

In February 1990 there had been 1 371 incidents compared with 525 in the same month this year, and in March 1990 there had been 2 186 as opposed to 786 in March this year.

In April 1990 there had been 1 148 compared with 786 in 1991.

May this year seemed to have been the exception, with 1 394 incidents being reported compared with 1 096 for the same month in 1990.

In June 1990 there had been

981 compared with 565 for the same month this year.

Last year 69 members of the security forces had died in unrest, against 22 so far in 1991.

Captain Kotze ascribed the drop in unrest incidents to intensified security force action and "hopefully a change of attitude in the power struggle in the townships".

"They have come to realise violence offers no solution."

He said it was still too early to say for certain whether the decrease in incidents would continue. — Sapa.

The killings syndrome

THIS WEEK'S massacre of five people in a shebeen at Sebokeng, Vereeniging, has brought to more than 60 those killed at random during brutal attacks with AK-47 rifles in the township this year.

The worst of these was the attack on about 300 mourners in a tent at a night vigil for Christopher Nangalemba on January 12, where handgrenades were also used. A total of 40 mourners died.

Ten people were subsequently arrested and eight are awaiting trial in Vanderbijlpark.

This is one of the rare instances in which suspects have been apprehended and taken to court.

One theory is that the attack was the work of township gangsters against ANC activists and people in the labour movement.

A second vicious attack was at the Gobuzitwana Beerhall in Zone 14, Sebokeng on May 23. At least 13 people were killed,

four of them instantly, after masked men sprayed the building with automatic machine-gun fire as about 100 patrons were sitting drinking. At least 20 others were reported to have been injured.

The tavern attack last Sunday in Zone Seven was a mere four streets away from the January massacre.

It took place only four days after another at the home of ANC member Nxokolo Sotsu, whose wife, daughter and grandson were killed. The house, at Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark, was also petrol-bombed.

Residents in that area and other areas which have been affected by these sporadic attacks say they appear to be well orchestrated.

The all-too-familiar question was again asked this week: "But who is responsible for these senseless and cold-blooded murders?"

The killings have been con-

Spec 12/7/91
Fingers have been pointed at Inkatha and the police with regard to township massacres. Both deny they are involved in the killing. By MONTSHIWA MOROKE.

denned by church, civic and political organisations, the police, communities and the world.

Accusing fingers have often been pointed at the Inkatha Freedom Party and the police. Both have repeatedly and vehemently denied the accusations. This week was no different.

The ANC has previously questioned the preparedness of Minister of Law and Order Adrian Vlok and the police to solve the crimes, more especially politically motivated violence.

Captain Piet van Deventer said the Special Unrest Investigating Unit was working day and night in the unrest-declared township. He said officers had been brought in from all over the country to strengthen the capacity of police in the area.

The police, he said, were aware of the allegations levelled against them. He said those who made these allegations should come forward and give statements to the police.

"It is not our policy to be partial. We investigate all cases in maintaining law and order. We are on the spot and we raided the Kwamadala hostel only on Thursday (before the attack) where we found three AK-47 rifles and 304 rounds of ammunition.

"We also found about 300 rounds of ammunition for other firearms and a gas grenade. Those arrested were for different investigations," Captain van Deventer said.

The secretary of the IFP's West Rand region, Humphrey

Ndlovu, said his party was also shocked at the killings. He said the killings had to end and appealed to black people to stop fighting one another.

"I categorically deny that Inkatha is involved in this violence. We are a peaceful political party and our members are disciplined," Mr Ndlovu said.

Tightly organised "mass action" was the only way to force the State to bring to book the criminals responsible for the violence in Sebokeng, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said this week.

Mr Mamoepa added: "The latest round of killings of patrons at the Erika Tavern in Zone Seven, Sebokeng, is a result of the political unwillingness of the State to decisively intervene and end the violence.

"We wish to submit that our suspicion is that these murderers are not brought to book because they serve the interests of the State in its endeavour to create a climate unfavourable

to free political activity." He said the Government could not claim not to have been provided with enough evidence to lead to the arrest of the criminals.

"In January this year, police were warned of an impending attack on mourners attending a night vigil at Sebokeng. They did not respond and about 42 people were massacred.

"After the Sebokeng beerhall massacre in May, the police were provided with information leading to the arrest of people implicated in the murder of seven people. The police promised to investigate, but nothing came of that investigation.

"The same suspects are alleged to have been seen around the house of the Sotsu family before and after the murder and again at the Erika Tavern on Monday night.

"The State cannot claim to have not been provided with enough evidence to lead to the arrests of the suspects." □

ANC SAP probe Welverdiend police

THE police investigation into the activities of the unrest unit at Welverdiend police station swung into action in Carletonville's Khutsong township this week. *Star 13/7/91*

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) and the local ANC branch helped to locate witnesses. While representatives of the IBIIR were generally positive about progress, they said there were signs of interference by policemen outside the investigation team.

"We are happy with the way the police investigating team is going about its work. But there are indications that the investigation may be being undermined by other sections of the South African Police," an IBIIR spokesman said.

A member of IBIIR's board of management said their field

JO-ANNE COLLINGE

workers were apparently under surveillance in the first week.

Major D J C Stear, who heads the investigation team, acknowledged: "There was a small disturbance. But it has been sorted out to the satisfaction of all parties." He confirmed a co-operative working relationship had been established.

The investigation of Welverdiend police station is a result of persistent allegations linking them to deaths in Khutsong and in custody. Witnesses have implicated police in as many as 17 deaths since early 1990. In five cases potential witnesses to alleged police atrocities have met violent deaths.

The IBIIR spokesman said that the board and the ANC also regarded it "as our responsibility to safeguard witnesses".

Fatal shootout at Natal road-block

DURBAN. — A man was shot dead and a policeman wounded in a gun fight on Natal's South Coast yesterday.

Shooting broke out at a road-block at Hibberdene, north of Port Shepstone, police said.

Two men were arrested after a car chase following the shooting. A woman was also wounded during the car chase.

Police found two AK47 rifles, a 9mm pistol, ammunition and several handgrenades in the fugitives' car.

According to the latest unrest report, police found the body of a man with stab wounds in Bombai near Durban, while five other people were injured in a petrol-bomb attack.

AN estimated 53 people have died and 75 people have been injured countrywide in the first 16 days of this month, police unrest figures show.

Most of the violence occurred in Natal, Vaal townships and the Western Cape. — Sapa

A man was arrested in connection with the petrol attack on a house at Mpopomeni near Maritzburg, in which five people were injured.

Police used tearsmoke to disperse a group of people who were shooting at them, and found three houses gutted after the group had dispersed. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

New guise for state's old tricks

South 18/7-24/7/91

(274)

ARE YOU TELLING me that I shouldn't wear my ANC T-shirt?" Thabo asked, looking at me as if I was out of my mind. "Well, yes," I said, wary that I might be overreacting. Yet, after a moment's reflection, I realised that my advice might have saved Thabo's life.

Last month, a man found wearing an ANC T-shirt in the KwaMashu hostels was hacked to death. On the Sunday at the end of the recent ANC national congress, ANC supporters — decked out in black, green and gold garb — decided not to attend the ANC rally in King's Park Stadium after hearing that about 100 Inkatha supporters were "waiting" at the railway station.

The choice between wearing an ANC T-shirt and risking death or simply changing clothes would appear to be an obvious one. It's just not worth the risk. But why worry? Is freedom really as cheap as a R10 "The People Shall Govern?" T-shirt?

Of course not. But beyond the silkscreened logo lies a deeper issue — that of the fear that can make a person change his shirt, not go to a meeting, not voice her opinion, not organise others, join an organisation just to ward off harassment, and even participate in an attack for fear of being singled out.

This is a deep, widespread and, most importantly, justifiable fear, born from the latest brand of state-sponsored "total onslaught." Intimidation.

Intimidation is a slippery concept. Because its tactics are so varied, it often gets lost in the scramble to make the ongoing violence "newsworthy". An insult, a "war" song, a T-shirt, or a suspicious car are tasteless ingredients for a juicy lead story, and not "substantial" enough to spark an in-depth police investigation.

Many times, after telling a journalist about threats, the display of weapons or the spreading of smear pamphlets, people respond: "So, nothing really happened then, right?"

Absent from this question is the recognition that intimidation, like raids and assassinations, is aimed at silencing opposition and paralysing attempts to mobilise dissent.

As top-level negotiations over the past year have made it "out of fashion" to be seen as involved in "total onslaught", the state and its allies have cleverly opted to use intimidation to pursue the same old thing in a different guise. And it works. People are scared.

The Mandeni branch of the ANC holds its launch outside the township

With the era of the "new" South Africa has come a refined state strategy — intimidation. Not only does it obstruct justice, but it frequently foreshadows violence. It also creates a culture of fear where wearing the wrong T-shirt can lead to death. **LENA SLACHMUIJLDER** reports:



DEATH DRESS: In Natal this T-shirt could be a death sentence.

PIC YUNUS MOHAMED

after repeated threats of disruption. KwaMashu hostel dwellers attack township residents after seeing other dwellers killed for refusing to participate.

A former ANC branch chairperson opts to join Inkatha after numerous threats to his mother's life. Thousands of displaced persons throughout Natal still fear attack if they return to their homes.

It is because intimidation is frequently a prelude to violence that this fear persists. One afternoon last month in Mtengwane on the South Coast, a large group of men gathered on a hillside, carrying "traditional" weapons. South African Police members nearby told me the men had gathered to discuss school-related issues, and assured me that the situation was "under control".

On the opposite hillside tensions were rising, and a group of people gathered. I asked the police if a school meeting justified the carrying of "traditional" weapons, and received a flimsy, uninterested response.

We returned immediately to Port

Shepstone and phoned the police. We told them that a large group of armed men was an unnecessary, intimidatory presence, and that police on the scene were refusing to disarm or disperse the alleged school meeting.

I was again assured that the police would keep the situation "under control", and we returned to the scene. Two people had been shot dead. Only then was the crowd dispersed.

IN RURAL AREAS, intimidation through the authority of the traditional structure is often overlooked. In Ngwelezane on the North Coast, the type of general meetings that were traditionally called to address community concerns have turned into platforms for the local KwaZulu MP and Inkatha leaders.

A recent meeting held in a tribal court warned of house-to-house demands for pay slips to ensure that all Cosatu members had resigned and paid their dues to Uxusa.

Residents under threat in such areas are dangerously isolated, as their first complaint must be made to the very

induna or chief who is aiding the intimidators. Approaches for help from local police are often useless, as the police claim they cannot intervene as the areas are under the control of the indunas.

Although marches and rallies make headlines, not enough attention is given to the carrying of dangerous weapons or, more importantly, how those weapons are used after the rally.

"The problem is that once we come out with our spears and traditional weapons, we don't like going home without using them," said one hostel dweller at the launch of the South African Hostel Dwellers Association last month.

His caution proved true. Several people were sjambokked at the Glebe hostels that night, and four train passengers were abducted at spearpoint, allegedly by men returning to the KwaMashu hostels.

The connection between these types of intimidation and fully-fledged acts of violence is disregarded. Although police are legally obliged to open a case of assault if a person reports be-

ing threatened, such reports are usually tossed into the bin by an investigating officer.

No notice is taken that the same person reported to have made the threat is often arrested a few days later on a far more serious charge.

This oppression through intimidation is devastating to much more than the T-shirt industry. Basic freedoms of speech, expression and association are denied, and the wheels of justice lie rusty in their tracks.

As ANC-aligned structures are deemed venues to hold meetings, desperately needed political education will remain on hold. And as the intimidation continues to reap its fruits of fear, the average South African will avoid taking leadership positions or appearing to publicly support one party. Even in peaceful townships in Natal, political discussions remain under an unofficial banning order.

Intimidation obstructs justice. When witnesses are too scared to come forward and provide evidence, prosecutions do not happen. People are terrified to sign affidavits after seeing others killed for doing so.

MEASURES TO LESSEN the opportunities for intimidation have been repeatedly suggested, such as opposing bail and using "binding over" orders as a financial incentive to restrain offenders from further attacks. Although the provisions exist on the statute books to implement these suggestions, they are rarely used.

Intimidation hinders good investigative journalism. When people are afraid to voice their opinions or to come forward with witness accounts, the root of the violence is impossible to ascertain.

In its eagerness to find the bright side, the press paints a surface-level portrait of peace and stabilisation in an area that has in fact been intimidated into silence. Swayman may seem peaceful, but Inkatha pensioners are paid out first, and anyone who complains won't need his pension for much longer.

Mbotsha, near Port Shepstone, has "calmed down", but people forget to mention that entry is conditional on display of an Inkatha membership card. Until the day when all displaced people are back in their homes, all dangerous weapons are restricted in public and intimidation is treated as a serious, punishable crime, we will not see an end to the violence.

(Lena Slachmuylder is the unrest monitor with the Black Sash Natal Coastal Repression Monitoring Group.)

When the hands of 'freedom' muzzle the press

South 18/7 - 24/7/91

A YOUNG REPORTER visiting a rural township in the northern Transvaal had a tyre put round his neck and was threatened with necklacing because political activists suspected he belonged to a rival political organisation.

A senior journalist had to send his family to safety after he published a report that a political organisation believed in "sowing division".

These, and other examples of a "new censorship" that has emerged in South Africa in the last decade, have been highlighted in a booklet published by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) titled "Mauing the Media - New Censorship for the New South Africa".

The booklet contains discussions at a seminar organised by the SAIRR

last year and attended by journalists and artists. Speakers frequently referred to activists and organisations who were pressurising them into writing in a certain way.

They said they were being subjected to an unofficial form of censorship by political activists.

Black journalists estimated that 60 percent of what was happening in the country did not reach the press.

They described the risks journalists took if they wrote about issues that many people believed should not be raised in public.

Mr Thami Mazwai, senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, said journalists today were far less exposed to arrest, detention and incarceration by the government than they used to be, but were being threatened and manhan-

A new and unofficial form of censorship has emerged in South Africa — one perpetrated by political activists. REHANA ROSSOUW reports:

dled by activists in the townships. Journalists, Mazwai said, were being told to toe the line "or else".

"When you are being told to toe the line you must make your stories convey a particular meaning — in other words, you must be a propagandist."

"You must play the numbers game. If there are 20 people at a meeting, and it's not in the interests of the organisation that called the meeting for the public to be told that there were 20 people present, you have got to add a couple of noughts. If you don't, then you become an enemy of the struggle."

Mazwai said many journalists were committed to the struggle, but their professionalism compelled them to reject and ignore the pressures.

"I will take whatever risk I can to make sure that the public knows what is happening."

"But here is a new threat: Not only do I have to defy the government, I also have to present the facts in such a way that I am seen to be pushing a particular organisation. Many of us

have said we simply cannot have this."

Mazwai said journalists in Natal complained that they were experiencing difficulty in practising their profession. One night Inkatha members would visit them to complain about what they were writing and the next night ANC or UDF members would visit to make the same complaint.

He said a few years ago his newspaper, the Sowetan, was threatened with a boycott by the "people who believed in press freedom". They accused the newspaper of being anti a specific political organisation.

Mazwai said an attempt was made to necklace one of the reporters and a petrol bomb was thrown at the home of another journalist in 1984.

ANC cadres key targets of assassins

By BEATHUR BAKER

1917-2511191

THE African National Congress is under fire from all sides, the target of violence allegedly linked to Inkatha, the right wing and the police. According to the organisation, at least 20 activists have been killed in the past six months.

Hillview High School in Pretoria, intended for use by 700 children of exiled Ukhonto weSizwe cadres, was destroyed in a bomb blast on Sunday — shortly before its opening.

Previously a white school, it was forced to close because of a lack of pupils.

Right-wing extremists who openly declared they would resist the move to house blacks in the school have been blamed by the ANC for the explosion. All have denied

responsibility.

This is but the latest in a trail of planned assaults on ANC members.

Various methods of killing form identifiable patterns. Sophisticated explosive devices have been used.

Vicims are gunned down by strategically placed marksmen or lured into an ambush. These bear the hallmarks of the officially disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Attacks in which a gunwielding group opens random fire are characteristic of killings near and around hostels. Another method is that of the balacava-clad gunmen who fire from close range and move off, leaving intended victims and people accompanying them riddled with bullets. In attacks at the homes of "comrades", not

only cadres are attacked — their families have also being targeted by killers.

Ernest Soisu, Vanderbijlpark ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions office bearer, who lives in the area of the kwaMadala hostel near Vanderbijlpark, was attending the ANC's Durban conference when assassins gunned down his wife and two children.

In the same manner 18 people were gunned down in Natal in one night while going home — six of them from the same family, all of them ANC supporters.

ANC members live in fear of who will be next. Investigations into these mysterious murders remain "ongoing".

Meanwhile, the ANC has demanded that the government disband its death squads.

ANGOLA — Striking Angolan oil workers killed a fellow worker who refused to join their walkout in the northern enclave of Cabinda, the state's Jornal de Angola reported yesterday.

The paper said the strikers on Wednesday beat to death the shift chief on the Cabinda-Gulf (Cabgoc) Tacula well.

It said the men responsible were being held by police.

Oil Minister Joao Landoite described the strike, which began on Monday at the offshore Cabinda-Gulf field operated by the US Chevron oil company, as "a wildcat strike doing great harm to the Angolan economy".

He was speaking on state radio after the failure of management negotiations with the strikers seeking higher pay and better living conditions.

Landoite said that under a production-sharing agreement, the state oil company Sonangol received 51% of the Cabgoc daily

production, currently around 260 000 barrels a day, out of Angola's total oil production of 470 000 barrels a day.

He said this meant Angola was losing about half the estimated daily losses of \$4.5m.

The minister accused the strikers of sabotaging efforts to maximise resources for reconstruction after the country's 16-year civil war ended on May 31.

Meanwhile, Angola's state diamond company Endiama has signed an agreement with Cuba's foreign trade company Antex for a social development project in the diamond producing northeastern province of Lunda Norte.

Cuban experts are expected to arrive in Angola in September to begin work on the project.

Cuba withdrew the last of its troops from Angola in May and many civilian experts left with them — Sapa-Reuter.

draw up will'

attack on an Untag base.

Cornelius said he would appear in court on August 1 and 2, but would probably not be in any condition to stand trial. He suffered permanent kidney and liver damage during a previous hunger strike.

Cornelius said Veenendal was "really firm" about sticking to his strike.

number sixteen

the homeland's Commissioner Maj-Gen Cas Delpont. Seven belong Hospital and one is in son

oners at Bophelong have indicated they will suspend their hunger- v can be transferred to Victoria Delpont said.

r five prisoners refusing food ingers. — Sapa.

Charles Schulz



Political murder still murder SAIRR

THE dividing line between political and ordinary crimes of violence was a thin one, if it existed at all, John Kane-Berman, head of the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), said in Johannesburg last night.

Addressing a DP meeting in Orlage Grove, Kane-Berman referred to the mass release of prisoners, including convicted murderers.

"The government in fact paved the way for these releases by agreeing last year that even murderers could be considered for amnesty if the murders were committed for political reasons," he said.

"Even before public outrage was expressed at the release of policemen convicted of murder and originally sentenced to death, a number of people ailed for particularly heinous crimes of violence had been released."

Frenzied

274

These crimes included: setting a hut alight and burning five people to death, killing six people by burning their house down; stoning a mother and child; killing the three-year-old child; stoning a woman to death and setting her hut alight, and beating a woman to death with a sjambok.

"Are people, who killed workers who continued to work during strikes, to be amnestied on the grounds that their crime was political? Or is murder in the course of an industrial dispute regarded as an ordinary rather than as a political crime?" he asked.

"What of people found guilty of participating in crimes committed by frenzied mobs? Did they commit these acts when they were not in full control of their faculties, or are we now to be told that these offences were after all committed for political reasons in the furtherance of some or other political organisation?"

"What is the situation of people convicted of murder by the necklace method? Are such people to be amnestied on the grounds that murder by this method is in furtherance of one or another political organisation?" — Sapa.

Malan hits at Mandela claims

ANC president Nelson Mandela's claims about the security forces are outrageous and his generalisations about whites terrible, Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan said yesterday.

Responding to Mandela's comments during an interview with The Star, Malan called on the ANC leader to substantiate "indiscriminate allegations" about SA's security forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accusation, which strikes at the integrity and very nature of our security forces. I challenge him to substantiate his claim with full detail."

Malan was speaking at an NP meeting at Brentwood on the East Rand.

References to individual transgressions by soldiers or policemen "due to the stress caused by the nature of their work" did not con-

stitute proof of security force complicity in township violence, Malan said.

Mandela's sweeping statements placed a question mark on his ability to "forsee the consequences if the security forces were not there to pull the chestnuts out of the fire".

He said Mandela was also guilty of "terrible generalisations" because of his claim that white South Africans regarded the lives of their black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the overwhelming majority of whites, who maintain good relations with others — from the domestics upwards to the office level."

Mandela's comment was, in fact, an attempt to cause tension between black and white people, Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mandela's claim that the ANC and the SACP would go their separate ways in a new order.

"The question begging is, who is going to hijack whom, with so many SACP members in the ANC executive."

The tone of Mandela's interview was confrontational and did not reflect a spirit of conciliation, Malan said.

Malan's speech also included a warning that he did not regard Mandela's claims as simple rhetoric aimed at keeping an electorate satisfied.

"These allegations, and the ANC's insistence on developing MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) as a private army — unacceptable in any country — have far reaching implications for security," Malan said. — Sapa

8/10/91 19/7/91 Insult 274

REPORTS

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political
Correspondent

AUTHOR, poet and political scientist Mr Stephen Chan says the tide of violence is receding in Southern Africa — except in parts of South Africa.

He sees this as the beginning of a new era of peace and reconstruction which would get going within the next few years.

In an interview this week he said that although violence is likely to continue in specific areas of South Africa for some time to come, profound changes in the frontline states are likely to benefit this country during and after its transition.

Mr Chan, an academic of Chinese descent who specialises in affairs of the frontline states, is a political analyst with a difference — he not only examines tough political, economic and diplomatic questions, but as a poet he also looks into the souls of countries and their peoples.

Violence under the microscope

He envisages changes in the power structure as well as economic and trade links of key frontline states that are set for further development towards multi-party democracy.

This is likely to bring in its wake new trading and economic links with South Africa.

In Cape Town this week, Mr Chan spoke at a seminar on foreign policies of the frontline states. The seminar was at the Centre for Intergroup Studies of the University of Cape Town.

His link with the centre dates back to 1984 when its director Professor H W van der Merwe was in Lusaka to pioneer talks with the ANC.

Mr Chan expects important changes, including economic

development, in some of the frontline states after their coming elections.

In Zambia, now involved in elections, Mr Chan sees a possibility that President Kenneth Kaunda will be voted out of power.

The seven Southern African countries that have become known as the frontline states are Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania and Namibia.

Mr Chan found during his travels in the frontline states that there were fears of economic domination by South Africa. He says all eyes will be on South Africa's economic links with the United States and Japan.

There are various signs of

disunity, especially on economic issues, among frontline states at a time when the economic outlook in countries like Zambia and Mozambique is "very grim". Those countries, especially war-ravaged Mozambique will take years to recover.

With help from South Africa, Zambia's ailing economy could be turned around.

Mr Chan believes South Africa hopes of a joint security pact between South Africa and the states of Southern Africa may be little more than a pipe-dream at this stage.

The frontline states, he says, are wary of any such suggestion, mainly because of a history of South African-led at-

tempts to destabilise countries in Southern Africa.

Any moves towards joint defence systems would have to be shelved for years to come — possibly till some years after a new government has been established in South Africa.

On the issue of violence in South Africa, Mr Chan told Weekend Argus that his early impression is that violence in specific areas may continue for some time, possibly until the mid-90s.

"All kinds of forces are unleashed now and people have to find their positions in the new South Africa. You are looking at the birth and growth of a new civil society."

PROPHET OF HOPE: Mr Stephen Chan, a leading specialist in Southern Africa's international relations, says the tide of violence is receding.



However, in such a situation instruments from within South African society could play a major role for peace. Institutions such as Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies could help to transform a culture of violence to a culture focused on mediation.

"What is important is to meet, to talk and to discover common interests. These things are necessarily slow, but I think in South Africa it is going to happen faster than in Northern Ireland and in Lebanon," Mr Chan said.

Children and violence in SA

DURBAN. — The political structure in South Africa has exposed children to violence seldom experienced elsewhere in the world, says the dean of the faculty of law at the University of Natal, Professor David McQuoid-Mason.

Speaking at the Children in Crisis conference here yesterday, Prof McQuoid-Mason said the correct legal response to community violence by and against children was state intervention and protection, but this was not happening in South Africa.

He said the distortions within South African society caused by apartheid

laws could be blamed for the notorious necklace method of executing suspected police informers.

Speaking at the same conference, Pinetown's Child and Family Welfare Society director Mrs Priscilla McKay said there was an urgent need to establish a national campaign to rehabilitate the youth, the victims of the violence.

She said many children had fled their homes because of the violence.

The children were insecure and did not trust anybody. The problem was compounded by the unstable economic situation in this country. — Sapa

Govt to blame for killing fields - Mandela

Star 20/7/91
JULIENNE DU TOIT

THE ANC and the Government were now clearly on a collision course, said ANC president Nelson Mandela last night, commenting on the shock disclosures of Government funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving on an overseas trip, Mr Mandela said if the Government continued with its "criminal operations" it was doubtful that a complete breakdown in relations could be avoided.

He was reacting to yesterday's Weekly Mail report that the Government had funded Inkatha operations. This was admitted

by State President F W de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night, but denied by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela said at least the Government had had the decency to admit the allegations were true.

There was "no question" of the ANC resuming discussions with the Government if it did not react positively — by seeing that the violence that had killed 10 000 since 1984 ended, and by seeing that the SADF confined itself to maintaining law.

"We have said all along that the Government is following a double agenda — "while talking to us, they were also conducting a war against us."

Mr Mandela said on countless occasions he had taken details of State involvement in killings to Mr de Klerk. He had asked for proof, and now he had proof, said Mr Mandela. (274)

He urged people who had been "used for the purpose of committing crime" to come forward, as some had done, to confess.

The mass media and businessmen had not been very vocal in condemning

the Government for its complicity in killing individuals. He hoped they would now come out and condemn this, he said.

In an additional statement issued last night, Mr Mandela said the transformation of Natal and parts of the Reef into killing fields should be laid squarely at the Government's door. (275)

He reiterated the ANC's demand that Mr Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan should be fired. "We shall test President de Klerk's own commitment to maintaining the search for peace on course against his actions in this regard."

Violence affects mining operations - Anglo chief

Sowetan 18/7/91 (274)

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

ANGLO American Corporation's operations have been affected by the high level of violence in the country, according to an annual report released by the corporation this week.

In addition, stayaways, and consumer, rent and mortgage boycotts, together with the general township instability, have exacted a high price both in lost production and in terms of the security and wellbeing of the group's employees.

Solution

Anglo's chairman Mr Julian Ogilvie-Thompson said it was clear that there was no quick and easy solution to the problem of violence in certain sections of the society.

He said, however, that progress in negotiations between employers and trade unions had been encouraging.

Action

He said the Chamber of Mines and the National Union of Mineworkers issued a joint Press statement last November committing themselves to:

- * The absolute and unconditional rejection of violence, whatever its source or motivation, on mine property;

- * The identification of the perpetrators of such violence from whatever quarter with a view to taking stringent disciplinary action;

Weapons

- * The prohibition of employees having or bringing weapons of any kind into the workplace, including hostels;

- * Approach other parties to become involved with a view to resolving the violent conflict; and to

- * Make every effort to encourage people to show tolerance of the views of others.

Progress

"The corporation and NUM have also made progress in agreeing on a code of conduct which sets out the rights and responsibilities of management, security personnel, union leaders and employees," Ogilvie-Thompson said.

He said wage bargaining agreements without recourse to strike action were reached last year.

"However, in the deteriorating economic circumstances of 1991

reaching agreement will be considerably difficult," he said.

He welcomed the agreement reached between the employer body - the South African Employers Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) - and the black trade union federations, Cosatu and Nactu.

Education

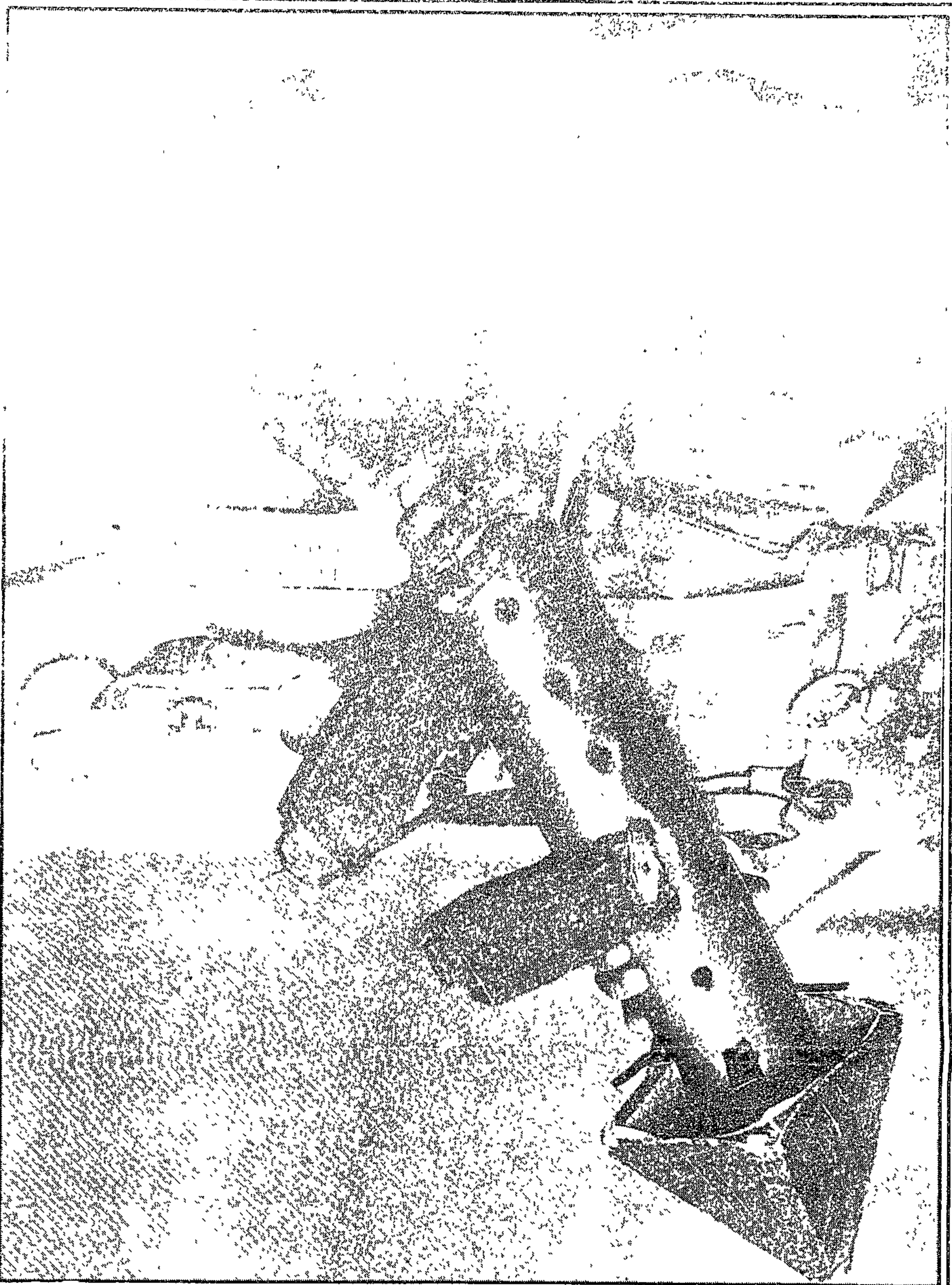
On education and training, Ogilvie-Thompson said township violence was matched fully with the continued disruption of black schooling, adding: "If a culture of tolerance is to be achieved in South African politics, re-

establishing a culture of learning is needed urgently."

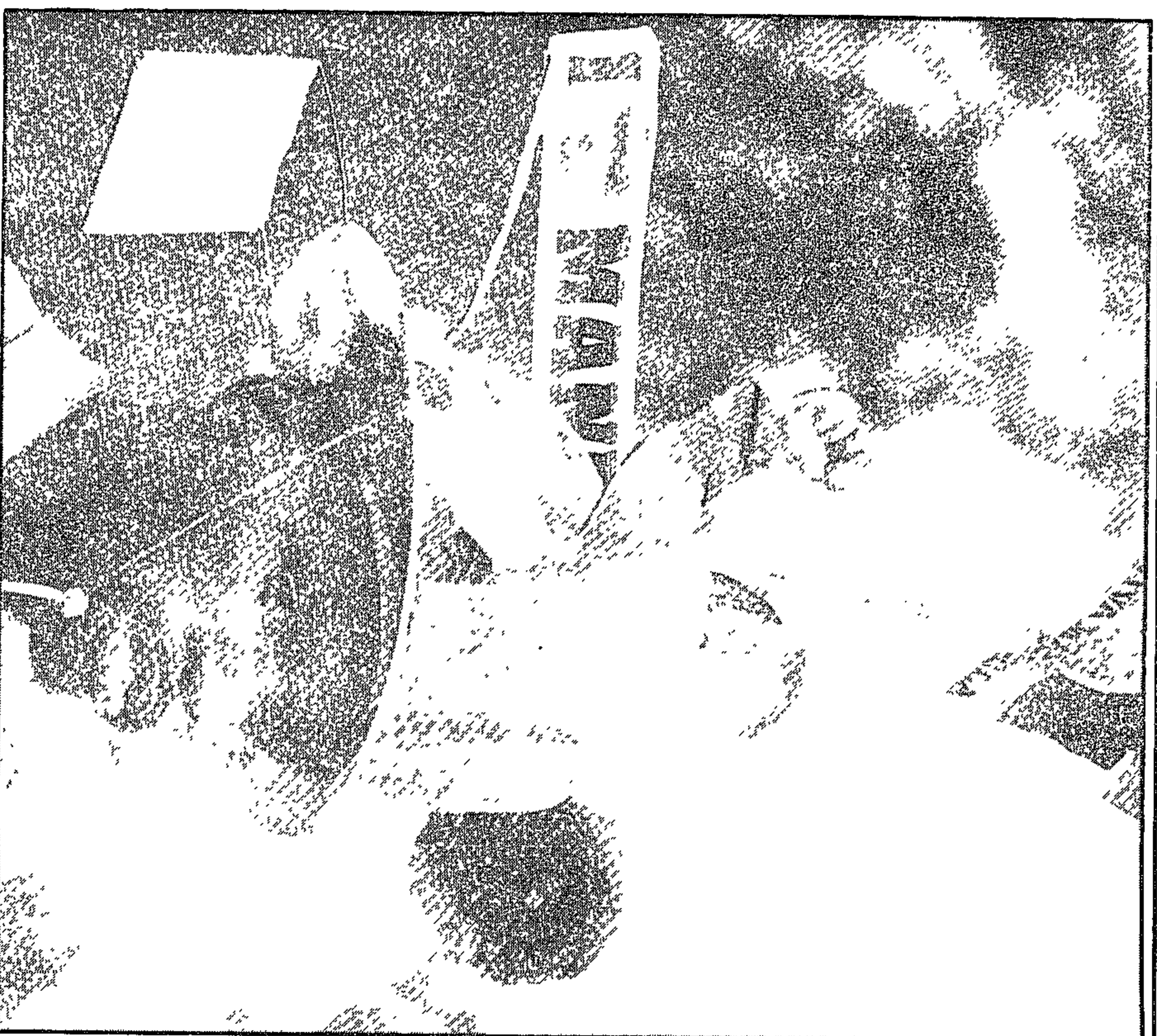
Invest

Anglo has agreed to invest another R1,3 million over five years in the Small Business Development Corporation, bringing its total commitment to R5,5 million.

The corporation and a group of South African companies announced the formation of the private sector initiative to expand the private sector's contribution to socio-economic development.



Vernon, made with metal, wood and considerable imagination.



HEAD-TURNER . . . One man turned his hard hat into an exhibition at a Pretoria protest march.

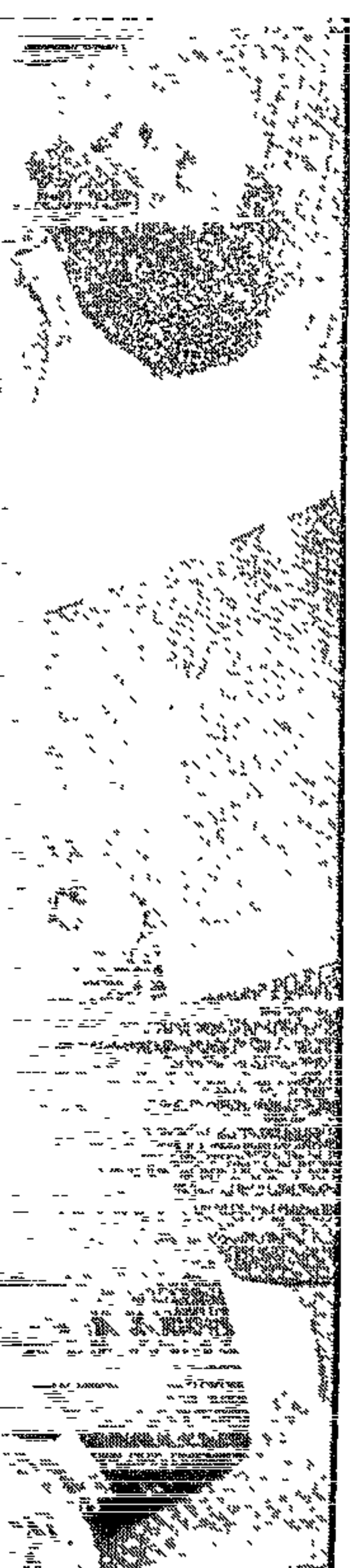
IRABDE CULTURE

21/7/91

274

THE struggle against apartheid has, over the years, spawned many populist cultural forms. The growing spirit of defiance in the late '80s saw a surge of popular militancy among anti-apartheid organisations

photographs were mostly "wide-angled, seeking the most typical views of the grim cycle." Thus they could not escape being visual slogans repetitive, dull and clichéd. TJ Lemon, a photo-journalism lecturer at



274 21/7/91



WOLFF
salute

problem of constantly giving clenched-fist salute more problems than it solved.



CELEBRATION

his release from prison in May last year.

Activists used every conceivable political situation — from funerals to marches and rallies — to display the symbols of banned political organizations.

This renaissance of mass political culture brought with it a new kind of photography spearheaded by the defunct Afrapix.

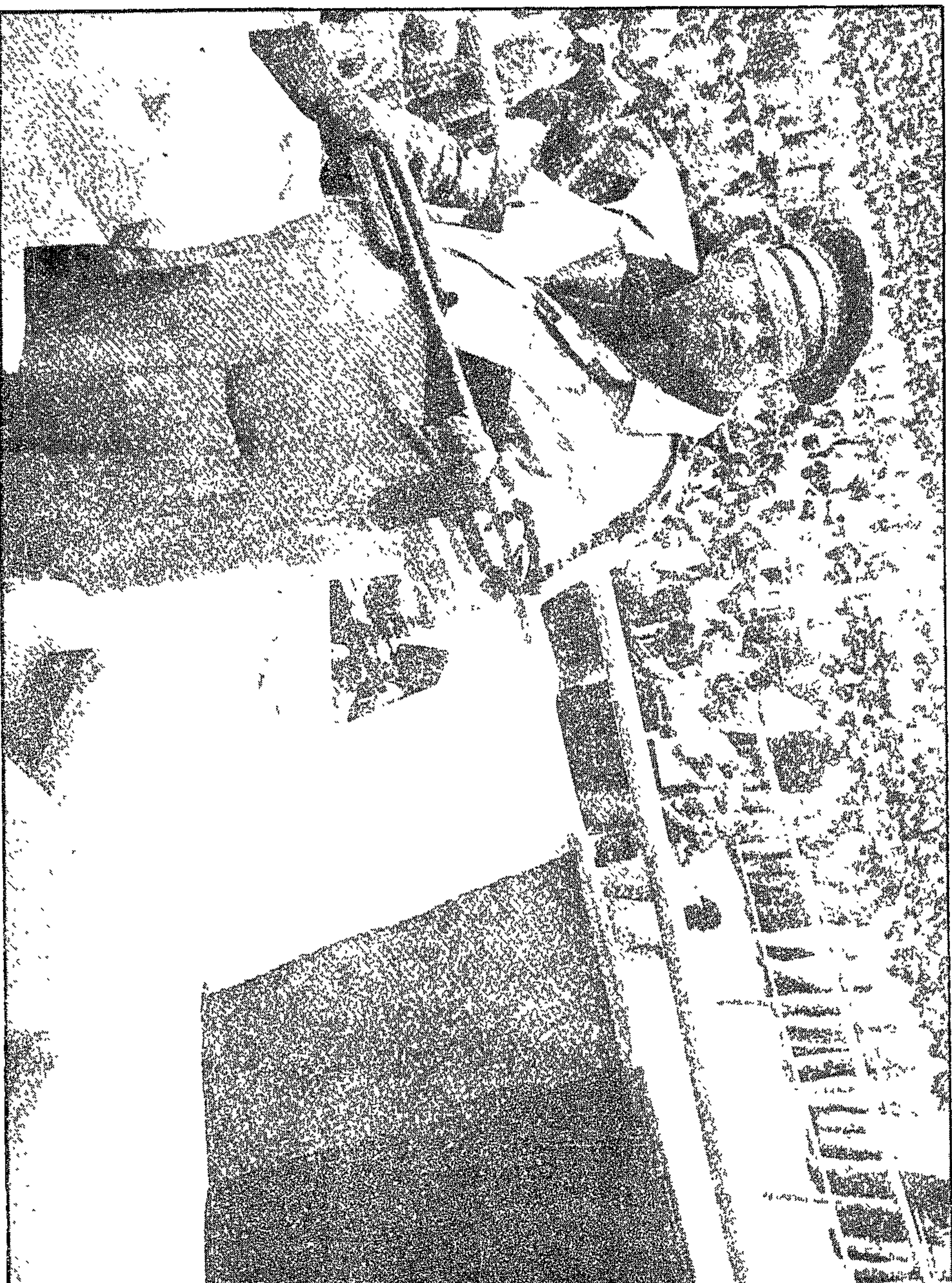
The photography sought to give "a voice to those denied basic human rights."

Writing in *ADA*, Chris Doherty says the

Pictures by TJ LEMON



ANC supporters in military-style clothes toy-toy into the FNB Stadium in Soweto carrying mock weapons at the re-launch of the South African Communist Party.



SHOWING THE FLAG... An ANC marshal "stands guard" with a mock gun at a rally at Bisho, Eastern Cape, to celebrate Nelson Mandela's return.

KILLER CO

Clpren 21/7/91

By S'BU MNGADI

274

CONFESSES

YET another defector has made startling revelations about a covert SADF, Inkatha and KwaZulu police alliance which he claimed trained and armed the notorious anti-ANC "Amasinyora" gang.

The gang unleashed a reign of terror in Natal in which at least 40 people died.

In a detailed affidavit, 21-year-old Bhekí Mvubu confessed to having taken part since 1987 in killing 40 people and burning down a number of ANC homes in Kwa-Mashu.

Saying he was drained by fighting and causing death and destruction, Mvubu named several members of Amasinyora who were involved in covert operations. They included policemen, SADF members and Inkatha officials.

The SADF has strongly denied the allegations and the KwaZulu Police (ZP) declined to comment.

Mvubu said the Amasinyora gang were originally common criminals until they were "taken over" by SADF member Dumisane Zondi, who told the gang he he was based at Empangeni in Zululand.

Zondi had instructed the gang in warfare methods and building home-made guns. These were to be used against ANC-supporting comrades.

He said Zondi had also supplied the gang with an SADF R1 automatic rifle which was used in the battles.

Zondi was shot and killed in mid-1989 while trying to escape from the SA police after allegedly being caught raping a woman.

He said that the gang was then told to join Inkatha, "so that we would be seen as a political organisation and not as a group of gangsters".

It was after the gang became a part of the IFP, that the group had become increasingly militarised.

Ammunition and guns were supplied directly from the KwaZulu police and Lindelani warlord and IFP area leader



Felix Ndimene

'SADF, Inkatha, police took part in gang's ANC war'

Mandla Thomas Shabalala assumed command.

"The first time we met him, Shabalala gave us three shotguns and several boxes of bullets. He praised us for fighting and said we must keep on fighting," Mvubu said.

Another Inkatha official,

More reports
- See Page 2

cial, a man called Shoji of Umlazi's Z-section, had worked closely with the gang allegedly providing them with three pump-action shotguns and a pistol. He had urged the gang to recruit more criminals.

An SADF man and Inkatha member, Justice Nkwanyane, had been introduced to the gang.

Nkwanyane was often seen in the townships in the company of white SADF soldiers - driving in Buffel vehicles or small white SADF vans with tinted windows.

"He gave us one 9mm pistol, and bullets on a regular basis until the end of 1989," he added.

Nkwanyane had ordered the gang to kill Esther Africa, former mayor of KwaMashu and IFP member who had joined

the ANC. During December 1989 Africa's house was attacked, though she wasn't home. The house was partially burnt.

"I was part of this attack with other Amasinyora members," Mvubu added.

He said Mandla Buthelezi, suspended from the SA Police, was also working with the Amasinyora since it began in 1987.

"He joined us on many attacks," he said, "and he is still a member of the Amasinyora."

Shange Khethe, who was a member of the KwaZulu police stationed at KwaMashu, had also worked with the Amasinyora. He provided bullets and joined in attacks at night. Khethe was jailed for life this year after being convicted in the Durban Supreme Court of murdering comrades.

Mvubu said the gang had looted and ransacked their targeted homes before torching them.

Among the people he claimed to have killed were Khumbu Cebekhulu, a youth known as Cliff and others named Magwegwe and Jomo.

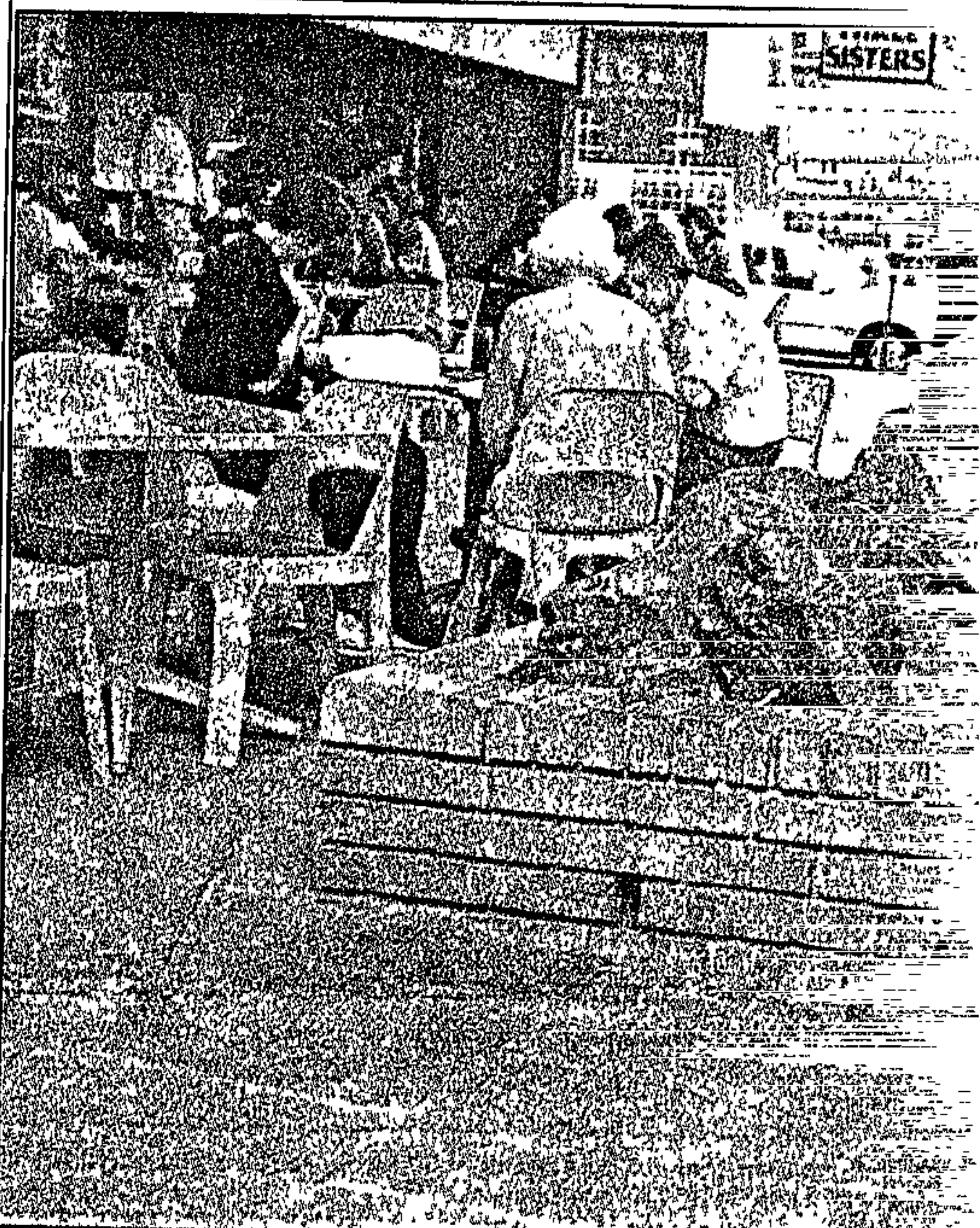
Jomo's killers - including Mvubu - were caught red-handed and arrested by the KwaZulu police but Mvubu said they were released four hours later.

Mvubu's confessions come hot on the heels of further disclosures that the SADF and police were in cahoots with Inkatha in fanning township violence. The Weekly Mail reported that the SA police were funding Inkatha to oppose the ANC.

And in a report in New Nation a former SADF operative, Sergeant Felix Isaias Ndimene, revealed that the violence that had been sweeping the country for the past two years - including train massacres - were planned and carried out by the Special Forces of the SADF.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the Government's covert activities were aimed at destroying the ANC and were setting the two groups on a collision course.

He said that if the government continued with its double agenda of criminal operations while talking peace, it was doubtful that a complete breakdown in the negotiation process could be avoided.



'BROW BEATING' ... Photographer Evans Mboweni caught the contrasts week where tramps are so commonplace they no longer disturb diners wise enough to strategically place themselves at robots, but the pennies



White man's R1 000 chil-

By ELIAS MALULEKE and CYNTHIA PITSE

A WINTERVELDT mother allegedly "sold" her 11-year-old daughter to a white businessman and allowed him to have sex with the girl. Her child, now 14, is a Std 2 pupil in Winterveld and is living with the man.

and his child lover, now aged 14, are said to have started the relationship in 1986.

Ex-Capetonian and divorced father of three, Nicholas Hart, and the girl, are living as man and wife in Mabopane's small industrial area, where Hart runs a factory.

According to locals and neighbours, the girl fell pregnant in the

Eleven people (274) die in weekend acts of violence

CT 23/7/91

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 11 people were killed and a further 11 wounded in incidents of violence reported by police yesterday.

● Two women and two men were shot dead, and a child was wounded, at Table Mountain near Maritzburg.

● Three policemen were slightly wounded when an unidentified group hurled stones at the Sebokeng home of a policeman.

● Political violence at Kwa Thema near Springs claimed at least four lives, and left at least four people injured.

● Police have opened a murder docket after the body of a South African Defence Force member was found at the Sebokeng hostel on Sunday morning.

It is suspected the soldier, Rifleman J T Ntsoeng, 25, was shot dead in an incident arising from an argument between two special constables.

● An unidentified 27-year-old man was shot dead in a Khayelitsha shebeen on Friday night, police said yesterday.

A spokesman said gunmen fired on the shebeen, in D Block in Site C.

They then burst into the house and shot the man in the chest with a shotgun, killing him instantly. Police later found 16 entry wounds on his body. Three people were injured in the incident.

● In another shooting incident, a man was shot dead on Friday night near Boys' Town, Nyanga. — Sapa and Staff Reporter



DOCTORAL MANDELA . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela accepts congratulations from the rector of the Complutense University near Madrid yesterday. He was awarded an honorary doctorate by the university. 274 0524/7/91 Picture AP

Nelson slams FW on violence

MADRID — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday accused President F W de Klerk of using his security forces to foment violence against the ANC, and prevent it from coming to power under a post-apartheid constitution.

Speaking at a summer university lecture, he said that by lifting sanctions, the US and Europe had rewarded President De Klerk, "who wants to stay in power over the corpses of innocent people".

Mr Mandela said the premature

lifting of sanctions was a "betrayal" of black South Africans.

He said that despite making assurances, the US, Britain, France and Germany had begun lifting a number of sanctions.

"With shock and surprise, I learned that the same heads of state, without briefing, have decided to lift sanctions. This has done a great deal of damage to their credibility."

Mr Mandela recognised Mr De

Klerk's willingness to orchestrate fundamental changes in the country, but said the government did not want to reach a settlement with a powerful ANC.

He accused Mr De Klerk of repeating earlier actions carried out against the South West African People's Organization (Swapo). He said Mr De Klerk had "let loose all death squads" to prevent Swapo from taking power in Namibia — Sapa-AP and UPI.

Cops hit out over violence

Sowetan 24/7/91 *274*

POLICE have criticised what they termed a newspaper's failure to supply information about allegations that special units in the South African Defence Force had planned and carried out much of the township violence.

In a statement on Monday, police said investigations into the so-called "third force" were being delayed "once again and possibly retarded by the failure of the newspaper concerned to make the evidence available to the investigating officer, Maj-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen".

The police statement followed a report in the *New Nation* newspaper last week that special units in the SADF had planned and carried out much of the township violence, including the train massacres.

The newspaper's editor, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, said he would only give police the information they sought if there was some guarantee of action.

In the past, he said, investigations had come to nothing although people had supplied police with evidence.

According to the police, investigations in the past had been unsuccessful after delays in supplying investigators with the "sensational" evidence given prominence in the media.

Van der Westhuizen expressed concern at the incidents.

Supply evidence

He called on the media to supply the evidence to the police "with the same zeal and dedication with which allegations are published".

He stressed that no-one had anything to fear from telling the truth, nor did anyone have any reason to withhold information from the police.

In reaction, Sisulu said the police statement "doesn't make sense". - *Sapa*

Foreign reluctance 'will fuel violence'

THE reluctance of foreign investors to invest in SA was increasing the risk of violence and support for a centrally controlled economy, Urban Foundation CE Sam van Coller said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of the National Black Distributors' Association, Van Coller said SA was trapped in a pattern of low economic growth.

"Developing countries need access to foreign capital to grow. For a mix of political and economic reasons, SA has not had access to overseas capital in recent years and this, more than anything, has stifled the economy," Van Coller said.

While the political constraints on economic growth were fast disappearing, the economic constraints were not.

"Because of violence and uncertainty about future economic policies in particular, foreign investors are, by and large, not prepared to risk investing in SA at present.

"The longer the economy continues to perform poorly because of (their) unwillingness, the greater the chances that violence will increase and the greater the pressure on extra-parliamentary political leaders to talk in terms of a substantial role by government in any future economic policy under a new constitution," Van Coller said.

Until SA could break out of this circle, the economy would continue to perform

poorly and unemployment and poverty would increase.

Van Coller said the impact of a new constitution on the SA business environment would depend, first of all, on the political climate within which the constitution was born.

"Because of the diverse nature of the SA population, there has always been an inherent potential for enormous conflict in our society. SA's traditional response has been for one group to prevent all other groups from participating in the political arena.

Co-operation

"That has now changed and the political arena is being opened to all. It is thus to be expected that we must go through a period of intense political competition as different groups at all levels in our society seek to gain control of power and resources," he said.

However, there were important opportunities in an open political environment for conflicting groups to recognise their interdependence and establish pockets of co-operation.

It was encouraging that support for the extreme positions of a centrally planned and controlled economic system on the one hand or a totally free market system on the other, appeared to be on the decline.

B1 Day 24/7/91

THEO RAWANA

274

Violence scaring off investors ²⁷⁴ ²⁰ ⁷⁰ Van Coller ^{Star 24/7/91}

Foreign investors were not putting money into South Africa because of the violence and uncertainties of future economic policy, Urban Foundation chief executive officer Sam van Coller said yesterday.

Speaking at the opening of the Black Distributors Association in Johannesburg, Mr van Coller said South Africa's lack of access to foreign capital had also stifled the economy.

"While political constraints are now fast disappearing, economic constraints are not."

The longer the economy was hampered by the unwillingness to invest, the greater the chances were that violence would increase.

South Africa had become a society without the essential values necessary to hold it together in a pattern of stability.

Mr van Coller cited the in-

creases in crime, conflicts among interest groups, increases in teenage pregnancies, alcoholism, suicide and divorce.

"Apartheid did everything possible to stifle economic growth in South Africa."

Conflicts

"It prevented market forces from operating, it shut out opportunities and thus removed any incentive for people to improve their own circumstances."

"It wasted resources not only in duplicate bureaucracies but also in duplicate facilities, it separated the capacity of the developed world from the needs of the to-be-developed world."

"It generated intense conflicts that stood in the way of levels of co-operation that are necessary to move forward. It excluded South Africa from the wider — and for others, much more open — world, thus re-

stricting access to technology and trading opportunities.

"It drove away a substantial number of skilled South Africans when our pool of skills was not enough to meet the country's development needs."

If by the time a new constitution came into being, conflicting interest groups had learnt that through constructive negotiation, and not power-seeking, they could benefit their particular interest group, SA would "have some glue to hold it together", Mr van Coller said.

"Most leaders accept the need for effective markets aided by both public and private-sector interventions."

"They agree there will have to be dual economic strategies both to stimulate the formal economy and to bring the poor into the wealth-creation arena rather than leaving them on the outside." — Sapa.

Violence is 'on way out'

AUTHOR, poet and political scientist Mr Stephen Chan says the tide of violence is receding in Southern Africa - except in parts of South Africa.

He sees this as the beginning of a new era of peace and reconstruction which would get going within the next few years.

In an interview this week he said that although violence was likely to continue in specific areas of South Africa for some time to come, profound changes in the frontline states were likely to benefit this country during and after its transition.

Chan, an academic of Chinese descent who specialises in affairs of the frontline states, is a political analyst with a difference - he not only examines tough political, economic and diplomatic

As violence and political conflict continue to bring confusion and fear to South Africans, a leading specialist in Southern Africa's international relations has brought a message of hope. He told Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the light he sees at the end of our tunnel.

questions, but as a poet he also looks into the souls of countries and their peoples.

He envisages changes in the power structure as well as economic and trade links of key frontline states that are set for further development towards multiparty democracy.

This is likely to bring in its wake new trading and economic links with South Africa.

Chan expects important changes, including economic development, in some of the frontline states after their coming elections.

In Zambia, now in-

involved in elections, Chan sees a possibility that President Kaunda will be voted out of power.

Chan found during his travels in the frontline states that there were fears of economic domination by South Africa. He says all eyes will be on South Africa's economic links with the United States and Japan.

With help from South Africa, Zambia's ailing economy could be turned around.

Chan believes South African hopes of a joint security pact between South Africa and the states of Southern Africa

may be little more than a pipedream at this stage.

Any moves towards joint defence systems would have to be shelved for years to come.

On the issue of violence in South Africa, Chan said his early impression was that violence in specific areas may continue for some time, possibly until the mid-90s.

"All kinds of forces are unleashed now and people have to find their positions in the new South Africa. You are looking at the birth and growth of a new civil society."

However, in such a situation instruments from within South African society could play a major role for peace. Institutions such as Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies could help to transform a culture of violence to a culture focused on mediation.

Business visit off

A VISIT by about 60 top black American businessmen to South Africa this month has been postponed because of what the Americans dub "the Mandela bashing" and the high-level of violence in the country.

Consultant Mr Willie Ramoshaba, whose firm WR Consultants, was organising the trip, suffered heavy financial losses as a result of the postponement which, he said, was also forced by the threat to call off talks between the Government and the ANC.

"Judging from the Mrs Mandela case the Americans thought there was an orchestrated campaign to villify the Mandela name and with the threat of talks collapsing between the Government and the ANC, that made them very nervous," Ramoshaba said.

"I am talking of the real people who fall in the top 100 category," he added.

The visit was supposed to be a return-visit by the Americans following a successful trip by 65 black South Africans to the United States last October led by Dr Nthato Motlana, Mr James Ncoya and Mrs Ellen Khuzwayo.

By ALI MPHAKI

This trip was also organised by WR Consultants.

An obviously disappointed Ramoshaba also lambasted some "big" South African corporations which, he said, preached black economic empowerment but did little to put their money where their mouth is.

"If we were bringing in white businessmen we would have had big business and even the Government supporting us. But because we are bringing our own black

brothers, no one is prepared to assist us financially," he said.

Ramoshaba's mission to invite black American businessmen to this country is to expose the South African black business people to businessmen they can relate to and do business with.

He said the American businessmen believed they could play a role in assisting South African black business people in making a meaningful contribution to the South African economy.

"We feel our own black business people must not wait before the final uhuru to start making contacts and connections with other businessmen," Ramoshaba said.

Ramoshaba, whose business premises have now been moved from downtown Johannesburg to Randburg, said they had arranged to take 65 black businessmen to the Far East in October.

As for the black American businessmen, they are now being expected in South Africa in November.

Classified has it all

186
Services and
Tune-ups
to your car

184
Spares &
Accessories
for all
makes
of Cars

Read
Classified

FIKILE PROJECTS BUILDING CONTRACTORS

Stands available in:
Mamelodi and Mabopane
Want to buy a home of your own? Then do it
NOW!

- *No deposit
- *Fully serviced. Ready to build on
- *Quiet atmosphere
- *Next to transport
- *Bond finance arranged

For more information!!

Call us at
(012) 323-9295/6

S 1340

A US forecaster gives South Africa a poor risk rating, writes Hugh Robertson

Bank on turmoil, not investment

Star 24/7/91.

A COMPANY which specialises in forecasting risks for American businesses around the world, and which is widely consulted by banks and multinational corporations, has given South Africa a poor risk rating for the next five years.

Political Risk Services says in a report from Washington that the chances of turmoil in the country between now and mid-1996 are "very high" and forecasts mounting troubles for President de Klerk in trying to reconcile the differences between competing black groups.

In their latest survey the company also forecasts a "moderate" degree of turmoil in Zimbabwe in the next five years, with inflation there soaring to 25 percent, and it predicts that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will be ousted in open elections later this year and will be replaced by a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of Frederick Chiluba, a trade unionist.

Political Risk Services, which sells a 50-page report on South Africa for \$295 (about R840), says President de Klerk's inability to

stop fighting between the African National Congress and Inkatha, and the growing restiveness of whites, will challenge his efforts to forge a peaceful transition to multiracial government.

While the South African Government continued to propose and implement major reforms, "the possibility of a stalemate over the terms of the transition and growing organised opposition among whites threaten a peaceful evolution", the report says.

It adds that "increasingly militant statements by ANC officials over continued violence and the Government's role in it indicate the unlikelihood of getting a consensus among black groups".

The report says there is only a 40 percent possibility of a "reformist National Party" being the government in 18 months' time, and only a 40 percent chance of a "pragmatic ANC" coming to power in the next five years, although it does forecast a new government within the next five years.

Inflation will grow to 18 percent between 1992 and 1996, while the growth in the real gross domestic



Kenneth Kaunda... rule ending?

product will be only 1.8 percent in the same period.

Zimbabwe, by contrast, will have an inflation rate of 25 percent between 1992 and 1996, with a four percent growth in its real gross domestic product, and there is a "moderate" chance of turmoil in the long term.

Commenting on President Robert Mugabe's plans for buying white-owned land for redistribution to blacks, the report says: "With the economy continuing to weaken and the youthful and urban population growing, the loss of foreign investment and white agricultural managers could hasten economic deterioration and undermine a stable and pragmatic government."

In Zambia, continuing economic decline coupled with pressure for democratic elections had forced President Kaunda to schedule elections for October.

"He may postpone the elections or use repressive techniques to ensure his victory, but the possibility of widespread violence makes such actions unlikely. Open elections will most likely produce a victory for the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy and lead to a pragmatic civilian government under the leadership of a popular labour leader, Frederick Chiluba," the report says.

Political Risk Services do not forecast events in Mozambique, Angola or Namibia at this stage. — Star Bureau. □

Talks on violence ⁽²⁷⁴⁾

A PEACE conference to address instability in the Border area will be hosted by the African National Congress-led alliance and the Border Business Action Committee in East London tomorrow.

The main concern was the Ciskeian military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and actions carried out by him or in his name. *26/7/91*

Boycott

It was felt the situation was rapidly approaching the level of violence in Natal and the PWV region.

Before a recent ANC-led consumer boycott, the BBAC, which comprises the main business interests in the area, approached the alliance to try and identify issues of common concern. *Sapa.*

ANC starts peace drive

THE ANC yesterday launched a campaign to appeal to security force members to stand up for peace.

In a message to police and defence force members, the ANC said security force personnel should expose the "real terrorists" who perpetuate the violence.

It accused certain elements in the Government of breaking "their own laws and rules".

"It is time the truth is told. It is time responsible South Africans joined hands to promote peace and reconciliation," the message said.

It also accused Cabinet Ministers of doing different things in private to what they said in public.

"They train and deploy mercenaries to butcher people in coldblood. They supply weapons to these groups and create a situation of anarchy and instability in the country. They fund a party whose members are responsible for raids and murders against communities in the PWV and Natal.

Security forces

"This is not law and order. Even the basic principles of police and army professional work do not allow this."

Policemen and soldiers were also urged to join security force members who had already exposed the "perpetrators of violence".

The message called on the security forces to act impartially, respect people's right to free political activity, take action against illegal arms dealers and to "refuse to be used against the people".

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu government on Wednesday repaid the R250 000 given to it by the South African Government to cover the cost of staging two political rallies.- Sapa.

^{Star 26/7/91} Peace talks go on despite crisis

By Carina le Grange

Peace talks remain on track despite the crisis surrounding revelations of the Government's secret funding of Inkatha.

Representatives of the major players — the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — have faced each other for the first since the debacle was revealed.

The representatives, as well as leading business and religious leaders, attended the

meeting of the National Peace Initiative's preparatory committee at Barlow Park in Sandton on Wednesday night.

Government members included the Deputy Ministers of Law and Order and of Constitutional Development, Johan Scheepers and Roelf Meyer.

Also attending were ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad and Jayandra Naidoo of Cosatu.

From the IFP, chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and executive officials Walter Felgate and Suzanne Vos were present.

Among religious and business

leaders, Dr Frank Chikane, Dr Louw Alberts, Professor Johan Heyns, National African Federated Chambers of Commerce president Dr Sam Motsuenyane, Anglo American's Bobby Godsell and Dr Theuns Eloff of the Business Consultative Movement attended.

A statement after the meeting said broad consensus was reached on matters relating to the "current violence and the vital need for ongoing dialogue and urgent action".

"Some of the issues dealt with include a permanent peace commission."

It made no mention of the funding scandal, although some members have expressed fears for the fate of the National Peace Initiative following the revelations.

The statement — to which all parties are bound — said the working groups had reported back on, among other things, codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces.

It added that the committee — "which came into being as a result of delicate shuttle diplomacy by businessmen and churchmen" — would meet again on August 14.

Code of conduct near agreement 274

PATRICK BULGER

DESPITE the harsh exchanges of words over state funding of Inkatha, government, the ANC and Inkatha are on the verge of agreeing to a code of conduct for security forces, as a mechanism to end township violence. *16/08/91 26/7/91*

The code of conduct, which sources said was in the final stages of being drafted, was hammered out in a series of meetings between representatives of the three groups, business and church leaders.

It results from a peace process initiated a month ago by church and business leaders in consultation with political groupings.

Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers had been closely involved with the process, sources said. The same sources expressed concern that the SADF had not been involved in drawing up the code. But others felt that as the police were primarily responsible for maintaining law and order, the SADF would take its lead from the SAP.

The preparatory committee which emerged from the initial church and business-sponsored peace initiative met earlier this week.

It heard reports on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces, socio-economic development and implementation of monitoring mechanisms.

Reports from the working groups are to be presented at the next preparatory committee meeting on August 14.

INKATHA RALLIES

EVEN CURIUSER

Speeches at the two Inkatha rallies funded by the police, supposedly to promote an anti-sanctions message, referred only once to sanctions. The Law & Order Ministry refuses to reveal documents itemising expenditure on the rallies.

This follows Sunday night's SABC TV's *Agenda* when Minister Adriaan Vlok said the SAP had ensured that "senior Inkatha officials accounted for every cent" of taxpayers' money.

But Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze refused an *FM* request to see the documents or names of senior Inkatha personnel who had submitted the receipts. Kotze said the documents were protected under the Official Secrets Act. Lawyers stated that police documents are not covered by the Act. Kotze still refuses access.

Only five weeks ago Foreign Minister Pik Botha, whose Foreign Affairs Special Account channelled money to Inkatha, said that giving financial support to a chosen political side in SA increases the climate of violence. His comments came after his Australian counterpart, Gareth Evans, donated R4m to the ANC and other organisations.

"I warned him that this kind of action increases the climate of violence," Botha told

a press conference. "It is not going to Inkatha. It is not going to the Pan Africanist Congress or any other party. This creates a feeling of being pushed aside. It creates emotions that create violence."

Scrutiny of the 12-page speech delivered by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on November 19 1989 — evidently the first rally funded by the SAP — shows not a single reference to sanctions, nor any related activity. Instead the king spoke at length about the need for Zulu unity and criticised Prince Mchayizeni Zulu (who was elected on to the ANC's National Executive Committee this month) and Chief Maphumulo (assassinated near Maritzburg earlier this year).

Greed and racism

The king also delivered an attack against the "white politics of greed and racism," the ANC and "Indian activists (who) use Indian money to subvert the morals of black children and turn them into young, killing demons."

At the second Inkatha rally, on March 25 1990, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi referred only once to sanctions in his eight-page speech.

At the end of page four he asks: "Do you not send me to the outside world and to the SA negotiating table to reject sanctions, which rob you of your jobs because your factories are closed down or have to cut back

on outputs?"

Most of the speech is an attack against the ANC, its policies and certain individuals. Buthelezi devoted a page to Patrick "Terror" Lekota (former ANC southern Natal regional chairman and now an NEC member) for "talking about my political annihilation" in a Washington newspaper.

During the height of the "war" in the Maritzburg area, Vlok and Buthelezi flew over the area in a helicopter. The role of the police and Inkatha was criticised by the Democratic Party then and again this week.

The revelations of the past week may throw a new light on other incidents. On April 28 this year 28 people died in a massacre in the Meadowlands township, under full view of a strong police and media contingent. The ANC had warned government three days before that Inkatha was planning an attack on residents after a funeral. Police made no attempt to stop the attack.

Meanwhile, the ANC has denied government and media reports that the movement has also received funding from government. Spokesman Carl Niehaus says this is an attempt to divert attention from the real issues: "Government has never given us money for rallies or similar activities. They invited the ANC down for the Groote Schuur conference and paid for us as their guests; this is normal procedure and was entirely open."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus says the ANC "wants an independent judicial inquiry into government's R380m secret account."

After an emergency meeting on Monday, the ANC's "cabinet," the National Working Committee, insisted on the resignations of Vlok and Defence Minister, Magnus Malan. The ANC also demanded guarantees to "all public-spirited civil servants and other State employees who come forward to tell the truth about covert operations, that they will be immune from prosecution and receive protection," and added that "all police officers and SADF personnel identified by past commissions as culpable for perpetrating violence be put on trial."

The committee criticises the "hasty lifting of sanctions" and says that "those who accepted the bona fides of the De Klerk government as an agency for political change should seriously reconsider their position."

It adds: "The conduct of government demonstrates that the covert operations, State murder squads, secret funds to corrupt and buy support, and other dirty tricks that became infamous in the days of (PM) John Vorster and (President P W) Botha remain features of government's arsenal to this day."

The ANC will convene its NEC on Wednesday to discuss the row and government's response.

Charlene Smith

SAP cop it from Dutch visitors

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE SAP are using outdated methods to handle violence in the townships, according to three Dutch cops who visited the country.

W/O Louis Deeban, Lt Pete Kruitzinga and their female colleague, who declined to be named, launched a scathing attack on the SAP and described their methods as "outdated".

The three left South Africa on Thursday after discussions with various leaders, including government officials, academics and leaders of the Prisons and Police Civil Rights Union (Popcru) during their two-week fact-finding mission.

They also attended the Cosatu congress at Nasrec near Johannesburg where they held talks with trade unionists. The three were sent to South Africa by the Dutch Police Union, which they said represented nearly 97 percent of Holland's police force.

Deeban said they were surprised by the army's involvement in policing the townships. Armies in Western countries did not



DUTCH COURAGE ... A delegation of the Dutch Police Union (above) launched a scathing attack on the local police force.

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

intervene in civil unrest because they were not trained for such situations. *CIP 28/7/91*

"In our opinion the minimum six-month training period for South African policemen is too short. In Holland an ordinary policeman is trained for three-and-a-half years before he can qualify as a junior officer," said Deeban.

"We receive 18-months' tuition and two years' practicals before we qualify."

The visitors also found that there was a breakdown in communication between junior and senior policemen. This often resulted in mistrust and suspicion.

"Quite often there is little communication between the seniors and their juniors except when the seniors shout orders. This easily results in the seniors not knowing exactly what the rank-and-file policemen are doing down there."

Deeban said they were also surprised that local

policemen were barred by statutory laws from joining trade unions, which was an outdated practice in other countries.

A statement issued by the SAP public relations in Pretoria said they were aware of the presence of the three policemen, but refuted their claim that the SAP methods of handling violence were outdated.

"We don't consider the visitors to be experts on our situation and their opinion should be seen in that light. They are not

the first overseas 'experts' on local affairs and they will probably not be the last. The saying 'a little bit of knowledge is a dangerous thing' seems to be appropriate here."

The statement added that the visitors met the deputy Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General Mulder van Eyck, last week but they failed to keep an appointment with a police liaison officer who was supposed to show them around Soweto and they hardly bothered to apologise.

Three killed in unrest (27)

JOHANNESBURG —

Three people died and 10 were wounded in weekend violence.

A man was shot dead and two were wounded when gunmen fired on people outside a hostel in Bruntville, Natal.

Another man died when he was attacked by a mob at Paddock, near Port Shepstone.

Four people were wounded at Mpopomeni, near Howick, when a number of houses were burned down.

In another clash at Esikhaweni, near Mtunzini, three people were wounded.

In the Cape, at Mbekweni, near Paarl, police found the body of a man who had been shot.

A policeman was injured in a stone-throwing incident at Galashewe, near Kimberley.

— Sapa (27/7/91)

Unrest 'causes street kids'

PRETORIA. — Unrest in black townships has brought about a marked increase in the number of street children, the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Danie Hough, said yesterday.

(274) CT 317191
Opening a children's home at Shoshanguve, Mr Hough said these children often ran away from home and succumbed to drugs and sexual abuse before statutory or non-statutory intervention could take place.

He said the broad aim of the children's home was to act as a substitute for the parental home, and endeavour

to continue parental functions as naturally as possible.

Mr Hough said there were five registered private children's homes in the Transvaal, which together provided facilities for more than 500 children. The homes were erected and run by private initiative, and were subsidised by the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

The new R5-million home at Shoshanguve, Legae la Rona, can accommodate about 200 children. The complex also includes Tsosoloso, a place of safety and detention. — Sapa

According to Monday, 2/8/91

Youths flee SA township warfare

274

LUSAKA - Hundreds of young men fleeing political warfare in South Africa have arrived in Zambia in recent weeks and the exodus continues.

Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana reported yesterday that about 800 people aged between 15 and 25 had arrived in Lusaka and were sheltered at an African National Congress transit camp on the outskirts of the capital.

Youths are fleeing South Africa for Zambia through Swaziland as political violence continues to dis-

rupt normal life in the townships.

"There is a big problem with accommodation because the influx is more than we can handle. We definitely can't cope with the large numbers of people arriving," an official at the transit centre said. The centre can only accommodate about 400 people.

Accommodation

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is financing food provisions and accommodation for the refugees.

"We are trying to enforce emergency programmes to accommodate

the new arrivals in our educational programmes which friendly countries are trying to help fund," the official at the centre said.

Arrangements are being made with the Kenyan Government for 500 refugees to study in that country.

The Australian Government is funding the 500 students now in Nigeria but the ANC is trying to mobilise resources for the 800 plus new arrivals.

"The 500 students will hopefully leave for Kenya before the end of the year," the official said. - Sapa.

Looking for those behind country's brutal killings

AUGUS 3/7/91



THIS is the man charged with the task of establishing who is behind some of the most brutal killings perpetrated during the wave of violence spreading throughout South Africa.

He is top policeman, Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, head of special investigations. His findings are essential to ensuring the credibility of a future unbiased police force.

Expecting to retire from the police force after 40 years of service in April this year, the grey-haired major was recalled to head special investigations including most of the country's "high profile" investigations.

Among these are last year's South African Council of Church allegations of security forces collusion with Inkatha, the walkman bomb killing of human rights lawyer Mr Bheki Mlangeni as well as recent assassinations of political activists in the Cape and Natal.

Also being investigated by Ma-

jor Van der Westhuizen's teams are the 14 PWV train massacres since August last year, in which 61 people have died and 330 been injured, the Vaal triangle attacks in which 21 people have died, including those at Sebokeng's Ko-operasie Beerhall and Erika's Tavern, and the attack on ANC activist Mr Nxokolo Ernest Sotso's home, in which three people were killed.

Did he not have too many investigations on his plate? He shrugged: "With my teams it's not a problem, I can handle these investigations — the SACC report is now with the Attorney-General."

On the train massacres, Major van der Westhuizen said 23 people had been arrested in connection with these attacks.

In the Welverdiend case this week, five policemen from the unrest unit were suspended.

The case revolves around Khutsong witnesses having implicated police in 17 violent deaths in as many months. Four of these

people died in police custody. The unit's functions were taken over by another senior police spokesman pending the investigation.

More recently Major Van der Westhuizen has moved on to investigating allegations about police misconduct to that of alleged SADF misconduct.

He was appointed to investigate former SADF Felix Ndimene's claims that an SADF special unit planned and executed attacks on train commuters. On these allegations, the Major said Mr Ndimene was in hiding and the Soldiers For Peace organisation had refused to make him available for police questioning on the allegations.

Asked about progress in the six-month old Bheki Mlangeni case, he said police were still investigating. Major Van der Westhuizen, accompanied by another senior policeman, went to London to investigate former police captain Dirk Coetzee's claims that he was the intended victim of the walkman bomb.

800 youths flee violence

open 4/8/91.

MORE than 800 young South Africans fleeing political violence have arrived in Zambia since the beginning of the year to seek education opportunities under the auspices of the ANC.

An average of 60 black youths aged between 15 and 25 years are fleeing South Africa every month, ANC representatives in Zambia revealed this week.

Eighty-four youths arrived in Zambia during the past two weeks via Swaziland.

The South African refugees are camped at the Kamwanga Refugee transit centre 12 km outside Lusaka.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees is providing food and accommodation, but this is now hampered by the large number of refugees

Problem

The centre can accommodate about 400 people but this has been outstripped by 100 percent.

ANC administrative secretary in the education department, George Shaya, said: "There is a major problem of accommodation because the influx of arrivals is more than we can handle."

"But here we are, we have to look after them."

The acute shortage of cooking facilities has compounded the problem.

Transit centre administrator Graham Morodi conceded: "We definitely can't cope with the large number of people arriving."

However, the ANC has a responsibility to look after the refugees and to try and place them in schools.

"We are trying to enforce emergency programmes to accommodate the new arrivals in our educational programmes which friendly countries are trying to assist with funding," explained Shaya.

ANC student co-ordinator Ashley Sewisa said the ANC already had 500 South Africans in Nigeria

**Our
transit
camps
in
Zambia
crammed
says
ANC**

(274)

and another 500 might be going to Kenya before the end of the year.

The Australian Government is currently funding the 500 students in Nigeria but the ANC is trying to mobilise more resources for the more than 800 new arrivals

Asked why he fled South Africa, one of the refugees said: "The education system for blacks at home is appalling and in a total shambles. It hasn't changed despite President FW De Klerk's world-acclaimed reform programme."

"Black education is facing its worst crisis ever. It seems to me there is still a lot of talking and no action."

The young fugitives are mainly seeking secondary and university education. Some, however, are hoping for professional training outside South Africa.

Contrast

The scenario at the ANC refugee transit camp is in sharp contrast with the thousands of South African exiles still waiting in several African countries and other parts of the world to return home.

ANC repatriation officer Hein Grosskopf explained: "Many of the exiles are skilled and educated and can easily be accommodated in various sectors of the South African economy."

"The refugees, however, still need education and training." - ANO

PE stayaway to mark riot anniversary

THOUSANDS of people in Port Elizabeth's northern areas yesterday marked the first anniversary of the riots there with a stayaway.

Some 49 people lost their lives in a week of rioting in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage a year ago.

The area was quiet yesterday except for hundreds of schoolchildren who filled the streets. Very few attended school.

Police kept a low profile but the riot squad was monitoring the situation, said police spokes-

man Captain Pieter van Straaten.

On Monday night a number of shopkeepers, who were among the worst hit in last year's rioting, were seen to be clearing their premises of goods in anticipation of trouble.

However, only a few isolated reports of stone-throwing and road barricades were received by early yesterday.

Thousands of people were to march from the Windvogel bus terminus yesterday morning to the Chatty rent office to commemorate last year's

unrest.

From the rent office the marchers were to proceed to Greenville Primary School which was severely damaged in the riots.

Buses in the area were running almost empty yesterday.

"Apart from the safety factor, the stayaway left us without half our drivers," a spokesman for Algoa Bus Company said.

The spokesman said they had decided to stay clear of the Helenvale area after drivers found a

number of barricades set up there shortly after 5am.

"Otherwise the buses are running and providing everything is back to normal tomorrow we will be running our full service," he said.

The Midland Chamber of Industry was busy assessing the extent of the stayaway.

Several thousands people were, however, believed to have stayed at home. - *Sapa*.

Breakthrough in 274 talks on peace plan

BILLY PADDOCK

REPRESENTATIVES of warring township groups and government yesterday reached agreement on ways to end violence, sources in the business/church peace initiative said yesterday.

The ANC and its supporters, Inkatha and government worked till the early hours of yesterday to finalise the agreements they would take to their principals on Wednesday, the sources said.

The joint meeting had agreed on four areas but disagreed on one major area that would have to be thrashed out by the principals. *8/10/91 9/8/91*

They reached binding agreements on:

- ☐ A code of conduct for political parties;
- ☐ A code of conduct for the security forces;
- ☐ The establishment of a peace secretariat with an attendant monitoring and dispute-settling mechanism at regional and local levels; and
- ☐ The identification of socio-economic problems contributing to violence.

The unresolved issue was whether these agreements should cover the homelands and their security forces.

A source close to the initiative said if ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi refrained from attacking each other, Wednesday's meeting could lead to a major peace summit with full representation and endorsement within two months.

He said the success of these initiatives would go a long way towards convening a multiparty conference on negotiations.

Govt, groups agree on ways to end violence

CT 9/8/91

Own Correspondent

(274)

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, Inkatha and the government had reached agreement on ways designed to end violence, sources in the joint business/church peace initiative said yesterday.

The groups reached binding agreements on:

- A code of conduct for political parties.
- A code of conduct for the security forces.
- The implementation of a peace secretariat with an attendant monitoring and dispute-settling mechanism at regional and local levels.
- Identifying socio-economic problems contributing to violence such as hostels.

FW warned over violence probe

CIVIL rights lawyers have urged President FW de Klerk not to establish his proposed commission of inquiry into violence until after further consultation.

Lawyers for Human Rights and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers warned in a letter to the president this week that the forum would only enjoy credibility if it was set up after negotiations with interested parties.

Issues which the lawyers felt particularly needed debate were:

- The appointment of the chairman and mem-

Sunday Times Reporter

bers of the commission;

- The members of the investigation teams;

- The commission's jurisdiction and terms of reference;

- Its powers and procedures;

- The appointment of counsel.

"If the commission is appointed without regard to these issues, it will do little to restore public confidence in your commitment to a South Africa governed by the rule of law," the letter said.

Intolerance at root of most violence – poll

By Shareen Singh

Inkatha was the group least liked by black South Africans, and the ANC was the group least liked by whites, according to a survey conducted by Dr Amanda Gouws of the University of Stellenbosch.

Ranking second among least-liked groups was the AWB. Both black and white respondents to the survey were more or less even in their dislike of the AWB — 25,7 percent of whites and 24,4 percent of blacks.

The survey, published in the first Vrye Weekblad/Sowetan quarterly "State of the Nation Report", indicates that widespread and intense political intolerance is at the root of most political violence in South Africa.

Banned

Of the 270 white respondents from the Cape and Durban metropolitan areas and from Pietersburg, 49,4 percent said they would definitely not allow ANC members to hold a public demonstration in their town; 45,9 percent would not allow ANC members to teach at a major university; 43,6 percent would not allow their friends to associate with ANC members; and 36,2 percent said the ANC should be banned.

Most blacks were

against Inkatha circulating petitions criticising other political groups in their neighbourhood, or Inkatha making speeches criticising the political beliefs of their neighbourhood.

About half indicated they would not allow Inkatha members to teach at a university.

The findings of the survey indicated "just how widespread and intense" political intolerance was, said Dr Gouws.

She said all the major political groups were important centre-stage actors in the political process, and to be intolerant towards one meant to be intolerant towards a large section of society.

The black majority did not have equal access to political institutions and did not view such institutions as legitimate. Institutional barriers, therefore, did not exist to prevent intolerance from becoming violent, Dr Gouws said.

Instead, political opponents settled scores by maiming and killing each other, rather than by open debate and democratic process, she added.

As long as South Africa was unable to control intolerance, it would be unable to prevent the violence that had become commonplace, Dr Gouws warned

Sisulu blames ⁽²⁷⁴⁾ ET 13/8/91 FW for violence

SYDNEY. — ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu accused the government of President F W de Klerk yesterday of fostering violence in South Africa to try to cling to power.

Peace would not return to South Africa until the De Klerk government was replaced by a multi-racial interim government, Mr Sisulu told a public meeting here.

A "patriotic front" would be formed within the next two months to organise an all-party congress aimed at establishing an interim government, he said.

"The regime that is in power is unreliable and cannot stop the violence because it is the cause of violence itself," said Mr Sisulu.

"By allowing violence to go on he (De Klerk) undermines the very things he says he believes in.

"He knows the dangers but he is in a predicament — he still wants to hold on to power and he believes that can be done if he destabilises the ANC."

Mr Sisulu said: "Unless an interim government is established we are not willing to continue negotiating." — Sapa-Reuter



PEACE TALKS . . . Members of the ANC and the police who met yesterday to discuss ongoing township violence included (from left) second-in-command of the Maitland Unrest Unit Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Brazelle, ANC member Mr Sidiso Mfenyana, human-rights lawyer Mr Essa Moosa, Western Cape operations chief Brigadier Frik Kellermann, ANC member and ex-Robben Island prisoner Mr Vincent Diba, ANC NEC member Mr Reg September and Athlone district commissioner of police Colonel Jan Benadie.

CT 14/8/91

(274) (274)

Police, ANC to liaise on township violence

By DANIEL SIMON

ALLEGATIONS that police are partly to blame for violence in Peninsula townships were made yesterday when a delegation of ANC members met senior police officers in the city.

Police spokesman Major Gys Boonzaaier said that during the initial stages of yesterday's meeting, the ANC delegation called on the police to pull out of the townships.

However, towards the end of the two-hour meeting it was decided to establish a liaison committee, headed by the Athlone district police commissioner Colonel Jan Benadie, which will deal with township violence and provide help in solving cases.

Major Boonzaaier said affidavits produced by the ANC dealt with vio-

lence in the townships and the police's alleged role in the problem.

He said they alleged security force or police collusion in the violence and also highlighted cases where police had not acted on specific information or evidence.

There were allegations at the meeting, chaired by SA Police Western Cape regional head of operations Brigadier Frik Kellermann, that police were to blame for "all" the violence in the townships, especially in Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads.

Major Boonzaaier said police told the ANC delegation that the conflict in the townships was the result of a "power struggle" between various factions, included arch-rivals in the ongoing taxi war, Lagunya and Webta.

Boost for peace accord

(274)
CT 14/8/91

Political Staff

DURBAN. — A historic draft peace accord, which is expected to give negotiations a major boost, will today be considered by government, ANC and Inkatha representatives to the National Peace Initiative.

The church- and business-facilitated initiative will also begin issuing invitations to a national peace convention to be held in Johannesburg in mid-September.

Sources close to the initiative are confident that the accord will be accepted, providing rules for future political competition and helping to end spiralling political violence.

The accord is the result of nearly two months of negotiation involving the major political players, which continued despite the Inkatha funds scandal and other upheavals.

Today it will be considered by the initiative's preparatory and facilitating committees, which include prominent government, ANC and Inkatha representatives.

The accord provides for a permanent peace secretariat, which would in-

clude political representatives and specialised negotiators, as well as a second multi-party peace committee. It is intended that the secretariat be a statutory body.

A church source said yesterday that agreement had already been reached on codes of conduct for security forces and political parties, as well as a code of implementation. The draft peace accord amalgamates the separate codes.

The accord includes mechanisms to deter participants from engaging in disruptive political action. Anyone issuing an inflammatory political statement, for example, could be compelled to apologise publicly. Parties would also confer on potentially explosive public protests.

Government sources said yesterday that progress made in talks between the parties augured well for the success of future constitutional talks.

A church source agreed, saying: "It has been an encouraging process so far. One might think that the church-business alliance might be the catalyst to keep the political process going."

● Govt to curb private armies — Page 6

Women to rally for Star 14/8/91. hope, peace

A group of women's organisations is to hold a peace campaign — at a cost of about R500,000 — to give hope to South Africans, says Mary Panos, a member of a committee organising a Peace and Goodwill weekend and a campaign of Friendliness and Goodwill.

Yesterday members of the committee told a news conference in Johannesburg that the campaign would begin on August 31. It would culminate with a jamboree of mass multicultural festivities with an Africa theme at the FNB Stadium near Soweto. The guest of honour would be President de Klerk's wife, Marike.

Among the organisers are the ANC Women's League and the IFP Women's Brigade.

Asked whether anything substantial would come from the festival or whether the money collected should not instead be used to feed and clothe the poor, Margaret Lessing of the Women's Bureau of South Africa said: "Out of this will come a great future." — Sapa.

Peace talks edge closer to deal

610000 15/8/91.
GOVERNMENT, ANC and Inkatha representatives met behind closed doors last night to discuss proposals for a draft peace accord aimed at ending political violence.

The delegates met at Barlow Park in Sandton to scrutinise the reports of five working groups on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces.

The groups, set up under a church-business initiative, also prepared proposals on socio-economic developments.

If an accord is accepted by all the parties it could be presented for formal adoption at a national peace convention planned for next month. Representatives from most of SA's political, church, labour and business groups and homelands are expected to attend the convention.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said he expected progress from last night's meeting, the

result of two months of behind-the-scenes talks. The talks were complicated by "Inkathagate" which raised tensions.

The accord would set up a permanent peace secretariat made up of political representatives and specialised negotiators. The intention was to make this a statutory body, but this still had to be finalised.

The establishment and role of a secondary multiparty committee was also thought to have been up for discussion at last night's meeting. This committee, probably made up of church, business and political leaders, would be charged with maintaining a watching brief on the peace process, and would be responsible for bringing the process back on track should breakdowns occur.

● Comment: Page 6

LINDEN BIRNS

By Mono Badela

Peace hopes rekindled

South 1518 - 211 6194

URGENT attention is being given to implementing a code of conduct for political organisations and security forces following Wednesday night's peace indaba in Johannesburg and in the wake of resurgent violence across the country.

Even as representatives of the government, ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party met under church sponsorship at Barlow Rand headquarters in Johannesburg on Wednesday, nearby Alexandra township counted the cost of 28 people killed and 53 injured in

the previous five days. Three deaths were recorded in continuing strife in Crossroads on Tuesday, while the black community in Ventersdorp still reeled from the arbitrary attacks by rampaging AWPB members last week.

The big question will be whether the organisations attending the peace summit will be able to translate agreements into practice - and make them binding on groups like the AWPB. That the meeting went ahead at all is seen as an optimistic signal, and a first success for the Rustenburg Group of Churches and business people associated with the peace initiative.

Let's pray for peace - callers

SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

AN end to violence can only be achieved if all groups came together in prayer and agreed to differ on political affiliation, callers to a radio talk show said yesterday.

Most callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show agreed with Sowetan Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste that "the solution did not only lie with political leaders but was in the hands of the broad community".

Speaking as a guest on the show yesterday Klaaste said: "Apportioning blame will only fan the flames of violence."

"Talk to stop the violence is not enough. We have to put in place all the structures from which ethics will emerge. And this I think can be

achieved if we embrace what I always preach about - *botho/ubuntu* in Nation Building."

Fashion of Pietersburg asked: "Why can't people tolerate the political views of others? Christians do not fight among themselves for belonging to different churches."

"And we can achieve unity and peace among ourselves if we extended that to the political arena."

Other callers said the Government was not capable of stopping the violence. And many called for the resignation of the National Party and the creation of an interim government.

Upgrades

CT 15/8/91

274

Own Correspondent

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Government, ANC and Inkatha representatives met behind closed doors last night to discuss proposals for a draft peace accord aimed at ending political violence in South Africa. The peace accord delegates met at Barlow Park in Sandton to scrutinise the reports of five working groups on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces. The working groups

The working groups, which were set up under a church-business initiative, have also prepared proposals on socio-economic developments. If an accord is accepted by all the parties, it could be presented for formal adoption at a national peace convention planned for next month. Representatives from most political, church, labour, homeland and business groups are expected to attend the convention. Yesterday Constitution

Representatives from most political, church, labour, homeland and business groups are expected to attend the convention.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said he expected positive progress to be made at last night's meeting.

The meeting was the result of two months of behind-the-scenes talks between the three groups, complicated by the Inkatha funding scandal, which raised tensions between the various participants.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen said he expected positive progress to be made at last night's meeting. The meeting was the result of two months of behind-the-scenes talks between the three groups, complicated by the Inkatha funding scandal, which raised tensions between the various participants.

'Big three' set day for peace after breakthrough

Political Staff

September 14 has been set by the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party as the day for peace in South Africa when a national conference will discuss the bulky draft peace accord forged last night.

Negotiators from the "big three", and facilitators from church and business sectors, achieved a breakthrough in Sandton last night when they collated reports from various working groups in the peace initiative into a draft accord.

It is understood participants will now consult other political groups on the draft, and try to draw them into the conference.

A formal statement is expected later today about last night's event.

"The mere fact that we've succeeded is quite remarkable," said one negotiator after hours crafting the peace accord from working group reports on codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces, socio-economic development, and peace monitoring mechanisms.

Agreement was reached in spite of clear tensions between the ANC and Inkatha.

"Obviously this doesn't mean all parties are in total agreement with each other about all things," said one participant. "What is apparent is that all parties are prepared to work for peace."

One prominent facilitator said the draft accord was important not only for its contents but symbolism as well. It boosted hopes for a multiparty conference and negotiations for a new South Africa.

While the "big three" and their many allies seem certain to attend the indaba with church, business and homeland leaders, the right wing remains a problem. "They must be included," a church facilitator said. "We are busy negotiating with them on a personal basis to get them interested."

Participants in the peace initiative were careful today not to discuss the contents of the draft accord

Activists train their sights on 'sellouts'

Black town councillors and policemen have been the main targets of attacks from forces bent on destroying black local authorities, a recent publication claims. KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

Star 15/8/91.

THE ONGOING resignation of black town councillors, which has led to the collapse of a number of councils and their replacement with appointed township administrators, is an indictment of the coercive methods and pressures employed by activists, says the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a report headlined "History of attacks on black local authorities", SAIRR special research manager Jill Wentzel says black councillors and policemen have been the prime targets of attacks from activists opposed to their "collaboration with the system".

Ms Wentzel catalogues threats, pressures and attacks on councillors and black policemen since the introduction of the Black Local Authorities Act in 1983, and says some of the black town councillors have had to pay the ultimate price for their convictions.

It is in this perspective, she says, that a number of councillors — 358 between August last year and February — have tendered their resignations.

Some of the statistics supplied by Ms Wentzel in her report are

- There were 111 attacks on black councillors between January and July 1990, and another 84 attacks on them between August last year and February 1991.

- Six councillors were killed between January and July 1990, seven between last August and February 1991, and another three between March and June this year. This brings to 16 the number of councillors killed in 18 months — almost one every month.

- A total of 358 councillors resigned between last August and February this year, with 85 per cent of them saying they had been intimidated into doing so.

- A total of 90 policemen were killed between January 1990 and June this year.

Ms Wentzel says that although campaigns against black local authorities were "a reflection of black anger at being fobbed off with local rather than parliamentary representation" when the tricameral parliamentary system was introduced in 1983, the campaigns were stepped up last year despite moves towards the negotiation of a new, nonracial system of local government.

Thus, she says, was because campaigns against black local

authorities continued to be an overall strategy to achieve the total collapse of apartheid by rendering "black areas" ungovernable.

Ms Wentzel's report says policemen were attacked not only "during violence which arose out of protests against local authorities" but were also victims of political violence in recent years.

The police's poor image and reputation therefore obscured "the emergence of a new dimension in political violence — the steady increase in attacks on the police".

She adds that most of the kitskonstabels caught in the crossfire had been employed to defend black councillors in the first place.

Ms Wentzel writes "In the last six years, mob killings of councillors and policemen have received most public attention when campaigns were mounted against the imposition of the death penalty and terms of imprisonment on those convicted of taking part in the killings".

She concludes that "the general lack of attention" paid to attacks on councillors and policemen appears to have "given consent" to assumptions that

- Campaigns which get out of control and result in death, injury and destruction of property are a natural consequence of apartheid, and as such do not merit critical comment.

- Violent attacks on people and their property are less damaging to society if the victims, individually or collectively, are perceived to be morally blameworthy.

- Attacks on blacks are of less concern than attacks on whites.

- Attacks on "collaborators" are justified.

Ms Wentzel concludes "The SAIRR has spent many years recording, publicising and condemning the violence of the State's security apparatus, the police and vigilante groups.

"Time and again we warned that the violent methods used to enforce apartheid would one day call forth an answering violence.

"Having contributed in no small measure to the overall understanding of how violence emerged, the SAIRR believes it must also draw attention to the kinds of attitudes and strategies that are helping perpetuate violence during a time of political liberalisation unprecedented in South Africa's history." □

300 for peace pact

Sowetan 16/89
ABOUT 300 guests of the Government, African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party will be invited to attend the formal signing of a five-point peace accord in Johannesburg on September 14.

The official signing of the peace accord is intended to be witnessed at a peace conference representing the entire political spectrum.

This follows proposals presented to the preparatory committee of the church and business peace initiative in Johannesburg on Wednesday night.

The September 6-9 "patriotic front" congress in Cape Town will be used by the ANC to try to enlist

214
the attendance of the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian Peoples Organisation which have so far resisted negotiations with the Government.

The draft proposed that the Consultative Business Movement and the Department of Constitutional Development jointly see to the logistical and secretarial preparation of the peace conference.

The 22-member preparatory committee consists of seven clerics, five businessmen and three representatives each of the Government, ANC and the IFP.

The committees specialised in addressing the five issues identi-

fied as central to a peace process.

These are a code of conduct for political parties, for security forces, socio-economic problems, implementation and monitoring processes and finally the process and future actions.

The proposal takes the form of a peace declaration and advance copies were sent for study to President FW de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A multiparty peace committee will act as watchdog while a code of conduct will lay down enforceable rules to prevent provocation or intimidation. - Sapa.

New bid to stop killings

274
CT 16/8/91

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA'S long-awaited multi-party conference could take place as early as next month, after yesterday's historic draft peace accord between the country's major political players.

The draft accord — accepted by representatives of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and the government — will now go before a national peace convention on September 14 in Johannesburg.

The accord is designed to arrest the violence sweeping the country and provide rules for future political competition.

The accord, drafted by senior figures among South Africa's major political groupings and church and business representatives, provides for a permanent all-party peace commis-

sion and a peace secretariat which would have legal powers.

Sources from all three quarters believe the all-party commission could form the basis for the multi-party conference.

In a statement issued yesterday by the preparatory committee of the National Peace Initiative, it was announced that the draft consists of recommendations dealing with:

- A code of conduct for political parties,
- A code of conduct for security forces;
- Socio-economic development; and
- Implementation and monitoring mechanisms

The ANC was represented on the committee by foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, the government by deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and the IFP by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The statement added that the com-

mittee had also agreed to appeal to all parties and organisations to end verbal attacks on each other "which could jeopardise the process, now in a critical and delicate phase".

Part of the code of conduct for political parties stated: "No language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, nor any wilfully false allegation should be used at any political meeting. Nor should pamphlets, posters or written material containing such language be prepared, printed or circulated, either in the name of any party or anonymously."

The statement said the group had worked late into Wednesday night on amendments to the draft. It was hoped that the major political organisations would sign a binding agreement to end violence at the peace convention.

This week ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a Johannesburg newspaper that "it's not inconceivable that the (peace convention) could become the convener of the all-party conference".

Codes of conduct planned

CODES of conduct for political parties and the security forces are to be discussed at a major conference which is being called for September.

The aim is to end and avoid violence in public life. This follows what was this week described as "astonishing" agreement on the issues affecting violence among parties with widely divergent views. This flowed from an

for parties

earlier conference which appointed church and businessmen to act as facilitators to get together the main role players - the Government, ANC and Inkatha.

It is expected to serve as a stimulant for an all-party conference to prepare for negotiations on a new constitution, but

its aim will not be to help arrange such a conference. The main points in a code of conduct for political parties are that:

- No weapons of any kind must be allowed at political meetings;
- Abusive and inciting language must be avoided;
- Political parties must

avoid holding meetings near each other on the same night;

- Parties must respect and uphold the right of other parties to operate.

Mechanisms for getting parties to adhere to these rules will have to be considered.

Reports submitted by a number of working

groups also deal with the implementation of a peace secretariat as a monitoring and dispute-setting mechanism at regional and local levels.

There has also been an attempt to identify socio-economic problems contributing to violence in areas such as hostels.

Only the white right-wing parties excluded themselves from these efforts which followed an earlier conference called by President FW de Klerk which flopped when the ANC

and its allies declined to attend.

They said De Klerk had been too prescriptive and had only told, but not consulted, them about the conference.

Sources involved in the peace conference this week described as "near-ly unbelievable" the "extraordinarily good relations" that had developed between the parties involved in these working groups along with facilitators from the church and the business sectors.

Draft accord bodes well for peace talks

Star 16/8/91

2000 274

By Carina le Grange

The draft peace accord agreed on by the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party provides a firm foundation for a "peace convention" which will take place next month, the National Peace Initiative (NPI) said yesterday.

Apart from political representatives, top-ranking church and business leaders were also represented at the NPI meeting in Sandton at which the draft accord was agreed upon.

Agreement was reached in spite of clear tensions between the ANC and Inkatha.

The accord, aimed at quelling political violence and boosting negotiations, will be on the agenda for the September 14 peace convention.

It was hoped the ANC, Inkatha and the Government (the "Big Three") as well as other parties would sign a binding agreement to end the violence, the NPI said.

The draft accord will also be circulated within the next few days to other (unnamed) political parties and organisations.

The NPI said it was agreed that the draft addressed key issues related to violence.

The meeting also agreed to appeal to all parties to stop making verbal attacks on each other which could jeopardise the peace process, now in a "critical and delicate phase".

The draft includes a code of conduct for political parties

which states that "no language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, nor any wilfully false allegation, should be used at any political meeting".

It also says pamphlets, posters or other written material containing such language should not be prepared, printed or circulated either in the name of any party or anonymously.

The draft also includes a code of conduct for security forces.

It was drawn up late on Wednesday night and one negotiator said: "The mere fact that we've succeeded is quite remarkable."

Another said: "Obviously this doesn't mean all parties are in total agreement with each other about all things. What is apparent is that all parties are prepared to work for peace."

One prominent facilitator said the draft accord was important not only for its contents but also for its symbolism.

It boosted hopes for a multi-party conference and negotiations for a new South Africa.

While the "Big Three" and their many allies seem certain to attend the September indaba with church, business and homeland leaders, the right wing remains a problem.

"They must be included," a church facilitator said. "We are busy negotiating with them on a personal basis to get them interested."

The ANC alliance was led by Thabo Mbeki, the Government delegation by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer and Inkatha by Dr Frank Mdlalose.

An historic draft accord on peace was agreed yesterday between the three main protagonists in township strife, the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the government. The draft — which is to go to a major peace summit to be held on September 14 — was arranged by the church- and business-brokered National Peace Initiative.

Working into the early hours of Thursday morning, delegates agreed on a 70-page document, which will now be sent to other political groups such as the Democratic Party, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo.

The draft contains a code of conduct for political parties, security forces and peace committees, as well as monitoring and implementation mechanisms. A five-page section deals with the way socio-economic development can contribute to ending the violence in South Africa.

According to sources close to the talks, here are some of the features of the agreement:

● Conflict areas such as Natal will receive a stepped-up criminal court procedure to ensure that justice is done rapidly and is seen to be done. This follows allegations in Natal that

The big peace deal: First details of how it works

The full draft of a peace agreement — which includes a code of conduct for political parties and the security forces — have not yet been made public but The Weekly Mail can reveal the details

By PAT SIDLEY

274

people arrested for violent crimes are granted bail. According to the sources, the procedure will mean the deployment of considerable resources, including new special criminal courts and personnel to run them.

● Claims made and language used which may incite violence will attract penalties. According to the sources, these would include public apologies and, depending on the circumstances, the taking out of newspaper advertisements to set the record straight.

● The 70-page document details the codes of conduct for political parties and other organisations as well as security forces, with separate attention given to the police. It outlines the mechanisms by which the codes will be monitored and put into effect.

● A national peace secretariat would be established to help monitor and run the process.

● A commission of inquiry may be established to define causes of conflict.



The NGK's Johan Heyns

● Regional, local and national dispute-resolving committees would be set up to deal with disputes as they arise. For instance, if one party wished to hold a march and an objection was raised saying this would cause conflict, such a committee could bring the people in question together to try to resolve problem areas.

The sources believe the draft agreement is likely to serve as a launching pad for an All-Party Conference.

One of the facilitators, the Dutch Reformed Church's Johan Heyns, sug-

gested that the proposal for an All-Party Conference could come out of the September peace convention planned by the facilitating committee.

Despite the fact that the main parties and their negotiators have reached agreement, the issue remains delicate.

Negotiators have still to go back to their principals with amendments to last week's draft agreements and then the agreements have to be placed before the wider political groupings within the initiative.

The government had a high-ranking delegation of four deputy ministers led by Roelf Meyer, soon to take up the post of minister of defence.

The ANC's delegation was led by Thabo Mbeki, its head of foreign affairs, and boosted by a team from the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The Inkatha team was led by party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose with Suzanne Vos and Walter Felgate.

According to the sources, the talks were marked by a sense of realism that lives were at stake. The sources said the most impressive work came from those in touch with grassroots sentiments, especially delegates with experience in labour negotiations, including both Cosatu and business leaders.

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

HOPES of getting multiparty talks going to push South Africa into real negotiations are at their highest after this week's historic peace talks.

South Africa's "big three" power players — the government, the African National Congress and Inkatha — completed discussions on a draft peace accord, two months in the making, to end political violence.

Optimism was high among church and business leaders who had chaperoned the three parties through the peace initiative.

Now, progress towards setting a date and venue for constitutional talks hinge on the outcome of a meeting on September 14 at which the parties will be asked to bind themselves to a peace accord.

However, there is a feeling that the peace process itself has served as an invaluable precursor to constitutional talks.

The ANC tentatively has raised the prospect of a National Peace Initiative (NPI) team serving as a facilitator to set up talks.

An NPI source said last night: "It seems there was a realisation that sitting at a table and sorting out problems of mutual concern was not as difficult as they may have thought it would be.

"It is remarkable that the peace process continued without disruption through the Inkathagate scandal."

However, vital to this process — and, ultimately, to constitutional discussions — is the need to draw in other parties and groupings.

This will be among the chief concerns of the NPI when the "big three"

return to the conference table for the September 14 talks.

This week's approval of a draft peace accord dealt with a code of conduct for political parties and for security forces, socioeconomic development and monitoring mechanisms.

The government team was led by Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, the ANC by International Affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki and the IFP by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The draft proposal was not unconditionally endorsed by the three political parties — but differences are expected to be ironed out before the September 14 signing.

All political parties will be asked to sign the pact and a big effort is to be made to get groups like the Conservative Party (who yesterday turned down the invitation), the PAC, Azapo and others to attend.

Peace parley fosters hope of main indaba

(214) AUG 17/8/91

BAN ON WEAPONS

THE draft peace accord reached this week prohibits the carrying of dangerous weapons at any political or cultural gatherings. (205)

However, it is understood that Inaktha is balking at this proposal and it could be subject to revision prior to the convening of a peace summit on September 14. *Times 18/8/91*

The draft accord stipulates that the bearing or use of any dangerous weapons shall be prohibited at any political, cultural or other gathering.

Bona fide cultural events in areas not affected by violence are exempt from this prohibition.

The accord stipulates that any gathering addressed by a representative of a political organisation shall be deemed not to be a bona fide cultural event. (274)

Organisations convening bona fide cultural events will have to inform Regional Dispute Resolution Committees or the National Peace Committees of their intention to stage such an event.

Tolerance, liberal values pledged in anti-violence pact

FREE PRESS

STONES

274

3044-4113

18/8/91.

FIRST WITH THE NEWS

By MIKE ROBERTSON Political Correspondent

IN A historic peace pact, the ANC, the government and Inkatha pledged this week to uphold basic democratic values and promised to work towards creating a culture of political tolerance.

The 70-page draft accord — full details of which can now be disclosed by the Sunday Times — sets up elaborate mechanisms to end the violence and bring the police under close supervision.

But it also anticipates the coming constitutional negotiations by uniting the three main political parties in support of a set of common values that may well form the basis of a liberal, democratic state.

The tone of the agreement is tolerant, and it firmly asserts the primacy of the individual over the state. While intended as an interim measure, the effect of the pact is to bind all three signatories to Western-style democratic norms well in advance of the constitutional talks.

The accord, now being considered by other political parties, will form the basis of a national peace summit on September 14.

Key elements of the draft proposals accepted by the parties this week are

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society — not the government;
- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;
- A statutory commission, to be headed by a judge

To signify our common purpose to bring an end to political violence in our country and to set out the codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this goal



Annie's baby takes a bow

Cops hurt

as rugby

fans go

berserk

THREE policemen were hurt when they were pelted with stones as they tried to stop angry fans invading the field during a rugby match between Western Province League and Free State at Paarl.

Fans at Daljosafat stadium also hurled bottles and stones at the Free State players and Western Province referee Paul van Blommestein.

The referee, whose decisions against the WP League team angered local supporters, had to be taken from the stadium in a riot truck.

Free State captain Pote Human led his men off the field 20 minutes into the second half with his team 34-3 ahead.

Accord
Still
Cover
Stones
274

I WIN 000 TAX-FREE GREAT -WON ORD

Walk off with the

Peace plan

From Page 1

Committees. It will report to the National Peace Commission and its decisions will be made by consensus. All the monitoring committees, from the NPC down, will initially operate on a voluntary basis, but will be given statutory powers when Parliament reconvenes next year.

The accord says that RDRCs should consist of representatives of political parties, churches, trade unions, industries, business, local management organisations, the SAP and the SADF.

The duties of the committees would be to:

- Advise the NPC or the statutory commission on factors causing violence in its region;
 - Inform the NPC of steps taken to counter violence;
 - Consult the relevant authorities on steps to be taken to combat violence;
 - Guide LDRCs in their duties.
- LDRCs, the accord states, should consist of representatives of the signatory parties.

It is proposed that a panel

On completion of his investigations, the ombudsman will make a recommendation to the Commissioner of Police on what action should be taken against policemen guilty of misconduct.

The accord also makes provision for the appointment of a Police Board, on which the public and members of the force will have equal representation.

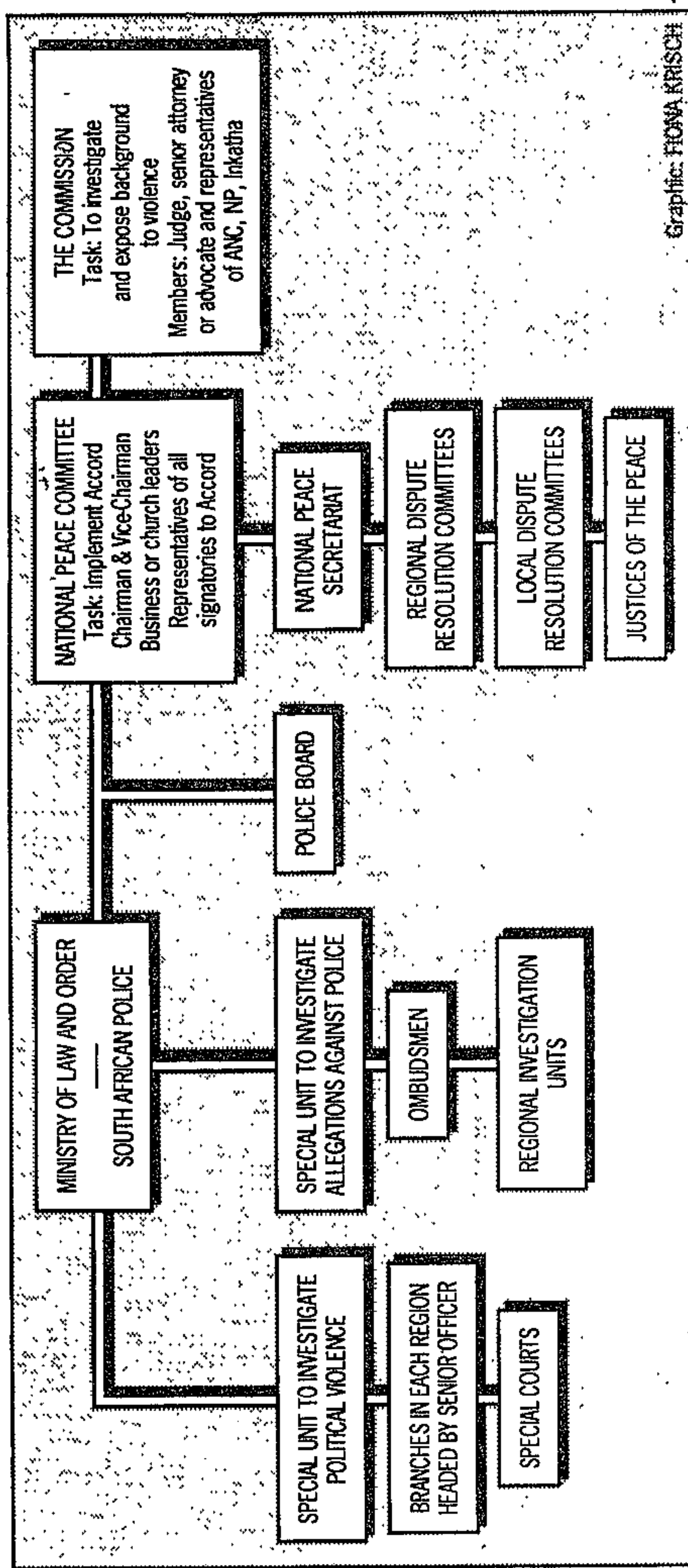
Members of the board will be appointed by the Minister of Law and Order from a shortlist agreed on by the NPC.

The function of the board will be to make recommendations on future policing policy.

As regards the general functioning of the police, the document states that there will be one overall command — if homeland governments agree.

Clear instructions are also laid down to ensure the police use minimum force when dealing with unlawful gatherings.

NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

These groups, the accord states, would be charged with reconstructing damaged property and reintegrating displaced people back into the community. The accord adds that these groups should also facilitate crisis assistance to victims of violence and take action when the lack of infrastructure is a spark to violence.

The peace accord is built around the statutory commission of inquiry established by the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act passed by Parliament this year.

The National Peace Commission and the various Regional Dispute Resolution Committees will establish permanent subgroups on socio-economic reconstruction and development.

The signatories to the accord agreed that the commission be used as an instrument to investigate and expose the background to and reasons for violence and intimidation. The commission will be headed by a judge or a retired judge who will be assisted by a senior advocate, attorney or law professor.

The accord states that, to ensure that the commission gains credibility, these two appointments will be made only after consultation with all interested parties.

Representatives of the ANC, the NP and Inkatha will also serve on the commission.

- The commission's functions will include:
- Investigating the causes of violence and intimidation;
 - Recommending measures capable of containing the cycle of violence and preventing further violence;
 - Making recommendations on the funding of the peace process;
 - Recommending compensation for victims of violence.

The proceedings of the commission will be held in public unless it decides otherwise.

On completing its investigations, the commission will report to the State President. A copy of the report will also be handed to the NPC.

The commission may also refer any evidence it hears to an attorney-general or special courts for investigation.

Units

The accord makes provision for the creation of two special police units, both headed by generals.

The first unit will have the job of investigating political violence. Senior police officers working for this unit will be attached to special criminal courts set up to deal with crimes of political violence.

The officers will submit a monthly report on the progress or outcome of their investigations to the general who, in turn, will inform the NPC.

The second unit has the responsibility of investigating allegations of police misconduct. Members will operate in each police district and their work will be overseen by ombudsmen.

The ombudsman in each region will be appointed by the Minister of Law and Order from a shortlist of three names put forward by the Association of Law Societies and the General Council of the Bar.

Force

ACCOUNTS STILL AS COVERT ACTION

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

THE draft peace accord agreed to this week empowers a standing commission on violence to seize state records if it believes the security forces are engaged in operations biased against a particular party.

The steps agreed to by the government, ANC and Inkatha are designed to prevent a recurrence of the Inkatha funding scandal.

The setting up of the commission was approved by Parliament earlier this year. It will be headed by a judge or retired judge, but representatives of the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party will also serve on it.

In terms of the accord, the SAP and SADF "shall not countenance the establishment or maintenance of any clandestine or covert operation which is

COPS AND COMMUNITY See Page 21

contrary to the letter and spirit of the agreement"

This includes:

- Any operation biased towards or against a political party;

- Any operation which seeks to promote, undermine or influence a political party by means of illegal acts or disinformation;

- Channelling funds to any political party, trade union, political association or group;

- Training or providing funds, weapons or ammunition to non-security force members to carry out actions which support or undermine a political party.

Inspect

The accord stipulates that the SAP and SADF disclose to the signatory parties the existence of any operations which breach these rules.

If no such operations exist, the SAP and SADF will have to say so.

To ensure compliance, the standing commission will be "entitled by warrant to enter and inspect any place and interrogate any security force member and seize any record or piece of evidence" on receiving a complaint or information that members of the security forces are in breach of the accord.

The National Peace Committee — made up of South Africans of all political persuasions — has crafted a comprehensive peace plan for the country. Top of the committee's priorities is the establishment of a neutral and responsive security force. This, in summary, is how it proposes to go about it

■ The Peace Committee begins by endorsing a set of general principles. The main ones are:

The police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and shall do so in a rigorously non-partisan fashion, regardless of the political belief and affiliation, race, religion, sex or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts.

The police shall endeavour to prevent crimes and shall attempt to arrest and investigate all those reasonably suspected of committing crimes and shall take the necessary steps to facilitate the judicial process.

The police shall be guided by a belief that they are accountable to society in rendering their policing services and shall conduct themselves to secure and retain the respect and approval of the public.

The police, as law enforcement officers, shall expect a higher standard of conduct from their members in the execution of their duties than they expect from others.

The police shall exercise restraint in the pursuance of their duties and shall use the minimum force appropriate in the circumstances.

■ The Peace Committee follows this with a more detailed set of requirements:

The SAP must always respond promptly to calls for assistance and intervention.

Where prior notification is given of possible violence, the police must take all reasonable steps to prevent such an outbreak of violence.

The police shall endeavour to disarm those persons illegally

carrying dangerous weapons in any gathering or procession.

Where violent clashes occur, the police shall attempt to arrest all those reasonably suspected of participating in any unlawful act if the police are unable, for any reason, to arrest all suspects, efforts must be made to photograph, video or otherwise identify the suspects.

After a suspect has been arrested, the police shall conduct a full, proper and expeditious investigation into the complaint, shall endeavour to submit the necessary evidence to the Attorney-General as soon as possible and shall give all the necessary co-operation in this regard.

In addition to rights arrested persons have in terms of the law, suspects arrested solely for crimes related to political violence should be informed of their rights and given the opportunity to telephone their family or a lawyer. Judges' rules shall consistently be applied by all police officials.

Report

All criminal complaints shall be accepted at a charge office. After the complaint is accepted, the complainant shall be given a form containing the complaint number and the nature of the charge. The name and telephone number of the investigating officer shall be made available or dispatched within seven days to the complainant. The complainant shall be entitled to request a report from time to time from the investigating officer on the progress of the investigation

■ The Peace Committee then goes on to make suggestions for better communications between the police and local communities:

THE COPIES AND THE COMMITTEES

214
S/Times 18/8/91.



The police shall ...

- (i) Consult regularly with the local peace committee, or in its absence, bodies and groups in that community which are branches or affiliates of signatories to the Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Organisations, and other community leaders on the efficient functioning of the SAP in that community and shall regularly communicate with such committee or bodies on the issues raised by them with the SAP.
- (ii) Establish a liaison officer of rank, not lower than a warrant officer, in each police district, to

which requests for urgent assistance may be directed.

■ Then the committee suggests ombudsmen be appointed throughout the country to handle complaints of police excesses.

Complaints of alleged police misconduct which are of such a serious nature that they may detrimentally affect police/community relations should be referred to the ombudsman (also to be set up in terms of the peace plan) or the Commissioner of

Police, for investigation by a unit of the South African police specifically established for this purpose, under the supervision of a designated general of the SAP

Where the complaint is directed to the ombudsman, it should be referred by him to the Commissioner of Police for investigation by an SAP unit. The units will be available as far as possible in each police region.

The work of this unit shall be overseen by the ombudsman to which the unit shall submit a report on the complaints submitted to it, as well as the progress

and outcome of investigations into complaints. The ombudsman will have the power to ensure that the investigation is a full and proper one.

The ombudsman shall, on the completion of the investigation, make a recommendation to the commissioner as to the disciplinary action that should be taken against the police involved in the misconduct. The complainant shall be notified of the outcome of the complaint.

■ Riot procedures are also explored by the committee:

- (i) When a confrontation between a police unit and a gathering is reasonably foreseeable, a senior police official should, where possible, be in command of that unit.
- (ii) The police unit performing crowd control duties should be equipped with public address systems and with someone who can address the crowd in a language it will understand.
- (iii) Before ordering a gathering to disperse, an attempt must be made to ascertain the purpose of the gathering and to negotiate the immediate dispersal of the group
- (iv) Where residents of a community or a hostel are clearly the subject of an attack, the police shall endeavour to disarm and disperse the aggressors
- (v) A reasonable time must be given to the gathering to comply with the requests or instructions

of the commanding officer.

(vi) The commanding officer should only authorise the use of injurious or forceful methods of crowd dispersal if he believes the crowd constitutes a danger to public safety.

(vii) The SAP should focus on making less injurious equipment available to police stations to minimise the risk of forceful actions.

■ The committee proposes setting up a police board which will comprise members of the public and police in equal numbers. Its job will be to make recommendations on training, policy and conduct of the police.

The committee will also deal with the problem of clandestine operations.

The SAP and SADF shall not countenance the establishment or maintenance of any clandestine or covert action for an operation which is contrary to the letter or spirit of this agreement, including but not limited to:

Any operation which is partial or biased toward or against any political party, organisation or group;

Any operation which is illegal or includes as an aspect thereof, illegal acts;

Funds

Any operation which has the effect of influencing, undermining or promoting any political party, organisation or group at the expense of another by means of illegal acts;

Any operation which has the effect of influencing, undermining or promoting any political party, organisation or group at the expense of another by means of disinformation or campaigns;

Functioning as a source of, or a channel of, funds for any political party, trade union, political association or group whatsoever, for any purpose whatsoever;

The training or provision of logistical support or finances or weapons or ammunition to any group or individual who is not a member of the security forces to perform such acts as mentioned above;

In order to monitor compliance with this provision, the SAP and SADF shall disclose to the parties to this agreement the existence of any operations and/or units which constitute a breach of this clause, and if none exist, the SAP and SADF shall say so.

■ The committee supports the principle of the individual's rights to self-protection, but makes it clear that no private armies will be tolerated.

The SAP remains responsible for the maintenance of law and order and shall not be hindered in executing its task by any self-protection unit.

NPI anger at use of draft peace plan

(274) CT 19/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The preparatory committee of the National Peace Initiative yesterday urged the media to act responsibly "in the interest of lasting peace in our country" following the publication of a confidential draft of a proposed Peace Accord by the Johannesburg-based Sunday Times.

In a statement reacting to the publication of the draft, the committee said that at this stage of the peace process it was appalled that "press reports have created the false impression that the Peace Accord has been formally finalised".

The committee said the political parties involved, The ANC Alliance, the government/NP, Inkatha, businessmen and church groups, had committed themselves to consultation and feedback to other parties.

● The draft document has been

hailed as the most significant step yet in moves to end the seven-year spiral of political violence in South Africa.

The signatories have announced that a national peace summit will take place on September 14.

The document proposes concrete mechanisms for ending violence and bringing the police under close supervision. Proposals include:

- A code of conduct for the police.
- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to ingraining democratic tolerance in their members.
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels.
- The setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

Paying the ultimate price

Sowetan 19/8/91
 THE on-going resignation of black town councillors, which has led to the collapse of a number of black town councils and their replacement with appointed township administrators, is an indictment of the coercive methods and pressures employed by activists, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a report headlined "History of Attacks on Black Local Authorities", SAIRR special research manager Jill Wentzel says black town councillors and policemen have been prime targets of attacks from activists opposed to their "collaboration with the system".

Wentzel catalogues threats, pressures and attacks on black councillors and black policemen in the country since the introduction of the Black Local Authorities Act in 1983, and says some of the councillors have had to pay the ultimate price for their convictions.

Report

It is in this perspective, she says, that a number of black town councillors - 358 between August last year and February this year - have tendered their resignations.

Some statistics from her report:

- There were 111 attacks on black councillors between January and July 1990, and another 84 attacks on them between August last year and February 1991;

- Six councillors were killed between January and July 1990, seven between August last year and February 1991, and another three between March and June this year

This brings to 16 the total number of councillors killed in 18 months - almost one every month.

- A total of 358 councillors have resigned between August last year and February this year, with 85 percent of them saying they had been "intimidated into doing so"; and

- A total of 90 policemen have been killed between January 1990 and June this year.

Wentzel says although campaigns against black local authorities were "a reflection of black anger at being fobbed off with local rather than parliamentary representation" when the tricameral parliamentary system was introduced in 1983, the campaigns were stepped up last year despite moves towards the negotiation of a new, nonracial system of local government.

Overall

This, she says, was because campaigns against black local authorities continued to be an overall strategy to achieve the total collapse of apartheid by rendering "black areas" ungovernable.

Wentzel's report says policemen were attacked not only "during violence which arose out of protests against local authorities", but were also victims of political

274
 Black town councillors and policemen have been the main targets of attacks from forces bent on destroying Black Local Authorities, a recent publication claims.

Most of the "kitskonstabels" caught in the crossfire had been employed to defend black councillors in the first place.

Wentzel writes "In the last six years, mob killings of councillors and policemen have received most public attention

when campaigns were mounted against the imposition of the death penalty and terms of imprisonment on those convicted of taking part in the killings."

She concludes that "the general lack of attention" paid to attacks on councillors and policemen ap-

pears to have "given consent" to assumptions that:

- Campaigns which get out of control and result in death injury and destruction of property are a natural consequence of apartheid and as such do not merit critical comment;

- Violent attacks on people and their property are less damaging to society if the victims, individually or collectively, are perceived to be morally blameworthy;

- Attacks on blacks are of less concern than attacks on whites, and

- Attacks on "collaborators" are justified

Wentzel concludes "The institute has spent many years recording, publicising and condemning the violence of the State's security apparatus, the police and vigilante groups

"Time and again we warned that the violent

methods used to enforce apartheid would one day call forth an answering violence

"Having contributed in no small measure to the overall understanding of how liberatory violence emerged, the institute believes it must also draw attention to the kinds of attitudes and strategies that are helping perpetuate violence during a time of political liberalisation unprecedented in South Africa's history".

INTEREST NOW UP TO

16,65%*

STANDARD BANK REWARDS INVESTORS
 WHO INVEST IN A STANDARD BANK
 32 DAY NOTICE DEPOSIT EARNING
 16,65%* EFFECTIVE PER ANNUM.

When interest rates rise, you benefit immediately. But a decline in rates only affects your deposit after 32 days.

Find out more at your nearest Standard Bank branch.

* Rate applicable for amounts under R50 000 and invested for a period of one year assuming a nominal rate of 15,50% with interest capitalised monthly.

 **Standard Bank**

LOOKING AHEAD SO YOU'RE NOT LEFT BEHIND.

TALKBACK

'Give us prayer not curfew'

By KENOSI MODISANE

VIOLENCE can only be ended by a bipartisan prayer and peace rally not the imposition of curfews, callers to the *Sonetan/Radio Metro* Talkback show said on Friday.

"It is about time that a prayer rally which will be addressed by church and political leaders is called. This I believe will deliver all communities from the strife," Ms Hlopheka Khoza of Orkney said.

"How many times have curfews and other emergency laws been imposed in townships?" Adam of Meadowlands asked talkback host Mr Tim Modise.

"Mandela and Buthe-lezi have shaken hands. Countless peace meetings have been held but the violence still continues.

Solution

"It is only if we implemented such gestures and came together in prayer that a solution will be found," he added.

Solly of Jabulani warned against name-bashing and called for leaders to refrain from pointing accusing fingers at one another.

"These are possibly the last days where nation will fight against nation," Doreen of Reiger Park said.

"And it is only prayer that will bring us together and stop the senseless killings," she added.

Stan from Ritz in the Free State said: "Blacks should unite and be disciplined especially when addressing their different political views.

"We know very well that fighting one another is wrong.

"And we should also be able to accept criticism," Funnyboy of Hillbrow said.

Exposure of peace plan 'premature'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The preparatory committee of the National Peace Initiative (NPI) yesterday stated the "pre-mature" exposure of a draft peace agreement in the Sunday Times, denying the existence of "an authorised version of a draft peace accord".

In a statement, the committee — comprising representatives of the ANC-led tripartite alliance, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Government, and business and religious leaders — said the peace process was at a very sensitive stage.

Some issues, the statement said, needed to be finalised and other political parties still had to be consulted for their inputs.

The committee said the draft peace accord, reported on extensively in the South African Sunday newspaper, would be put as a proposal to a national peace convention on September 14 and would become a binding document only once all the par-

ties had signed it.

Urging the media to "act responsibly", the preparatory committee said the Sunday Times report was based on an earlier draft which had not "even been confirmed or cleared with any of the parties involved".

According to the 70-page draft accord, the ANC, the IFP and the Government have committed themselves to the creation of a culture of political tolerance and upholding of basic democratic values.

The draft agreement, likely to be the most comprehensive ever approved, would empower a standing commission on violence to seize State records if it believed security forces were engaged in operations which would harm or prejudice a particular organisation.

A national peace committee (NPC), to which all signatories to the accord would be represented, would be charged with implementing the accord. It would be headed by a busi-

nessman and a church leader as chairman and vice-chairman respectively.

Also to be appointed would be a national peace secretariat (NPS), whose function would be to establish and co-ordinate regional dispute resolution committees and local dispute resolution committees.

The NPS would consist of full-time representatives from the ANC-led tripartite alliance, the NP, the IFP, the Department of Justice and five other members. Both the NPC and NPS would take their decisions by consensus.

The draft accord would also prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons at any political or cultural gatherings and the formation of private armies.

Key elements of the draft accord were:

- The adoption of a code of conduct for the police, holding them accountable to society and not to the Government.
- The adoption of a code of conduct for political parties, com-

mitting them to democratic tolerance.

- The setting up of special courts to deal only with cases of political violence.

- The appointment of a statutory commission, to be headed by a judge or retired judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence.

- The appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of complaints against the police.

- The appointment of a police board, with equal representation for the SAP and members of the public, to advise on future policing policy.

- The setting up of a special police unit, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by the police.

- The creation of a special police unit, also headed by a general, to investigate violence.

- The appointment of a network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under the NPC to enforce the accord and resolve conflict.

'Youths fanning township violence'

CT 20/8/91

By PETER DENNEHY

A CLIQUE of armed and trained youths, based within a section of the Unathi rented formal houses at Crossroads were "deliberately heating up violence" in the township, the ANC claimed yesterday.

Mr Mfenyana Sindiso, a member of the ANC commission on violence, said this issue had been discussed in some depth at a meeting of various squatter leaders on Sunday.

"Last week Mr Xolile Danster, a member of the Unathi ANC Youth League executive, was shot and killed," he said.

"We have been told that some young suspected criminals from the shack area of Crossroads have fled and taken refuge in part of Unathi.

"We have been working with the police to find out whether there could have been any involvement of official forces," he said.

District commissioner Colonel Jan Benadie confirmed that he had been having discussions with the ANC virtually every day since Wednesday last week in an effort to bring peace to the area.

Attacks on councillors decline

Political Staff

ATTACKS on black councillors and policemen had declined in recent months, but both councillors and off-duty policemen continued to be killed at much the same rate as last year, the South African Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

It also said although civic associations claimed they had been elected by local residents, none of their structures had been chosen by secret ballot.

These are among the major findings in two studies by Ms Jill Wentzel,

which were released yesterday by the institute.

From August 1990 to February 1991, black councillors in the four provinces and KwaZulu suffered 84 attacks, a 24% decline from the 111 attacks which the institute's previous reports noted in the first seven months of 1990.

Between March and June this year another 18 councillors had their homes attacked.

The number of public unrest fatalities among police over the 18-month period was 50.

Altogether 358 councillors resigned between August 1990 and Feb-

ruary 1991, 85% saying they had been intimidated into doing so.

In the second study, Ms Wentzel said township residents appeared to be bewildered when rent and service boycotts were used as springboards to achieve wider political goals.

One of the reasons why it is so difficult to resolve rent and service charge boycotts is the fact that these are more than protests against increased tariffs — they are also designed as part of an overall strategy to achieve the total collapse of apartheid by rendering black areas ungovernable.

Rank-and-file people had com-

plained that they had little say in planning political action, or in deciding when or whether to aim for goals beyond the immediate ones.

Spokesmen for civic associations had insisted that the civics are elected by local residents, to whom they routinely reported back.

But, she added, "apart from local authority elections, which have been widely boycotted since 1984, there are no structures through which township residents can choose who speaks on their behalf through secret ballot.

"Not all residents go along with the decisions of the civics."

Peace accord date is set

JOHANNESBURG. —

The National Peace Initiative is to hold a peace convention on September 14, when an accord binding participants to various codes of conduct aimed at combating violence in the country is to be signed, the NPI said in a statement yesterday.

The convention, at which over 300 guests are expected, will be held at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel.

Members of the preparatory committee include representatives of the government, the ANC, the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, churchmen and business leaders. —

Sapa



**Roelf Meyer ... batting
for government**

committee as "a firm foundation on which peace in SA can be achieved."

The draft takes the form of recommendations dealing with a code of conduct for political parties; a code of conduct for security forces; socio-economic development; and implementation and monitoring mechanisms. If "joint monitoring" as mooted last year between government and the ANC evidently failed, chances seem better now that Inkatha, too, is involved.

The committee also agreed to appeal to all parties and organisations to cease forthwith from making verbal attacks on each other, which would jeopardise the process now in a "critical and delicate" phase.

Participants highlighted the following on the code of conduct for political parties: "No



**Frank Mdlalose ...
leading Inkatha's group**

language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, nor any wilfully false allegation should be used at any political meeting, nor should pamphlets, posters or other written material containing such language be prepared, printed or circulated ..."

The importance participants attach to the peace initiative is reflected in the composition of the delegations. The ANC-alliance delegation was led by Thabo Mbeki and included executive committee members Aziz Pahad and Sydney Mafumadi and the SA Communist Party's Jeremy Cronin. The Inkatha group, led by its national chairman Frank Mdlalose, comprised central committee members Denis Madide, Walter Felgate and Suzanne Vos. Government's team, under Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, included Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers and Nat

defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys.

Leading church and business figures who played a crucial role in facilitating the tentative agreement, included Anglo American Corp's Bobby Godsell, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Middelburg Steel's John Hall, former NGK moderator Johan Heyns, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce's Sam Motsuenyane and Rustenburg Church Group's Louw Alberts.

The organisers this week called a meeting of editors to try to drive home the sensitive nature of the deliberations — which have continued despite the furore unleashed by "Inkathagate" — after the *Sunday Times* published details of the accord. It was stressed that this was only a draft agreement which is yet to be ratified. ■

PEACE ACCORD (274) FM 23/8/91 **Springing eternal**

Hopes for a smooth transition to a society based on liberal values of tolerance and democracy were boosted somewhat by last week's important "draft peace accord" between SA's key political players — government, the ANC and Inkatha.

However, the signing of a binding agreement to end violence, which is set to take place at a "peace convention" on September 14, now depends on Inkatha and the ANC agreeing to bury the hatchet. Specifically, the two sides are continuing to meet over the touchy issue of "cultural weapons." Judging from the tone of last week's deliberations, it would seem that the will certainly exists — at least at leadership level — to find a solution to this vexing matter.

Meeting behind closed doors at Barlow Park in Sandton, under the aegis of the National Peace Initiative convened by church and business leaders, the August 14 indaba worked late into the night to address major issues relating to violence. The draft peace pact was described by the preparatory



**Thabo Mbeki ... heading
ANC's peace talks team**

ANC Women's League out of 'state-funded' initiative

Argus Correspondent

(274) ARG 23/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC Women's League has announced its withdrawal from the Goodwill Foundation's women's peace initiative.

Women's League president Mrs Gertrude Shope said the involvement of the Foreign Affairs Department and Mrs Marike de Klerk in the initiative contributed to their decision to withdraw.

She said at a press conference the league opposed the choice of Mrs De Klerk, wife of the South African State President, as the guest of honour and the main speaker for the forthcoming Peace and Reconciliation event at the First National Bank Stadium.

"The choice of Mrs De Klerk as guest of honour and as the main speaker for the FNB stadium event is a political statement.

"For an organisation that claims to be non-political, this choice gives the distinct impression that the Goodwill Foundation intends to promote the present government with a view to (as quoted by the Foundation), 'improving South Africa's image worldwide'," Mrs Shope said.

ANCWL members also objected to plans to invite the wives of African leaders and were concerned about the involvement of the Department of Foreign Affairs in this regard.

"The department is responsible for the slush funds to promote the apartheid government.

"At a time when Africa says sanctions must be maintained, the South African Foreign Ministry will bring the women of

Africa to participate in a show that would violate the spirit of that resolve," Mrs Shope charged.

Senior ANC official Mrs Winnie Mandela, who was present at the press conference, said they would not approach the wives of African leaders to influence them against participation.

"We do not wish to prescribe to anyone. We also do not know who has been approached.

"I believe the wives would make their own decisions," Mrs Mandela said.

Mrs Shope said it was noted that a number of women's organisations did not feature in the peace initiative, such as the Federation of Transvaal Women, the women's section of Idasa, the Black Sash and others.

However, the ANCWL did not intend to launch their own peace initiative, nor would they attempt to influence other people to boycott the Goodwill Foundation's women's peace meeting.

Mrs Shope said her organisation instead was looking forward to the launch of the Women's Charter in October, and re-issued their public call for the women of South Africa to participate in this.

"It is true that the women of South Africa are concerned about peace and should work for 'friendliness and kindness'. However, the projection of the present government as an agency to promote these very commendable goals is deceptive," she charged. — Sapa.

CURRENT ISSUES



Diepkloof Comrades' Views on Violence: 1

New Nation
(Learning N)
23/8 - 29/8/91.

274
278

This week and next week we will share some of our thoughts on the causes of the violence. We will focus more on what we perceive to be inspiring the hostel dwellers to attack the residents. As the violence raged we had to try to come to grips with it and also try to understand the psychological make up of the "Zulu impi" in particular. We will not be providing a detailed analysis but we will certainly ask serious questions that need to be explored and we hope that our thoughts are useful.

The so-called 'Inkatha vs ANC' violence, especially in the PWV area, has disrupted the lives of many people. Many people have lost their loved ones. Travelling in trains has become a risky business. Driving past hostels terrifies those who recollect the determination with which the "Zulu imps" have been attacking township residents. More than a thousand people in the PWV area have died because of this violence.

ANC meet Inkatha

Amid the increasing violence gripping black townships, there were calls that the ANC should meet with Inkatha. It was hoped that the meeting would help to quell the violence. The ANC (Mandela) and Inkatha (Buthelezi) did meet. Peace pacts and Joint Monitoring Committees were formed as a result of this high profile meeting of the two organisations. The "all smiles meeting" did not stop the violence. Perhaps somebody will answer what the meeting did, who benefited from the meeting and why the fighting continued?

As the violence intensified, many views were advanced as to the causes of this violence as well as the solutions. For example, one of the views suggested that this violence was caused by the third force. This third force wanted to derail the process of negotiations and it was defined as those renegade, racist, rightwing policemen. The view does not explain how they managed to use the black working class to carry out their programme.

Hostel dwellers

What really needs to be explained is why the hostel dwellers attacked the residents with such determination. Firstly there is no way that the imps would know that in a particular house, the occupants are all ANC members. If an assumption is made that the ANC is everybody in the community then it is justified that they should attack everything that moves. A further assumption must, of course, be that they are at war. Whilst the media dubbed the violence as ANC vs Inkatha, the reality



of the situation is that the attacks were aimed at all the township residents. Even when the attacks were carried out in trains. But why residents?

Our views

We are saying a lack of a clear progressive political consciousness is a major factor in this violence. It is a known fact that the large majority of the "imps" are illiterate and to an extent backward. If you start telling them that it is this striking business that causes unemployment; that it is these unions and the ANC that say foreign investors should not invest in the country and this results in non-creation of more job opportunities; that it is the ANC-sympathetic civic associations that say the residents should not pay rent; that it is the ANC-sympathetic students who cause all the school boycotts; that it is the ANC-supporting youth who are burning and looting business' property and to rub salt into the wound this youth has no respect towards the elders - what will you have? In a situation of economic and political mismanagement by the apartheid state and the bosses, with 6 million unemployed at the moment, playing on the fears and prejudices of the backward layer of the

working class could be very dangerous. And this we think is what Inkatha is doing presently. The results thereof we have seen in the PWV area and Natal. The residents, whether they support political organisations or not, have been seen as supporters of the militant ideas put forward by these mass organisations.

Long standing tensions

Township residents have for a long time looked down on the hostel dwellers. With increasing urbanisation, the lifestyles of township residents have become more sophisticated and their link with traditional authorities is almost non-existent as compared with the hostel dwellers. We treated the hostel dwellers as outsiders in the townships and as unimportant. This for the many Zulu-speaking hostel dwellers around the reef was taken to be the undermining of the "Zulu nation". Although some of the township residents are also Zulu-speaking, some people are saying the "imps" do not regard township Zulus as "proper" because they have been corrupted by the cities. This coupled with the "unruly" youth who rob them of their money is enough for them to be antagonistic towards township residents.

It needs to be pointed out that almost all of the hostel dwellers have not broken ties with the rural life even when coming to work in the cities. In the hostels, they have contact with traditional king/chiefs through an appointed representative. This representative might in some of the cases be an "induna" in that hostel. These representatives wield a lot of power and authority amongst the hostel dwellers. They are respected and listened to. If you undermine them then you have no respect for the king himself as they are appointed representatives of the king. The culture of the townships amounts to undermining the king and traditional authority.

Criticism of Inkatha

Sharp criticisms of Inkatha by the ANC supporting UDF/COSATU alliance, with the escalation of violence in Natal, amounted to an attack on them as Zulus. These criticisms became more national towards the end of 1989.

In addition, many of the traditional chiefs have been co-opted into the homeland government. Any attack on the homeland amounted to a revolt against the chiefs, thereby the king and by extension the "Zulu nation". Remember that Gatsha, leader of Inkatha, is also a chief. Prior to the eruption of violence in Natal many Zulu-speaking workers did not see a contradiction in belonging to both progressive trade unions and Inkatha. As the violence escalated, the backward workers were forced to take sides on the issue and the problems surfaced. This led for example in Numsa's Haggie Rand factory to some of the militant Inkatha members breaking ranks with it because they did not approve of the attacks on Inkatha/KwaZulu homeland. These workers later joined Uwusa which is linked to Inkatha. Uwusa, appealing to tribalism urged some of the workers to join it.

The culprits who were agitating for a revolt against this reactionary petty-bourgeois leadership of Kwa-Zulu were ANC supporters or those sympathetic to it. To a backward Uwusa worker who does not understand the issues at stake, the ANC appeared as the problem. Hence the need to discipline this ANC.

It has not helped matters that the majority of the leadership of the ANC happened to be Xhosa speaking. This suggested that Xhosas are in fact the main culprits: "These Xhosas want to undermine the Zulus". Inkatha leaders have used tribalism to set Zulu workers against the Xhosa speakers primarily. It now seems that the tribalism is going to be a thorny issue on Inkatha now that they want to transform themselves into a political party. This discussion will be continued next week.

Organising Defence 1

New Nation

(Learning N)

23/8-29/8/91

274

INTERNATIONAL
HISTORY

Introduction

The question of organising self-defence has emerged as the most pressing task that faces the mass movement. Since the 1984 - 1986 revolt thousands of ordinary residents and political activists have died at the hands of the state and vigilantes. Such killings have intensified in the period after the unbanning of political organisations on 2 February 1990.

As a way of responding to this campaign of terror, many organisations have called for the establishment of self-defence units. In the attempt to build self-defence, important questions have emerged:

- How to end the massacre that has been unleashed against the people?
- The relationship between building self-defence units and other forms of struggle such as mass action.

In this series we will look at the rich history of international working class movements and focus on how they defended themselves. Before dealing with defence in countries like Russia and Germany we will look at the politics of organising self-defence.



FOR
THE
SAKE
OF
OUR
LIVES

The politics of self-defence

In the campaign to end the violence since 1984 - 1986 what has been clear is that the organisation of self-defence units (the supplying of arms and building structures) cannot be separated from our other struggles and the campaign for an end to apartheid rule. While struggling to defend ourselves we have demanded and campaigned for the resignation of councillors and Bantustan governments. Even with the ongoing violence in Natal and the Transvaal, the calls for building defence units are accompanied by calls for:

- the resignation of the apartheid government and the establishment of an interim government
- accountable armed forces
- an end to the migrant labour system and the phasing out of hostels
- a programme to address all the terrible social conditions which we live under and which contribute to the violence.

This political approach to the campaign against violence, reflects that the struggle to defend ourselves cannot be separated from the struggle for power. It also shows the importance of understanding the source and nature of violence. This is important as different kinds of violence call for different strategies. To counter the violence it is essential that the causes of any campaign of terror are understood fully. Already in the struggle to build defence units, the question of who is behind the present wave of violence has been asked. People have objected to the argument that a "third force" is behind the violence, giving evidence of state involvement. The feeling is that unless the source of the violence is identified, it will be difficult to fight it.

Source of the conflict

What we must understand is that under capitalism the source of conflict is the struggle between the capitalists and the workers. In its attempts to continue

exploiting the working class and keeping workers powerless, the capitalist state uses different means to stay in power. The capitalist state divides the working class along various lines such as tribal and racial groups. It also uses education, the church and the mass media to reproduce its rule. But when these so-called peaceful means fail, the capitalists resort to the use of blatant, open violence to suppress the working class. As we have seen in the last few years, the apartheid-capitalist state has been quite happy to use its army, police, secret agents such as the CCB and Askaris to frustrate the struggles of the oppressed majority.

Violence within the middle class

But it is not only the violence of the state agents that is experienced under capitalism. In the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, the struggle which is the source of conflict in society, the two main classes also struggle for the support of the layers within the middle class such as small shopkeepers, professionals and top officials in the civil service. Depending on the level of struggle, the strength of the two dominant classes and the history of the different strata in society, the middle classes sometimes support the working class. And because the middle class is made of different layers, different sections of this class give their support to the main classes differently. In South Africa the white middle class has for more than sixty years given its support to the capitalist class. Even amongst the black middle classes, although the majority of this stratum has rallied behind the black working class, there are sections who have aligned themselves with the ruling class. Most of these elements are found in Bantustan structures and dummy Black Local Authorities. Sections of the middle class, threatened by the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, can turn to violence. In the past we have seen the reactionary sections of the black

middle class in Black Local Authorities and in Bantustan structures, leading vigilante forces as they have felt the rising tide of the struggle against apartheid. The lower sections of the white middle class, seeing that their privileges are threatened by the current economic crisis and the scrapping of apartheid laws are turning to rightwing organisations such as the AWB and the BBB. These organisations are involved in acts of violence against progressive organisations of the working class.

Violence with the working class

Although the working class is the only class capable of ending oppression and exploitation, it is not always united. As we said earlier, capitalism divides the working class. These divisions are sometimes between urban and rural workers, migrants and permanent urban residents, employed and unemployed and between different racial and ethnic groups. What these divisions mean is that various sections of the working class respond differently in the struggle against capitalism. Because of a lack of organisation amongst some of these sections and as a result of insensitivity to these divisions, different workers have been put against each other and violence has erupted within the working class. This violence within the working class has also been between organisations of the oppressed.

The fact that there are other forms of violence which are experienced under capitalism such as the violence coming from the middle classes and that happening within the working class does not mean that these other forms of violence are not in the interests of capitalist rule. As we said, the divisions within the working class are essential for the maintenance of the rule of the bosses. Although the capitalist class has been opposed to violence coming from sources outside of their state, they have shown eagerness to sponsor and support vigilante groups against the working class if this is the only way left to stop the march of workers to power.

Counter-strategies

The understanding that the source of violence in our society is the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class means that the struggle to end violence must be linked to the struggle to end capitalist class rule. As the question of organising defence must be seen in the context of a campaign to end violence, the building of self-defence units must be viewed as part of the struggle for power.

Attempts to build self-defence units and the fight to end violence must be subordinated to the struggle to unite the working class and strengthen its organisation. It is also important to take up campaigns around issues such as housing, unemployment, poverty, the migrant labour system and the landless which fuel fights within the working class.

We have seen how the ruling class has drawn unemployed workers into vigilante movements. Unless the progressive organisations are seen to be leading campaigns around concrete conditions of life, the chances of seeing workers being drawn into vigilante groups are greater.

Also crucial for ending violence and building defence is the winning over of sections of the middle class to the side of the working class. This can be done when working class organisations in policy and in campaigns begin to take up the problems of taxi owners, shopkeepers and other layers of the middle class. The struggle to win and neutralise sections of the army and the police force is vital for power and an end to violence. What this means is that the struggle to build self-defence units must be accompanied by other forms of struggle such as mass action and international solidarity.

In next week's article we will look at how a political approach to building self-defence units does not exclude a thorough organisation of these units.

Marike replies to criticism

PRETORIA. — The State President's wife, Mrs Marike de Klerk, yesterday responded to the controversy about her involvement in a women's peace drive.

She said she had accepted an invitation to attend because she was committed to peace.

Mrs De Klerk was responding to the African National Congress Women's League's decision to withdraw from the Goodwill Foundation's women's peace initiative. —

Sapa, Own Correspondent (274) CT 24/8/91

New peace code for all revealed

(274) ARG 24/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — A national peace accord that involves not only the security forces but the entire South African community has been revealed by the preparatory committee of the National Peace Initiative.

It was reported today that the draft peace accord stems from a conference held in Sandton on June 22 and is the result of intensive negotiations between the government, the National Party, the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and representatives of the church and business communities.

The accord sets out to promote peace and prosperity in communities ravaged by violence, and provides for codes of conduct for the police and political parties.

Provision is also made for restrictions on carrying weapons at political meetings, a ban on private armies and a ban on the establishment of self-defence units by political parties.

Structures are envisaged to monitor the parties' adherence to the codes of conduct.

The draft accord has been discussed with representatives of other parties and organisations, including trade unions, the self-governing territories and business organisations, who have been invited to a national peace convention in Johannesburg on the September 14.

These organisations will now discuss the draft accord internally. They have until September 9 to submit comment and proposals for consideration by the preparatory committee.

The preparatory committee will continue as the National Peace Committee. A neutral chairman and vice-chairman are to be appointed from the church or business community.

The Peace Committee will oversee the implementation of the peace accord and monitor the adherence to the code of conduct for political parties.

The draft accord imposes strict controls on the conduct of the police as well as on the Defence Force when it supports the police.

Each policeman is obliged to impartially protect the community against all criminal and political violence.

The proposals stipulate that the law should be enforced in a firm yet friendly manner. Ample provision is made for steps to be taken against policemen who misuse their powers.

A special investigation unit is to be established under the command of a police general to co-ordinate and supervise investigations into crime of a political nature.

Complaints of misconduct or unlawful behaviour by police will be referred to an ombudsman or the commissioner of police.

The draft accord also envisages establishing a police council, comprising members of the public as well as policemen.

Negotiations on the composition of the police forces will take place before September 14. — Sapa.



□ **TOO MANY QUESTIONS:** US sprinter Carl Lewis appears to rests his head on the table while his team mate Leroy Burrell, a journalist's question during a Press conference in Tokyo yesterday are here to compete in the third Athletics World Championship

Start-them-young seer be driving success reci

Weekend Argus Reporter
START 'em young and they'll go far — well, it worked for a 24-year-old Bophuthatswana Prison Service employee who learned to drive at a "very young age" and earned honours in the Southern Africa Driver of the Year competition.

Fifty-four entrants took part in the competition, which covers South Africa, Namibia, and the independent homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda.

The son of a Bophuthatswana businessman, Mr Isaac Mosiane, earned a trophy and a medal in the rigid category.

Mr Mosiane, who first entered driving competitions "just because of interest", says he used to drive his father's

trucks and was sent "everywhere in a lorry at a very young age".

He now works in the homeland's Prisons Department.

He entered the regional contest in last year's competition but came fourth.

This year he beat all contestants in Bophuthatswana and had to represent the homeland in this week's national finals.

"I'm very proud because this will encourage my countrymen to enter so that we can improve road safety," he said.

The overall winner was Port Elizabeth-based veteran trucker Mr Boetie Bester, 44, who won two trophies and a certificate in the articulated category.

Mr Bester, who was recently

awarded a driving certificate for Road Safety in Springbok represents an international team in France in

At the Minister of Transport's Welgemoed portance of the training mote road

According to council, a competition to ulate train standard of

Drivers categories and articulation is a theoretical inspection road test.

New peace accord thrashed out

THE Government, the ANC and Inkatha have agreed to an official draft of an historic peace accord which will be submitted for approval to a multi-party national peace convention on September 14.

The final draft of the 32-page peace accord — which establishes comprehensive mechanisms to end violence and subject the security forces to more independent supervision — was submitted last night to other parties which have not so far been involved in the negotiations to end violence.

These included the PAC, several homeland parties and most Parliamentary political parties. The only conspicuous absentees were the Conservative Party and other parties to its right.

The final draft of the peace accord agreed to this week differs from earlier published drafts in only two significant ways.

Earlier drafts provided for the three main players — the Government, Inkatha and the ANC — to be represented on all major peace structures established in the peace accord.

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

In the final draft, the peripheral players appear to have exerted greater influence as there is no mention of specific parties being represented in these structures.

The second important change involves the conditions for the carrying of cultural or traditional weapons and suggests that Inkatha Freedom Party is digging in its heels on the bearing of traditional weapons at "cultural" occasions.

Where earlier drafts of the peace accord provided detailed conditions for the carrying of traditional weapons, the final draft accepts the principle that dangerous weapons should not be carried at political gatherings but leaves the details to be worked out in future negotiations.

The other key elements of the final draft are similar to those already disclosed including, among others:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds it ac-

countable to society.

- A code of conduct for political parties which obliges them to instil the values of democratic tolerance into their followers.

- An elaborate bureaucracy of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a committee to enforce the peace accord and resolve conflict at all levels.

- A statutory commission (already legislated for) to be headed by a judge to investigate the causes of violence.

- The creation of a special police unit, headed by a general, to probe alleged police misconduct.

- The establishment of a special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence.

- Special courts to deal with political violence.

The parties and organisations represented at last night's meeting at the headquarters of the Premier group in Johannesburg included the SACP, Democratic Party, Labour Party, Solidarity, various unions, KaNgwane, QwaQwa, Ciskei, Venda, Conrales, and various employer bodies.

16/8/91
24/8/91
5/9/91

They should not have sent him out there on his own.

The couple had no children
Colleagues who knew Mr Kungoane (32) de-

laza

Mr Kungoane will be buried next weekend in Dobsonville.

Tough steps planned to fight attacks on police

THE South African Police will implement "drastic steps" to combat the rate at which policemen have been murdered and injured in the execution of their duties, the Commissioner of Police, General Johann van der Merwe, said in a statement yesterday.

Since the beginning of the year, 55 policemen and women had been killed on duty on the Witwatersrand. Of these, 28 were killed in Soweto.

General van der Merwe said attacks on policemen had become "virtually a daily occurrence" and this made it clear that drastic steps

Star 24/8/91
CARINA LE GRANGE

would have to be taken. He gave no details.

Captain Ruben Bloomberg of police headquarters in Pretoria told the Saturday Star that details of the steps had not been finalised.

Guidelines were being prepared and all ranks would be advised within the next week or two.

Outgoing Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok announced earlier this week that a new unit had been established to investigate attacks on the police.

General van der Merwe said, "I would

once again like to emphasise that such attackers will be relentlessly pursued and tracked down.

"We will not rest until they have been apprehended and brought to justice."

He said he trusted that all law-abiding and reasonable citizens would support and show understanding for the difficult and dangerous circumstances under which policemen had to perform their duties.

He said the "cowardly attacks" were especially detestable since policemen and women were there to protect and serve the public.

By WILLIE ESTERHUYSE of the
University of Stellenbosch

THE tragic happenings at Ventersdorp once again drew attention to the high level of political tension and intolerance in the country.

The political violence which coincides with it has the potential to delay and even derail settlement processes.

International experience with processes of transition, democratising and reconstruction prove that high levels of political violence and intolerance constitute one of the factors which could wreck these processes.

South Africans who tend to talk so easily about violence don't have the vaguest idea of what could happen should law and order collapse. To understand this they need to travel to Lebanon instead of inciting the emotions of people, revolver on the hip, at Sunday braais.

Political violence which eventually leads to anarchy eventually affects everybody.

Reactionary resistance means what the word says it is, namely a reaction against changes which will affect established political and socio-economic interests, will change power ratios and, like in South Africa, change the rules of the political game.

This is what "the struggle for self-determination" is all about in reactionary rightwing circles.

There are few things to which people cling so vociferously as political power, and to attain it they will even take up arms.

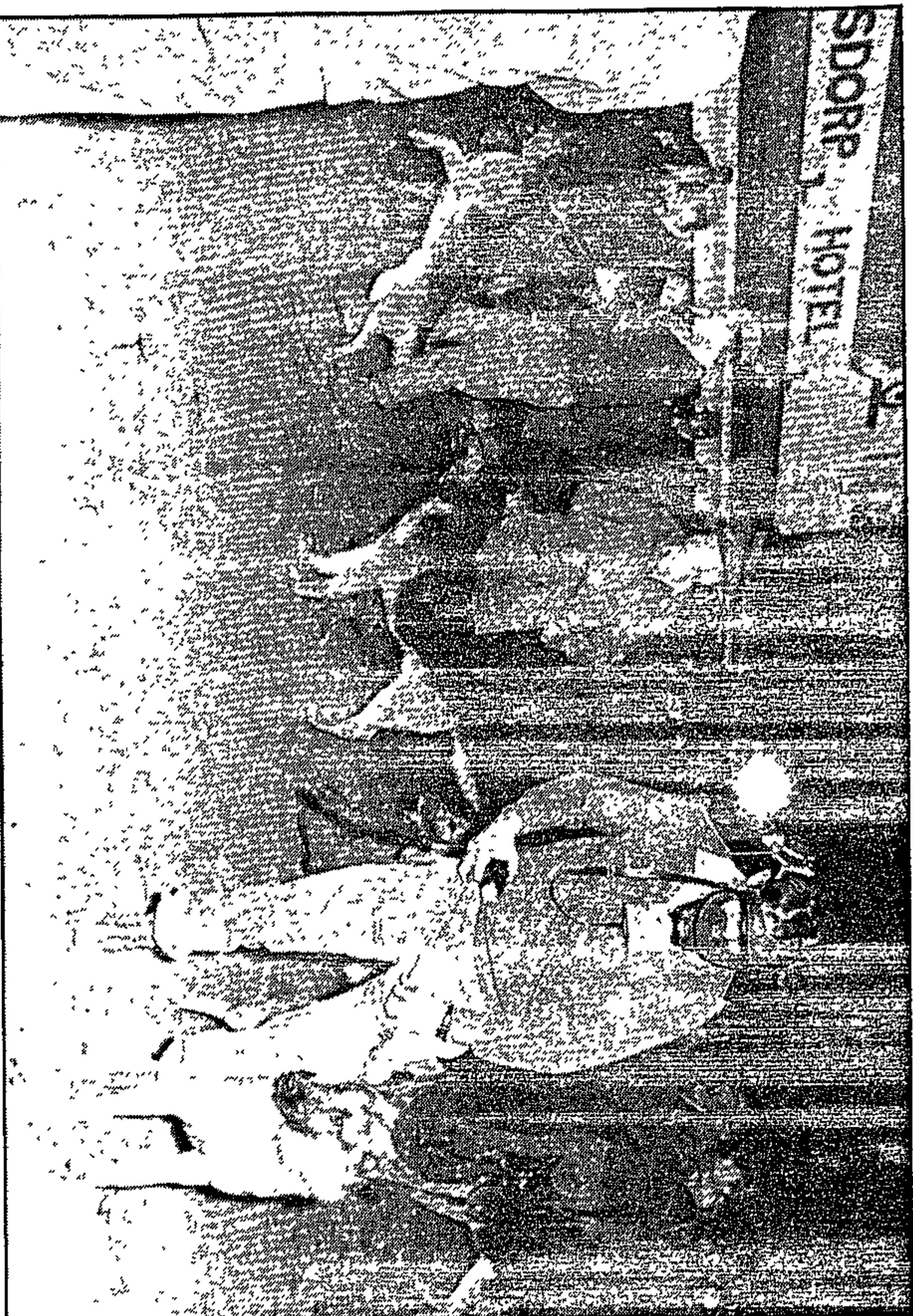
In harsh terms, the consequence of reactionary violence is moral bankruptcy. All too easily the credo can be established that reactionary political objectives justify the means.

The perpetrators of political violence eventually don't accept moral and civilised standards. They are

Waging war in the name of peace.

CP Press 25/8/91

274



STOP THIS CONFLICT ... AWB supporters disrupt a National Party meeting in Ventersdorp.

eradicated by violence. Human lives – especially the lives of opponents – are made cheap. Respect for others disappears along with self-respect.

The consequence of this is social disintegration and the crumbling of community life. Stability within society and healthy processes are after all not guaranteed by law alone.

A society which appreciates order and decency cannot allow its values and standards to be destroyed. Drawn-out reactionary violence will bring the country to its knees.

they have also split families, friendships and institutions such as churches.

This process is already taking place in South Africa.

What should be done to make the law of the jungle ineffective?

People and institutions who value fundamental norms and civilised standards have a moral duty to protest against political violence. The same applies to political leaders.

However, protest is not sufficient. In societies like South Africa people should work hard to formulate agreements and conventions on codes for political conduct. This is probably the most important issue on the present agenda for negotiations.

Fortunately, there are good indications that something to this effect will be established. But that is not sufficient. Everything possible must be done to incorporate the reactionary and conservative groupings in the talks about the future of the country.

Conservatives who cannot associate themselves with violent actions – and there are many of them – will have to raise their voices.

The same applies to the leaders of the present extra-parliamentary opposition. Somebody correctly noted recently that white people take specific note of pronouncements by Nelson Mandela and his leadership corps and that they react to it.

These people do not only address their "own" audiences. Their audiences include people around the world. This is unavoidable. In such a situation good leadership demands that words should be carefully chosen.

In the last eight months nothing has impressed me more than the preparedness of people to co-operate and to turn South Africa into a prosperous and violence-free country.

The majority of South Africans are tired of violence. They want peace. What must happen is that seekers of peace declare "war" against violence.

NR 1

(274)
**Peace boost
as Inkatha
accepts ban
on weapons**
STimes
25/8/91

By EDYTH BULBRING

A LAST-MINUTE breakthrough on the question of dangerous weapons at political rallies has removed a major stumbling block in the way of national peace talks.

The Inkatha Freedom Party agreed at a meeting of the national peace initiative on Wednesday to accept proposals for the control of dangerous weapons at rallies.

The issue has been one of the most sensitive handled by the multi-party peace initiative.

Participants said yesterday Inkatha's agreement to the ban would have been unthinkable a week ago.

An earlier draft accord — published in the Sunday Times last week — had down detailed conditions for the carrying of weapons.

However, the draft accord accepted at the weekend endorses the principle of control over carrying dangerous weapons, but leaves the details for further negotiation.

The accord proposes a code of conduct for the security forces and political parties and a network of monitoring and liaising bodies to ensure compliance.

Minor changes to the existing draft include: the ANC, NP and Inkatha will not necessarily be represented on all the peace structures and the arbitrator of the National Peace Committee will not have binding powers over the signatories.

The accord will be put before a national peace conference scheduled for September 14.

~~~~~

# Peace on track

■ From Page 2

C/Pres

25/8/91

244

324

However, there still seems to be differences of opinion between the ANC and the IFP about the carrying of traditional weapons. Efforts will be made to solve this issue before September 14.

The Continuation Committee of business leaders, church leaders and politicians who have signed the National Peace Accord, will be transformed into a permanent National Peace Commission (NPC).

A neutral chairman and deputy chairman will be appointed from the ranks of business and church leaders, while representatives of each party will be co-opted on to the NPC.

The NPC will monitor the application of the accord and settle differences.

The NPC will take decisions by consensus and a meeting of national leaders of the parties will be called when consensus cannot be reached.

Differences in the interpretation of the code will be referred to arbitration.

A National Peace Secretariat (NPS) with regional and local conflict resolution committees will be formed to counter violence. Initially the committees will be voluntary bodies but they will later become statutory bodies.

The NPS will consist of four full-time members nominated by the signatories and one representative of the Department of Justice. The NPS will report to the National Peace Commission.

Regional conflict resolution committees will consist of representatives of all the involved political organisations, churches, trade unions, local associations of trade and industry, local management bodies and the police.

Local conflict resolution committees, consisting of representatives of the signatories, will try to create confidence and reconciliation between local communities, the police and the SADF.

They will co-operate with justices of the peace to combat violence and intimidation and settle differences which could lead to violence.

They will try to eliminate conditions which could impair peace, draw up rules for marches and political rallies and liaise with the local police and magistrate on marches and the prevention of violence.

More justices of the peace will be appointed in consultation with the signatories and local committees on grassroots level to promote peace and assist local committees.



By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

**THE women of the Black Sash were sharply divided by a heated debate on whether violence was justified in fighting repression during the 80s, a new book has disclosed.**

British author Kathryn Spink, in *Black Sash — The Beginning of a Bridge in South Africa*, says the dispute, which spanned the decade, resulted in some members quitting the organisation.

Veteran Black Sash member Jill Wentzel "melted away" from the Sash. She led the lobby which demanded the organisation publicly condemn violence whether it be from the state or township residents.

The violence issue arose as black resistance gained momentum in the late 70s. Prior to that, the Black Sash had essentially one enemy — apartheid and the strong-arm methods used to keep it in place.

But suddenly the women of the Black Sash found themselves confronted with black-on-black violence — necklace killings, murders of black policemen and their families and intimidation of individuals who broke strikes and boycotts.

### Forced

Spink writes: "It was a time when mothers were being made to watch while their sons were burnt to death and if they cried they were enemies of the people; households were forced to send representatives to funerals 'or else'; people found breaking the boycotts were forced to eat the soap and oil they brought back to the townships."

"The fact that violence was increasing not only by the state, but by those combating repression gave rise to the question of how far such suffering could be regarded as a justification for reactive violence."

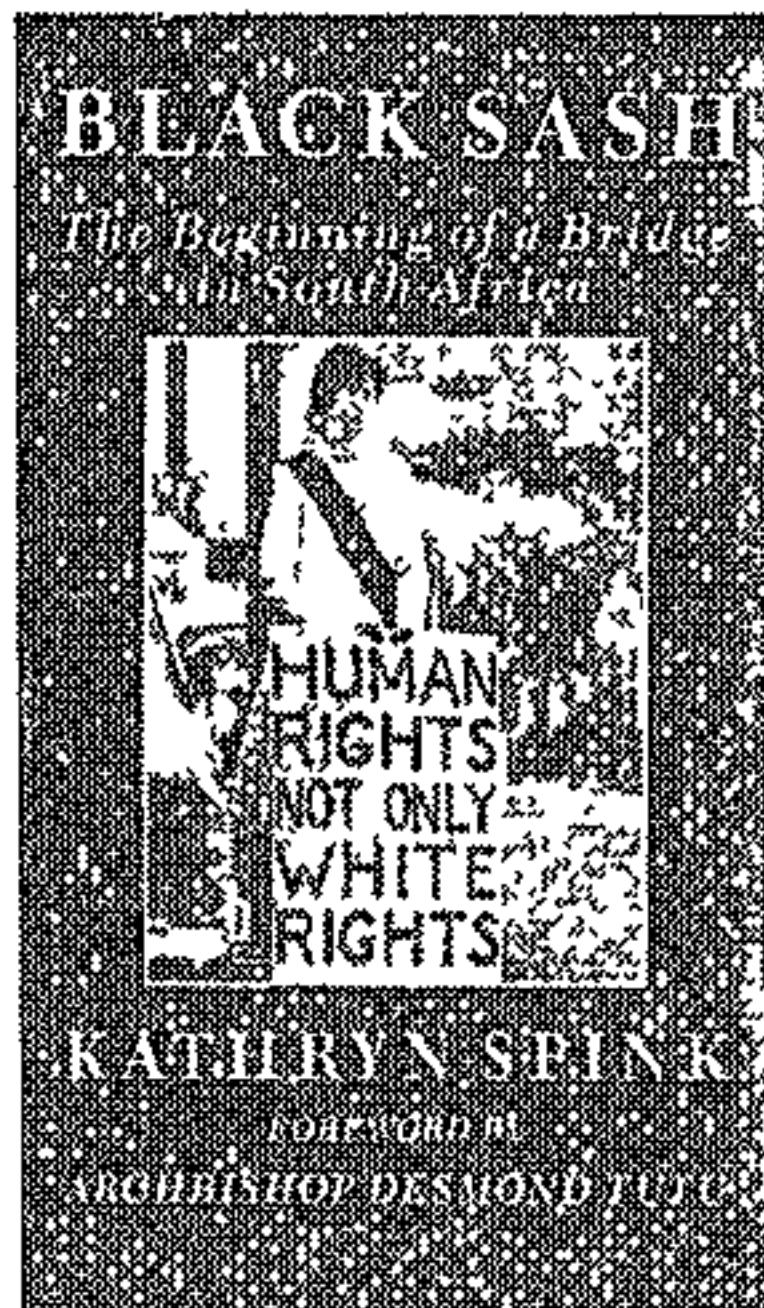
### Evil

The dilemma facing the Black Sash was:

- Should it denounce "the liberatory violence" of those who had taken up arms against apartheid, just as they condemned state violence?

- Or should whites from their comfortable vantage points in the suburbs refrain from standing in judgment on people struggling to survive and driven to violence by a violent and intransigent government?

Mrs Wentzel says in the book: "You had to make allowances because apartheid was so evil ... but somewhere there was the idea that to be critical was



**'It was a time when mothers were being made to watch while their sons were burnt to death and if they cried they were enemies of the people'**

not to be supportive, the idea that the violence used to enforce the boycotts was excusable because of the violence of apartheid."

Mrs Wentzel recalled telephoning a Black Sash member about a youth who was hacked to death when he and his father were "sent for" from a funeral vigil.

The woman on the other end of the line said, yes, she knew all about it and was collecting affidavits — about the subsequent action by the police.

But she never, it seemed, interviewed the youth's

father or questioned the killing with the Congress of SA Students from whom she took the affidavits.

Said Mrs Wentzel: "I never felt the idea of justified defensive violence should be thrown out the window, but it was necessary to put down boundaries. Nobody seemed to want to do this."

### Influx

"There had been an influx into the Black Sash at that time of members of the Congress of Democrats. They were the kind of people who would be threatened by the possibility of gradual, piecemeal evolutionary change because that would not bring about the socialist millennium."

Joyce Harris, another long-standing Black Sash member, was clear about her position: "Lawlessness remains lawlessness, whomever it is committed by, for whatever reason and no matter how understandable it might be."

She felt if the Black Sash applied judgments in one area and not another it risked turning into an acceptable wing of the struggle to overthrow the government by violent means.

### Vulnerable

Port Elizabeth Black Sash member Judy Chalmers, however, said the debate was largely academic.

"Some of those making the strongest statements were not that close to the violence, not seeing the horror and fear caused by the state," she said.

"We were horrified by the necklacings but for a policeman to be attacked was, for those of us dodging the bullets, very often a case of self defence."

Another view came from Margaret Nash.

She said: "I hate the violence of headhunting and shrink from it, but see it as part of the pathology of a society that has for nearly 350 years been deformed by white supremacy and the power that flows from the barrel of a gun."

"I hate even more the institutionalised violence of a so-called Christian government that has brutalised, dehumanised and manipulated black people to the point where this kind of headhunting becomes

part of the pattern of resistance."

National president Mary Burton admitted Black Sash members were probably vulnerable to the criticism of being blanketly anti-government "probably because of having been in opposition to the government for so many years".

By 1989, however, "when everything was so turbulent and people were so clearly not on the side of the authorities," said Mrs Burton, "there was a lack of courage in speaking out, partly because everything was so confused and people did not know who the good guys or bad guys were. I think we have come through that and have the courage to say what we think."

Jill Wentzel during a protest in 1981: 'Somewhere there was the idea that to be critical was not to be supportive, the idea that the violence used to enforce the boycotts was excusable because of the violence of apartheid'

How black violence rent the Black Sash

STW 25/8/91 274



# Yes to draft p-

274 (304) 114  
Special Correspondent

A COMPREHENSIVE draft peace accord for South Africa was approved in Johannesburg on Friday.

It involves most of the political parties and organisations, church leaders, business leaders, trade unions and even the so-called self-governing territories.

The rightwing, however, was not present at the talks.

Parties were given the opportunity to comment on the draft accord before September 14. *clen 28/8/91*

The final version will be discussed and hopefully approved on this date at the National Peace Summit.

The initiating committee of the National Peace Initiative – in which the government/National Party, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have until now been the key players – met on Friday at the head office of Premier Mlingi in Killarney, Johannesburg.

The meeting was called to discuss the draft peace accord – agreed upon last week by the key players – with other parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties, trade unions and homeland representatives.

The PAC and Cosatu attended the meeting, but not Azapo, the Conservative Party and other rightwing groups. KaNgwane and QwaQwa were represented, while Venda and Ciskei sent observers.

The draft accord provides for codes of conduct by the SAP and political parties; a system of monitoring under the supervision of a National Peace Committee; a statutory commission to investigate the causes of violence; a police council to advise on policy for policing; and a special police unit to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the police.

The accord also provides for the appointment of ombudsmen on a regional level to investigate misconduct by police, to investigate acts of political violence, and the introduction of special courts which will handle political violence.

According to reliable sources, the ANC, the government and the IFP agreed on Wednesday in Durban that no dangerous weapons or firearms may be taken to political meetings or be carried or shown during political marches.

■ To Page 4

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibuya, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb street, Johannesburg.

peace plan



## Churches welcome peace plan

274  
18789915  
JOHANNESBURG. — Fifteen churches in South Africa have welcomed progress by the National Peace Initiative (NPI) which has brought together various organisations, including the ANC, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, in an attempt to end violence in the country.

The NPI published a peace plan on Saturday containing proposals for curbing political violence that has killed more than 2 000 people in the past year.

In a joint statement issued yesterday, the churches called for special prayers on the second Sunday in Sep-

tember, prior to the September 14 convention where the peace accord will be discussed.

The denominations, which include the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist churches, as well as the NG Kerk and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, called on their members to refrain from violence of any kind.

The churches' members were also asked to "respect the right of all parties to express their views and promote their policies in ways that do not deny freedom and security to others".

— Sapa

# Peace plan to end political violence

So wetan 26/8/91

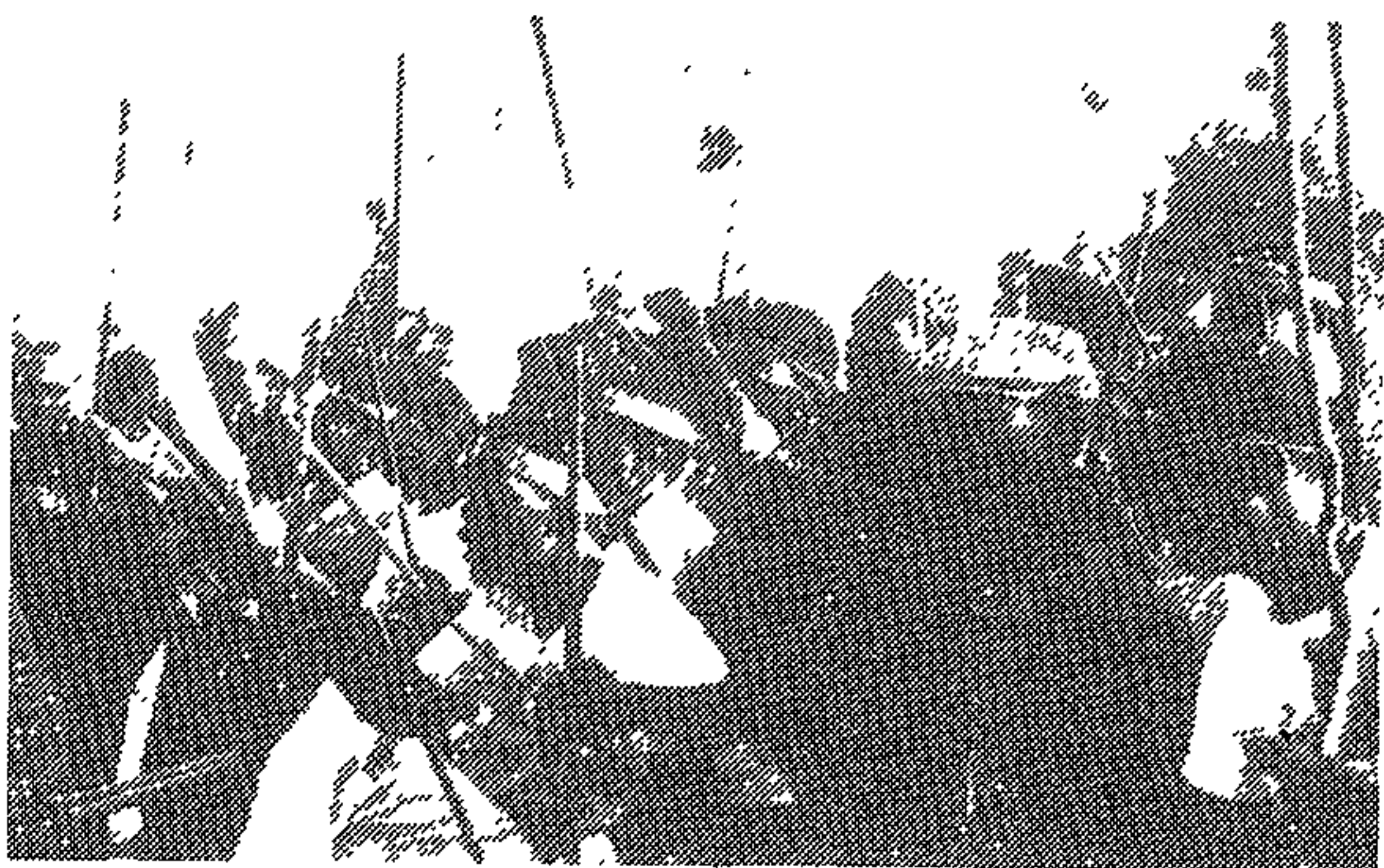
FIFTEEN churches have welcomed progress by the National Peace Initiative which has brought together various organisations, including the African National Congress, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, in an attempt to end violence in the country.

The NPI published a peace plan on Saturday containing proposals for curbing political violence that has killed more than 2 000 people in the past year.

The churches called for special prayers on the second Sunday in September, prior to the September 14 peace convention.

The denominations include the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist churches, Ned Geref Kerk and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference.

The churches' members were also asked to "respect the right of all parties to express their views and promote their policies in ways that do not deny freedom and security to others". - Sapa



Moves to end the violence in the country have been welcomed.



# Pullout opposed by women's organisations

By Shirley Woodgate

18/2/74

About 200 women's organisations including the Inkatha Women's League have countered the pullout of the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) from the Goodwill Foundation's "Peace and Reconciliation" programme in September, by announcing extensive activities for "Friendship Month".

ANCWL president Gertrude Shope claimed the involvement of the Foreign Affairs Department and the choice of President de Klerk's wife as the guest speaker at the final event was a "political statement".

Marika de Klerk responded to the controversy by saying she had accepted an invitation to attend because she was com-

mitted to peace.

Plans for the peace initiative announced by Soweto's Stella Job, who heads the participating organisations, include the promotion of August 31 to September 1 as a peace and goodwill weekend through, braais, special church services and prayer groups.

An official spokesman said on September 9 the Goodwill and

Self Development Foundations would hold a one-day seminar, Building a Prosperous South Africa Today, at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg.

Saturday, September 28, will be promoted as Reconciliation Day, climaxing with the controversial Nasrec multi-cultural festivities, a Goodwill Foundation spokesman said.

# Stability in SA vital to trade links

*Sowetan 28/8/91* *(274)*

Violence in South Africa must be replaced by political and economic stability before foreign investments and trade will increase freely.

Mr Johan Louw, Sanlam's chief economist, in the company's latest survey, sounded this warning against excessive optimism about an unlimited flow of goods and funds to South Africa over the short term.

For South Africa, it was fortunate the sanctions campaign coincided with strong growth in countries such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Singapore. As a result, the reduction in trade with some traditional trading partners could be replaced.

For this and other reasons, the results of trade sanctions were not as bad as originally feared.

Regarding financial sanctions, however, the South African economy was in fact seriously affected. This was aggravated by disinvestment, companies leaving the country and the largescale call-up of foreign loans and credits.

From 1985 to 1990 South Africa had a net capital outflow of about R30 billion.

generated on the current account of the balance of payments.

As a result, this money could not be spent on local growth.

An International Monetary Fund study found South Africa's ability to grow and create employment had been badly damaged in the absence of foreign capital. For every drop of one percent in the growth rate of the fixed capital supply, real production was decreased by approximately 0,8 percentage points.

This in turn caused sharp drops in employment and real salaries and wages.

The lengthy downswing in the SA economy - about 29 months - was resulting in serious consequences for companies as well as individuals. Unemployment, already unacceptably high, was aggravated by staff cutbacks at companies being dragged under by economic circumstances.

The turning point was expected towards the end of the year or early in 1992, with a considerably increased growth rate as from next year.

Sanlam expected a negative growth rate of between 0,5 percent and 1 percent for this year. - Sapa



274 (274) (274) (274)  
**US tourists get  
attack warning**

The US State Department has warned its citizens travelling in South Africa of possible attacks by pro-apartheid whites on American buildings and facilities. *Star 29/8/91*

"As the situation in South Africa becomes less favourable to hardline apartheid supporters, the potential for right-wing violence may increase," says a travel advisory.

"While the official US presence is the most likely target, private American citizens should exercise caution as well," it adds.

There was an explosion last year at the back gate of the US Embassy in Pretoria which caused minor damage but no injuries. Rightwingers were suspected.

Right-wing whites oppose President de Klerk's reforms aimed at ending apartheid and sharing power with blacks.

The travel advisory also reiterates warnings of violence at political demonstrations in Natal and areas near Johannesburg.

Black faction fighting in townships has killed 6 000 people in five years. — Sapa-AP.



## Diepkloof Comrades' Views on Violence: 2

New Nation (Learning N) 30/8-5/9/91.

244

Last week, we began looking at possible causes of the PWV and Natal violence. We mentioned the lack of political consciousness amongst elements of the working class. We also looked at long-standing tensions between residents and hostel dwellers. We continue this week by looking at:

- the targeting of squatter camps,
- the idea of muti,
- the conversion of hostels into family units,
- tribal authority and the politics of Inkatha.

### Why have the squatter camps been targeted?

Some comrades say imps attacked squatters because they were an easy target. On discussion we felt that squatters were attacked because they openly identified with the ANC. Firstly, it needs to be pointed out that when people from outlying areas come to the cities to look for work, they have an option of bringing their families with them or leaving them behind. Those who bring their families with them, and there are thousands of them, find themselves without a roof over their heads because of the shortage of housing. Those who manage to get a place in the hostels are not allowed to stay with their families. If they cannot find spaces in the township houses to erect their shacks, then they are forced to squat on unoccupied land so that they can be nearer to places of employment. These squatters are then forced to be organised because they are under a constant threat of being forcefully evicted from occupied land. The ANC sympathetic civic associations have been supportive of the struggles of the squatters. The result is that the squatter committees in most cases overtly side with ANC. The fact that the squatter camps are easy to attack is a plus. The purpose of the attack is to prove that the Impis are strong and should be taken seriously.

### The role of 'muti'

The role of muti in violence has been raised time and time again. Some comrades are saying that because of the determination and confidence with which the imps were attacking residents, the strength for this could only be derived from using strong muti. Whatever the merits of

the argument, the point is that in the absence of clear scientific explanations and solutions to the problems the working class faces from day to day, people revert to simple explanations. A belief in superstition makes it easy for people not to engage with the problem, as there is already a scapegoat.

This kind of conception also tells us something about the level of organisation in the townships. During the violence, township residents felt helpless as Inkatha was busy murdering them. The masses' organisations, primarily the ANC, suddenly could not even protect them, let alone arm them. Instead of looking at the level of organisation, strength and weakness, people resorted to exaggerating the strength of the imps. Attributing this apparent strength to muti makes sense in the absence of a scientific analysis. If there is anything to learn from the violence, it is that some people have become cynical about the ANC because of its inability to provide decisive direction during the violence.

### The demand to convert the hostels

The demand for hostels to be converted to family units is being seen as a threat to evict the hostel dwellers. That this demand is advanced by the ANC sympathetic organisations makes it even more problematic for the "imps". It is clear that they can see that their living conditions are bad. If anything they are the people who should be fighting for the conversion of hostels into proper housing for their families to stay in. A logical reason is needed to explain the resistance to a supposedly good demand in the long run (for the hostel dwellers themselves). This is seen as a demand to weaken their control of hostels and make it possible for the residents to attack them. Besides that there seems to be an insecurity about the allocation of the houses - who will do it? The hostel dwellers have generally been regarded as outsiders, hence the resistance.

Many residents have been saying the big advantage the imps have in the violence is that their families are safe in the rural areas. If they brought their families to the reef this would change patterns of fighting. As it is at the moment, the hostel dwellers are not committed to the hostels because they have an option of going home. If their families were around they would think twice before attacking the residents. Whether violence will cease because people have their families with them is another matter for discussion. But the result was that this demand

was seen as one of the ANC ploys to undermine them.

We have no doubt that the IFP has been whipping up tribalism in the whole violence. Before an attack on the residents those in the hostels who do not speak Zulu are driven out or forced to join the attack on the residents. In some cases the residents have also responded subjectively to the violence. For example in Kagiso it was alleged that anybody who spoke Zulu was randomly attacked by the residents. This practice was also found in some of the squatter areas. These kinds of subjective outbursts forced some of the neutral hostel dwellers to the side of the violent faction. In this case it is easy to see how solidarity became based on tribal leanings.

Having referred to the prejudices and fears of the rank-and-file, there is then the agenda of the leadership of the IFP. It is no accident that the violence accelerated after the unbanning of major political organisations. Some say the IFP used the violence in order to thrust itself into the centre of the political stage, because it seemed that its existence was overshadowed by the ANC, while other comrades are saying that this is part and parcel of the double agenda of the smiling De Klerk. These views need to be explored and interrogated.

And finally, we need to understand:

- the evolution of Inkatha from a so-called cultural organisation into a political party
- the impact of the militant struggles of the 1970s-80s waged by the masses - primarily the working class.
- the role of the bourgeoisie in relation to the IFP
- how the politics of the ANC and organisations sympathetic to it have affected Inkatha
- assess the response of the ANC to the violence, and
- how the violence has impacted on the building of mass organisations

The study of these areas will help us understand the roots of the violence and possible solutions to it. We hope that some comrades who were affected by the violence will share some of their thoughts with us.

Please put your thoughts on paper and write to us at:  
Learning Nation  
P.O. Box 11350  
Johannesburg  
2000.



# LEARNING Nation



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

LEARNING NATION is published by NEW NATION and developed and edited by the SACHED TRUST. SACHED generates the material through networking with service organisations, lobby groups and freelance writers. NEW NATION produces and distributes the supplement.



## Organising Defence 2

### The importance of building self defence

New Nation (Learning N) 30/8 - 5/9/91. (274)

Last week we showed how vital it is, to treat the building of self-defence units as part of a broader campaign to end violence. We said that the campaign to end violence should be backed by other forms of struggle such as mass action and should not be separated from the struggle for power and democracy. The subordination of building self defence to broader political struggle flows from an understanding that the source of violence in our society can be found in the nature of rule by the minority capitalist class. This political approach to building defence is aimed at ensuring that the organisation of self-defence does not become an end in itself, but an integral part of the struggle for power.

But the call that emphasises that the people, through their organisations and in struggle, is the best form of defence does not at all mean that little attention should be paid to the actual organisation of units. Just as any building of self-defence with no political campaigns to end the violence is dangerous, so any struggle against violence that does not address the question of defence, is doomed to fail. The ANC, recognising the need to link up the political campaign against violence and the actual building of self-defence units, has issued a booklet entitled; 'For the Sake of Our Lives' which contains guidelines for the creation of self-defence units.

The ANC booklet in its introduction makes the point that the strategy to end violence must combine mass campaigns for peace and the building of self defence units.

*We need a two-pronged strategy*

- \* a political offensive for peace and unity among the people based on strong political organisation; and
- \* self-defence structures to protect our people.

#### The Danger of Demoralisation

As we said last week, our experience of fighting violence has been mainly on a political level. We campaigned for those institutions which we felt were the cause of much violence such as Black Local Authorities (BLA's) and Bantustans to be dismantled. We called for the SADF to withdraw from the townships. We entered into peace talks with other organisations so as to end the violence. Attempts were made to unite the people and strengthen their organisations. This was done so as to deny the enemy the space to put one section of the community against the other. Throughout our campaigns we have backed our demands with marches, consumer and rent boycotts, stayaways and other forms of struggle. But despite these attempts to find a political solution to the violence through mass actions, the mass movement has not been successful in building organisational structures that can protect the people and their organisations.

Unless ways and means are found to build structures that can repulse attacks on the people, the danger exists for people to be demoralised and lose confidence in their organisations. Also it is clear that in the current climate of violence, unless effective self-defence units are built, the political campaign to end violence and the calls for peace will come to nothing. The organising of self defence units is a crucial component in the overall campaign for peace. So as not to have the calls for the building of self-defence becoming empty calls, it is important that practical steps be taken to build self-defence units throughout the country. Already people are not taking seriously the calls for building self-defence units because in the past, similar calls were made and nothing came out of them. To stop the cynicism that is developing steps must be taken to bring people together with the aim of establishing self-defence units.

The aim of the ruling class, by unleashing violence against the people, is to weaken the democratic move-

ment. The revelations of government support of vigilante organisations such as Inkatha and hit squads, shows that despite the talk of a new South Africa, the apartheid-capitalist state is there to protect minority interests. The talks between the regime and the ANC are one prong of an overall ruling class strategy to weaken the working class and other democratic forces. The government, while talking to the ANC, is conducting war on people's organisations.

The strategy of the regime is to make people lose faith in their power and organisations. To defeat the strategy of the ruling class, strong and effective self-defence units must be built urgently.

#### Past Problems

The fact that the mass movement has not been successful in building a strong network of self-defence units, does not mean that there have been no attempts in the last few years to build self-defence. A lot of experience has been gained since 1984-86, when the issue of self-defence begins to be raised. We know that township and rural communities took the initiative to defend themselves with whatever they could get hold of. People made money collections in their streets to buy arms. We can now openly acknowledge the role played by cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) in assisting with the setting up of defence units.

But it is not only this self-initiative that we witnessed in our attempts to build self-defence. We were confronted by many problems. We know that the units and amabutho that we set up were loose. They were not tightly structured and did not have members who were disciplined and well trained. This meant that they could not effectively and successfully repulse enemy aggression. We also know that in the attempt to build these units away from the eyes of the enemy, control by the community and their organisations was lost. In these instances self-defence units turned against the very communities which they were supposed to protect.

One of the problems that confronted defence units relates to recruitment. Some of the people drawn into the units were not politically reliable. Because defence was

separated from politics, these unreliable elements were not trained and developed politically. The absence of a mechanism for screening recruits into the units, the looseness of the defence structures and the fact that no political education happened within the defence units, made it easy for criminals, informers and enemy agents to infiltrate the units. All these problems led in some cases to a situations where defence structures became armies of corrupt "leaders" and were used as personal power-bases.

What is interesting is that in the present attempts to build self-defence units, people are looking at the problems of the past and searching for ways of solving these problems. In the next few weeks, we will look at how other countries dealt with self-defence and dealt with the problems that face us today.

#### Questions being asked

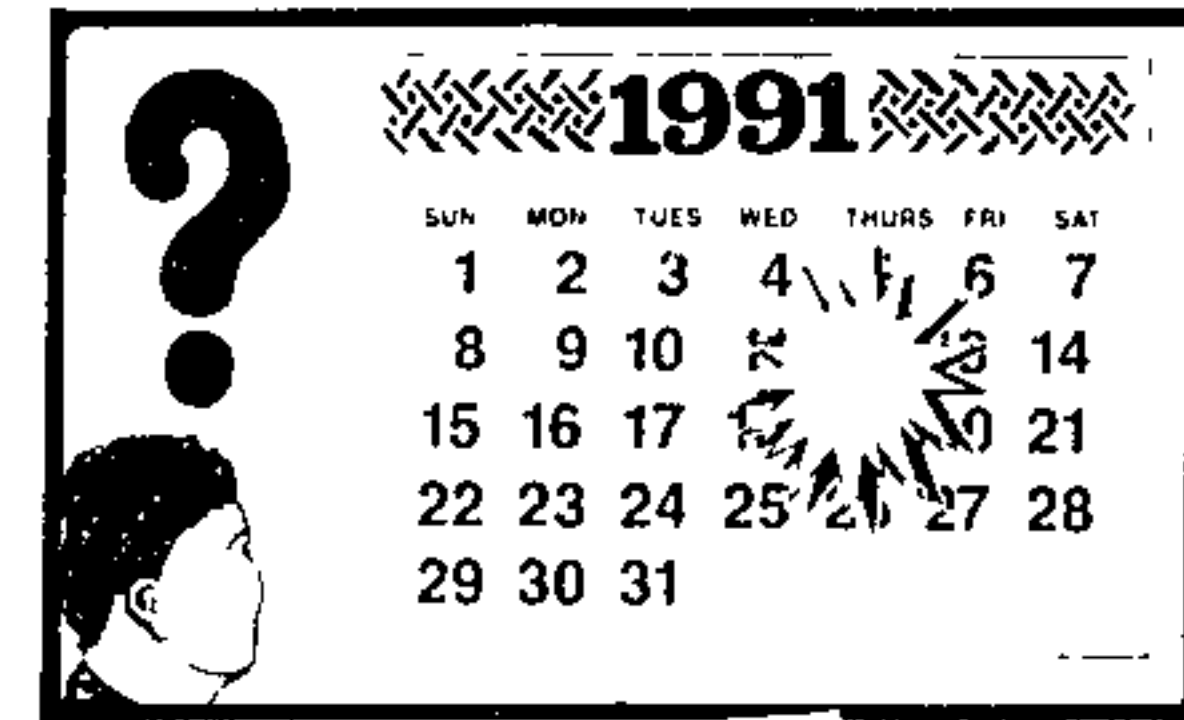
- \* How can we ensure that the building of self-defence does not substitute for political campaigns against the violence?
- \* What else, in addition to building self-defence, must we do to ensure that the ongoing wave of violence is stopped?
- \* How can we organise self-defence units in such a manner that they are effective and are able to repulse enemy aggression?
- \* What kind of structure must the units have, so as to be able to defend people not only in the township, but in trains, busses and at work?
- \* What can be done to avoid the danger of the units becoming armies that turn against the people they are supposed to defend?
- \* How can we encourage and rally entire communities around the issue of self-defence, while keeping the units as specialised groups?
- \* Is there no danger that the units, if they become specialised, might replace the masses and their role in self-defence?



Inkatha "clean-up" in Alexandra ?



# CURRENT ISSUES



## Diepkloof Comrades' Views on Violence: 2

New Nation (Learning N) 30/8-5/9/91.

Last week, we began looking at possible causes of the PWV and Natal violence. We mentioned the lack of political consciousness amongst elements of the working class. We also looked at long-standing tensions between residents and hostel dwellers. We continue this week by looking at:

- the targeting of squatter camps,
- the idea of muti,
- the conversion of hostels into family units,
- tribal authority and the politics of Inkatha.

### Why have the squatter camps been targeted?

Some comrades say impis attacked squatters because they were an easy target. On discussion we felt that squatters were attacked because they openly identified with the ANC. Firstly, it needs to be pointed out that when people from outlying areas come to the cities to look for work, they have an option of bringing their families with them or leaving them behind. Those who bring their families with them, and there are thousands of them, find themselves without a roof over their heads because of the shortage of housing. Those who manage to get a place in the hostels are not allowed to stay with their families. If they cannot find spaces in the township houses to erect their shacks, then they are forced to squat on unoccupied land so that they can be nearer to places of employment. These squatters are then forced to be organised because they are under a constant threat of being forcefully evicted from occupied land. The ANC sympathetic civic associations have been supportive of the struggles of the squatters. The result is that the squatter committees in most cases overtly side with ANC. The fact that the squatter camps are easy to attack is a plus. The purpose of the attack is to prove that the Impis are strong and should be taken seriously.

### The role of 'muti'

The role of muti in violence has been raised time and time again. Some comrades are saying that because of the determination and confidence with which the impis were attacking residents, the strength for this could only be derived from using strong muti. Whatever the merits of

the argument, the point is that in the absence of clear scientific explanations and solutions to the problems the working class faces from day to day, people revert to simple explanations. A belief in superstition makes it easy for people not to engage with the problem, as there is already a scapegoat.

This kind of conception also tells us something about the level of organisation in the townships. During the violence, township residents felt helpless as Inkatha was busy murdering them. The masses' organisations, primarily the ANC, suddenly could not even protect them, let alone arm them. Instead of looking at the level of organisation, strength and weakness, people resorted to exaggerating the strength of the impis. Attributing this apparent strength to muti makes sense in the absence of a scientific analysis. If there is anything to learn from the violence, it is that some people have become cynical about the ANC because of its inability to provide decisive direction during the violence.

### The demand to convert the hostels

The demand for hostels to be converted to family units is being seen as a threat to evict the hostel dwellers. That this demand is advanced by the ANC sympathetic organisations makes it even more problematic for the "impis". It is clear that they can see that their living conditions are bad. If anything they are the people who should be fighting for the conversion of hostels into proper housing for their families to stay in. A logical reason is needed to explain the resistance to a supposedly good demand in the long run (for the hostel dwellers themselves). This is seen as a demand to weaken their control of hostels and make it possible for the residents to attack them. Besides that there seems to be an insecurity about the allocation of the houses - who will do it? The hostel dwellers have generally been regarded as outsiders, hence the resistance.

Many residents have been saying the big advantage the impis have in the violence is that their families are safe in the rural areas. If they brought their families to the reef this would change patterns of fighting. As it is at the moment, the hostel dwellers are not committed to the hostels because they have an option of going home. If their families were around they would think twice before attacking the residents. Whether violence will cease because people have their families with them is another matter for discussion. But the result was that this demand

was seen as one of the ANC ploys to undermine them.

We have no doubt that the IFP has been whipping up tribalism in the whole violence. Before an attack on the residents those in the hostels who do not speak Zulu are driven out or forced to join the attack on the residents. In some cases the residents have also responded subjectively to the violence. For example in Kagiso it was alleged that anybody who spoke Zulu was randomly attacked by the residents. This practice was also found in some of the squatter areas. These kinds of subjective outbursts forced some of the neutral hostel dwellers to the side of the violent faction. In this case it is easy to see how solidarity became based on tribal leanings.

Having referred to the prejudices and fears of the rank-and-file, there is then the agenda of the leadership of the IFP. It is no accident that the violence accelerated after the unbanning of major political organisations. Some say the IFP used the violence in order to thrust itself into the centre of the political stage, because it seemed that its existence was overshadowed by the ANC, while other comrades are saying that this is part and parcel of the double agenda of the smiling De Klerk. These views need to be explored and interrogated.

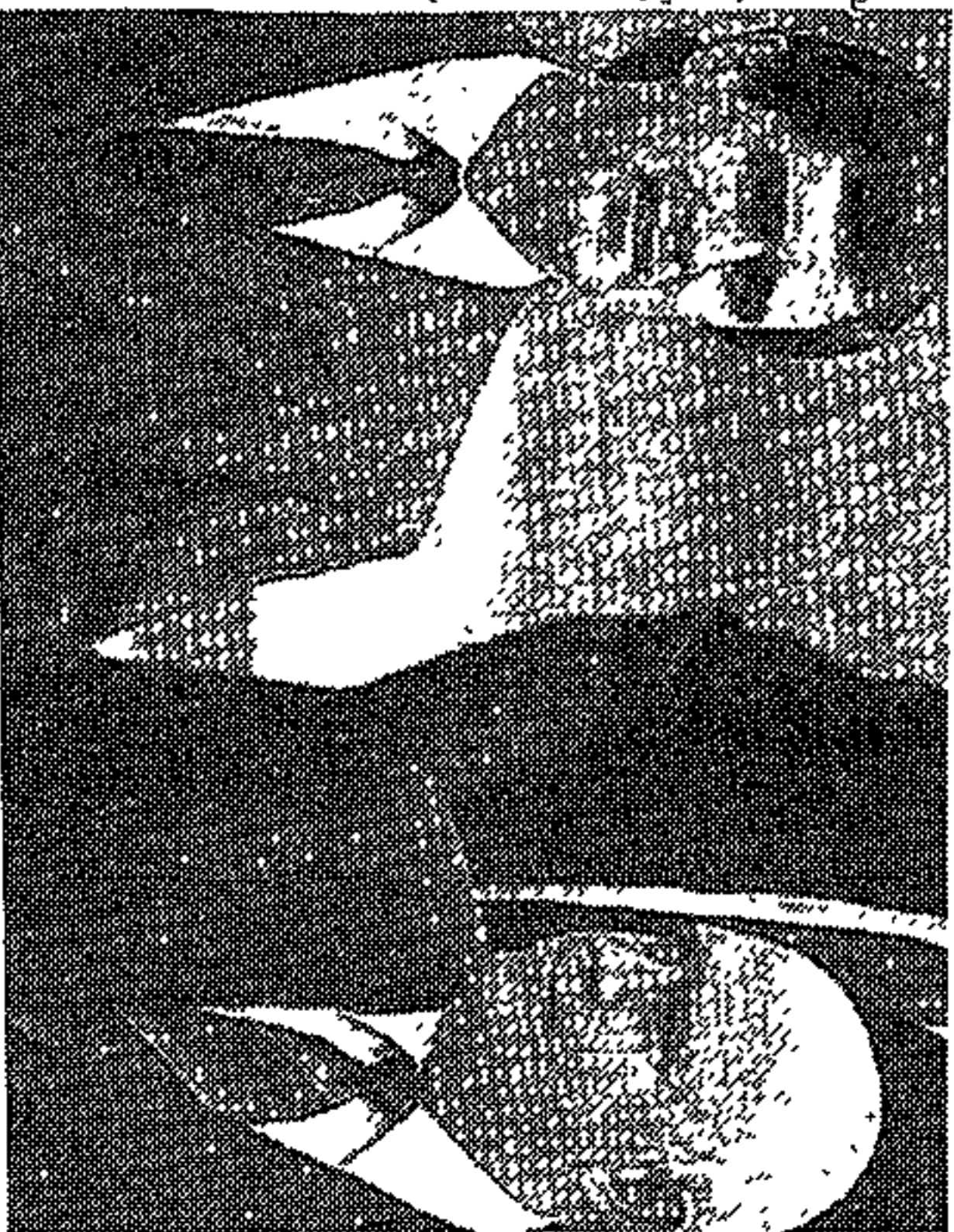
And finally, we need to understand:

- the evolution of Inkatha from a so-called cultural organisation into a political party.
- the impact of the militant struggles of the 1970s-80s waged by the masses - primarily the working class.
- the role of the bourgeoisie in relation to the IFP
- how the politics of the ANC and organisations sympathetic to it have affected Inkatha.
- assess the response of the ANC to the violence, and
- how the violence has impacted on the building of mass organisations

The study of these areas will help us understand the roots of the violence and possible solutions to it. We hope that some comrades who were affected by the violence will share some of their thoughts with us.

Please put your thoughts on paper and write to us at:  
Learning Nation  
P.O. Box 11350  
Johannesburg  
2000.





**NEW DEFENCE MINISTER** . . . President F W de Klerk with Mr Roelf Meyer after his swearing in at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

# FW: Govt can ensure peace

**PRETORIA.** — There are forces at play bent on seeking confrontation in South Africa but the government felt a strong calling to seek a peaceful solution and was strong enough to ensure this, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He was speaking after the swearing in by Mr Justice Eloff of three new cabinet ministers and three new deputy ministers at the Union Buildings.

The new ministers are Mr Roelf Meyer (Defence), Mr Leon Wessels (Planning, Provincial Affairs, National Housing and Local Government) and Mr Piet Marais (Administration and Education and Culture); and the new Deputy Ministers Mr Abe Williams (National Education and

Planning), Mr Fanus Schoeman (Health Services and Welfare in the House of Assembly) and Mr Renier Schoeman (Foreign Affairs).

Meanwhile in Johannesburg, the incoming Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer and his predecessor, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, appealed strongly for the return of a culture of learning in black schools.

Mr De Beer, who takes over from Dr Van der Merwe next week, said children should be given the opportunity to use the available educational facilities to equip themselves for the future.

The new South Africa would be dependent on their know-how, he said.

General Magnus Malan yesterday indulged his favourite pastime — attacking the ANC — while officiating at a military parade for the last time as Minister of Defence.

At Voortrekkerhoogte, he repeatedly sniped at the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, saying more was required of a professional soldier than the ability to wear a uniform and carry an AK 47.

He said MK was a private army while the SADF stood outside party politics. At a National Party meeting at Phalaborwa on Thursday night, he said he believed a multi-party conference could be held within the next three months. — Sapa, Political Correspondent

274 CT 31/8/91

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES \_ GENERAL

1991

SEPT. \_



# Women's peace project still on

By LULAMA LUTI

ALTHOUGH peace initiatives by women from different organisations suffered a setback when the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) pulled out last weekend, the month-long peace festivities planned by the women would go on.

The decision by the ANCWL came a week before the start of events aimed at promoting peace and reconciliation among the different community groupings.

The events will be co-ordinated by the Goodwill Foundation of South Africa.

President of the Inter-denominational Prayer Women's League (IPWL), Masechaba Mabaso - whose organisation will also be taking part - said the last-minute decision by the ANCWL would not hamper the proceedings, scheduled to start today.

Announcing the pull-out last week, ANCWL

president Getrude Shope said the invitation of president FW de Klerk's wife Marike as a guest speaker at the rally - to be held at the FNB stadium near Johannesburg - was a political statement and her organisation would not be part of that process.

Mabaso told City Press that De Klerk had been invited purely because she was a woman and a mother and that the initiative to promote peace would not have served its intended purpose if certain people were excluded.

"She (Marike) is part and parcel of the new South Africa that we are trying to build and her being chosen as a guest speaker was on the basis of her being a mother," said Mabaso.

Appealing to women to heed the call for peace, Mabaso said the need for unity surpassed ideological differences. It was time for South African women across the cultural

and political strata to forget their differences and work together.

"Because many people realise the need to make peace with one another, we have been inundated with calls from many organisations in support of the initiative.

"The whole country yearns for peace and we believe as mothers we can heal the septic wound that's been troubling our society," she said.

Organisations which will take part in the event include the South African Women's Bureau, Inkatha Women's Brigade, the Planned Parenthood Association, Women for South Africa and the IDPWL.

The highlight of the festivities will be a peace rally at the FNB stadium on September 28.

Wives of South African leaders and several leaders' wives from neighbouring countries like Namibia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana are expected to attend.



## Janet Wilhelm

S/Times 1/9/91

294

IT'S Peace and Goodwill Weekend. Once again women are urged to set aside differences and come together as mothers to end the violence.

The Goodwill Foundation initiative brings together 40 organisations, political, cultural and religious. The weekend is the beginning of Friendship Month, a time to suppress our natural boorish, brutal ways and be extra sweet to each other.

Suggested activities include loads of harmless happy-clappy, feel-good stuff: organise a neighbourhood street braai, send flowers, make courtesy calls. The highlight is Reconciliation Day with a massive rally planned for the last Saturday.

The strains are already showing. This week the ANC Women's League announced that it would not participate in the rally because Marike de Klerk is the main speaker.

"I'm not the least surprised by this development. Women constantly delude themselves that political differences don't matter, when they do."

At the launch of the campaign, women — including a vocal ANC representative — were harmonising on the refrain, "We are mothers, we suffer to give birth, we have to protect our children, we can make peace." This kind of muddled thinking never stopped a war.

It did not stop Margaret Thatcher from attacking over the Falklands or Marion Sparg from placing a bomb. It ignores the fact that yes, women don't want their own children to die, but threatened, they stop caring about others.

Women's League president Gertrude Shope objects to Marike de Klerk because she is a "political choice". But to pick up on the theme, Mrs De Klerk is also a mother, so why can't she speak as that?

And Mrs Shope has a short memory. Earlier this year at an Idasa seminar, also aimed at bringing women together, Mrs Shope harped on the mother refrain and told the all-women audience: "Women bring life to this world. We have a duty to see this life is protected, be it black or white."

So now it's goodbye goodwill while women show they are as good at political posturing as men.

The Idasa seminar — Women Facing the Future Together — was another example. This breakfast affair brought together a panel from Inkatha, the PAC, ANC and NP. It became clear that if you push a few stress buttons, women with different political affiliations can barely get through a meal without scratching each other's eyes out — never mind campaign for global peace.

Let me recall a few highlights from this fractious, rather unruly morning. Patricia de Lille of the PAC used the platform to call for an intensification of violent struggle. An ANC member in the audience challenged Inkatha's Elizabeth Bhengu to

# No truce for our women at war



274

1/9/91

C. Press

...tell her menfolk to abandon their cultural weapons. Mrs Bhengu made it clear that a woman's cultural weapon is a wooden spoon and matters like real weapons are political and beyond her.

Adrienne Koch of the NP set her tone by saying she would refuse to apologise for the past. Her rambling talk so rattled the liberal contingent in the audience that they forgot not only the principle of free speech, but their manners, and they began to hiss and heckle. When an ANC member called her conservative, Mrs Koch's composure collapsed and she too talked about real war with real guns.

Someone at the Goodwill launch said women have to act because politicians have fun while we kill each other. This is true. But is being nice enough? Women can contribute to change. But not if they ignore politics — and certainly not because they have babies.

# Inkatha to meet ANC

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee resolved at the weekend to meet the ANC's national executive before the national peace convention on September 14.

The decision to meet the ANC followed a message by telephone from the ANC on Friday confirming the ANC national executive committee's willingness to meet the IFP central committee to normalise relations.

*Sowetan* 2/9/91  
"In the belief that normalised relations between the ANC NEC and the IFP CC will be crucial to the peace process, we are therefore of the opinion that the leadership of both parties should meet before the national peace convention on September 14 in an attempt to resolve outstanding matters on a bilateral basis," the IFP said.

Another resolution passed at the meeting called on President FW de Klerk to call a multiparty conference immediately,

In order to maintain the "momentum of change".

The IFP also called on all parties to "recognise that there is extreme danger in the ANC calling for an all-party conference in order to achieve its own party political objective of establishing an interim government".

However, the IFP said it would welcome a "pre-multiparty conference" between itself, the ANC and the National Party in order to discuss an agenda.



**FW DE KLERK**

On the funding issue the IFP said it had been unaware that the Government had funded two Inkatha rallies. - Sapa.



VIOLENCE and intimidation decline when investigated and when the background and reasons for them are exposed and given media attention.

There is need for an effective instrument to do just that. It is agreed that the commission established by the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act, 1991, be used as an instrument to investigate and expose the background and reasons for violence, thereby reducing the incidence of violence and intimidation.

To improve the efficacy of the Act in preventing violence it may be necessary to amend it. Where amendments are necessary, the National Peace Committee shall send its proposals to the Minister of Justice as soon as possible.

In terms of the Act, the commission shall function permanently. Its objectives shall be to

● Inquire into the phenomenon of public violence and intimidation in South Africa, the nature and causes thereof and what persons are involved therein.

● Inquire into any steps that should be taken to prevent public violence and intimidation

Make recommendations to the State President regarding

● The general policy which ought to be followed in respect of the prevention of public violence and intimidation.

● Steps to prevent public violence or intimidation

● Any other steps it may deem necessary or expedient, including proposals for the passing of legislation, to prevent a repetition or continuation of any act of omission relating to public violence or intimidation...

# Hope that probe into SA violence will help bring it under control

As political violence and intimidation continue in various parts of the country, far-reaching measures are in preparation to bring it under control, including the appointment of a Standing Commission to investigate and expose the causes of the violence. The National Peace Accord, which is to be signed in Pretoria on September 14, includes this agreement on the scope and powers of the commission.

The commission shall be composed as follows: A judge or retired judge of the Supreme Court or a senior advocate with at least 10 years' experience in the enforcement of the law. This will ensure that the commission has suitable, independent and objective leadership, fully versed in the law and fearlessly given to grant all parties an equal opportunity to state their views and give their facts. This person will be the chairman.

A senior advocate or a senior attorney or a senior professor of law.

The incumbent will assist the chairman of the commission, providing balance from a legal point of view. Because of his status this person will not be susceptible to influence from other parties. This person will be the vice-chairman. Three other duly

qualified persons. The signatories to the Peace Accord shall be offered the opportunity of submitting a shortlist of persons to be considered for appointment. It is acknowledged that it is desirable that the commission should be and be seen to be independent and non-partisan and should enjoy the confidence of the broad spectrum of the South African community.

Members of the commission are appointed for a period of three years.

## Recommendations

The commission will be assisted by a secretariat to provide administrative and logistical services. The commission's functions will include the following: ● To investigate the causes of violence and intimidation.

at the behest of the commission shall not affect any legal processes

Where a matter has already been dealt with as a result of legal processes, the commission shall not re-investigate the matter but may take cognisance of the evidence presented during such processes and the findings emanating from such proceedings.

The commission shall be empowered to conduct an investigation and insofar as it may be relevant to:

● Require any person to give evidence on the matter being investigated.

## Status

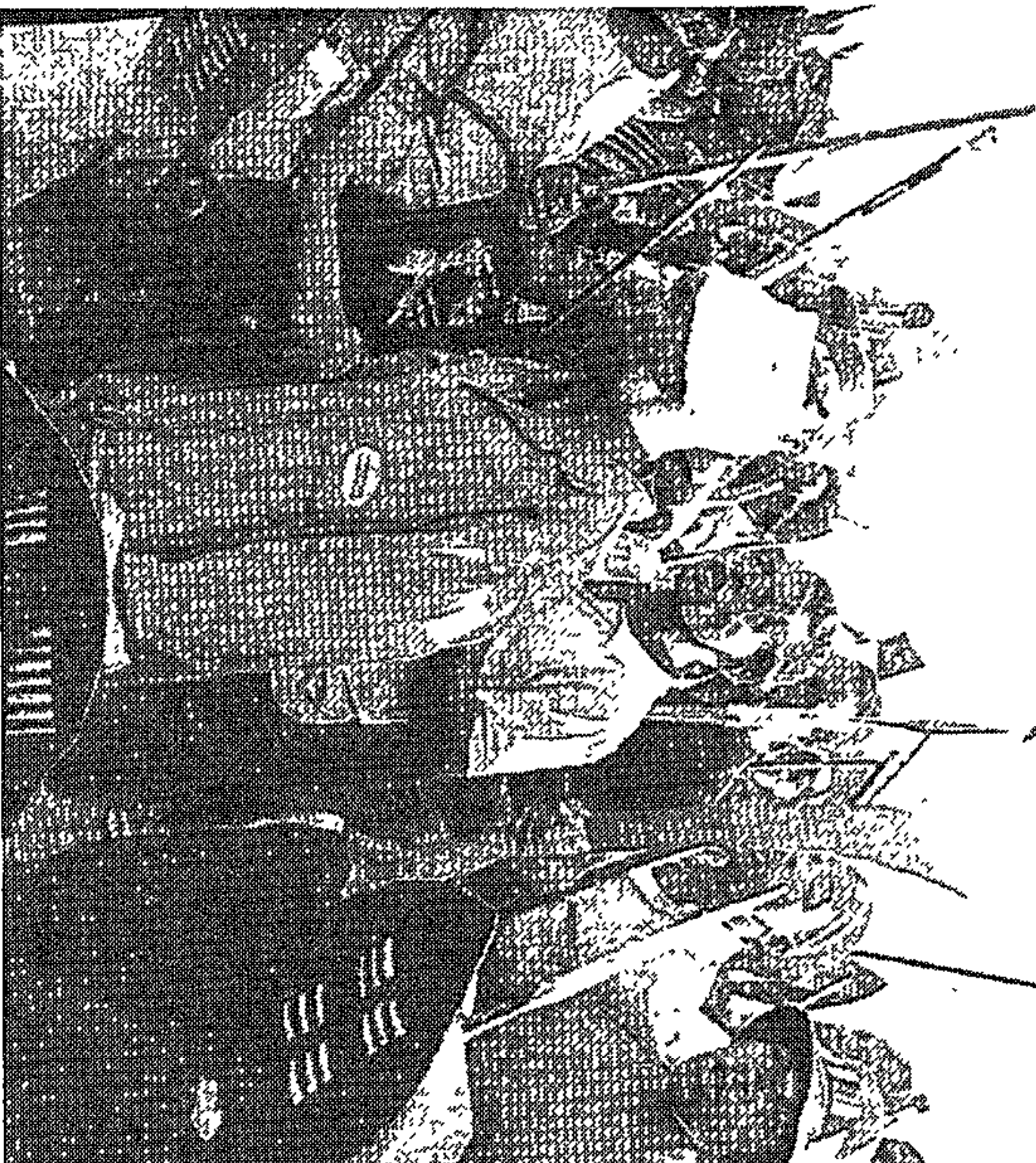
● Order that the identity of any person shall not be revealed if that person's life or property or his family may be endangered because of his assistance to the commission.

● Order that the relevant authority provide appropriate protection to a person if his life is endangered because of his assistance to the commission.

● Order that the contents of any document or other evidentiary material shall not be revealed or published if circumstances so demand.

The proceedings of the commission shall take place in public, unless the commission decides that circumstances demand otherwise. This is to ensure that the safety of witnesses can be guaranteed.

The commission will determine if legal representation is desirable in any given case.



Armed Zulu impis dance and chant in readiness for an attack on ANC supporters in May. A commission of inquiry will make recommendations to the State President regarding the general policy which ought to be followed in respect of the prevention of public violence and intimidation, and on steps to prevent public violence or intimidation, including proposals for the passing of legislation.

After completion of the investigation the commission shall compile a report on its findings and recommendations. This report will be handed to the State President who may make known the contents of the report to the public.

To ensure that steps are taken against perpetrators of violence and intimidation, the commission may refer any evidence constituting an offence to the relevant Attorney-General and to the Special Criminal Courts.

Anyone hampering or influencing the commission or any of its members in the execution of their duties shall be

guilty of an offence. This will ensure that the status of the commission is established and that it does not fall prey to pressures

Fully aware of the fact that the composition of the proposed body will determine its relevancy and legitimacy, the Minister of Justice indicated during the second reading debate of the Act that no appointments would be made without consultation and negotiation with the relevant role players. Consensus will be the key word

Committees may be established to assist the commission in the exercise of its functions. The

relevant players will therefore also be able to be represented on these committees by their own members and experts. These committees will enjoy the same far reaching powers as the commission itself. Regional committees of the commission should be established in each of the regions identified by the commission to monitor and inquire into public violence and intimidation. We agree that for the commission to be effective it needs to be a credible instrument. It will furthermore only obtain credibility if it is to be constituted after all the major parties have been consulted.



# New police Minister warns

*Swafar 4/9/91* *294*

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, yesterday issued a strong warning to people intent on disturbing or disrupting political meetings.

Making his maiden speech in his new portfolio at the National Party Free State congress, Kriel said the police would act against people - no matter what their colour or political affiliation - if they misbehaved.

"We will act not only against the AWB, CP, or ANC but also against NP members who do not behave.

"We are an impartial force and cannot allow the order to be disturbed.

"Those who think . . . they have the right to misbehave are making a big mistake," Kriel warned.

He said it was the duty of the police to maintain law and order.

"I have given clear instructions on this," the Minister said.

He said he was extremely concerned about intimidation. It appeared there were not enough policemen to cope with it but the situation would be looked into.

"We cannot hold an election or a referendum if people are being intimidated. This will be given attention because elections in South Africa must be free," he said. - Sapa.



# 3 180 killed in 1 year's violence'

By Montshiwa  
Moroke

More than 3 000 people were killed and an estimated 7 000 injured during violence in South Africa between July 1990 and June this year, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said yesterday.

The overall toll on township community life had been devastating: 3 180 people died, more than 8 000 were arrested, and tens of thousands displaced from their homes.

The figures were released to the press in Johannesburg yesterday in a special HRC report titled: "The new total strategy. Twelve months of community repression."

Vigilantes were responsible for 2 640 (83 percent) of all politically related deaths, security forces for 238, hit-squads for 30, and the right wing for 24, the report said.

Of the overall figure, 1 004 deaths occurred in Natal, at a rate of between 60 and 80 a month — "simply a continuation of six years of carnage".

The violence had taken on the character of an

orchestrated onslaught, which the HRC believed was a "new total strategy" that had arisen out of the ashes of the old total strategy under former president P W Botha's government.

Deaths inflicted by the police or the SADF had dropped from a monthly average of 30 in the first period to 10 in the second, "indicating some sensitivity to the criticism aroused over the brutality of their methods", the HRC said.

The report added that arrests peaked in May — a month of mass demonstrations, protests against continuing township violence, the ongoing educational crisis, the holding of political prisoners, and actions against workers.

The 1982 vigilante-related deaths recorded in the PWV had been characterised by dramatic swings as high as 570 in August 1990, and as low as 13 in February.

The vigilante violence in the Reef/Vaal complex seemed to have been launched primarily from East Rand bases.

It appeared that the vigilante violence was not spontaneous, but planned, said the HRC report.

It said records abounded with allegations of collusion.

## '3 000 died, 7 000 hurt in political violence' (274)

ARG 5/9/91  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 3 000 people died and an estimated 7 000 were injured during an explosion of violence in the townships and elsewhere in the country between July last year and June this year.

The Human Rights Commission released the figures yesterday in a report entitled "The new total strategy. Twelve months of community repression".

The report said the toll on township community life was devastating — 3 180 people died, more than 8 000 were arrested and tens of thousands were displaced from their homes.

In the independent homelands five out of the seven deaths recorded were in Bophuthatswana during protest meetings and marches in December and March.

Vigilantes were responsible for 2 640 or 83 percent of all politically related deaths, security forces for 238, while hit squads accounted for 30 and the rightwing was responsible

for 24 killings, the report said.

Of the overall figure, 1 004 deaths had occurred in Natal — at a rate of about 80 a month, but never below 60 — in what was described as "simply a continuation of six years of carnage in the area".

The violence had taken on the character of an orchestrated onslaught which the HRC believed was a "New Total Strategy" that had arisen out of the ashes of the "Old Total Strategy" under President P W Botha's government.

Deaths inflicted by the police or the SADF had dropped from a monthly average of 30 in the first period to 10 in the second.

"The reduction in deaths (and injuries) by security forces was accompanied by an increase in arrests from 560 a month in the first half, to 810 in the second."

The arrests peaked in May, a month of mass demonstrations around the country, in which protests were made against township violence, the education crisis, the observance of Republic Day and the holding of political prisoners.



# ANC: Violence shows FW's call for peace is 'a bluff'

(214)

APG 5/9/91

VUSI KAMA and  
VUYO BAVUMA  
Staff Reporters

ALLEGED police involvement in violence in Khayelitsha shows the government's call for peace is a "mere bluff", says the African National Congress.

At a Press conference yesterday, regional executive committee members Mr Amos Lengesi and Mr Vuyani Ngcuka said the state was calling for peace with bullets in its hands.

They said they had "substantial" evidence that police were involved in Tuesday night's violence in which Site B residents were attacked. They said they were collecting affidavits.

"We have in our possession documents that will shock many when they are revealed," said Mr Lengisa.

The documents were picked up by residents of DM section of Site B, the centre of the violence that began on Sunday.

The ANC members also displayed a police cap, which they claimed was grabbed by a resident from an attacking white policeman.

Bullets and petrol cans allegedly used during the attack were also displayed. The men said residents saw a bakkie, Casspirs and a Datsun Laurel carrying black and white po-

licemen with guns and pangas during the attack.

Mr Lengesi challenged the idea that the violence was related to the taxi war.

"When one looks at the pattern of the attacks lately and killing of families of prominent ANC activists, one would understand our situation."

"The area targeted this week has the biggest branch of the ANC in Khayelitsha, the Trevor Vilakazi branch. So it seems clear the state wants to eliminate our organisation."

It was "shocking" that ambulances arrived before the police when the violence occurred close to a police station.

● A 37-year-old security guard from DM section, who declined to be named for fear of reprisals, said he went to warn his brother about the spreading fires on Tuesday night.

"I saw a policeman near the house pointing a pistol at me. I quickly jumped for him and I wrestled with him. I was scared he was going to shoot me. I grabbed the policeman's cap before a black policeman came from the corner and hit me with a panga on the head."

Major Gys Bonzaier said the cap belonged to a Constable Hendricks. It "flew off" as he was chasing a suspect in Khayelitsha on Tuesday night.

# Nats plan strategy to keep reins

THE Government has developed a "New Total Strategy" to hold on to power while ensuring the re-integration of South Africa into the international community, the Human Rights Commission claimed yesterday.

The document was released to the media at a briefing in Johannesburg by HRC commissioner Dr Max Coleman.

The HRC claimed the Government was using a twin-track programme of community repression and negotiations. This approach was developed out of the ashes of the "Total

Onslaught" philosophy of the 1980s.

According to the report, the "new approach" was evidenced in the statistics of violence, monitored by the HRC from July 1990 to June 1991.

## Vigilantes

The HRC, which claims to be an independent body but has close links with the ANC and Cosatu, said the statistics showed there was collusion between the security forces and so-called vigilantes in the destabilisation of township communities.

A total of 3 180 people were killed in the 12-month period. Of these, 238 deaths were the result

of security force action, while 2 640 were vigilante related.

A further 30 deaths were the result of "hit squad" action, 24 deaths were at the hands of the rightwing, while 258 were of an uncertain nature.

The HRC noted that security force deaths had showed a steady decline on a month-on-month basis during the 12 months monitored, but arrests had shown a steady increase.

The security forces were also alleged by the HRC to have not acted in violent situations when they should have, and to have assisted attackers in some cases. - Sapa

Sowetan 5/9/91

274



# HRC: Violence 'orchestrated'

Political Staff

THE explosion of violence in certain township communities since July last year had taken on the character of an orchestrated onslaught, the Human Rights Commission charged yesterday.

The HRC, which claims to be an independent body but has close links with the ANC and Cosatu, said their statistics showed there was collusion between the

security forces and so-called vigilantes in the destabilisation of township communities.

It believed a "new total strategy" had arisen out of the ashes of the old "total strategy" during the years of the state of emergency, it said in a special report.

It claimed the government was using a twin-track programme of community repression and negotiations.

According to the HRC, a total of 3 180 people were killed in the 12-month period to June this year. Of these, 238 deaths were the result of security force action, and 2 640 were "vigilante-related".

A further 30 deaths were the result of "hit squad" action, 24 were at the hands of the right wing, and 258 were of an uncertain nature. (274) CTS/9/91

DECEMBER 1991

P. J. HOPKINS

DECLASSIFICATION IN ATLANTIS

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF

"THE STATE OF EMERGENCY" IN SOUTH AFRICA

RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION

# IFP is gearing up for a show of power - Louw

Sowetan  
Correspondent

**CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is gearing itself for "a show of strength" with the ANC in an attempt to strengthen its position at the National Peace Convention on September 14, according to former newspaper editor Raymond Louw.**

Writing in the latest issue of his *Southern Africa Report*, Louw says relations between the IFP and the ANC are "close to breaking point again" despite the historic peace talks which recently took place between the two groups and the Government.

## Tension

Louw says while the tension is developing on several fronts, there are three major issues of concern.

These are "unprovoked attacks by Inkatha supporters on communities in areas like the eastern Transvaal, a barrage of verbal attacks on the ANC by the Inkatha Youth Brigade at its annual conference last week, and attempts by elements in the IFP to discredit the ANC by adopting a recently returned group of exiles who are disillusioned with the movement".

## Casualties

The former Rand Daily Mail editor says there are also unconfirmed reports of IFP supporters plotting attacks on townships "traditionally known as ANC territory", such as Phola Park on the East Rand which suffered heavy casualties last year.

The IFP, whose central committee at the weekend recommended a meeting with the ANC national executive committee before the NPC on September 14 "to normalise relations between them", dismissed Louw's allegations as "absolutely rubbish and totally counter-productive to the peace process".

## Direct contact

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said her party will attend the NPC despite the ANC's refusal to hold a meeting with it before September 14.

The ANC's Carl Niehaus said this week no meeting will be held between the NEC and the IFP's central committee before the peace summit. The first time the two organisations will have direct contact, he said, will be at the summit itself.





**WAITING FOR DET:** Impatient students, parents and teachers from St Patrick's Intermediary School in Hermanus made a surprise visit to the Department of Education and Training offices in Cape Town this week — demanding an answer to their earlier calls for their prefabricated school building to be upgraded.

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

# Heightened expectations for peace conference

*South 5/9-11/9/91 (274)*  
HOPES are high that the national peace conference scheduled for September 14 in Johannesburg will be the mechanism that paves the way for direct political negotiations.

But the backdrop to the event is the fact that violence continues to wrack townships in Natal, the Transvaal and the Western Cape.

Up for adoption at the conference is a Peace Accord to be signed by participants — especially by the National Party (NP), Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and by the ANC-led alliance.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has declined to sign the agreement.

At the very least, the accord is significant for its immediate concerns — the violence that has resulted in the death of nearly 2 000 people, especially in Reef townships since August last year.

Analysts say that with such a burden hanging over it, the event cannot afford to be just another talk-shop giving birth to fine-sounding, but unimplemented, resolutions.

**IN next week's peace pact, the ANC, the government and Inkatha are expected to commit themselves to uphold basic democratic values and to work towards creating a culture of political tolerance.**

**To this end, the 70-page draft accord sets up elaborate mechanisms to end the violence and to bring the police under close scrutiny.**

**Key elements of the draft proposals — already accepted by the major parties taking part in the conference are:**

- **A code of conduct for the police, which holds members of the force accountable to society — not to the government.**
- **A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members.**
- **A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels.**
- **A statutory commission to be headed by a judge, or a retired judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence and the setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.**

# Identifying the peace brokers

South 519-1119191. (274)  
WHO are the conciliators who brought together South Africa's political foes and hammered out a peace accord between them?

Called the preparatory committee, the team of peace-talkers includes church leaders Archbishop Desmond Tutu, SA Council of Churches' general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, Dr Louw Alberts and former NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns.

Among the leading businesspeople

involved are Anglo American Corporation's Mr Bobby Godsell, Middelburg Steel's Mr John Hall and Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane.

They came together as the National Peace Initiative on June 22 this year, following a boycott by opposition groups of a conference on violence in May called by State President FW de Klerk.

Along with other members of the preparatory committee, these men have played a key role in bringing the national peace initiative to the signing stage.

As members of the committee, they chair meetings of the various working groups.

The procedure so far has been that each political grouping prepares its own draft, which in turn is submitted to the different working groups.

Decisions at past meetings have been taken by consensus and without provision for voting — which has placed

a premium on the mediation skills of the committee members.

Another tough demand on the committee has been their brief to draw in all parties not represented at the June peace conference, including the Conservative Party and other ultrarightwing groups.

The future role of the committee will be defined by the peace conference next week. But there is an emerging consensus that it could assume a new, expanded mandate.

Central to the functioning of the Peace Accord will be a national peace committee.

All the signatories to the accord will be represented on the committee, which will have a businessperson and church leader as chairperson and vice-chairperson respectively — probably drawn from the preparatory committee.

South Africa has not seen the last of the church-business conciliation team.



# Bobbies back on the beat

274 CT 6/9/91

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — The new Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, has made it a top priority to have "bobbies on the beat" spearhead the fight against rampant crime on the streets.

And he said that by the end of the year another 10,000 police could be in the force. These were being recruited and trained in terms of an initiative announced in July by former Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mr Kriel, responding at yesterday's Natal National Party congress to a resolution calling for more foot patrols in sensitive Durban areas, said "visible policing must get attention".

"One thing is very, very clear. We must

bring back the old concept of bobbies on the beat," said Mr Kriel to loud applause.

The minister, who assumed the portfolio only a week ago, undertook to "look very seriously" at the issue.

## MORE ON THE NP CONGRESS

— PAGE 5

He was also applauded when he suggested that policemen should be used to fight crime and not get bogged down in administrative work.

Responding to repeated pleas from delegates for something to be done about crime, Mr Kriel said one had to look at the reasons behind lawlessness. These included unemployment, urbanisation, the poor economic situation and too few police-

men. These issues were being addressed.

● In Cape Town, police have largely been successful with the bobbie-on-the-beat system, which has been in operation for at least 11 months.

The "takkie squad" — plainclothes policemen wearing running shoes — and the tourist police unit reportedly made 7,000 arrests in their first 10 months of operation up to July. Police have said that crime in the city centre had dropped by 75%.

Some city hoteliers maintain that tourists are still being driven away by muggings.

Last month Sea Point station commander Major H Oosthuizen was quoted as saying that police "have been able to increase the number of foot patrols and we definitely find this a deterrent".

There have been repeated calls for a 24-hour police kiosk in St George's Mall to combat muggings in the city centre.

# Fresh violence could obstruct talks Cosatu

VERA VON LIEREB

COSATU yesterday warned that a new spate of violence against its members on the East Rand and northern Natal, allegedly by Inkatha and the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), could seriously undermine the national peace initiative.

At a news briefing yesterday, the labour federation said its members had been subjected to a wave of attacks over the past five weeks in the industrial areas of the East Rand and northern Natal.

These included harassment of workers at factory gates, and assaults and killings at train stations and outside factories.

## Destabilisation

Cosatu detailed 15 attacks on its members.

The federation's assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said the East Rand attacks focused on Germiston's Driehoek industrial area and at the Langeberg Foods factory in Boksburg, and were directed at members of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Papwu) and the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu).

Langeberg Corporation and Caning's Boksburg factory was closed down last week following violence which left five Fawu members dead and several injured.

Shilowa said it was not a coincidence that the violence had been unleashed "precisely at the moment we are entering into a major national

peace initiative".

He said yesterday's news conference was called to express Cosatu's concern that the violence might jeopardise the National Peace Accord to be signed on September 14 by Cosatu, Inkatha, the ANC and government.

Shilowa said some of the attackers wore Inkatha T-shirts while others had been identified by workers as Inkatha or Uwusa members or supporters.

He said the current spate of violence was different in that it had shifted to the factory floor, and that it highlighted the urgency of the peace accord.

Cosatu would not allow the violence to derail the federation's commitment to the peace process, and at the same time a situation where members were attacked and killed could not be allowed. The federation was currently discussing a programme of mass action.

Shilowa repeated Cosatu's call for Uwusa, which he said was a creation of the security police, to be disbanded.

Uwusa's only expertise lay in "creating industrial violence and destabilisation", he said.

He warned that the violence could turn factories and industrial areas into battlegrounds.

"We believe that a real danger exists that the violence will continue and escalate if urgent and comprehensive steps are not taken by the SAP to apprehend the perpetrators."



# New signs of life for negotiations AND peace

**PETER FABRICIUS**

**Weekend Argus Political Staff**

**STALLED** negotiations have begun to show signs of life again as political parties rush to publish their constitutional plans and prepare for next Saturday's crucial peace summit.

The summit will see President De Klerk with the Afrikan National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthe on the same platform to endorse a comprehensive peace accord aimed at ending political violence.

Many other parties and organisations are expected to attend the summit which is regarded as the next milestone along the road to a new constitution.

A new sense of urgency to open negotiations was evident this week when the National Party unwrapped its guidelines for a new constitution.

Mr De Klerk, presenting the plan to an NP federal congress in Bloemfontein, said he was convinced "we are near a breakthrough to real negotiations".

Of the peace accord drawn up by the National Peace Initiative, which will be the subject of Saturday's summit, he said a great deal of progress had been made in co-operation among parties on violence and intimidation.

"It is as if the time is visibly becoming ripe," he said.

The NP constitutional plan, ratified by the

Bloemfontein congress on Wednesday and the National congress on Friday, goes before three NP provincial congresses over the next few months. It becomes policy only after all have ratified it.

The ANC published its draft constitutional plan in April and the Democratic Party went public with its proposals last week.

The three share much common ground in broad terms. All favour a bicameral legislature, proportional representation and some form of regional government.

However, there are crucial differences, too, which seem certain to make for hard bargaining when real constitutional negotiations begin, probably next year.

The NP plan, while making a break with the past in erasing all explicit reference to race, has been widely criticised nonetheless as an indirect attempt to protect white interests.

One of the most controversial aspects of the NP plan is that it would give property owners, ratepayers and lessees an extra vote in local government elections.

The plan proposes that the country be divided into nine regions, each with an elected legislature and executive. Major powers would be devolved from the central government to the regional governments and to local governments.

At the Natal congress, Mr De Klerk defended the plan against criticism that it was apartheid in disguise.

The proposals to devolve maximum powers to lower levels and to protect minorities from domi-

nation were in line with successful democracies around the world, he said.

Countries which had not recognised the diversity of their populations had run into problems and some, like Nigeria under its first constitution, had even suffered genocide because of this.

He also defended the NP plan for a three-person multiparty committee, with a rotating chairman, to replace the president as the supreme executive institution.

The best example of this system, which was essentially coalition government, was Switzerland.

Speaking to members of the Swiss executive college last year, he had found that all of them — from all language groups and political ideologies — believed the system worked.

They said the college had developed a culture of working in the interests of the country and not that one's own party.

Mr De Klerk said it was interesting that those parties most in favour of an interim government were most against the NP plan, even although it was similar to their idea of an interim government.

He rebuked Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu for his criticism of the NP plan.

Bishop Tutu had "once again entered the political fray" with a statement suggesting he suspected that the NP plan was aimed at protecting white privilege.

"It's time for the Bishop Tutus of South Africa to start thinking in terms of South Africanism and not black and white," said Mr De Klerk.

# State power plan alleged

By S'BU MNGADI

THE Human Rights Commission (HRC) believes the State has embarked on a new strategy of "orchestrated destabilisation" similar to the "total strategy" of the eighties. (Press 8/9/91)

In a special report released in Durban this week, the HRC said the explosion of violence since July last year was an orchestrated onslaught aimed at maintaining power.

HRC commissioner Dr Diliza Mji told the media his organisation examined records from July 1990 to June this year, focusing on security forces, vigilantes, hit squads and rightwing elements.

## Compelling

"There is compelling evidence for believing that the State has embarked upon a deliberate strategy of orchestrated destabilisation and this raises the question of the origins and motives behind such a strategy," the HRC said.

According to the report, during the 12-month period:...

- Security forces were responsible for 238 deaths.

- 4 211 people were arrested.

- Vigilantes were responsible for 2 640 deaths or 83 percent of all politically-related deaths.

- 1 004 deaths occurred in Natal, at a steady rate of about 80 deaths a month.

- Vigilante-related deaths in the PWV region were characterised by dramatic swings, with 570 deaths in August 1990 and 13 in February 1991.

- The rightwing was responsible for 14 bombings that killed 24 people and injured 246.

## Vigilante

"There seems to be a correlation between certain political events and the ebb and flow of vigilante attacks in the PWV area, and this pattern, combined with the apparent ability to deploy forces from one locality to another within the PWV, suggests a strong measure of orchestration," the HRC said.

"The overall toll on township life has been devastating, with more than 3 000 lives lost, about 10 000 injured and maimed, more than 8 000 arrested and tens of thousands displaced from their homes."



# Promised probe of violence awaited

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

(274)

The Government's proposed commission of inquiry into violence has not yet been established — almost five months after President de Klerk announced the Government's intention to do so.

The "Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation" made news headlines last week when the three H F Verwoerd Hospital right-wing hangers strikers said they were willing to testify before it.

But in spite of political parties' reception of the proposed

independent commission as a major step towards peace, few concrete steps have been taken to set it up.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said on Friday that the reason for the delay was that Mr de Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had "given the assurance that the commission will only be implemented after intensive consultation with all the relevant role-players".

He said the commission "ties into the whole structure to be created" when the country's major political groups are expected to sign a peace accord on Saturday.

Mr de Klerk announced plans to appoint a commission on April 18, shortly after the expiry date of the ANC's seven demands for its continued participation in constitutional talks.

The Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill, which provides for the independent commission to be set up, was passed on the last day of this year's parliamentary session on June 22.

The Bill provides for the establishment of a five-member standing commission, to be appointed by the State President under the chairmanship of a judge, a former judge or a senior advocate.



Coetsee . . . gave assurances.



# Waiting for peace to filter down

Star 9/9/91

## GUY JEPSON reports.

**P**OLITICAL violence in our strife-torn townships has continued unabated despite last month's critical National Peace Initiative (NPI) meeting in Sandton.

Although the NPI's draft peace accord hammered out on August 14 by the Government, the ANC and the IFP has yet to be formally adopted by the three parties, it is common cause that it has so far had little impact on the ground.

While they are incomplete, and arguably greatly under-represent the extent of the conflict, routine daily "unrest" statistics provided by the police suggest that, if anything, political violence increased in the last two weeks of last month.

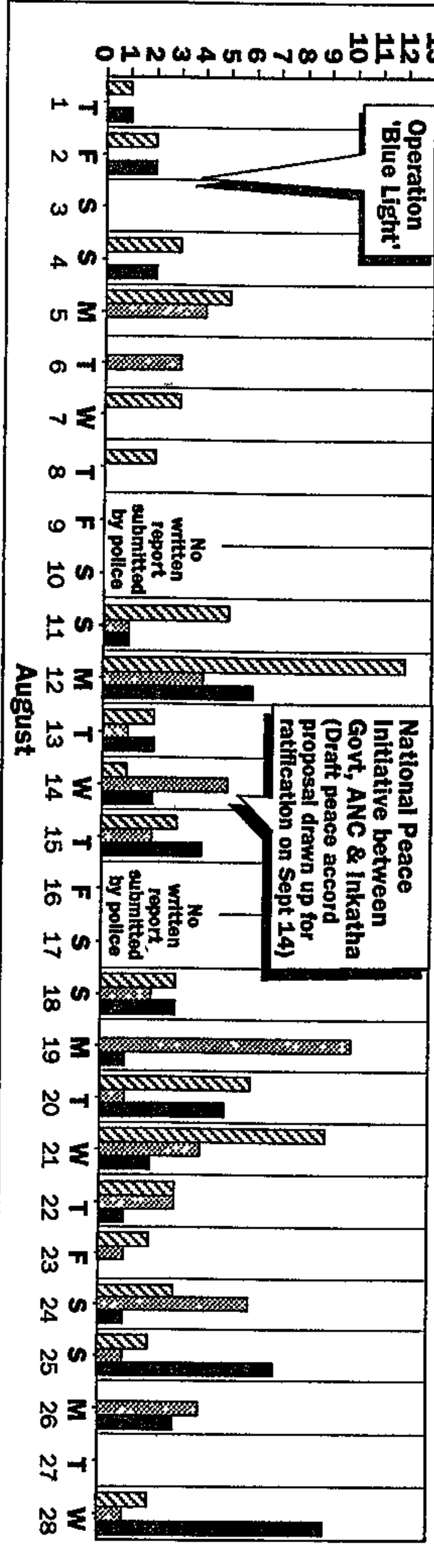
From the graph it is clear that incidents of deaths, injuries and arson attacks reported by the police escalated after the Sandton meeting.

According to figures provided by Lena Slachmuyder of the Black Sash's Repression Monitoring Group in Natal, 100 people were killed in Natal in July and another 100 last month.

While the total number of people reported killed in the province was marginally higher in the first half of August (55 as opposed to 45), the violence "has not taken any turn or decreased any way" as a result of the NPI, said Ms Slachmuyder.

She said a possible reason for this was that the talks at the NPI meeting were conducted at a "very high level" and the results had not yet percolated through to people on the ground. On the other hand, if the accord were ratified and adopted by the NPI as scheduled this weekend, it would be a high-profile event which could impact on violence levels.

## Countrywide routine police unrest reports (not including major flare-ups)



This graphic is based on statistics supplied by the SAP's directorate of public relations. The "arson" attacks denoted include reports of petrol-bomb attacks as well as explosive devices detonated outside homes or in vehicles.

Laura Pollecutt, publications director of Lawyers for Human Rights, said she believed the peace meeting and draft accord had had "absolutely no impact on the ground".

"But I don't believe that the people who have been negotiating the accord expected it to impact at this stage on the community. Possibly we can look again on September 14."

In Ms Pollecutt's opinion, an important reason for the initial failure of the NPI to impact on local communities was that the perception that the violence was between the ANC and Inkatha was in fact flawed.

"The people being attacked are members of communities, they are not labelled — so they are not going to be aware of what's going on. (The initiative) is taking place high up — it is not yet filtering down."

She said another problem was that the draft accord itself had flaws. Important among these was that provision had been

made for the police to carry out investigations into reports of violence or attacks.

While the police response at higher levels so far may have demonstrated a genuine desire to investigate, the actual investigation process would inevitably be hampered by fear and distrust of the police by communities.

"I believe an independent investigation body has to be established," she said.

On the other hand, if all parties to the accord were totally committed to its success, then the problem of people who gave statements to the police on violence being "marked" by political opponents might fall away.

"All parties must be committed to ensuring that whatever is agreed upon reaches the people most affected by it."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC was currently consulting its members at regional and branch level on the NPI meeting and its implications.

"(But) there hasn't been much time. To us, at all levels there has been an increase in violence. Attacks on individuals on a racial basis and attacks by policemen on black individuals seem to be on the increase."

Ms Marcus said the ANC had also noted that political violence appeared to be spreading to previously unaffected areas.

For these reasons it was imperative that the peace accord — with its proposed enforcement provisions and regional and local dispute resolution committees — be adopted and implemented by all parties.

Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods said the NPI had important symbolic value — "it is a demonstration by the leaders that in a time of transition we can get together and talk" — and could effect a genuine peaceful dynamic.

The IFP was in the process of explaining the ramifications of the meeting to members. Mr Woods said the initiative

was, however, running into trouble "because nobody at the peace talks was representing real feeling for, and understanding of, people in the affected communities".

The talks were largely based on "media perceptions of good guys and bad guys", whereas research showed that the nature of the current violence was far more complicated and that many of the people most affected were part of a large, mainly apolitical "silent majority".

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said it was too soon to measure the progress of the NPI.

"The meeting is an artificial date and the violence has shown a general (long-term) decrease."

The SAP was nevertheless "very excited" about the peace talks, which could go a long way towards addressing the political root causes of the violence.

"Policing per se can only address the symptoms," Captain Kotze added. □



## 5-month delay in appointment of inquiry into public violence

Political Staff

(274) ARG 9/9/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's proposed commission of inquiry into violence has not yet been established — almost five months after President De Klerk announced the government's intention to do so.

The "Commission on Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation" made news headlines last week when the three H F Verwoerd Hospital right-wing hunger strikers declared their willingness to testify before the commission.

But despite political parties' reception of the proposed independent commission as a major step towards peace in the country, few concrete steps have been taken to set up the body.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said on Friday the reason for the delay in appointing the commission was because Mr De Klerk and Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee had "given the assurance that the commission will only be implemented after intensive consultation with all the relevant role players".

He said the commission "ties into the whole structure to be created" when the country's major political groupings are expected to sign the historic peace accord on Saturday.

Mr De Klerk announced plans to appoint a commission of inquiry on April 18 this year, shortly after the expiry date of the ANC's seven demands for its continued participation in constitutional talks.

The Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill, which provides for the independent commission to be set up, was passed on the last day of this year's parliamentary session on June 22.

The Bill provides for the establishment of a five-member standing commission, to be appointed by the State President under the chairmanship of a judge, a former judge or a senior advocate.

The Act states that the commission will make recommendations to the State President to "prevent a repetition or continuation of, or to combat, public violence and intimidation".

Alleged security force violence and intimidation will also fall under the commission's ambit.

# Azasco focus on disruption in education

By  
**THEMBA MOLEFE**

DISRUPTIONS at black schools and political violence which interfere with learning will be high on the congress agenda of the Azanian Students Convention at the weekend.

In a statement Azasco publicity secretary Mr Siphso Maseko said the organisation would discuss methods of convening a student consultative conference in an attempt to resolve the education crisis in the country.

"We had hoped to bring together the main players in education - the South African National Students Congress, Azanian Students Movement, Cosas and the Pan Africanist Students Organisation," said Maseko.



**SIPHO MASEKO**

However, it is hoped Azasco will take a strong stand against class disruptions and interference in the learning process which Maseko said were done for political expediency.

He said: "Political violence in the country, which spills over to schools to the detriment of the learning process, will be discussed with a view to ensuring that proper learning is restored."

Other issues on the agenda include the implications of the scrapping of the Universities Act, admission criteria for blacks at most tertiary institutions and what Azasco described as the advent of so-called nonracial student representative councils.

The theme of the conference to be held over three days from Friday at the Medical University of South Africa is "Education - an instrument of transformation".

Prior to the congress will be the Steve Biko-Muntu Myeza Memorial lecture on Friday evening.

The main address will be delivered by Mr Mzukisi Mavu, Azapo's assistant secretary for economic affairs who was released from Robben Island in April after 18 years in prison.



## Peace talks 'on track' (274)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party would attend the national peace convention and sign the multiparty peace accord in spite of the renewed violence, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

Mdlalose called on business and religious leaders to condemn the violence. *Sowetan 10/9/91*  
"Our commitment to stopping the violence is absolute," Mdlalose said. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

ARREST... Armed police escort a Thokoza hostel dweller after  
arms in his room yesterday. Violence in Reef townships has claimed  
lives since Sunday.

TO RESCUE  
18-31

27L

weather cleared.

# 11 000 dead in unrest since '84

JOHANNESBURG. — The weekend's fatalities have brought the death toll in political violence to nearly 11 000 since September 1984, according to Mr John Kane-Berman, director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

He also said yesterday that political violence in South Africa had claimed

an average of four lives a day in the past seven years.

Releasing figures for June, July and August — before the violence over the past weekend on the Witwatersrand — the average daily fatality rate had decreased to 4,8 as against 10,2 in the preceding March, April

and May.

One of the most striking differences between the violence sparked off by the police shootings in Soweto in 1976 and the unrest of the 1980s was the intensity in the latter period of conflict within the black community. — Sapa

274 CT 10/9/91



crack of dawn



## Violence fails to derail peace quest

(274)

BILLY PADDOCK

SATURDAY's peace convention was now even more vital than before, the ANC, Inkatha and government said yesterday.

Recommitting themselves to signing the peace accord, they said the latest spate of violence on the Reef should not be allowed to derail the peace process.

The accord the three parties are due to sign includes codes of conduct for security forces and political parties; regional and local dispute and violence-monitoring mechanisms; and a commission of inquiry to investigate all acts of violence and intimidation.

The full spectrum of political and church groups, business and trade union leaders condemned the violence in which at least 65 people were killed, and urged parties to push ahead towards peace.

Inkatha media spokesman Suzanne Vos, who has been party to drafting the accord, said: "This insidious violence must stop. This is all the more reason why the peace initiative must get off the ground."

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC condemned the attack on Inkatha members on Sunday, and reiterated his organisation's intention to sign the accord.

"It is clear that the people launching the attack were not part of any organisation, but (were) those attempting to derail the peace convention. It is a deliberate attempt at provocation," he said.

□ To Page 2

## Peace

A government member involved in drafting the accord also said it was now vital that the accord be signed so that the monitoring and dispute-settling mechanisms could start to be applied.

Mandela said a multilateral accord would be more effective than bilateral agreements because if one party did not uphold the terms, there would be pressure on it from the other parties. He said all the parties would also be involved in monitor-

ing the situation and this would help ensure the agreement did not collapse.

He said that the issue of cultural weapons was still a sensitive one but the accord was designed to prevent all parties from carrying lethal weapons to rallies.

SACC general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane called on government to take strong action immediately so speculation that security force members were involved in the slayings could be dispelled.

(274) □ From Page 1

# 214 **Last chance for**

**peace?**

**A**NSWER to the bleak question of whether South Africa's cycle of violence is still capable of being stopped — or whether it is already too far out of control — will begin to emerge after the signing of an unprecedented peace agreement this weekend.

The National Peace Accord will be the most concerted and determined effort made so far to end endemic political violence, and it represents the first truly unified assault on township killings to be made by major political groups.

It is expected that the Government, ANC, Inkatha and many other bodies will sign the accord at a summit in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Observers hope that the latest spasm of violence on the Reef will solidify rather than fracture support for the initiative, which is seen by many as a last chance for peace.

While it is accepted that previous peace agreements have had no appreciable effect on

township violence, it is believed that the multilateral nature of the new plan could herald a breakthrough.

The accord, thrashed out by the church and business-led National Peace Initiative (NPI), will create a rare set of permanent and independent mechanisms to enforce codes of conduct for the security forces and political parties, and to investigate breaches.

It will give wide powers to new institutions such as a police ombudsman, and a standing commission on violence and intimidation to probe misconduct by the police and political parties.

This is being viewed widely as a major step towards independent control of the security

forces, and as a device that could help to clear away remaining obstacles to a multiparty conference on constitutional negotiations.

Some 300 representatives of political and religious movements, trade unions and the TBVC states, as well as foreign embassies, have been invited to the summit.

The importance attached to the agreement by major political actors is evident in the fact that President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will attend.

Notable omissions will be the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging.

By mid-week the organisers of the summit were cautiously

**Some people are calling it the last chance for peace. SHAUN JOHNSON and PETER FABRICIUS look ahead towards the crucial signing at the weekend of the National Peace Accord.**

optimistic that the PAC and Azapo would attend, but were not sure they would sign all the many clauses in the 32-page accord.

There was also some doubt that the three principal parties in the NPI would reach full and final agreement on measures to restrict the bearing of dangerous "cultural" weapons.

Latest drafts of the peace accord confirm that this particularly sensitive matter is "still

under discussion" and could still lead to disagreements.

But NPI sources were confident that all the main provisions of the accord, perhaps leaving over areas of dispute for later resolution.

The origins of the peace accord lie in ANC calls for a top-level peace meeting, and Mr de Klerk's unevenly attended peace summit earlier this year. At that summit, a facilitating

committee under Dr Louw Alberts of the Rustenburg Church Group was appointed. It grew into a wider initiative involving many influential businessmen who then pulled in the politicians.

Various committees and sub-committees of what eventually became the NPI then spent months in tough bargaining that produced a draft National Peace Accord two weeks ago.

The mechanisms proposed by the accord are remarkable in terms of the powers they give to parties and individuals outside the Government to exercise control over violence.

Chief among these will be a permanent, paid, multiparty National Peace Committee — with subordinate regional and

local committees — to enforce codes of conduct for the police and political parties to try to prevent political violence; and a police ombudsman — who need not be a member of the SAP — to investigate complaints against the police.

An illustration of the powers that will be wielded by the peace accord is a provision that the standing commission may, by warrant, "enter and inspect any place and interrogate any security force member, and seize and record"

Other important elements include:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members accountable to society, not the Government, and stresses restraint on police handling of po-

- A code of conduct for political parties which forbids them from making any statements inciting violence or conducting any act which cause violence.
- The appointment of a police board, with equal representation for the force and members of the public, to advise on future policing policy.
- The setting up of special police units, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by SAP members.
- The creation of a special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence.
- The setting up of special criminal courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.
- The requirement that political parties refrain from violence and actively discourage members and supporters from carrying weapons to political meetings.
- A commitment by the Government to devote funds for the reconstruction and resettlement of communities ravaged by political violence. □



# Officials fear violence could derail bid to scrap sanctions

OTTAWA. — Canada will likely press for an easing of sanctions against South Africa during a meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in New Delhi tomorrow and Friday, said a Canadian External Affairs Department official.

But officials are worried that violence could derail support for South Africa as it ends apartheid.

Canada's Minister of External Affairs, Mrs Barbara McDougall, is chairing the meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, which groups ministers from Australia, Guyana, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The meeting will review progress made towards dismantling apartheid and will likely make recommendations for further action, which could include lifting economic sanctions, to be considered by the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare from October 16 to 22.

"My colleagues and I will review the Commonwealth's role in support of peaceful change in South Africa," Mrs McDougall said. "We will be looking at the range of measures, including sanctions, that are available to see such change accomplished as soon as possible."

The Canadian government feels 90 to 95 percent of the process of reform has been completed. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Historic pact aims at ending violence

*Sowetan*  
12/9/91  
**A HISTORIC peace pact aimed at ending political violence, upholding basic democratic values and creating a culture of political tolerance is to be signed on Saturday.**

The accord, to be signed by the Government, ANC, Inkatha, Azapo and PAC, is seen as a move that will clear away most of the remaining obstacles to a multiparty conference on constitutional negotiations.

Some 300 representatives of political and religious movements, trade unions, the homelands and foreign embassies have been invited.

The importance the main players attach to this accord is illustrated by the fact that President FW de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will all be present.

The rightwing movement, the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have declined to attend.

They believe the reform De Klerk stands for is not their kind of reform and that they are not involved in the kind of violence the accord is meant to deal with.

There are last-minute efforts to get the rightwing to attend but it does not appear these will succeed.

The accord stems from an initiative by a group of church and business people who presented themselves as neutral facilitators after an earlier peace conference arranged by De Klerk.

The Government effort failed because movements, including the ANC, maintained they had not been consulted in arranging the conference and that De Klerk had been too prescriptive.

## FOCUS

At the initial meeting called by the church and business people in Sandton in June, it was decided to have a preparatory committee to discuss methods to create peace.

A number of sub-committees were then formed to facilitate socio-economic reconstruction and development.

What has been described as remarkable relationships started developing in these committees among representatives of bodies which were often at loggerheads with each other in public.

In each committee there were representatives of the Government, the ANC and Inkatha along with a number of independent facilitators.

### Determination

Apart from the rightwing, there is a remarkably positive spirit among organisations about the peace accord and a determination that it must not be jeopardised.

This was illustrated by the reaction to the latest carnage on the Reef.

The ANC and Inkatha refrained from blaming each other about the bloody events, instead blaming elements who were trying to jeopardise the accord.

One of the decisions the meeting on Saturday will have to take is whether there should now be a permanent peace secretariat to oversee the implementation of the accord.

The accord states that the establishment of a multiparty democracy in South Africa is their com-

mon goal.

"Democracy is impossible in a climate of violence, intimidation and fear."

"In order to ensure democratic political activity, all political participants must recognise and uphold certain fundamental rights."

These fundamental rights include

- \*Freedom of conscience and belief;

- \*Freedom of speech and expression;

- \*Freedom of association with others;

- \*Freedom of peaceful assembly;

- \*Freedom of movement within the country; and

- \*Freedom to participate freely in peaceful political activity.

The fundamental rights derive from established democratic principles. These are that:

- \*Democratic sovereignty derives from the people, whose right it is to elect their government and hold it accountable at the polls for its conduct of their affairs;

- \*The citizens must therefore be informed and political parties and the media must be free to impart information and opinion;

- \*There should be an active civil society with different interest groups freely participating therein; and

Political parties, other organisations and political leaders have an obligation to refrain from incitement to violence and hatred.

Key elements of the proposals in the accord are

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society, not the Government;

- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of promoting democratic tol-

erance in their members;

- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a national peace committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;

- A commission, to be headed by a judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence;

- The appointment of a police board, with equal representation of the force and the public, to advise on future policing policy;

- The setting up of special police units, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the force;

- The appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of all complaints against the police;

- The creation of another special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence; and

- The setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

The accord stipulates that all political parties should refrain from violence and that they should actively prevent their members and supporters from carrying any weapons to political meetings.

No language calculated or likely to incite violence and hatred nor any wilful false allegation should be used at any political meeting. Nor must pamphlets be issued which contain such language.

The appropriate authorities must be informed about any political events and foreseeable consequences. The proximity of other events must also be taken into account.

Political parties will be expected to establish effective lines of communication among themselves. - *Sowetan Correspondent*



# Ramaphosa's peace appeal

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa made an impassioned appeal for peace yesterday as violence claimed more lives on the Rand.

Mr Ramaphosa, reiterating his organisation's support for the multi-party peace process, said in a statement that the ANC was doing everything in its power to end the violence which has claimed 97 lives and injured 153 people since Sunday.

He said that if acts of "naked terrorism" were not stopped immediately, they would set in motion "cycles of violence that will be uncontrollable. SA stands at the very edge of an abyss. These events threaten to push the whole country over the edge, plunging us into a war of immense proportions, a war in which there can be no victors."

The ANC claimed two of its department of information and publicity members, including national executive committee member Ms Gill Marcus, had been the targets of an assassination attempt on Tuesday night.

Mr Ramaphosa, describing the al-

leged attempt on Ms Marcus's life, said she and colleague Mr Nat Serache had discovered Ms Marcus's flat in Berea, Johannesburg, to be under surveillance by four unidentified men on Tuesday evening. A doorlock had been tampered with.

Ms Marcus entered the building, and Mr Serache was approached by an armed man, signalling to others in a vehicle outside the building.

After the man cocked his pistol, Mr Serache distracted him by pretending to have his own weapon and fled. He was pursued by four men but escaped.

The ANC claimed that when police "eventually" arrived to investigate the incident, they were abusive and would not clearly identify themselves. Several men in a vehicle were still watching the building when the police left, he said.

A police spokesman said these allegations were being investigated and a report would be issued later.

● A man escaped death early yesterday morning when he was shot at in Nyanga after a petrol bomb had been

To page 2



**KEEPING WATCH . . .** South African soldiers stand watch in a bunker yesterday in Thokoza after a wave of violence left at least five dead. The attackers escaped before the troops arrived.

Picture: AP

From page 1

thrown into his bedroom, a police spokesman said.

The spokesman said Mr Dugard Thuka, 32, was sleeping about 1am when someone threw a petrol bomb through his bedroom window.

When Mr Thuka opened his front door to investigate, one of three people opened fire on him with a firearm but missed. The spokesman said it appeared the incident may have resulted from an argument Mr Thuka had with a neighbour.

● A woman was killed and a policeman and his wife were seriously injured when their car was ambushed by an armed gang near Phola Park squatter camp on the East Rand.

Warrant Officer LW Grobler, 38, was attacked when he stopped to assist a motorist, Mr Tommy Zalor, 36,

who had been forced to a halt by a man wielding an AK-47. About 30 men, armed with high-calibre weapons, fired at least 25 shots into WO Grobler's vehicle.

WO Grobler was shot in the arm and chest. His passenger was killed.

The policemen was last night reported to be in a stable condition and his wife in a satisfactory condition.

● Gunmen yesterday in a minibus opened fire on commuters at Angus railway station near Thokoza, killing two and injuring six, and one died after a bus in the township was the target of a handgrenade and AK-47 attack.

● In Soweto, unidentified gunmen opened fire on the Dobsonville hostel on Tuesday night, killing two men and a woman.



# Each time peace looms, carnage erupts

**Mysterious attacks on civilians during crucial phases of the peace process have raised renewed concern about a Third Force, writes Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE.**

**SINISTER** attacks on unsuspecting South Africans have marred some of the most significant breakthroughs in the peace initiative this year, fuelling suspicions that agents provocateurs are trying to destabilise the country.

Suspicion about the ominous presence of a Third Force have reached new heights after the outbreak of bloody clashes on the Reef on Sunday, seven days before the historic signing of a multiparty National Peace Accord.

The death toll in the rapidly spreading violence now stands at more than 100.

Immediately after the spate of violence started, several political parties accused the Government, or Government agents, of orchestrating the bloodshed, and political analysts followed by saying there was little doubt that the clashes were planned to wreck the peace initiative.

Graham Simpson, researcher at the Project for the Study of Violence at the University

of the Witwatersrand, commented on the Tokoza attack, which has since spread to other townships: "There appears to be a strategic selection of victims: hostel dwellers on their way to a rally. You cannot find a more defensive, volatile and ostracised sector of the community. The repercussions were inevitable."

"It seems as if this attack was planned to coincide with the peace meeting on Saturday," he said.

Several peace initiatives between the ANC and the IFP this year, as well as the Government-sponsored peace summit in Pretoria in May, have been marred by violence.

In some, the clashes appeared to have been between ANC and IFP supporters; in others, allegations of Third

Force involvement were made.

Many of these clashes sparked off weeks and months of attacks and counter-attacks round South Africa. In a country plagued by violence since the mid-1980s, little is needed to spark off yet another spiral of violence.

The January 29 peace accord between the IFP and the ANC was hailed as a promising step towards peace.

On February 1, eight people were killed in a clash between supporters of the two parties in Natal.

More mysteriously, a person was killed and 10 injured when — on the same day — gunmen attacked train commuters on their way to a joint ANC/IFP rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto.

Another train massacre on a Johannesburg-bound Soweto train followed on February 13 in which two people were killed and 13 injured.

On February 10, 17 bus passengers were killed by gunmen in an ambush near Taylor's Halt in Natal.

Frantic ANC/IFP peace efforts followed, and on February 18 a joint call for peace was issued.

But violence erupted in Soweto on March 3 — leaving 24 people dead — and in Alexandra on March 9.

Allegations of a Third Force presence in Alexandra and Soweto re-emerged.

Evidence backing the claim included the alleged presence of whites and "foreigners" in hostels, and letters sent to residents in Alexandra — in poor English and purportedly from Inkatha — stating that "the Zoeloes will end the war". Inkatha denied having written the letters.

The next peace initiative, the controversial Government-sponsored summit on

May 24 and 25, also sparked off attacks.

On the eve of the Pretoria summit, two gunmen wearing masks and balaclavas opened fire on patrons at a beer hall in Sebokeng, killing 13 people.

On the day that representatives from business, churches and political parties gathered in Pretoria, at least eight people were killed in attacks in Soweto. According to residents, the gunmen claimed they had been paid to carry out the shooting.

On other occasions, peace talks have been wrecked or called off because of attacks.

For example, a peace meeting between the ANC and the IFP in Natal on June 4 was called off after renewed violence left at least 28 people dead.

Political analysts agreed that there had been a decrease in violence in the past few months, notably since church and business leaders had formed a "facilitating committee" to thrash out a multi-party peace agreement. □



# Urgent talks on peace plan differences

Political Staff

12/1/79

South African Defence Force (see accompanying story).

As pressure on the peace initiative mounts, key National Peace Accord negotiators last night met behind closed doors in an attempt to thrash out differences before the signing on Saturday of the vital agreement.

The National Peace Initiative's preparatory committee — comprising church, and business leaders, top officials of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government — met to make final arrangements for the weekend meeting and to discuss difficulties still bedevilling the accord.

The wave of violence on the Reef was likely to be discussed. There is strong speculation that the violence could have been orchestrated to wreck the accord, as well as crucial areas of difference which were left unresolved in the latest draft of the peace agreement.

These included the intrac-table issue of "traditional" weapons, and the not-yet-finalised code of conduct for the

dangerous weapons at political gatherings.

With only days to go before the signing of the accord, concern was expressed yesterday that its effectiveness could be undercut by deep differences over traditional weapons and the status of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Sources told The Star that Inkatha — and perhaps other participants in the National Peace Initiative — might now be insisting on the dismantling of MK as a quid pro quo for JFP agreement to a total ban on the carrying of

It emerged this week that the dangerous weapons issue, which ANC president Nelson Mandela described on Monday as "too sensitive to comment on", could result in some parties signing only parts of the peace accord.

Observers have expressed disappointment at the reported development. They believe a selective signing would detract from the overall effect of the peace accord. But sources on all sides said the differences would not completely undermine it.

All the principal parties would sign its main provisions, they said.

The Star also established yesterday that neither the Pan Africanist Congress nor the Azanian People's Organisation was likely to sign the accord in its present form.

It was possible, however, that both would attend the summit at a Johannesburg hotel.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said his organisation could not sign the accord because this would imply that it should take part along with the Government in the many

structures proposed by the accord.

He said the PAC had proposed to the National Peace Initiative that it should produce an accord which simply stated a commitment to peace.

The PAC would be prepared to sign such a declaration, severed from the mechanisms proposed by the present accord.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said yesterday that as things stood, Azapo would not sign any part of the accord because it had not taken part in drawing it up

— and could demonstrate that its "hands were clean" on violence.

But Azapo still had to decide whether it would attend as an observer.

The control of traditional, "cultural", weapons, emerged early on as a major area of discord in the church and business-sponsored peace initiative.

Since then, according to the Star's sources, the IFP has fought back by trying to focus new attention on another clause of the accord, which states that "no private armies shall be formed".

MK had implicitly been left out of this definition because the requirement was that no new private armies should be formed.

But, with persistent ANC pressure on the cultural weapons issue, some NPI participants are believed to be insisting that existing armies, including MK, should also be disallowed.

At a meeting of the NPI working group on Monday, it was agreed that these major disagreements should be held over for later discussion and should not be allowed to upset the signing of the accord.

# Clothing costs set to outstrip inflation

Star 12/9/91  
Consumer Reporter

The cost of clothing will increase by more than the current rate of inflation if proposed tariff increases on imported clothing and fabrics are accepted, a leading retailer said this week.

The proposals, which appeared recently in the Government Gazette, recommend that tariffs on imported clothing be increased from 30 to 60 percent. There are also proposals that duties on imported fabric be increased from 20 to 40 percent.

Sales House MD Ian Thompson said the increase in tariffs for imported clothing, proposed by the Board of Trade and Industry (BTI), would undoubtedly affect consumers.

"Should BTI's proposal be accepted by the Government, the cost of clothing will increase to a level above the current rate of inflation and customers will suffer," Mr Thompson said.

However, he said it was unlikely that clothing prices

would increase by as much as 50 percent as suggested.

The National Clothing Federation of South Africa has issued a hard-hitting statement against the proposed increases.

The NCF, which has a direct membership of 530 clothing manufacturers throughout southern Africa who account for about 80 percent of all clothing manufacturers, said it was gravely perturbed about the "resurgence of a strong and vociferous pro-protection lobby".

## Burden

NCF executive-director Henrie van Zyl said increasing South Africa's already high current protection levels would not only be contrary to international trends but would also burden the already embittered consumer — which, in turn, would kill economic growth and create further unemployment.

"To increase import duties at this stage will only benefit a few highly concentrated, capital-intensive industries, and then only in the short term, because domestic inefficiencies

and uncompetitiveness cannot be protected indefinitely," Mr van Zyl said.

"One does not have to be a prophet to predict that any further increases in protection will elicit retaliatory action from our trading partners."

The organisation disputed claims that imports of knitwear and spun garments had increased by 131 percent in the first four months of 1991.

Official statistics showed no increase whatsoever, but a decrease in the importation of all knitted fabrics of 17 percent in volume and 13 percent in value in the same period compared to the corresponding period of 1990.

Comparing the same periods, imports of knitted clothing reflected a 65 percent increase in units and 19 percent in value, according to Customs and Excise figures, he said.

Mr van Zyl said manufacturers throughout the country were discussing the proposals at present and would comment on them before October 15.

## Violence is affecting our

## mental health

Star 12/9/91  
Medical Reporter

"The impact of the spiral of violence on the mental health of individuals, groups and communities could only be detrimental to a future South Africa, the president of the Psychological Association of South Africa (Pasa), Dr Theo Veldsman, said in the latest issue of the association's newsletter.

Dr Veldsman, the outgoing president of Pasa, said the "continuing and increasing wave of violence sweeping the country is a serious concern for all, including Pasa".

He added that the "daily manifestation of violence" could in the long term result in an "institutionalised culture of violence".

He appealed to anyone who could play a role in the elimination of violence to support such attempts in their communities.

"Pasa is also more than willing to become actively involved in the planning, co-ordination and initiation of actions directed at preventing and remedying the consequences of violence on the mental health of South Africans," Dr Veldsman said.



# Draft code withheld until Magnus left post — report

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Government negotiators in the peace accord talks withheld their draft code of conduct for the SADF until outgoing Defence Minister General Magnus Malan changed ministries at the end of last month, according to the London-based bulletin Southscan.

The bulletin's latest edition

reports that the code was produced secretly by senior officers without General Malan's knowledge and submitted to the National Peace Initiative (NPI) the day after he left office for the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs.

By contrast, a code of conduct for the South African Police — which contains tough measures to subject the police to independent multi-

party monitoring — was produced some time ago and was included in the recently produced draft of the National Peace Accord which is to be signed on Saturday.

That draft noted that a code for the SADF was "still to be negotiated".

Top ANC sources confirmed yesterday that a draft SADF code of conduct had been drawn up by the SADF and shown to the ANC for

comment.

Government sources confirmed that an SADF draft had been drawn up, but were unable to confirm that it had been withheld until General Malan's departure.

But they said this made sense, as it was generally known that he had a different style on these matters from his successor, Roelf Meyer — who has been involved in the NPI talks.

## Senseless violence is 'tragic'

Political Staff

FORCES inside the country should not be allowed to put it on the road to destruction, said Cape Administrator, Mr Kobus Meiring.

He said this at the opening of the 25th meeting of the Western Cape Regional Society for the Development of Tourism.

The senseless violence and deaths in Crossroads, Khayelitsha and elsewhere had "everything to do with us because Crossroads and Khayelitsha are just as much part of the Western Cape as the Strand or Somerset West".

Whatever the reasons for the violence, he found it tragic that "people die violently".



# Is this the work of a 'third force'?

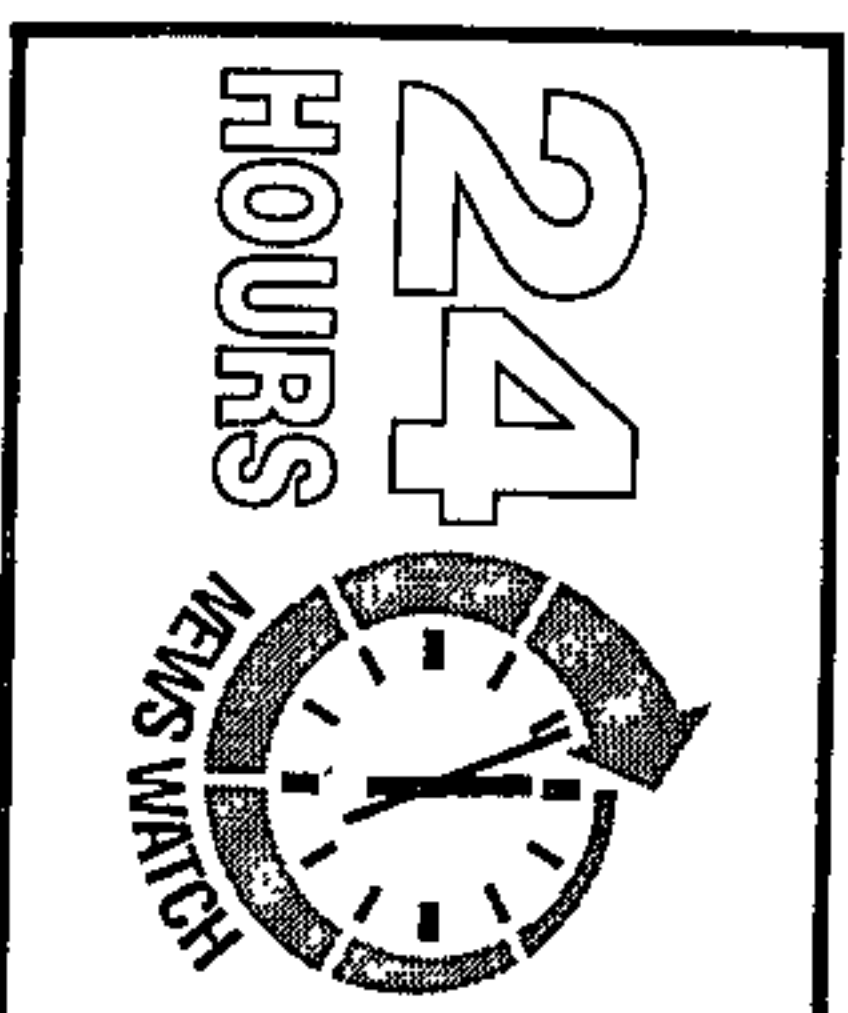
Esmaré van der Merwe  
Argus correspondent  
in Johannesburg

**M**YSTERIOUS attacks on unsuspecting South Africans have marred some of the most significant breakthroughs in the peace initiative this year, fuelling suspicions that "agents provocateurs" are attempting to destabilise the country.

Levels of suspicion about the ominous presence of a "third force" have reached new heights after the outbreak of bloody clashes on the Reef on Sunday and yesterday, only days before the historic signing of a multi-party National Peace Accord in Johannesburg.

Several political parties openly accused the government or government agents of orchestrating the latest outbreak of township violence, and political analysts agreed that there was little doubt that the clashes were planned to wreck the most promising peace initiative yet.

Several peace initiatives between the ANC and the IFP this year, as well as the Government-sponsored peace summit in Pretoria in May, have been marred by violent clashes. In some, the clashes appeared to have been between ANC and IFP supporters.



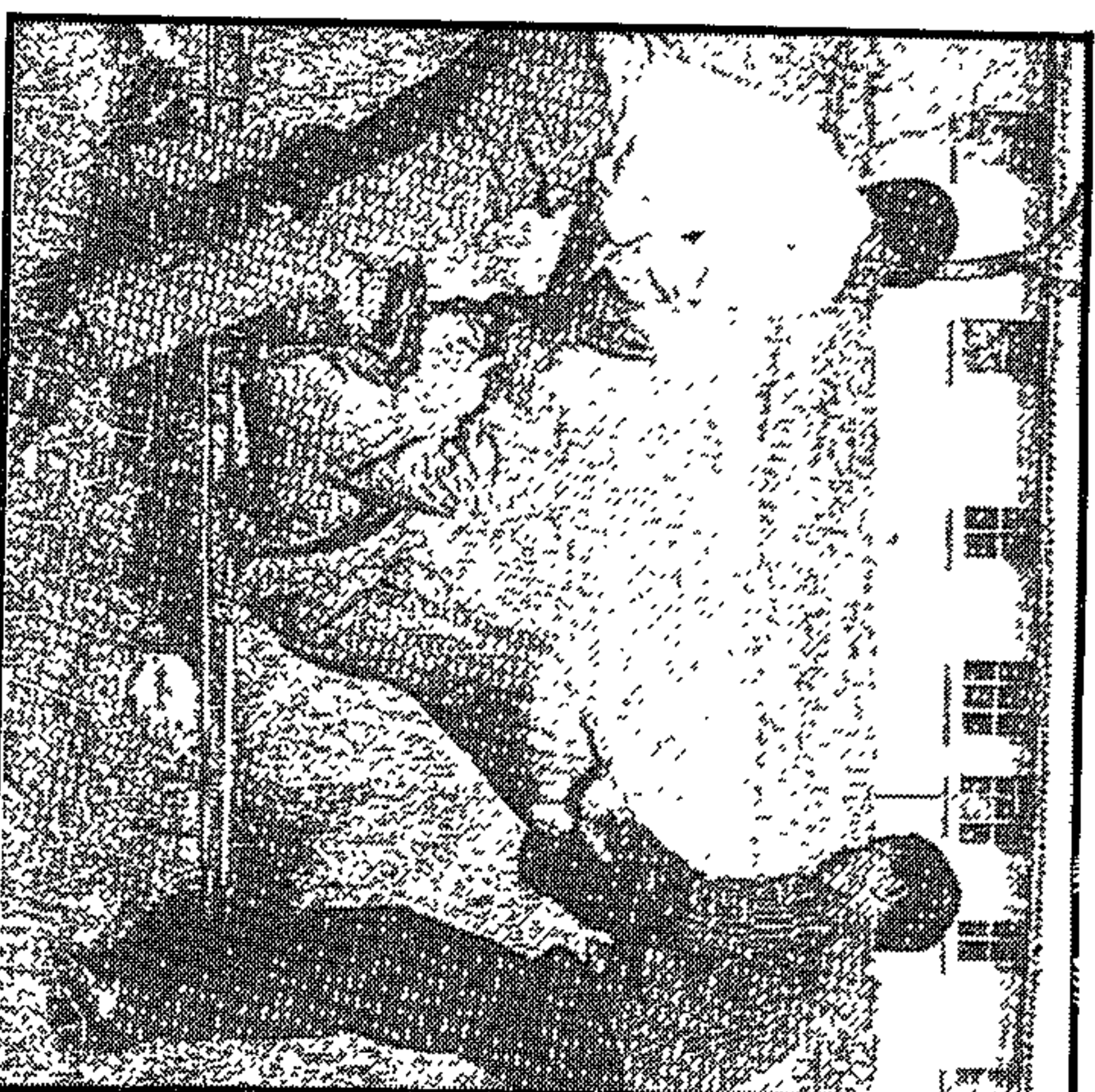
ers; in others, allegations of "third force" involvement were made.

Many of these clashes sparked off weeks and months of attacks and counter-attacks around the country.

The January 29 peace accord between the IFP and the ANC lasted for three days. On February 1, eight people were killed in a clash between supporters of the two parties in the Umgababa area in Natal.

On the same day, one person was killed and ten injured when gunmen attacked train commuters on their way to a joint ANC/IFP rally at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre. Another train massacre on a Johannesburg-bound Soweto train followed on February 13 in which two people were killed and 13 injured.

On February 10, 17 bus passengers were killed by unknown gunmen in an ambush near Taylor's Halt in Natal.



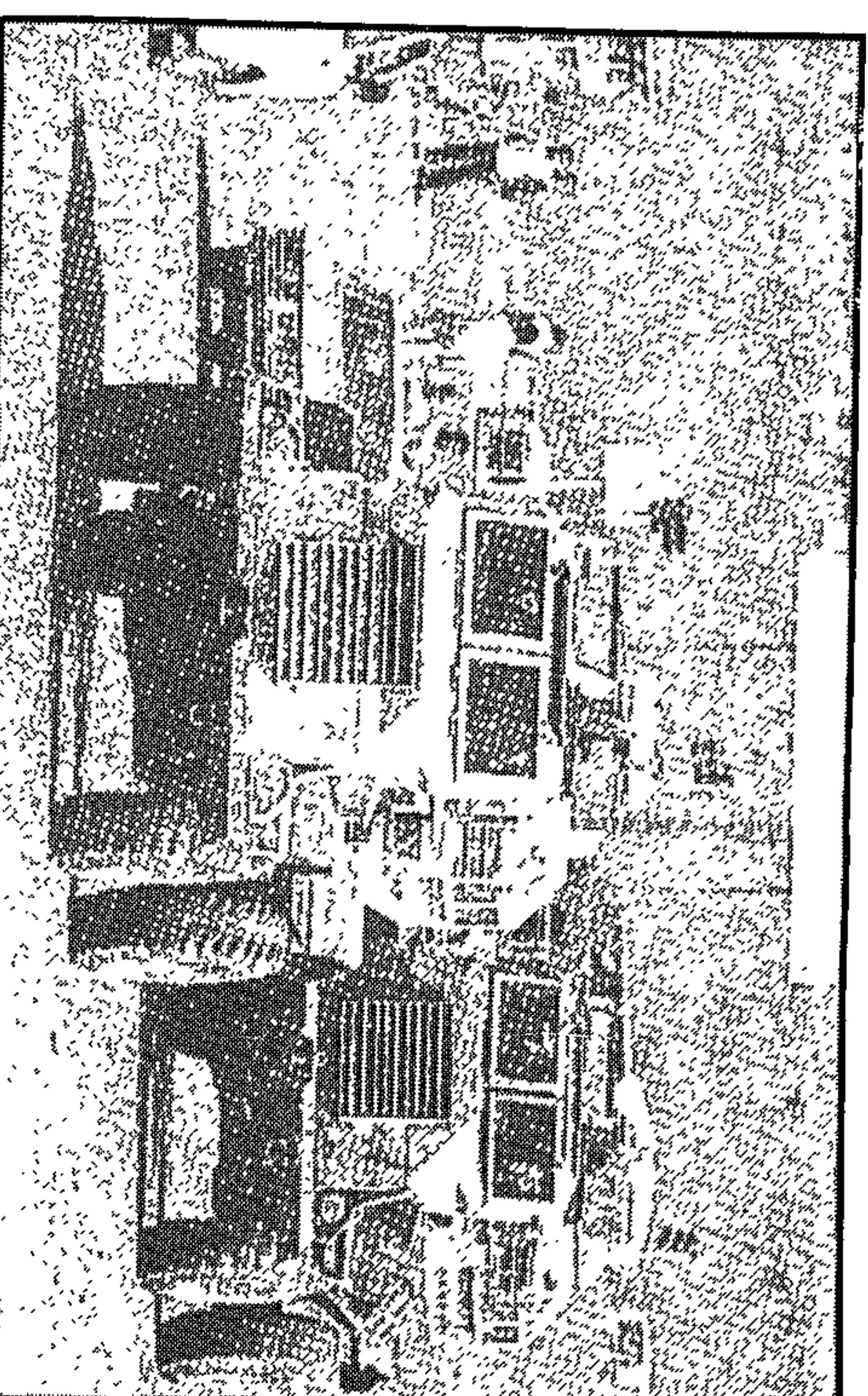
**VICTIM:** Plainclothed policemen carry away another victim of the violence at Nancefield in Soweto.

Frantic ANC/IFP peace efforts followed, and on February 18 a joint call for peace were issued.

However, Soweto erupted on March 3, leaving 24 people dead, and in Alexandra on March 9.

Allegations of a "third force" presence in Alexandra and Soweto re-emerged.

Evidence backing the claim included the alleged presence of whites and "foreigners" in hostels and letters sent to residents — in poor English and purportedly from Inkatha — stating that "the Zulus will end the war". Inkatha spokesmen denied having written the letters.



**PATROL:** Armoured vehicles patrol the townships after a new wave of violence which has claimed more than 90 lives since Sunday.

On the eve of the government's peace summit on May 24 and 25, two gunmen wearing masks and balaclavas opened fire on patrons at a beer hall in Sebokeng, killing 13 people.

On May 24, at least eight people were killed in attacks in Pinville, Soweto. According to residents, the gunmen

claimed they had been paid to carry out the attack.

In some incidents, peace talks have been wrecked or called off following attacks.

For example, a peace meeting between the ANC and the IFP in Natal on June 4 was called off following a renewed outbreak of violence in the province on the preceding

weekend, leaving at least 28 people dead.

Political analysts said there had been a decrease in violence since.

But, they noted, South Africans had become so used to the protracted killings that many deaths — which occur on a daily basis — went virtually unrecorded.



214

ARG

12/9/91

# Now for a peace accord to uphold democratic values

**TOS WENTZEL**  
Political Staff

**A**N historic peace pact aimed at ending political violence, upholding basic democratic values and creating a culture of political tolerance is to be signed by the government, the ANC, Inkatha, Azapo, the PAC and many other bodies at a ceremony in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Some 300 representatives of political and religious movements, trade unions and the independent black states, as well as foreign embassies have been invited.

This accord is seen as a move that will clear away most of the remaining obstacles to a multi-party conference on constitutional negotiations.

The importance the main role players attach to this accord is illustrated by the fact that President F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will all be present.

The accord stems from an initiative taken by a group of churchmen and businessmen who presented themselves as neutral facilitators after an earlier peace conference arranged by Mr De Klerk. That effort failed because movements such as the ANC maintained that Mr De Klerk had been too prescriptive and that they had been told, but not consulted, about it.

At the initial meeting called by this group in Sandton in June it was decided to have a preparatory committee discuss methods to create peace.

● Participate freely in peaceful political activity.

The fundamental rights derive from established democratic principles, namely:

● That democratic sovereignty derives from the people, whose right it is to elect their government and hold it accountable at the polls for its conduct of their affairs;

● That the citizens must therefore be informed and political parties and the media must be free to impart information and opinion;

● That there should be an active civil society with different interest groups freely participating therein;

● That political parties and organisations as well as political leaders have an obligation to refrain from incitement to violence and hatred.

Key elements of the proposals in the accord are:

● A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society, not to the government;

● A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;

● A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a national peace committee to oversee the accord and resolve conflict at regional and local levels;

● A statutory commission, to be headed by a judge or a retired judge, to investigate and expose the causes of violence;



074

ARG

12/9/91

A number of sub-committees were then formed to deal with various aspects, not only the security ones, but also measures to facilitate socio-economic reconstruction and development.

What have been described as remarkable relationships started developing in these committees among the representatives of bodies which were often at loggerheads with each other in public.

Away from the public eye trust and understanding developed on issues such as a code of conduct for political organisations and the security forces as well as socio-economic reconstruction and regional and local dispute resolution committees.

This has been illustrated by the reactions after the latest carnage on the Rand. The ANC and Inkatha have refrained from blaming each other about the bloody events.

The accord states that the establishment of a multiparty democracy in South Africa is the common goal of all those who subscribe to it.

"Democracy is impossible in a climate of violence, intimidation and fear," the document says. "In order to ensure democratic political activity all political participants must recognise and uphold certain fundamental rights."

These include the right of every individual to:

- Freedom of conscience and belief;
- Freedom of speech and expression;
- Freedom of association with others;
- Peaceful assembly;
- Freedom of movement within the country;

● The appointment of a police board, with equal representation for the force and members of the public, to advise on future policy;

● The setting up of special police units, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the force;

● The appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of all complaints against the police;

● The creation of another special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence;

● The setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

The accord lays down that all political parties should refrain from violence and that they should actively discourage and seek to prevent their members and supporters from carrying any weapons to political meetings.

No language calculated or likely to incite violence and hatred nor any wilfully false allegations should be uttered at any political meeting, nor must pamphlets be issued which contain such language.

The police will be required to observe a detailed set of requirements to ensure that they protect "the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and acts of political violence in a rigorously non-partisan fashion, regardless of the religious belief and affiliation, religion, sex, race or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts".

The police must also exercise restraint in the pursuance of their duties "and shall use the minimum force that is appropriate in the circumstances".

The accord also says no public funds must be used to promote the interests of any political party or organisation.

## Negotiators meet to discuss last minute hitches

Political Staff

274 AUG 12/91

JOHANNESBURG. — As pressure on the peace initiative mounts, key National Peace Accord negotiators last night gathered behind closed doors in an attempt to thrash out differences before the signing of the vital agreement on Saturday.

The National Peace Initiative's preparatory committee — consisting of church and business leaders and top officials of the African National Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party and the government — met in Johannesburg to make final arrangements for the weekend meeting, and to discuss difficulties still bedevilling the accord.

The wave of violence on the Reef was likely to be discussed — there is strong speculation that it could have been orchestrated to wreck the accord — and crucial areas of difference which were left unresolved in the latest draft of the peace agreement.

These included the intractable issue of "traditional" weapons, and the not-yet-finalised code of conduct for the South African Defence Force.

With only days to go before the signing of the historic accord, concern was expressed yesterday that its effectiveness could be undercut by deep differences over traditional weapons, and the status of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Sources said the Inkatha Freedom Party — and perhaps other participants in the National Peace Initiative — might now be insisting on the dismantling of MK as a quid pro quo for IFP agreement to a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons at political gatherings.

It emerged this week that the dangerous weapons issue, which ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela described on Monday as "too sensitive to comment on", could result in some parties signing only parts of the National Peace Accord this weekend.

Observers have expressed disappointment at the reported development — they believe a selective signing would detract from the overall effect of the peace accord — but sources on all sides said the differences would not completely undermine the accord. All the principal parties would sign its main provisions, they said.

It was also established yesterday that neither the PAC nor Azapo were likely to sign the accord in its present form. It was possible, however, that both would attend the summit at a Johannesburg hotel.



**A**S THE violence in SA appears to spiral out of control, with this week's clashes settling into a pattern reminiscent of the widespread Reef violence last year, can the signing of the national peace accord on Saturday by the ANC, Inkatha, government and many other organisations see the dawning of peace?

What makes this accord, to be signed at a huge convention in Johannesburg by, among others, SA's three most prominent leaders — President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi — anything more than just another piece of paper? Why should it not end up in tatters like the many other bilateral peace agreements signed in Natal?

All the major parties repeatedly recommitted themselves this week to signing the accord, saying it was clearly more necessary than ever before.

Since the adoption of the draft accord a month ago by the parties, they have demonstrated encouraging sentiment and a strong commitment to ensure that the agreements reached will be carried out.

**T**he major question still hanging over the parties' leadership is whether their supporters at the grassroots will honour the leaders' sentiment and adopt the accord as their own or merely pay lip service to it.

The accord's proposed mechanisms for monitoring and resolving disputes are remarkable in that they give substantial powers to parties and individuals. They include:

- A permanent, paid, multiparty national peace committee — with subordinate regional and local committees — to enforce codes of conduct for the police and political parties to try to prevent violence,
- A police ombudsman, who need not be a member of the SAP, to investigate complaints against the police,
- A standing commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation which will investigate all acts of political violence, with a form of indemnity available to witnesses. It also may, by warrant, enter and inspect any

# Can leaders make peace accord stick at grassroots level?

B/DW/12/9/91

BILLY PADDOCK

214

place and interrogate any security force member and seize documents and records.

□ It is codified that the police are accountable to society and not to government.

□ Political parties are forbidden from making any statements inciting violence or conducting any act that may cause violence.

□ Various special police units each headed by a general to investigate political violence and allegations of police misconduct.

□ Special criminal courts to deal with political violence and prevent the easy granting of bail to alleged offenders; and

□ The requirement that political parties refrain from violence or "war talk" and actively discourage members and supporters from carrying weapons to political meetings. On this issue the relevant working group is still meeting to work out a compromise because of the sensitivity surrounding the carrying in public of so-called cultural weapons.

None of the parties believes SA will wake up on Sunday to a new era of peace. They all say the accord will set in motion a process to combat violence.

A senior government member involved in drafting the proposals said this week the agreement was, in the main, a collection of principles that had to be developed and built upon in the field.

He acknowledges that there are mavericks within the security forces and all the political organisations who will not easily adhere to the accord. But if the mechanisms are used properly and with dedication, these members could be isolated and brought to book.

members — "the only way to avoid the peace accord becoming another nice document in the filing cabinet". This sentiment is echoed by ANC NEC member Gill Marcus. She says if the ombudsman and the independent jurists properly carry out their investigations they will be able to publicise which parties are not upholding the agreements. The publicity of this non-adherence will be too embarrassing politically for the party concerned not to take strong action.

The national peace committee, with its regional and local mechanisms enforcing the codes of conduct, will also be a key factor in devolving power and authority to where the violence is occurring and giving the accord the community legitimacy vital to its success, she says.

Marcus says communities which are determined to have peace but have been reluctant to work with the police because of the legacy of suspicion and antagonism will now be able to identify with measures to stop the violence without being regarded as sellouts. Rival political factions will also be forced to work together and this may start a process of a more tolerant political ethos developing at grassroots.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose says the accord may not eliminate violence. But he is convinced that the regional and local problem-solving mechanisms will be



□ MDLALOSE

activated swiftly to stamp out further incidents.

He says he has faith in the follow-up mechanisms. Inquiries into incidents of violence and swift, harsh punishment of offenders will demonstrate that all parties will not tolerate members' breaches of the agreements. This will filter down to the grassroots.

Mandela earlier this week expressed optimism about the accord's ability to curb violence. Because it is multilateral rather than bilateral a were previous agreements, it would not collapse if one party pulled out. The other parties would exercise strong pressure on that party to adhere to the agreement.

However, he recognised the difficulties in ensuring that the agreements by leaders were heeded by rank-and-file members. On this hinged the success or failure of the accord.

According to ANC spokesman Car Niehaus, the organisation had insisted that all regional council executives, branch executives and branch chairs discuss the draft in detail. New proposals and changes filtered back and were discussed thoroughly by the NEC, for possible inclusion in the final accord.

This reassured branches that the were democratically consulted and involved in the drafting of the accord. A similar process of involvement at branch level will be instituted with the final accord, to ensure discipline from all members.

**W**ith all the parties working together in monitoring and enforcing the codes of conduct the hope is that any organised "third force" operations will be isolated and stopped.

All parties agree that there is no effective way to stop mavericks or individuals hell-bent on walking into a group of people and mowing them down with automatic rifles. But they all say the aim is to prevent the second phase of the violence — retaliation and counter-retaliation — from taking place and developing into days of running battles. The mechanisms of the accord can achieve this, they say.

Saturday, September 14, will not be a dawning of lasting peace, but merely the firing of the burners to get the peace train started on its journey.



The state's participation in this weekend's peace conference should be seen against a new government strategy of simultaneous negotiation and destabilisation, argues Dr Max Coleman of the Human Rights Commission.

**HENRY LUDSKI reports:**

*South*

**T**HE GOVERNMENT is a reluctant participant in this weekend's peace conference with the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), according to Human Rights Commission (HRC) member Dr Max Coleman. The conference takes place against a backdrop of renewed violence on the East Rand.

"Don't trust their signature," Coleman warns of the government. "Only trust them when they are out of power."

A special report produced by the HRC last week accused the government of a "new total strategy" which puts the maintenance of National Party power ahead of peace accords and stability in South African townships.

The ultimate aim of the "new strategy" was the defeat of a divided liberation camp at the polls by an alliance of "moderate" forces made up of groups joined in a government-aligned Christian Democratic Alliance.

"The government is not serious about this peace initiative but has been driven into a corner where it has no choice but to participate in the conference."

"This is because its new total strategy, more than anything else, was developed with the intention of winning at the elections. They could not refuse

# Government 'not serious'

## about peace

12/9-18/9/91

to participate in a conference which has the potential of pinning them down severely," said Coleman.

The HRC report said that out of the ashes of the government's old "total strategy" and state of emergency tactics has risen an "orchestrated onslaught" of community destabilisation which is responsible for the explosion of violence in certain townships since July last year.

The HRC report lacks conclusive proof of this claim, but it does substantiate its basic mistrust of the government's professed rejection of underground tactics and double agendas.

**H**IT SQUADS, "dirty tricks", secret subsidies during the Namibian election and the Inkatha funding are all factors which make Coleman confident that it is only a matter of time before government corruption is exposed once more.

"I believe without a shadow of a doubt that it is just a question of time before proof of this conspiracy comes to light," said Coleman, who maintains that the HRC special report is backed by more than circumstantial evidence.

"There is a tremendous amount of evidence to support our claim that the state has embarked on a deliberate strategy of orchestrated destabilisation,

and it goes beyond circumstantial evidence.

"We spoke about hit squads long before proof was found, and it was the same situation with claims of government collusion with Inkatha and their destabilisation plans in Namibia."

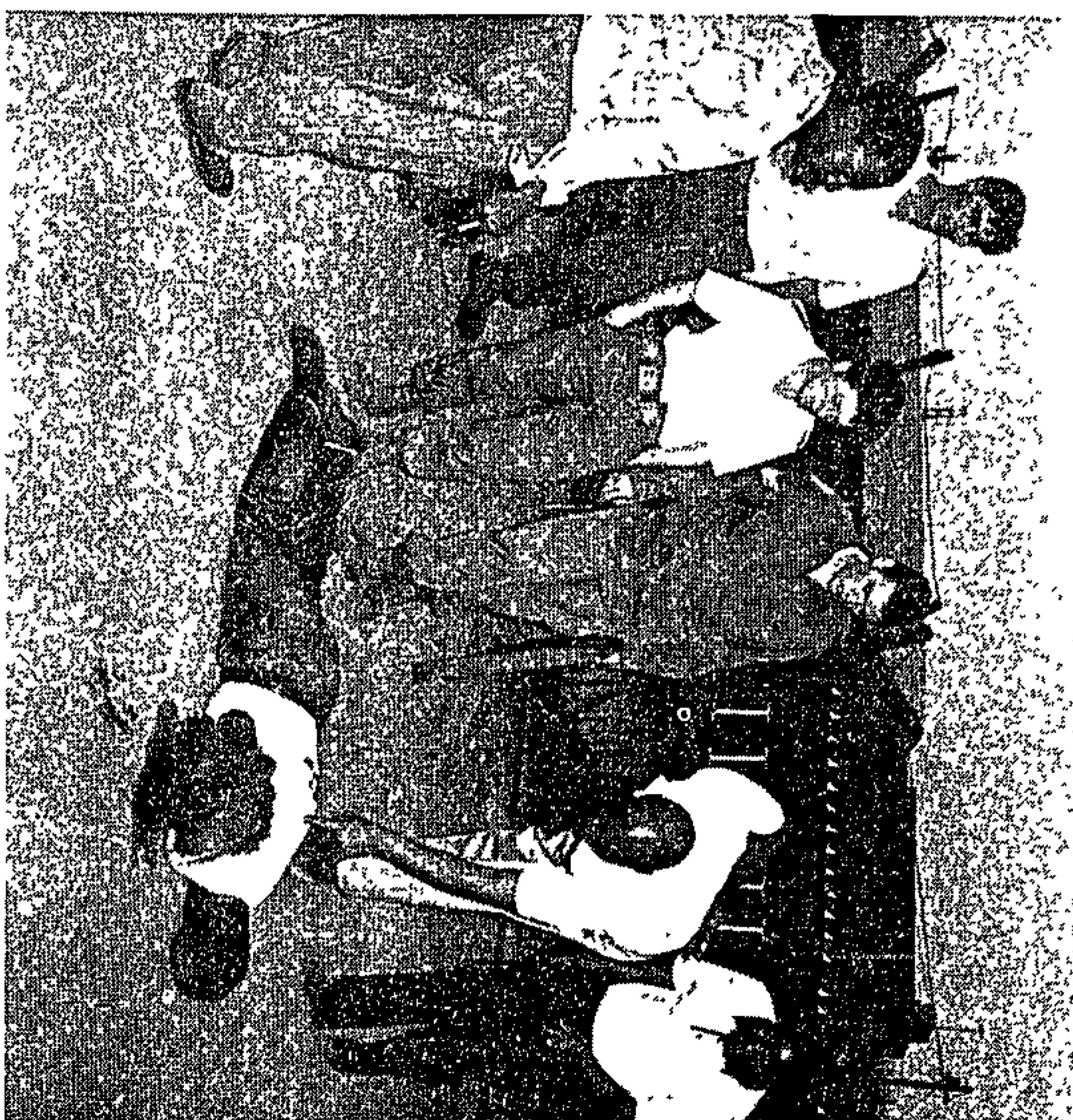
**I**T'S ALL COMING to the surface. I don't think much credence would have been given to our report if we had released it two months ago, before the Inkatha funding scandal," said Coleman.

The report is based on HRC monitoring for 12 months from July 1990 of the activities of security forces, vigilantes, hit squads and the right wing.

The HRC says that the overall toll of the "new strategy" on township communities has been devastating. Over 3 000 have died, about 10 000 injured, over 8 000 arrested and tens of thousands displaced from their homes.

The HRC said that during the 12-month period monitored, a total of 2 640 vigilante-related deaths were recorded. "This represents 83 percent of all politically related deaths for the period and illustrates how devastating the vigilante component is, in relation to the overall violence directed at township communities," said the HRC. The commission said that the general

| GROUP             | DEATHS      | INJURIES    |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Security Forces   | 238         | 2248        |
| Vigilante Related | 2640        | 4077        |
| Hit Squads        | 30          | 46          |
| Right Wing        | 24          | 246         |
| Uncertain         | 248         | 238         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>      | <b>3180</b> | <b>6855</b> |



**WHAT HOPE FOR PEACE?** Inkatha members at an Alexandra township hostel, Johannesburg

PICT: DYNAMIC IMAGERS

impression gained is that vigilante attacks in the Reef/Vaal complex are "far from haphazard or spontaneous".

"There is a distinct appearance of planning and control, with the ability to move forces around the area and mount attacks at predetermined times."

The report states that there is overwhelming evidence to suggest that the government is addressing the threat of the loss of power by adopting a twin

strategy of negotiating and destabilising simultaneously.

"It is a strategy which has already been rehearsed in Namibia with some success and in violation of an agreement requiring the South African government to be an impartial administrator in the transition process."

"How then can they be trusted to administer South Africa's transition to democracy?" said the HRC.



THE only people who are gaining anything from the bloody slaughter on the Rand are those who are opposed to a negotiated settlement of this country's future.

Who can doubt that the revival of violence just at this point has been deliberately orchestrated to wreck the National Peace Accord, which is due to be signed this weekend?

Across the spectrum this conviction is hardening to a certainty as commuter buses are sprayed with bullets again and again or attacked with hand grenades in atrocities which can serve no political purpose for the ANC, Inkatha or anyone else — except for those who are out to destroy all hope of a negotiated peace.

This assessment of events is now so widespread that even Colonel Frans Malherbe, media spokesman of the SAP in Johannesburg, confessed this week that he is inclined to agree with it.

At the time of writing this column, however, the signatories were more determined than ever to go ahead with the Accord and to make it succeed.

Mr Cyril Rhamaphosa, secretary general of the ANC, expressed a general view when he said that the random acts of terrorism, if not stopped right away, will set in motion cycles of violence and counter-violence which will become uncontrollable.

As Head of State, President De Klerk cannot allow its authority to be repeatedly undermined in this terrifying fashion. Already in May this year it was plain that trained killers, armed with AK-47 rifles and amazingly successful in eluding the police, were being deployed to stir up violence whenever there were signs of calm returning to the townships.

### Victims of attacks

It is no longer possible to avoid the conclusion that *agents provocateurs* are at work, using the ruthless divide and rule tactics of Botha-style counter-insurgency.

When this view was advanced in the Political Survey column in May the victims of the most recent incident were ANC supporters on the Reef, gunned down at a taxi rank. Yet most of those who are dying in such incidents, often at commuter stations and on trains and buses, have been shot at random.

# Violence: Who's wrecking the Peace Accord?

(274)

CT 13/9/91



**Political Survey**  
**By GERALD SHAW**

The victims of such attacks (and of the enraged retaliation which they invariably provoke) include supporters of Inkatha (as in the Thokozela massacre last Sunday which triggered the latest outbreak) and of other political groups as well as people with no political affiliations at all.

The common thread in these killings is threefold, (1) They are carried out by trained professionals who know what they are doing and (2) the weapon used is the AK-47 rifle and (3) the perpetrators too often remain at large.

President De Klerk is greatly embarrassed at home and abroad by the manifest inability of the South African State to do anything effective about it. This failure can no longer be glossed over or excused, and the effect on perceptions abroad of the climate for investment in this country is disastrous.

Mr Mandela, for his part, begins to appear as a leader whose writ does not run throughout his own organisation, and Chief Buthelezi's stature is likewise undermined.

The pattern is horribly familiar — first the provocative atrocity with a dozen or more people killed in a few bursts of automatic fire. Then general mayhem. Then another round of atrocities, such as yesterday's attack on a commuter bus in Vosloorus, to keep the pot boiling,

with partisans on all sides drawn deeper and deeper into conflict.

Ultimately, all the major players bear a share of the responsibility. But it is the instigators who miraculously escape detection or capture, time after time, who will need to be exposed and put out of action before there can be peace.

### Elements

It matters little whether they are of the extreme Left or extreme Right. They must be dealt with as a matter of compelling urgency or else this country will be on the rocks for a long time to come.

Those elements in the security forces who have never had any faith in negotiations anyway will say to President De Klerk that they were right all along.

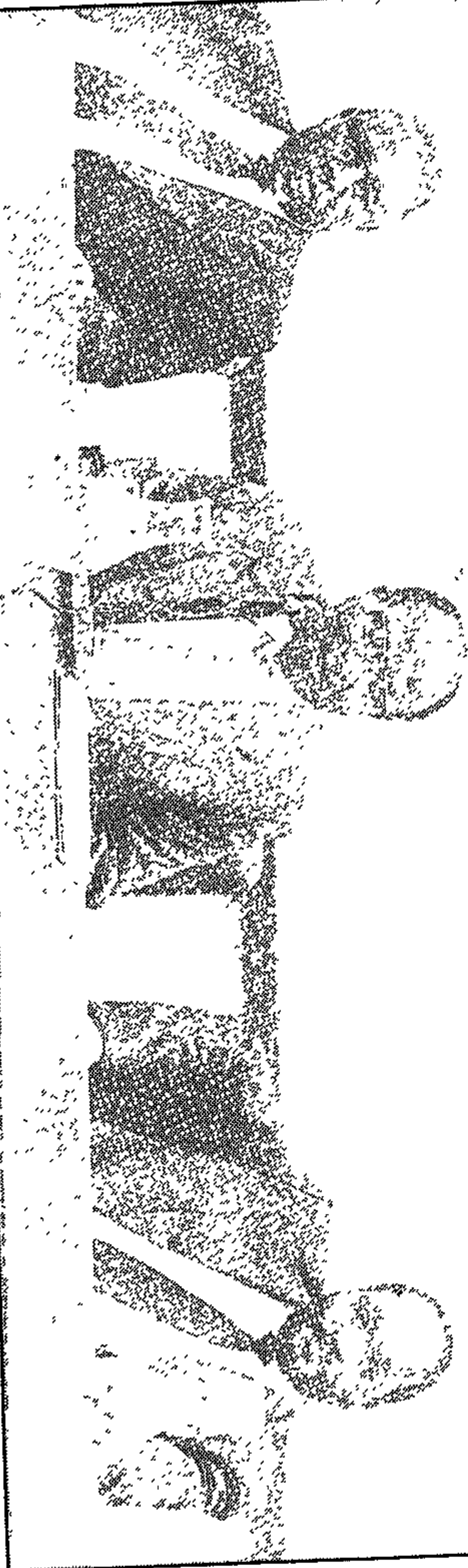
Those of Mr Mandela's followers who have tended to doubt the good faith of the NP government, and the minority who still adhere to revolutionary ideologies, supporting negotiation only as a tactical ploy, will likewise grow in influence at Mr Mandela's expense.

The danger is that the shadowy forces or combination of forces who are triggering these repeated upheavals will be emboldened by their success. So the National Peace Initiative will need to be given real teeth to seek out the killers and their bloody-minded sponsors and to put them out of business.

It is disquieting that the right wing is boycotting the Accord. A great many conservatives and ultra-conservatives are members of the State bureaucracy and security services.

If there is to be peace in this country they too will need to be persuaded of its benefits. They too will need to signify their assent.





Brothers in arms . . . IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose (left) and ANC assistant general-secretary Jacob Zuma (right) at an SA Institute of Race Relations meeting chaired by Methodist bishop the Rev Stanley Mogoba. Picture: Jacobob Rykloff

# Main players will keep on talking — Inkatha

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

294

Bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC, and the Government and the IFP, would continue even after the signing of tomorrow's multi-party peace accord, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said last night.

This indication of the sensitivity around the unresolved issue came as the National Peace Accord's top negotiators were locked in meetings last night to thrash out differences between the main political players — among them the

question of the carrying of Zulu cultural weapons at rallies.

Dr Mdlalose and ANC assistant general-secretary Jacob Zuma — leaders of a joint ANC/IFP peace committee in Natal — shared a South African Institute of Race Relations platform in Johannesburg.

The men carefully refrained from attacks on each other's parties, and agreed that socio-economic upliftment and political democracy were the key pillars to ensure an end to the violence.

However, Dr Mdlalose reiterated the IFP's view that there was no evidence of "third

force" involvement in the violence, while Mr Zuma stated emphatically that the violence "stems from the State".

Particularly suspicious had been attacks on commuter trains, carried out by gunmen who in some cases, it seemed, could not speak indigenous black languages, he said.

"Attacks on trains have been a method used in only one other country in the region (Mozambique), and that by Renamo. The question is, who in South Africa has links with Renamo?" — indirectly referring to the Government, which had in the past sponsored the Mozambican re-

sistance movement.

Asked to respond to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's doubts about the effect of the peace accord on the protracted violence, Mr Zuma said "I would not have cause to think that it would not work. If we want it to work, it should."

Dr Mdlalose said he would not comment on Chief Buthelezi's statement because he had not seen it.

"I could also say the accord won't work if the problems of the past are not looked after. Chief Buthelezi is an open, straightforward man who won't say all is rosy if it isn't," he told The Star.



# **'Stand together against violence'**

CT 13/9/91  
(274)

PRETORIA. — All South African leaders should stand together against violence, former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo said here yesterday.

Addressing a brief news conference after a working lunch at the Diplomatic Guest House with Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, two senior cabinet ministers and two deputy ministers, he said he had seen progress in SA since his previous visit in June last year.

General Obasanjo, chairman of the African Leadership Forum, and a party of ALF officials, are in SA as guests of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

And speaking at Jan Smuts Airport last night, General Obasanjo said SA's future looked very promising.

He said he held this opinion because of South Africans' determination to work towards peace, and President F W de Klerk's undertaking to him yesterday to "leave no stone unturned" to end the violence.

He also said he had learnt from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday that Mr Mandela was "determined to push ahead with negotiations". — Sapa

# Accord won't work, but I'll sign — chief

(274) ARG 13/4/91  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — As the Reef violence death toll soared to 117, with more than 550 people injured, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has thrown cold water over tomorrow's multiparty peace accord.

In a BBC interview on Wednesday made available yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said he doubted whether signing of the accord by the country's main political groups would end the violence.

"I don't see any reason why it should work when the accord that we worked out in January with the ANC did not work," said the chief. He doubted whether the accord would filter down to grassroots level.

"I'm not signing because I believe it's going to work out, but if some people want it ... as some people clearly are very keen that it should be signed ... then I want to be part of that if it's part of the peace process."

He accused the ANC of hypocrisy for being willing to sign the accord while not responding positively to requests to meet the IFP.

Responding to Chief Buthelezi's comments, ANC executive member Mr Saki Macozoma said last night that the peace summit was the proper forum for parties to raise doubts or reservations.

As to its possible success, Mr Macozoma said: "South Africans should do something about the shortcomings they discover, rather than abandon the ideal because of such shortcomings."

Last night top peace convention negotiators were locked in meetings to iron out, among other things, the contentious issue of cultural weapons.

President De Klerk said the wave of violence was unacceptable and the government would leave no stone unturned to end it.

The East Rand townships of Tokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus had already been declared unrest areas to give the police wider powers.

Speaking in Pretoria during a courtesy call on him by former Nigerian head of state Genera. Olusegun Obasanjo, Mr De Klerk said he believed the signing of the accord could make an important contribution to peace if all honoured its letter and spirit.



## PEACE ACCORD

# Staying on track

FM 13/9/91

274

Was it coincidence that a week before the signing of an historic peace accord, violence erupted in two volatile townships, claiming the lives of more than 70 people?

Some doubt that it was. However, nobody believes the accord can be sabotaged. The greatest achievement of the accord, due for signing on September 14, is less its efficacy in preventing blood-letting than that "all key parties involved in the negotiation process have agreed to a political code of conduct that will underpin negotiations and form the basic principles on which a new constitution will be based," a spokesman for Wits University's Centre for the Study of Violence tells the *FM*.

In essence, the negotiation process, which appeared stalled over the past three months, has quietly gone on between politicians, unionists, community organisations, businessmen and academics. This Saturday's peace accord is the most important step in the negotiation process so far — superseding the much-hailed Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes signed between government and the ANC and which have largely failed.

ANC-Inkatha peace efforts have also failed. But as ANC president Nelson Mandela said this week, it is easier for bilateral than multilateral talks to fail because all it takes for two-sided talks to collapse is for one party to withdraw.

The peace accord lays down guidelines for everything from political party conduct to police conduct. Parts of the accord seen by the *FM* enshrine the principles of freedom of association and expression, for example. It prohibits signatories from interfering with the political activities of others. It prohibits political parties, officials or their representatives from seeking to compel by force or threat — or other means — individuals to join their organisations.

KwaZulu residents have complained for years that they are compelled to join Inkatha if they wanted their children to be educated, or they wanted to buy houses or open businesses. Similar complaints have recently surfaced in the Transkei where it is claimed coercion is being used to compel people to join the ANC. This kind of thing is ruled out of court by the accord; which doesn't mean it won't happen any more.

Political tolerance is something SA has sadly lacked. It is something the accord cannot foster unless all organisations involved actively promote its principles of peace. The ANC has reduced the 32-page document to primary points which it will soon begin circulating to its branches.

Inkatha is already promoting the principles at rallies and says those who attended a rally in Soweto on Sunday — and who were

later attacked by automatic gunfire and a grenade leading ultimately to the deaths of 26 people and 53 injured — were briefed on the accord.

It would be naive to expect a lengthy document drawn up by business, community, government and political leaders to automatically bring peace. People jumped off trains on Monday and Tuesday after rumours of attacks. Fear, and with it the instinct to launch pre-emptive attacks, is so pervasive that violence has a life of its own.



It would, therefore, be simplistic to measure the value of the accord solely against a barometer of deaths from political violence. The success of the accord lies more in having brought together groups from across the political spectrum to discuss the issue of peace and lay down codes of conduct that will underpin constitutional talks and, hopefully, lay the basis for a future democratic order.

Nonetheless, continuation of the talks — and economic stability — depend on ending the violence. It is interesting to note that the fatality rate in Reef townships had declined to 4,8 per day during June to August, compared to 10,2 during March-May, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Political organisations and non-partisan violence monitoring groups intensively investigated the killings early this week. Police released identikit photos of those alleged to have taken part in the Thokoza killings.

Mandela said, however, that early investigations by the ANC indicated that those responsible did not belong to any particular organisation.

Why would anyone sabotage the peace process?

Violence has come to mean power to some in Natal and the Witwatersrand. It has given some political and social power in their communities and further afield. To others it has also meant economic power, large-scale gun-running — and the manufacture of "tradi-

tional" and township weapons soars during violence. Looting and killing is easier by criminal elements under the guise of political violence.

Some believe that renegade government employees or former hit squad teams have another more sinister agenda; but that remains speculation despite claims made by certain alleged former hit squad members.

There is little doubt, however, that Sunday's attacks in Soweto and Thokoza were well planned. The similarities between the

two are telling. Both took place while Inkatha members or hostel dwellers (most of whom are Inkatha supporters) were marching and at their most vulnerable. In both cases they were attacked by assailants under cover in the yards of houses. Whoever planned the attacks knew of the rallies and the routes marchers would take.

Apart from the peace accord, little else has been done to stop violence and its causes. Two important promises in this regard by President F W de Klerk have not been fulfilled. There has been no attempt to upgrade hostels (though

the Soweto council is trying to sell off these eyesores) and the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, is no closer to being set up than when it was announced five months ago.

It will take more than promises and fine accords to end violence. But a start has been made.

## CIB SEQUEL

### Behind closed doors

Former Chief Justice Pierre Rabie has been asked to act as the arbitrator in an attempt to settle the brewing row between State-owned SA Rail Commuter Corp and the Reserve Bank, as the saga of the failed Cape Investment Bank (CIB) continues. All parties that have entered into arbitration signed a secrecy clause — no talking to outsiders — on Monday afternoon. *FM 13/9/91*.

This comes after Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed earlier ordered an investigation into Commuter Corp's R249m deposits with the provisionally liquidated CIB. CIB was placed in provisional liquidation in the Cape Supreme Court on April 11.

The inquiry relating to the corporation's deposits has since been completed by attorney Pierre Faure and stockbroker Jannie Mouton and handed over to Welgemoed.

Attorney Alec Brooks of Hofmeyr Van der

BILLY PADDOCK

## Late-night work on peace accord

THE national peace accord preparatory committee and various working groups were working flat out yesterday to finalise the document for signing tomorrow.

A source close to the talks said the parties had worked late into Wednesday night to reach agreement on a code of conduct for the SADF and on the sensitive issue of lethal weapons at political gatherings.

Apparently there were numerous amendments to a draft document that had been put forward by Inkatha, the ANC and government,

after they had consulted their constituencies.

Meanwhile the PAC and Azapo have said they will not sign the peace accord or parts of it because it "legitimises the SADF and SAP".

Sapa reports PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said his organisation would, however, be present at the convention where the other parties will be signing the accord, as a token of its rejection of the township violence.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu would present the meeting with a

written pledge that the organisation would do all it could to end violence.

The PAC had decided not to sign the accord because, among other things, it gave legitimacy to the SAP and SA Defence Force and the NP government; co-opted the "liberation movement into the oppressive system"; "demobilised the oppressed" before they had achieved the ballot; and suspended the armed struggle in a backdoor manner. Azapo might sign its own peace declaration, information secretary Strini Moodley said.

### Consol Limited

(Reg No 05/21828/06)  
("the Company")

An Anglovaal  Group Company

## Consol



# Buthelezi dubious about success of peace accord

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi doubts whether a peace accord brokered by the church and business will work.

Buthelezi said in a BBC radio interview on Wednesday, days before the scheduled signing of the accord this weekend, that he did not see why the pact should work when the agreement Inkatha reached with the ANC in January had failed.

He did "not think it would filter down to grassroots level ... where they are fighting, where they are killing each other."

He also doubted whether the accord would work while two major players — the PAC and Azapo — said they would not sign.

The issue of violence and the pending peace accord were also addressed by Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma at a debate at the SA Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg last night.

Mdlalose told the institute violence in SA was beyond immediate political control.

But Zuma remained optimistic, and hoped the draft accord would achieve its aims.

Mdlalose told the institute: "We must in all humility say severely and jointly that political violence in SA presents vexed problems and stems from circumstances and factors which are beyond immediate political control."

cal control."

He said leadership in communities shattered by violence lacked legitimacy, and stressed social reconstruction would go far to bring peace to the townships.

The ANC and Inkatha signed an accord in January, but continuing mayhem rendered it irrelevant.

Zuma told the institute that if all parties put everything into the accord, "I wouldn't have cause to feel it will not work."

He said: "The violence sweeping through our country has reached such devastating proportions that there is now unanimity on the part of all major political parties that everything possible must be done to terminate this carnage." — Sapa.

## Davie de Villiers denies job bias against whites

PRETORIA — Discrimination in any form was unacceptable to government, Public Enterprises Minister Davie de Villiers said yesterday.

He was reacting to charges, based on leaked Transnet documents, that white Transnet employees were being discriminated against in terms of an "affirmative action" programme.

The CP has requested an interview with De Villiers on Monday to discuss the issue.

De Villiers said state enterprises' personnel policy was aimed at eliminating disparities favouring or detracting from any category of employee. Training programmes had been established to make equal opportunities possible for all state corporation employees.

"Promotions are based on merit and take into account the prevailing personnel requirements of the organisation. Insofar as it is possible, preference will be given in the filling of posts to employees already in the service of the undertaking and whose appointment is enhanced by further in-service training."

De Villiers said he had discussed the matter with Transnet chairman Marinus de Waal, and had been assured that all suitable candidates were considered on merit. — Sapa.

**We choose peace . . .**

**And so say  
all of you!**

*Sowetan* 13/9/91

**SOWETAN-WE CHOOSE PEACE**

**THOUSANDS** of South Africans yesterday backed the *Sowetan's* We Choose Peace campaign and voted for an end to violence, writes **PHANGISILE MTSHALI.**

The newspaper's switchboard lit up like a Christmas tree as callers of all races from all over the country telephoned to

To page 2

**Table set  
for peace  
accord** See page 3

P.T.O.



# Support for peace bid

From page 1

to create more employment while other callers simply expressed the "urgent need for peace and reconciliation".

The executive director of the Women's Bureau of South Africa, Mrs Margaret Lessing, said her organisation felt the need to give ordinary people in the

firing line the feeling that they are not alone.

The organisation is planning to hold prayer meetings and offered to distribute "peace pamphlets" to their members.

Another caller suggested that a fund should be set up to help the bereaved and those who lost their homes and belongings in the carnage that has claimed more than 100 lives in five days.

"Congratulations on your peace campaign. May it grow from strength to strength. We would like to be involved," pledged Nedbank's assistant general manager Mr Ivan May.

Mr Nico Fourie thanked the *Sowetan* for its effort and said the violence should be stopped to enable investors to create jobs.

"If you can print this message once a week I am

sure it will help," he said.

Some callers, however, regretted that the pamphlets calling for peace were not printed in African languages so that the message could be spread more widely.

Meanwhile callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday also firmly backed *Sowetan*'s peace campaign.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said: "Remember some of the darkest days under apartheid that we have pulled through."

This was his encouraging message to the thousands of blacks living in fear of their lives.

"This may be the darkest hour that comes before dawn. We must stand up for peace, speak peace and commit ourselves to the new South Africa."

Many callers said the United Nations should deploy its peace-keeping forces as blacks had lost confidence in the police.

## Talkback

An historic peace accord aimed at ending violence is due to be signed tomorrow by the Government, Inkatha the ANC, Azapo and PAC. In the light of this week's killings, what do you make of this?

Phone DJ Tim Modise between 5pm and 6pm today and share your opinion with the nation on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the programme on medium wave 576 KhZ.

# Khayelitsha burns as unrest explodes



**HOME DESTROYED** ... This Khayelitsha resident, a victim of yet another resurgence of violence in the squatter camp, stands amid the debris of her gutted shack yesterday

Pictures BENNY GOOL

## 'Must stop'

### Call to end violence

**POLICE** reinforcements were last night being deployed to quell a spiralling wave of violence in Khayelitsha, where roving bands armed with axes, pangas and guns torched several taxis and homes yesterday, and hacked at least one man to death.

A week of simmering tension in Khayelitsha spilled over yesterday, when the airport highway was closed at rush hour as a taxi blazed on the road.

Newly appointed Western Cape police commissioner Major-General Nick Acker said police reinforcements were being called in.

"We are increasing the number of policemen to contain the violence. We have to scrounge around for the manpower, and are moving them in from the platteland," he said.

Meanwhile on the Reef, a fourth day of blood-letting saw a driver and three passengers killed at Vosloorus, when

a man armed with an AK-47 rifle riddled a Putco bus with bullets.

Four passengers were injured, police said.

Several other attacks on commuters took place on a Johannesburg-bound train from Germiston yesterday morning. Four people were seriously injured — two thrown from the moving train and two shot.

More than 100 people have been killed, and at least 150 injured, since violence broke out in the East Rand township of Thokoza on Sunday.

President FW de Klerk said the government would leave "no stone unturned" to curb the bloodshed.

"The violence must stop," he said yesterday, while receiving a courtesy call from former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo.

Mr De Klerk was speaking shortly before the signing of a historic peace accord between the major parties, including the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr De Klerk said he believed the signing of the Peace Accord tomorrow could make an important contribution to peace, if all parties honoured the letter and spirit of the agreement.

In further developments yesterday



**GUTTED TAXI SHELLS** ... The burntout shells of two taxis block a road in the Khayelitsha squatter township after a resurgence of violence in the area yesterday. At least one man was killed as attacks raged

● ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said in an emotional message that if the terror attacks were not halted immediately, they would set in motion cycles of violence that would be uncontrollable.

"These events threaten to push the whole country over the edge of an abyss, plunging us into a war of immense proportions, a war in which there can be no victors," he said.

He said the ANC remained "firmly

committed" to signing a peace accord.

● Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he doubted that the Peace Accord would work.

In an interview with the BBC, he said he would be signing the Accord, but believed that it would not "filter down" to "grass-roots level" where the

To page 2

P.T.O.





**ROAD-BLOCK ...**  
Armed soldiers manned a roadblock in Vosloorus yesterday morning as violence, which has left scores dead, raged for a fourth day in townships around Johannesburg.

Picture: AP

From page 1

killings were taking place. (273) (274)

● Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the violence was beyond immediate political control.

Dr Mdlalose and ANC deputy general secretary Mr Jacob Zuma were addressing the SA Institute of Race Relations on how the two organisations were dealing with burgeoning violence.

● As attacks on Johannesburg train commuters continued yesterday, Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said it was impossible to deploy policemen on all trains between Johannesburg and surrounding townships.

● In a week of tension in Khayelitsha, arsonists have torched shacks and vehicles over the past four days, sending residents in the strife-torn Green Point area fleeing for safety.

Last night the Green Point section of Khayelitsha was sealed off by police.

The atmosphere was tense, and Zola Budd Drive was littered with broken glass. The burnt-out and battered shells of two taxis stood opposite the smouldering remains of about 20 shacks.

Police watched over the glowing embers from two Casspirs and two vans. A lieutenant said the their presence was "quite strong" in the embattled township.

A Khayelitsha community leader said: "The people are angry, the people will take action. Serious action."

Medical staff at the Khayelitsha Day Hospital said a taxi driver had died soon after admission. Two other men

were also admitted to the hospital for gunshot wounds. 2713/9/91

Late last night, about 70 women and children had taken refuge at the hospital.

Yesterday afternoon at least eight minibus taxis were gutted when they were set alight during the "mobile" attacks and running counter-attacks by residents in the area.

During the attack, "Fola Store" in Green Point was gutted by fire. At least two people who were in the store received panga wounds to their heads, when a group of men entered the store and slashed at anyone in their path.

Petrol was then splashed around the structure and ignited, one resident said.

Fire-tenders which arrived at the centre doused the flames. Several police vehicles which arrived at the scene after the attack maintained a presence for most of the afternoon.

One taxi was burnt late yesterday afternoon on the N2 freeway when 15 others forced it off the road near the Athlone turnoff and set it alight, air traffic reporter for Good Hope Stereo radio station Mr Peter Williamson said.

Three others were set alight and gutted at the Zolani Centre in Nyanga.

ANC Western Cape regional treasurer Mr Bulelani Ngcuka said all organisations, including the government, Cape Town City Council, the churches and police would have to get together to resolve the violence.

Mr Ngcuka said the ANC was still assessing the situation, as the causes of the present wave of violence were unknown.

White



# FW

## pledges to stamp out township violence

**FURTHER** steps would be taken, if necessary, to stop township violence, President F. W. de Klerk said yesterday. Sapa reports a wave of violence considered conflict, De Klerk said yesterday. During a media address at the most enable, steps had already been taken to against the violence. De Klerk said the peace accord tomorrow could make an important contribution to peace if all parties

ties honoured the letter and spirit of the agreement. In incidents of violence yesterday, a driver and three passengers were killed. Putco bus with armed passengers were killed. Several other police said. Four passengers were injured with bullets in the East Rand. On the main line from Johannesburg to Germiston, four passengers were injured. Two were thrown from a moving train. Later in the day another train was injured when he was stabbed and killed from a moving train between Johannesburg and Germiston.

**WILSON ZWANE**

More than 100 people were killed and at least 150 injured have been killed to deploy Opperman police since been killed. Johannesburg and surrounding townships. Yesterday's train attacks came after the announcement that policemen were after the shot gun on trains. Putco MD Jack Visser said his company would maintain its services in Soweto "under all circumstances".

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev. Frank Chikane visited victims at the Natal Spruit Hospital yesterday. Tutu said he was appalled at the "senseless" violence. He appealed to "whoever is responsible" to stop it.

Police said they would comment on the investigation had been launched.

## as death toll mounts

perpetrating this, when we are on the threshold of a new and democratic South Africa. He added he was hopeful that the National Union of Metalworkers (NUSA) area peace co-ordinators (NUSA) by policemen at his Kaitleng home on the East Rand early yesterday. Richard

● See Page 4



# There is <sup>(274)</sup> more to peace than this accord

## — Chikane

W/M and 13/9-19/9/91,  
By PAT SIDLEY

THE peace accord to be signed in Johannesburg on Saturday may have little more weight than Chamberlain's 1938 accord with Hitler — unless the government attends to the structure and command of the security forces, which must be motivated to deal with massacres such as those in Thokoza at the weekend.

This was the view of the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches and a member of the facilitating committee of the National Peace Initiative (NPI).

The accord will be sighted by the three principal players: the government, the African National Congress and Inkatha, as well as the Democratic Party and the parties in the houses of Representatives and Deputies.

A token gesture, according to sources close to the facilitating committee of the NPI, will also be made by the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo, which will not sign the accord. The two organisations have refused to negotiate with the government, but their interests have been represented at the accord negotiations. According to the sources, the two parties want to be seen to identify with peace moves rather than to be seen as refusing to do so, although they have problems with several areas of the accord.

The last few days and nights have



**DUG IN ... SADF troops shelter in a makeshift bunker during the violence that erupted in Thokoza this week** Photo: JOHN PARKIN, AP

been spent dealing with problems in the draft accord and suggested amendments, as well as thrashing out the basis for a code of conduct for the South African Defence Force — an item the parties could not agree to before the publication of the last draft.

According to a source from one of the churches involved, the stickiest problem thus far — which appears to have been resolved late on Wednesday night — was the clause relating to the carrying of weapons to political meetings, an issue which kept the ANC and Inkatha burning the midnight oil until well into the night.

A draft clause stated categorically that no dangerous weapons or firearms may be possessed, carried or displayed by members of the general public attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.

According to the source, some of the problems the government brought to the table revolved around positions it was wedded to after the signing of the Pretoria, Groote Schuur and DF Malan Minutes, but it was persuaded to use a different forum to pursue them.

Finance will be required to implement the accord in the long term, and a "considerable amount" of money, say sources, will have to come from the government. In particular the Justice Ministry will be expected to contribute, as much of the accord deals with matters of justice. Some of the areas needing financial attention will be special criminal courts to speed up the process of justice in some conflict-ridden areas — and the proposed continuing National Peace Committee which, according to the draft, will be



# Kriel asks all leaders to sign peace accord

PAARL. — Law and Order Minister Mr. Hermus Kriel yesterday appealed to all leaders in South Africa to participate in the signing of the national peace accord in Johannesburg today.

Mr Kriel, who was attending his first police passing-out parade at the Police College for Advanced Training here since recently taking over from Mr. Adriaan Vlok, said the time had come for leaders to see to it that their supporters understood that change could come only through negotiations in a peaceful environment.

Referring to the recent wave of violence in the Cape Peninsula and the Witwatersrand, Mr Kriel said that shooting into a crowd

with AK-47 rifles and throwing people off trains were hardly the acts of a civilised nation.

He denied allegations that the police had incited the violence.

Mr Kriel said the police would not willingly place their own lives in danger, and said that 80 policemen had died this year in the execution of their duties.

## Smoke screen

"I believe these accusations to be a smoke screen for political organisations who have lost control over their supporters," Mr Kriel said.

"The time has come for leaders to get a grip on their supporters, to condemn violence and to see to

it that at grassroots level their supporters understand that change can come only through negotiations and in a peaceful environment."

Mr Kriel added that the incidence of serious crime for the first six months of the year indicated an average increase of 9,21% over the figures for the same period last year.

"Daily unrest-related incidents for August 1991, in comparison with the same period last year, indicate a decrease of 71%.

"Although this decrease is encouraging the situation remains unacceptable to the government and the SA Police." — Sapa and Staff Reporter

● Picture — Page 5



**SEARCHES . . .** Soldiers search residents in Phola Park squatter camp yesterday. The area was sealed off by about 1 200 police and troops. The joint operation was aimed at ending the violence in the area. Phola Park is next to Thokoza, where the violence erupted.

Picture: AP



# TV fell short in its reporting on the violence

Star 14/9/91

**T**HE overwhelming brutal fact that dominated South Africa this week was the renewal of violence in the townships. Everyone was involved in it, either at first hand or at a distance through news reports in newspapers or TV. No one could escape it.

The question is, how did television handle it?

The answer is, not well at all.

It started with Chris Olckers reporting that in the original incident in which 18 hostel dwellers died "presumably (vermoedelik) ANC supporters had fired on Inkatha supporters". We'd all like to know from where he got his information.

Then two interesting trends emerged. The one involved asking ordinary black people in the street what they made of the violence. The answers were predictably inarticulate and confused. Given both the language problem and the difficulty that ANYONE would have in apportioning blame between the ANC, Inkatha and the mysterious "Third Force", it was inevitable black people came up with statements like "We just fight each other" or "The leaders must tell the people to stop fighting".

The effect was to make the violence appear inevitable and endemic, part of black society, and accepted by black society. It is a cruel parody of investigative reporting to use the opinions of "local informants" to speak for an entire society.

The second trend was to mystify the violence. This is the Billy Graham syndrome. He popped up in Monday night's "Agenda" to tell South African viewers that violence is universal, it dates from Cain, and the human heart is the cause.

This might fill soccer stadiums with sinners and backsliders, but sadly it casts as much light on the township violence as examining the entrails of dead donkeys.

This point of view was then echoed by Louw Alberts who first spoke of "so-called liberation movements" and then went on to deny that there was any orchestrated violence in the townships, stating that it is simply a local event, happening because thousands lived in fear.

Then, on Thursday morning "Good Morning South Africa" brought the combined investigative talents of Paul Eilers and

On the  
Box  
274  
JOHN VAN ZYL



Dorlaine Berry to bear on General Johan Swart, Walter Pelgate and Aggrey Klaaste.

Ms Berry showed her true blue colours soon enough by stating that SHE would not like to be a policeman since they had such a hard time of it. She also wondered vaguely whether the violence was due to "banditry" or had a political motive?

At least Eilers tried to press Swart on Klaaste's assertion that there might be pockets of rightwingers in the police and security forces that had an interest in derailing the peace talks. A point that is hardly new and had been made by Captain Basson and many others.

General Swart, as police spokesmen are wont to do, airily dismissed the many affidavits of police complicity and police partiality by arguing that the police were accused of this by both the ANC and the IFP, therefore they were in the clear.

If ever there were an exercise in futility it was this programme. It did not even begin to address Klaaste's point that institutional violence was part and parcel of South Africa's history and it only needed some provocation to ignite it.

Another programme that illustrated the cloud cuckoo-land of SABC-TV was the "Agenda" item that addressed the problem of politics and agriculture. In this one Dries Bruwer and one Piet Gouws, leaders of organised agriculture in the Free State and Transvaal respectively (as well as being CP Members of Parliament) took on Kraal van Niekerk and Louis Kriel of Unifruco (presumably not a United Nations body).

The four men proceeded to talk past each other at a rate of knots. Each accused the other of politicising agriculture.

The major issue of the redistribution of land and the plight of landless black farmers was not even touched on. It was the old holier-than-thou game that Jaap Marais and Fanie Botha had played so well on Sunday (when Freek Robinson allowed them a word edgewise).



Major players to sign despite violence

# SA hopes pinned on peace accord

POLITICAL STAFF and SAPA

2 Saturday Star September 14 1991

## Peace pact

FROM PAGE 1

the peace summit in Johannesburg today but would not necessarily sign the accord.

But it was learnt last night that Chief Buthelezi had made the statement early yesterday, before seeing the compromise worked out by the NPI negotiators. Later he, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela gave their approval to the changes.

Head of the IFP negotiating team Walter Felgate said last night that "the IFP will sign the whole accord today". And fellow IFP negotiator Suzanne Vos said yesterday her organisation would do all in its power to make the accord work.

Senior government sources also confirmed that they would sign the accord, as did Mr Mandela in a strong statement.

"The death of over 100 people in the past week, a high point in a continuing wave of violence, is an even more compelling reason for the accord to be signed and adhered to in both letter and spirit," he said.

Although the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo have declined to join the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party in becoming co-signatories to the accord, they have pledged their support for the NPI and will demonstrate it by their presence.

The signatories will include all the parliamentary politi-

cal parties, barring the official opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party, and the other extra-parliamentary rightwing Afrikaner-based parties and organisations, such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Herstigte Nasionale Party and Volksstaatparty.

Dr Treurnicht last night used the opening of the CP's Transvaal congress to attack the accord, describing it as the first step towards handing over power to the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Addressing a packed Pretoria City Hall, Dr Treurnicht said the peace accord would be "an important step" in giving control of the security forces to the ANC, SACP and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The proposed peace accord had as its basis the commitment to a unitary state for South Africa, which the CP rejected.

"This makes it even more important that right-wing groups should mobilise and work so that we can take over power," he said to rousing applause.

The accord will be signed after a week of almost unprecedented mass killings with the scope and character of a deliberate campaign to wreck the peace initiative.

Although this did not happen, the violence considerably dampened a hopeful process cited by political leaders as an example of how the next phase, the constitutional debate, can be managed.

SOUTH Africa's hopes for an end to surging political violence will be raised today when major political parties and related organisations will sign, or witness the signature of, a peace accord in Johannesburg.

The document, the product of months of careful and sensitive negotiations, will provide the country with a unique and historic political event at which the National Party government and the formerly exiled liberation movements will all be present.

The crucial National Peace Accord is expected to be signed by all main players, despite last-minute hitches and the violence still sweeping the Reef.

The convenors of the National Peace Initiative (NPI) were sure yesterday that the Government, the African National Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party "and at least 30 other organisations" would sign the accord.

About 400 delegates will descend on a luxury city centre hotel to discuss the accord and sign it.

The significance of the event is underlined by the unusual decision to televise the entire day's proceedings live on SABC-TV.

Government, IFP and ANC sources said last night that a compromise had been agreed to yesterday on the problematic cultural weapons issue, which would allow all three organisations to sign the whole accord.

### Fears

Earlier there were fears that significant provisions dealing with the carrying of arms might have to be left out of the accord and dealt with later, undermining its effectiveness.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi caused a last-minute scare when he was reported on SABC news last night as saying that he would come to

TO PAGE 2

There  
one  
that's  
failed  
impr  
busi  
trave  
Our

11  
C  
C  
CAP  
ment  
ready  
scene  
tions  
ernm  
dem  
real  
Th  
Afri  
grou  
take  
war  
table  
the  
cord

T  
var  
stle  
bein  
stib  
key  
tion  
Par  
In  
for  
the  
tiat  
top  
AP

var  
Go  
sa  
pl  
th  
th  
of  
ve

SAI

THE Commercial  
pened a behind  
igation into sus  
million-rand sca  
acketeers at th  
as oil project  
ape coastline.

The crack tea  
spect that the  
rganised by r  
ave masked th  
act workers.

Was

Insiders point  
e main proble  
stigators is th  
e project and s  
rs and subco  
lth its own tea  
Confirmation  
n comes amid  
ns of sky-high  
stage as the  
-from-the-sea  
d from an ori  
around R12 bil.



## ANC, Cosatu, CAST call for two-day stayaway

274 THE ANC, Cosatu and CAST yesterday called for a two-day mass stayaway in the PWV area on Monday and Tuesday next week to protest against continuing violence in the townships and the "unwillingness of the State, some employers and various local authorities to take decisive action".

The decision was reached at an urgent

MUSA MAPISA

meeting between the three organisations on Thursday.

In a joint press conference, Cosatu regional spokesman Amos Masondo said the three allies also noted with concern reports of impending attacks on commuters and townships within the next four days.

star 16/9/97  
In addition, the organisations have requested a meeting with the Ministry of Law and Order to discuss the violence.

Ronnie Mamoepa of the ANC said the decision was not contradictory to the commitment of the three parties to the peace accord expected to be signed today.

Mr Masondo said the three organisations also

called on all democratic organisations to pledge solidarity with Cosatu Witwatersrand region's day of action on Wednesday.

"We urge our all people to exercise maximum discipline in the face of this unparalleled provocation by the forces of darkness. We need to heed to this important call for the sake of our lives", Mr Masondo said.

# The day of the vow

The signing of the National Peace

Accord could move South Africa into

early stages of power-sharing, writes

Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON

Star 14/9/91

274

**T**HERE has never before been an agreement involving South Africa's major political actors quite like today's National Peace Accord.

If, as is expected, the core provisions contained in the draft agreement are endorsed by the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, this country will be starting to experiment with real power-sharing well before formal constitutional negotiations begin.

Irespective of whether it has an immediate, demonstrable effect on violence levels in the townships — and of course this is its principal aim — the accord marks a moment of historic political import in South Africa.

It is an unprecedented social contract, extracting solemn declarations of intent from political parties and the security forces. Moreover, it differs from the peace accords of this country's recent past in two other key respects: it is a multilateral agreement, and it is backed up by practical procedural mechanisms. Both these elements enhance the likelihood of efficacy because, essentially, the deal does not rely solely on goodwill and integrity in implementation from one or other side.

Whereas bilateral agreements between the ANC and Inkatha were nullified as soon as one side reneged on its undertakings, this accord relies on multilateral monitoring. Crudely put, if one party cheats, all the others are obliged to gang up on it and force it to mend its ways. Similarly, whereas earlier bilateral agreements did not proceed from any statutory or structural

base, the new one has as its foundation a complicated new set of early-warning, monitoring, investigative and judicial structures, all of which will for the first time be representative of all the major political forces in the country rather than just the Government (See accompanying story). The length of this leap should not be underestimated.

Of course, even this accord will fail if, say, the Government attempts to stall rather than encourage some of the proposed processes, but it or any other party can now do so only at the most acute risk to their internal and international credibility. Too many eyes are focused on the participants for them to play "spoiler" lightly.

Importantly, if the core elements contained in draft versions of the NPA are implemented — it is fully expected that there will remain serious areas of disagreement, but the foundation seems to have held up under extraordinary pressure — the Government will have made its first concession to the principle of joint control over the security forces.

**T**HIS IS a harbinger of "interim arrangements" in the run-up to the negotiation of a new constitution.

It is rightly pointed out by the bloodied South African public that a deal struck by besuited men in a five-star hotel in Johannesburg will not necessarily have the slightest effect on their heavily armed followers in hostels, squatter camps and on township railway platforms. But to dismiss it is to give in to nihilism: the National Peace Accord is only a beginning, but it is the only beginning which has any chance of cauterising the wounds.





## Key Provisions

**THE National Peace Accord is the most comprehensive attempt yet to stop South Africa's spiral of violence. Based on agreed principles, it puts in place a complicated web of committees and commissions — each with specific powers — to monitor compliance with its objectives.**

8/24/91

Be guided by a belief that they are accountable to society, and conduct themselves so as to secure and retain the respect and approval of the public.

Expect a higher standard of conduct from themselves than from others.

Exercise restraint and use the minimum force that is appropriate.

Establish a Police Board comprising members of the public and SAP in equal numbers.

Not allow any operation which undermines, promotes or influences any political party at the expense of another.

Endeavour to see that no dangerous weapons or firearms are possessed, carried or displayed by members of the public at any political gathering, procession or meeting.

Allow the formation of self-protection units, but not private armies.  
Co-operate with an official police ombudsman.

### CODE OF CONDUCT: POLICE

All police officials accept that. Their authority and powers are dependent upon and subject to public approval.

Any offence or alleged offence by any member of the SAP shall be thoroughly investigated and appropriate measures shall be taken.

Public favour and approval shall be sought by enforcing the law firmly, sensitively and with constant and absolute impartiality, giving effective and friendly service, reacting as

quickly as possible to requests, making personal sacrifices in order to save lives, and encouraging police-community relationships.

The least possible degree of force shall be used, and then only when persuasion, advice and warnings have failed to secure co-operation.

The integrity of policing is reflected by the degree of personal moral responsibility and professional altruism evident in the behaviour and actions of every individual member of the police.

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

All projects must have the approval of local communities. Permanent committees will be established.

274

Committees will co-ordinate:  
Reconstruction of damaged property.  
Reintegration of displaced persons.

Dealing with the immediate effects of violence.  
The addressing of infrastructural problems which may spark violence.  
The identification of potential flashpoints, eg squatter settlements and hostels.

### COMMISSION ON PUBLIC VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

The commission will function on a permanent basis. It shall:  
Investigate incidents and inquire into steps that should be taken.  
Advise the State President on these matters.

8/24/91

274

Star  
14/9/91 (274)

### **THE PREAMBLE**

The NPA signifies common purpose to end political violence and sets out codes of conduct, procedures and mechanisms to achieve this. Signatories solemnly bind themselves to the accord and shall ensure as far as humanly possible that all members and supporters comply. Government signatories undertake to pursue the objectives of the accord and give effect to its provisions through legislative, executive and budgeting procedures.

### **BASIC PRINCIPLES**

Freedom of conscience and belief.  
Freedom of speech and expression.  
Freedom of association with others.  
Freedom of movement.  
Peaceful assembly.  
Peaceful political activity.

### **CODE OF CONDUCT: POLITICAL PARTIES**

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

### **PROVISIONS FOR SECURITY FORCES**

The police shall:  
Endeavour to protect the people of South Africa in a rigorously non-partisan fashion.  
Endeavour to prevent crimes and attempt to arrest and investigate all those reasonably suspected.



Star  
14/9/91

274

Enjoy the confidence of the South African community.

Accept approaches from any individual.

Be paid for by the State.

Have the power to require any person to give evidence.

Sit in public, save for exceptional cases.

Be appointed only after all major parties have been consulted.

### **NATIONAL PEACE SECRETARIAT**

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

Comprise nominees by the signatories of the accord, a representative from the Department of Justice and up to four further members.

Take decisions on the basis of consensus.

Be financed by the State.

Decide on areas of jurisdiction for the regional and local committees. Empower these com-

mittees to request the presence of persons with knowledge of acts of violence or intimidation to give evidence.

### **NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE**

The existing Preparatory Committee will become the National Peace Committee, under a neutral chair.

Its objective is to monitor and make recommendations on the implementation of the peace accord and ensure compliance with the code of conduct.

The NPC will have the power to convene meetings of the signatories when necessary.

Decisions will be taken by consensus; failing this, an arbitrator will be appointed.

### **SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURTS**

The special courts will be established to deal exclusively with unrest-related cases.

Cases will be disposed of without delay.

There will be a mechanism for witness protection.

# Treurnicht slams the (274) peace accord

Aug 14/9/91

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Signing the peace accord today will be the first step towards handing over power to the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

Addressing a packed Pretoria City Hall at the opening of the CP's Transvaal Congress, Dr Treurnicht said the accord would be "an important step" in giving control of the security forces to the ANC, the SACP and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

"If the ANC and the SACP take control of the security forces whites will lose an important part of their right to self-determination, because the right to own security forces is part of the right to self-determination."

It was ironic that President De Klerk wanted to sign an accord when he had made use of violence to hold a meeting at Ventersdorp.

"Why didn't you (President De Klerk) talk about reconciliation at Ventersdorp?"

On political violence, Dr Treurnicht said Afrikaners had defended freedom in two wars.

"Do you (the outside world) expect us to offer no resistance if our right to self-determination is surrendered to black rule?"

"It is not treason to mobilise resistance to an unjust government in a democratic way. So if you (President De Klerk) surrender to black majority government, we shall exercise our right to resistance even stronger."

"It is unthinkable that we should submit to black domination."

The congress started with a warning that it would encourage its supporters to resort to violence unless the government called a general election before engaging in constitutional negotiations with extra-parliamentary groups.

Resolutions adopted at the congress, the CP's most militant, called for a drastic revision of the party's policy on the use of violence, the formation of small cells of CP members to facilitate "effective mobilisation" and establishing a "volksleer" (private army) from rightwing elements in the Defence Force and police.



**ANDY'S** MAN'S SHOP  
**BIG MEN** SPECIALISTS

THE ONLY COMPLETE BIG MAN STORE IN THE CAPE  
BUY ALL YOUR CLOTHING REQUIREMENTS IN COMFORT  
TAILOR IN ATTENDANCE  
282/4 VICTORIA ROAD, WOODSTOCK. PH: 47 4313

# Cape Times

R1,00

Top of the Times & Homefinder Inside

FOUNDED 1876

488 4911 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14 1991

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION  
R1,00 (89c plus 11c GST)  
(Country price: R1,10 — 97c + 13c GST)

LAND AHoy!!

THE "NAVY" IS IN RONDEBOSCH

White and Navy co-ordinates

• JACKETS • SKIRTS • BLOUSES • SLAX

WASHABLE AND DRIP DRY SIZES: 10 — 16

THE PLACE TO  
DEPEND ON

**Ilhan salmon**

QUALITY NEVER GOES OUT OF STYLE

# Buthelezi balks at peace accord

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The historic national peace accord — due to be signed today amid a spate of bloody violence on the Reef — was thrown into doubt last night when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he might not sign.

The Inkatha Freedom Party president also called the gathering at a luxury hotel here a "charade" and pointed out that similar agreements between his party and the ANC had barely had any effect.

The government, the ANC, the IFP and about 30 other organisations are all expected to sign the accord, designed to help break the cycle of violence that has gripped the country.

The accord is hailed as the first real signal that negotiations between the major political players

could work and is expected to amount to a boost for constitutional negotiations.

But this week's slaughter on the Reef — in which IFP supporters have often been attacked — has changed the mood sharply and Chief Buthelezi's remarks have added fresh doubts.

He said he could not guarantee he would sign. But he appeared to indicate that he would make up his mind during the day-long convention.

On Thursday Chief Buthelezi had thrown cold water over the accord when he told the BBC that he doubted if it could bring an end to violence.

He accused the ANC of hypocrisy for being willing to sign it while not responding to requests to meet the IFP.

"Which of course I find farcical... on Saturday in

## POLICE SEAL OFF REEF TOWNSHIPS

PAGE 2

the grandeur of the hotel and with all the media there, there will be a signing of this thing when they are not prepared to talk to us."

However, various senior IFP spokesmen have indicated that the organisation would be signing the document.

ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and Constitutional Development Minister Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, the

government's chief negotiator, were careful not to be drawn on Chief Buthelezi's comments last night. Dr. Viljoen said he would not comment and Mr. Mandela said the deaths this week were a compelling reason for the peace accord to succeed.

"The signing of the peace accord, this public pledge to individually and collectively work for peace, places a moral authority and obligation on all the signatories," said Mr. Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi's comments come directly after indications that the major points of disagreement in the document — the issue of carrying traditional weapons to political meetings and a code of conduct for security forces — had been resolved.

National Peace Initiative organisers remained "very optimistic" about the outcome in spite of the violence and Chief Buthelezi's comments.

An NPI spokesman said the conveners were not too concerned about Chief Buthelezi's statements and retained their confidence in him.

"As far as we at the convention are concerned, the accord is on course," she said.

The Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress said this week that they would attend the convention but would not sign the accord. They objected, among other issues, to the "legitimacy" the accord gave to the government, the SA Police and the SA Defence Force.

PAC secretary-general Mr. Benny Alexander said the accord was likely to result in the formation of joint self-defence units trained by the SADF and SAP.

sign and own Correspondent

By BRIAN POTTINGER

THIS graph tracks the swathe of violence through South Africa since the beginning of last year.

It shows that mayhem has kept step with nearly every major move towards political settlement. Sometimes the violence precedes the political breakthroughs; in most cases it follows.

After President FW de Klerk's historic speech on February 2 last year, the death toll climbed to 458 in March. When the ANC agreed to suspend the "armed struggle" on August 6, the violence levels soared. Nearly 700 people died the following month.

## Exploded

The DF Malan Accord of February 12 this year, which regulated "mass actions", preceded another surge of violence which turned into a wave after the signing of the Alexandra Civic Accord — then seen as an important breakthrough in local government co-operation. In February and March, 470 people were killed.

After the ANC delivered an ultimatum on May 9 to the government to end the violence, followed by its withdrawal from constitutional talks on May 19, there was a slow decline in incidents of violence.

That was until last week, with a week to go to the signing of the crucial National Peace Accord, violence again exploded along

# Pattern of the peace breakers

## VIOLENCE STALKS EACH PEACE MOVE

the Witwatersrand, claiming the lives of 129 people in eight days.

The violence comes in many forms. Much of the killing last August and September came during clashes between armed bands — usually Inkatha-aligned hostel dwellers against township residents, some of whom were probably ANC members.

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 disputes which, in conditions of poverty and despair, rapidly blow up into full-scale wars.

Equally ominous was the

series of random attacks by killers with AK-47s and grenades lobbed at commuters in trains, buses and taxis. There were 19 such attacks on trains alone in the PWV area between August last year and September this year.

Three vigils for political activists killed in earlier violence have also been attacked in the same time.

## Power

More than a dozen people have been arrested in connection with the attacks and are awaiting trial.

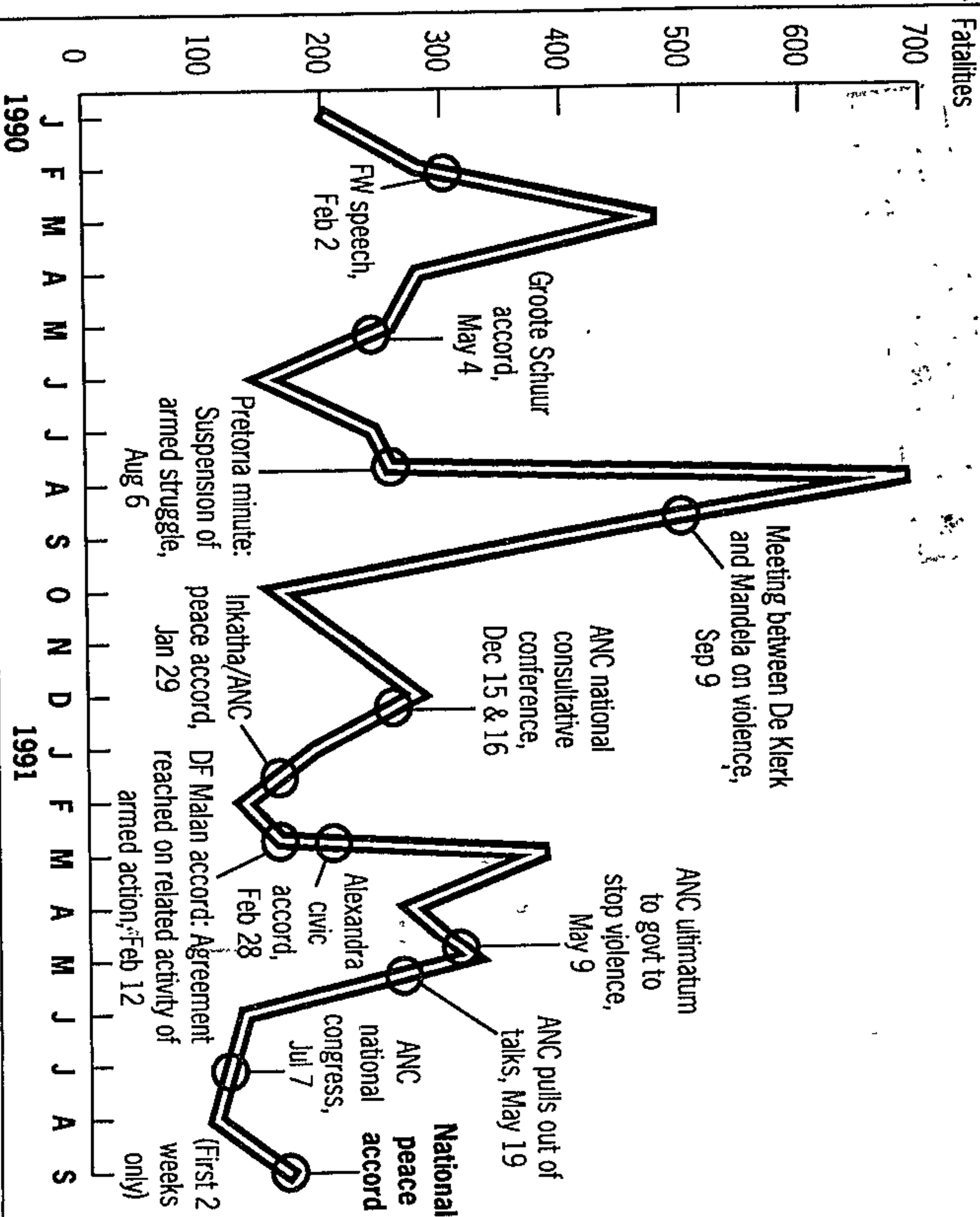
These attacks often correlated with political breakthroughs. The latest example was the killing of 21 Inkatha supporters on Sunday by three assassins carrying AK-47s — the spark for the latest wave of

violence. Assassinations of middle-level political figures — both ANC and Inkatha — have, meanwhile, continued unabated since February 2 last year.

The professionalism of the attackers has led the ANC to claim that renegade members of the security forces are involved in a bid to destabilise the country and create an excuse for seizing power.

This charge has gained strength with a number of claims by former special force members that they were engaged in political murder and mayhem.

But there are other possible candidates. The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for example, is filled with disillusioned and angry former soldiers who feel they have been cheated of



the victories of war and have been badly treated by comrades — as their recent conference shows. They, too, have opportunity, motive and method.

Overshadowing the vio-

lence has been the frightening proliferation of weapons, particularly AK-47s, in the hands of combatants. Where do these weapons come from? There are as many theories as victims. Among the most obvious sources are former ANC arms caches, weapons smuggled into the country by Mozambican immigrants or Defence Force stock supplied to

black proxy groups. A number of weapons have also been legally distributed to Inkatha cadres for "self-defence" purposes which further complicate matters.



## NEWS ROUND-UP

# CP slams signing of peace accord

*STimes 15/9/91 (274)*

VIOLENCE in SA claimed more lives this week than World War II did in the week before that conflict ended — a clear indication that the NP was on the wrong track by signing the National Peace Accord.

This was said by CP vice-chairman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg at the CP's eighth conference in Pretoria this weekend.

Dr Hartzenberg reiterated calls for an all-white election and reaffirmed the CP's decision to stay away from the negotiating table. However, the CP would consider very carefully taking part in a referendum.

He swept away repeated proposals from the floor that the CP attempt to obtain land for a white homeland. Dr Hartzenberg said while partition was the solution, this should be obtained by winning an election.

Responding to recent remarks by ANC leader Nelson Mandela that the CP be accommodated to prevent it from becoming another Renamo, Dr Hartzenberg said: "We say to Mandela we are not Renamo. We are not that weak. We can do a lot more damage."

## Historic ceremony seals accord to end the violence

# PEACE AGREEMENTS

SI Times 15/9/91

(27/4)

By MIKE ROBERTSON  
and EDYTH BULBRING

IN a historic accord yesterday, 29 political, state and trade union organisations bound themselves to a code of democratic values and pledged themselves to search together for peace.

The National Peace Accord, signed in Johannesburg by the ANC, the National Party and Inkatha, also sets up the machinery to monitor, mediate in and investigate violence.

South Africa's elite — political, business and clerical — turned out to witness President F.W. de Klerk, Mr. Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi sign the accord.

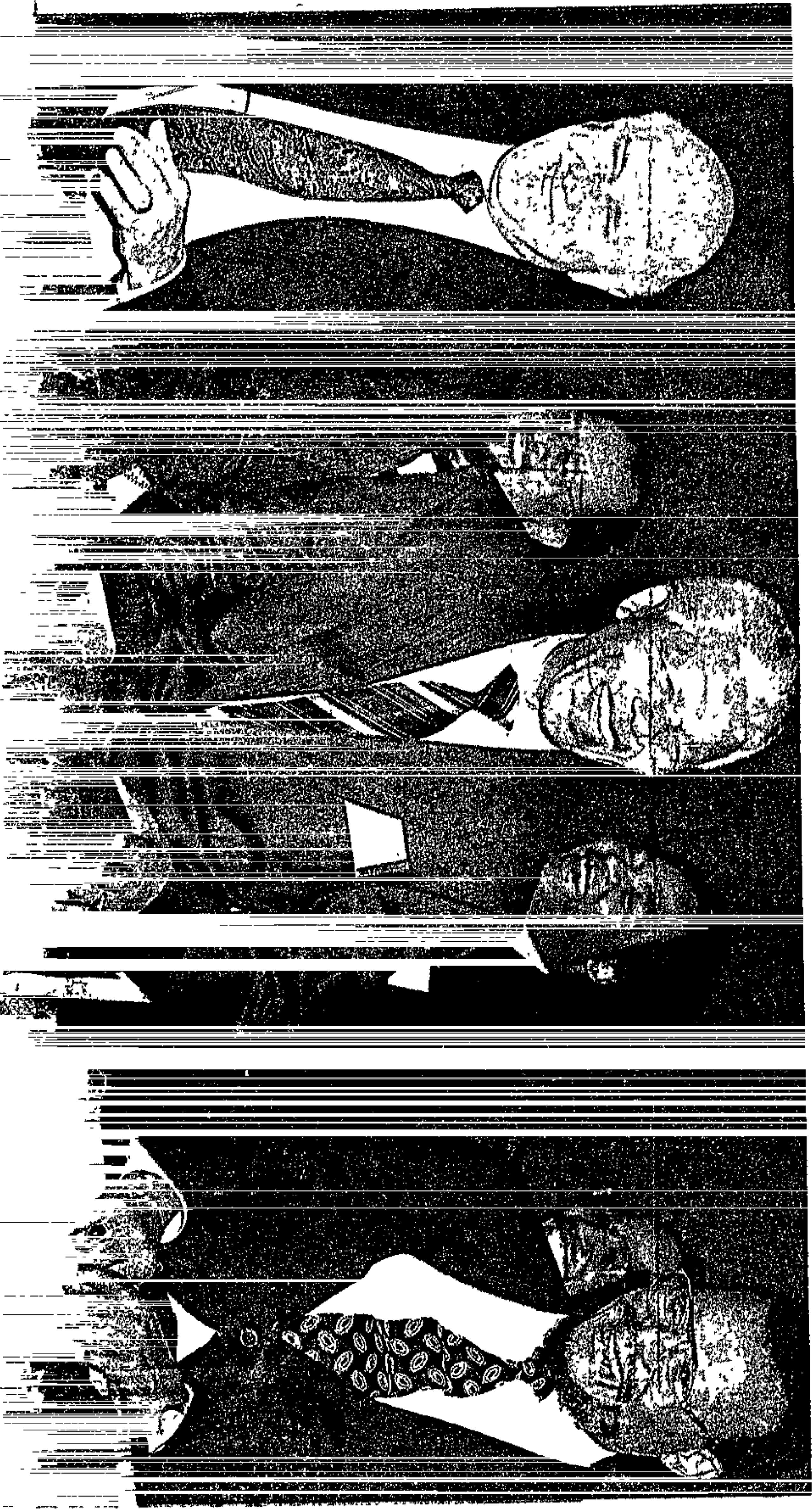
The ceremony followed a week of tension and a rising toll of dead from political violence which at times threatened the outcome of the peace talks.

Agreement that all the organisations would sign the accord without reservations was reached only on Friday after members of the editing committee, which was responsible for the final wording, had haggled throughout the week.

The signing ceremony was also not without tension: thousands of armed Inkatha supporters surged in mock battles around the venue, the Carlton Hotel, while ANC members inside fumed at what they saw as deliberate provocation.

### Killed

President De Klerk later requested Inkatha leader Mr Buthelezi to ask his





By MIKE ROBERTSON  
and EDYTH BULBRING

IN a historic accord yesterday, 29 political, state and trade union organisations bound themselves to a code of democratic values and pledged themselves to search together for peace.

The National Peace Accord, signed in Johannesburg by the ANC, the National Party and Inkatha, also sets up the machinery to monitor, mediate in and investigate violence.

South Africa's elite — political, business and clerical — turned out to witness President FW de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi sign the accord.

The ceremony followed a week of tension and a rising toll of dead from political violence which at times threatened the outcome of the peace talks.

Agreement that all the organisations would sign the accord without reservations was reached only on Friday after members of the editing committee, which was responsible for the final wording, had haggled throughout the week.

The signing ceremony was also not without tension thousands of armed Inkatha supporters surged in mock battles around the venue, the Carlton Hotel, while ANC members inside fumed at what they saw as deliberate provocation.

## Killed

President De Klerk later requested Inkatha leader Mr Buthelezi to ask his followers to disperse to avoid any possibility of violence. They did so after King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mr Buthelezi had addressed them.

On the way home however, an Inkatha supporter was killed and three others injured when they were attacked by a panga-wielding mob in downtown Johannesburg.

His death brought to 16 the number of people killed in political violence in the past two days.

The conference has left two issues unsolved the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the carrying of so-called cultural weapons.

ANC president Mr Mandela announced at a press conference after the signing ceremony that despite the ban on private armies provided for in the peace accord, the ANC would not disband MK.

The future of MK, he said, was the subject of bilateral discussions between the government and the ANC. This was why the accord had not directly dealt with MK.

Mr De Klerk said a basic agreement was already in place preventing MK members from undertaking certain actions. Negotiations were continuing in an effort to reach agreement on outstanding issues.

## Arduous

Chief Buthelezi, asked whether he believed a provision in the accord forbidding the carrying of weapons in public included cultural weapons, said "No. That is why I am carrying one."

Mr De Klerk said the accord made provision for the government to issue a proclamation dealing with the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The issue was highly sensitive, he said. For this reason the government would hold further discussions with the ANC and Inkatha before issuing a proclamation defining exactly what weapons would be banned.

Mr De Klerk, who was the last political leader to sign the accord, said it was a first step on the arduous

□ To Page 2



9 770039 533008



THREE WISE MEN. President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi together yesterday

Picture: DAVID SANDISON

# Signing a nation's birth certificate

THE leaders of a nation divided against itself came together yesterday, offering prayers in Sanskrit and Afrikaans, Arabic and English, to pledge themselves to the pursuit of peace in a land torn by violence.

In that moment, perhaps, greater things were born. The negotiations for a new South Africa have begun.

The National Peace Accord, conceived simply as an attempt to curb violence, expanded in scope as it took shape. The document that has emerged from the negotiations — conducted essentially by Inkatha, the Nationalists and the ANC under the auspices of church and business leaders — goes far beyond the question of violence.

It is a statement, albeit incomplete, of certain basic human rights, to be exercised without fear of violence or intimidation: the right to freedom of speech and conscience, freedom of association, freedom of movement and of peaceful assembly, and freedom to take part in politics.

South Africa has never before seen such an assembly of leaders as those who came, united in purpose, to the Carlton Hotel. When Mr Nelson Mandela, leading the ANC delegation, remarked that compromise was essential in an accord of this nature, there was a loud "Hoor! Hoor!" from the audience.

## Prayers

Moments after Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa denounced the peace accord, Thabo Mbeki took him by the hand and led him into a corner behind the television cameras where they whispered earnestly together. Dominee Johan Heyns was overheard to say to Joe Slovo, "Don't you feel uncomfortable during the prayers?" — or so, at least, a prominent Afrikaans journalist swears.

Bantustan leaders came in strength, but Zululand appeared in many guises. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi led the Inkatha Freedom Party delegation, King Goodwill Zwelithini led his own delegation, the Kwazulu Chiefs' Caucus had five representatives, and the Kwazulu government had its own delegation.

Among the diplomats and observers at the back of the hall there was some disapproving comment about the appearance outside in the street, in violation of the spirit of peace, of an

## THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT by Ken Owen

Inkatha impi carrying instruments of bloodshed which they call "traditional".

But the spirit of tolerance held. Nobody referred out loud to the mob in the street, or to the evident provocation which it intended, though history may record that the behaviour of Inkatha was on the outer edge of decency.

There were some dissident notes. WOSA, the radical left-wing trade union denounced the accord as putting black people in league with the police and the army, whom Azapo denounced as the coercive arms of the government, but Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, addressing himself to his "sisters and brothers" smoothly pledged support.

## Warped

Murray Hofmeyr, former chairman of JCI, pronounced the occasion "a fundamental turning point in the history of South Africa" and Robm Carlisle of the Democratic Party, an emotional man, declared, "We are witnessing a miracle."

And so, perhaps, it was. Nobody expects this agreement to bring the violence to an end, though the burst of violence that preceded the signing may now abate. As President De Klerk said, if the accord is to succeed, it must become "a living document."

Cycles of violence and counter-violence have bequeathed to this country a depraved faith in the gun, the bomb, the necklace and the spear. The police are undermanned and under-trained, and they have forfeited the trust of the people. In the streets, in the night, roam young men whose minds have been warped by the experience of the past decade, fondling firearms.

Nevertheless, negotiations have begun, and in the shape of this accord, in its statement of principle and its mechanisms for enforcement, in its reliance on consensus and its three-tier structure, it is possible to discern the first, faintly drawn outlines of our future.

History may yet select this accord, rather than the constitution which is still to come, as the birth certificate of a nation.

# Cheers! Two share our R500 000 cash prize

By TERRY van der WALT  
and CHARIS PERKINS

IT WAS lucky Friday 13 for two Sunday Times readers — a Transkeian security guard and a Johannesburg divorcee — who each won R250 000 in our Charity Crossword competition.

Mr Solomon Fuzani, 28, of Umtata, who borrowed R1 to enter, and Mrs Kristine Larratt, 32, of Linden, Johannesburg, had only two mistakes each and share the R500 000 prize.

Mr Fuzani couldn't believe his good fortune when the Sunday Times told him the good news on Friday. "I have been trying my luck for years. I hoped that one day I would be lucky enough to win a R4 000 consolation prize," he said.

## Feast

Mrs Larratt, a divorced mother, said "It is too wonderful for words. I cannot believe it!"

Mr Fuzani, who turns 29 on September 25, is the second eldest of nine children and lives in a three-roomed home with his bus-driver father, Daniel, 54, mother, Eunice, 48, and five other family members. He is a night security

□ To Page 3



BUBBLY winner Solomon Picture: HORACE POTTER

## PICK 6

TURFFONTEIN  
Only 26 winners collected a dividend of R56 123,10 each. Numbers: 1, 3, 1, 9, 10; 9, 11.

GREYVILLE  
22 winners each collected a payout of R16 790,00. Selections: 1, 8, 3, 8, 3, 8, 4.

MILNERTON  
There were 17 winners with each collecting R24 118,30. Combinations: 6, 11, 4, 7, 4, 4.

# Champ Brian's wife wins with a smacker

By TERRY BARON  
Sacramento

BRIAN MITCHELL'S wife was involved in a verbal punch-up with a sister of Tony Lopez.

At the post-fight press conference, Cathy Mitchell threatened to punch Tony's

sister Dianne while the two fighters were proclaiming they had become friends.

The verbal sparring started behind the assembled sportswriters after Cathy said to Tony's mother: "That's a good boy you've got over there."

Dianne snarled: "You shut your mouth!" Cathy snapped back: "You shut your mouth yourself — or I'll give you such a smack!"

● Big fight, Page 26

## Dingaen Thobela still tops

BIG-TIME boxing returned to SA in spectacular fashion when Dingaan Thobela retained his WBO lightweight title with a convincing points win over Puerto Rican Antonio Rivera in Johannesburg last night.

● See Page 26



# Peace accord signed

From Page 1

road to peace. "The darkness of violence is making way for the light of peace," he said.

He stressed that constitutional negotiations had to follow. "Until we start negotiations about what the future will look like, it will be difficult to implement the accord," he said.

He committed the government to speedily implementing all aspects of the accord that required its attention. Mr Mandela said he was under no illusion that the signing of the accord would be a magic wand that would bring peace.

However, he dedicated the ANC to nurturing the spark of hope which the accord represented.

Mr Buthelezi said the accord was an instrument of God.

Although he had reservations about some of the clauses and the chances of the pact succeeding, he committed his party to making it work.

The agreement follows three months of intense

work by church, business and political leaders.

As the summit drew near, there were fierce differences over the priority to be given to the various parties at the signing ceremony and even over the role that should be played by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The editing committee worked through the night on Wednesday and Thursday to reach agreement.

In the final draft the parties, at Inkatha's insistence, agreed to drop a clause in the code of conduct for political parties which read: "All political parties and organisations

shall actively discourage and seek to prevent their members and supporters from carrying any weapon of any description to any political meeting."

However, in the section dealing with the conduct of the security forces, a clause was added, at the ANC alliance's insistence. It read: "All political parties and organisations shall actively discourage and seek to prevent their members and supporters from possessing, carrying or displaying weapons or firearms when attending any political gathering, procession or meeting."

● See Pages 20 and 21

## Row over impi

By EDYTH BULBRING

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused a request by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to disperse thousands of armed Inkatha supporters outside the peace summit venue, said a conference organiser.

Chief Buthelezi was told yesterday that should violence occur outside the

Carlton Hotel it would jeopardise the peace process.

He later acceded to the request when President FW de Klerk intervened and asked Chief Buthelezi to invite his followers to go home.

Then King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Buthelezi addressed the surging crowd and asked them to leave peacefully.

The spat over the presence of the Inkatha supporters began minutes after the three main signatories had put their names to the peace accord.

President De Klerk said the demonstrators at no stage posed a physical threat and had dispersed peacefully after they had paid tribute to their king.

ANC president Nelson Mandela disagreed.

Mr Mandela said that if the demonstrators had been ANC members, police would have taken action to disperse them.

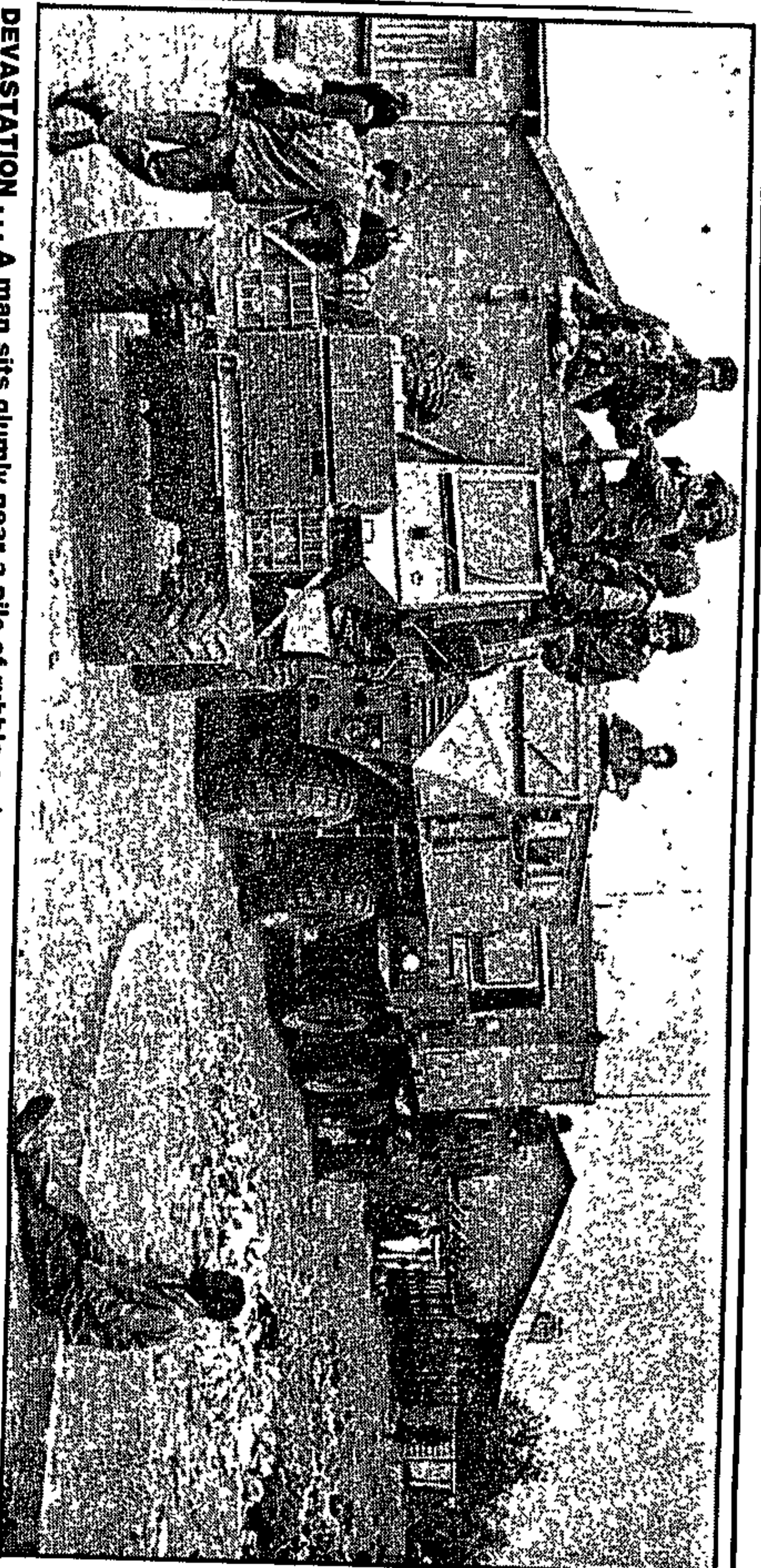
President De Klerk replied that he had given instructions that should ANC supporters arrive, they too should be accorded the same treatment as Inkatha.

## The agreement

THE National Peace Accord signed yesterday provides for:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members of the force accountable to society — not the government;
- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to the task of ingraining democratic tolerance in their members;
- A network of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms under a National Peace Committee to enforce the accord and resolve conflict at a regional and local level;
- A statutory commission, headed by a judge or retired judge, to investigate and expose causes of violence;
- The appointment of a police board — with equal representation for the force and members of the public — to advise on future policing policy;
- The setting up of a special police unit, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by members of the force;
- The appointment of regional ombudsmen to ensure the proper investigation of all complaints against the police;
- The creation of another special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence;
- The setting up of special courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.





**DEVASTATION . . .** A man sits glumly near a pile of rubble as troops patrol Soweto.

■ Pic: MIKE MZILENI

**By SEKOLA SELLO**

THE government, the ANC and Inkatha yesterday hammered out an historic peace accord aimed at ending the bloodletting which has claimed an estimated 10 000 lives in the past six years.

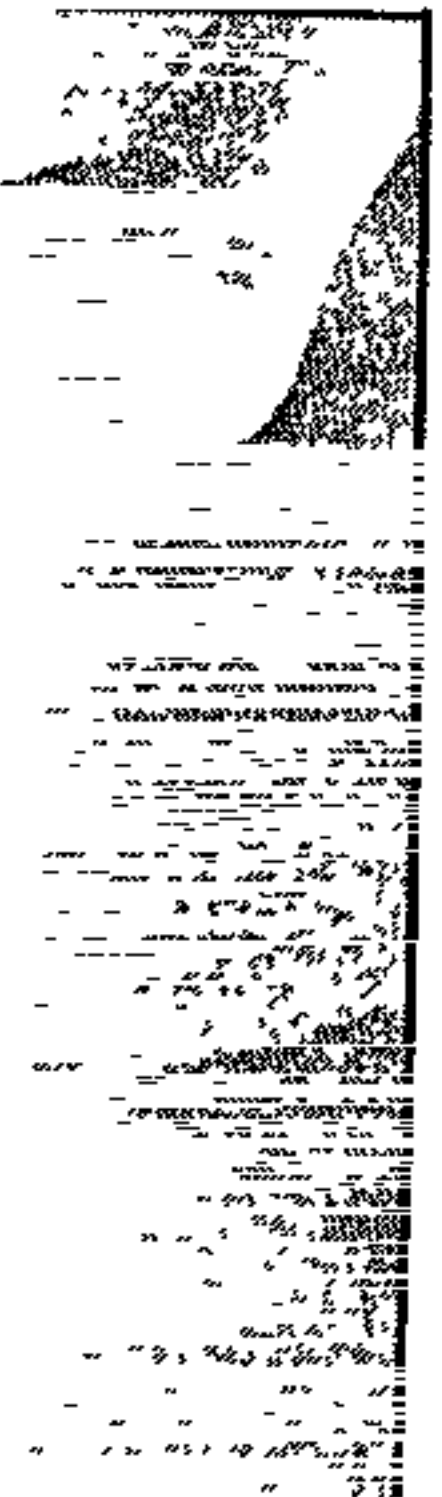
State President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi signed the document binding them to tolerance. But will the peace treaty hold?

The signatories had every reason to be concerned that this accord did not suffer the same fate as other efforts made in the past between the ANC and Inkatha, only for the members to immediately engage in another orgy of bloodletting.

The frightening possibility of this scenario repeating itself has been brought home since last Sunday, when more than

# Blood let as pact is signed

*c/p per  
15/9/91  
274*



involvement in the violence — desist from their activities and respect De Klerk's wishes?

Commenting on the upsurge of violence a week



**CARNAGE . . .** a policeman inspects a blood-spattered bus at Vosloorus.



he bloodletting which has claimed an estimated 10,000 lives in the past six years.

State President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi signed the document binding them to tolerance. But will the peace treaty hold?

The signatories had every reason to be concerned that this accord did not suffer the same fate as other efforts made in the past between the ANC and Inkatha, only for the members to immediately engage in another orgy of bloodletting.

The frightening possibility of this scenario repeating itself has been brought home since last Sunday, when more than 20 Inkatha members were brutally moved down on their way to a rally in Thokoza.

Since then, more than 100 people have died in Thokoza, Vosloorus and Soweto.

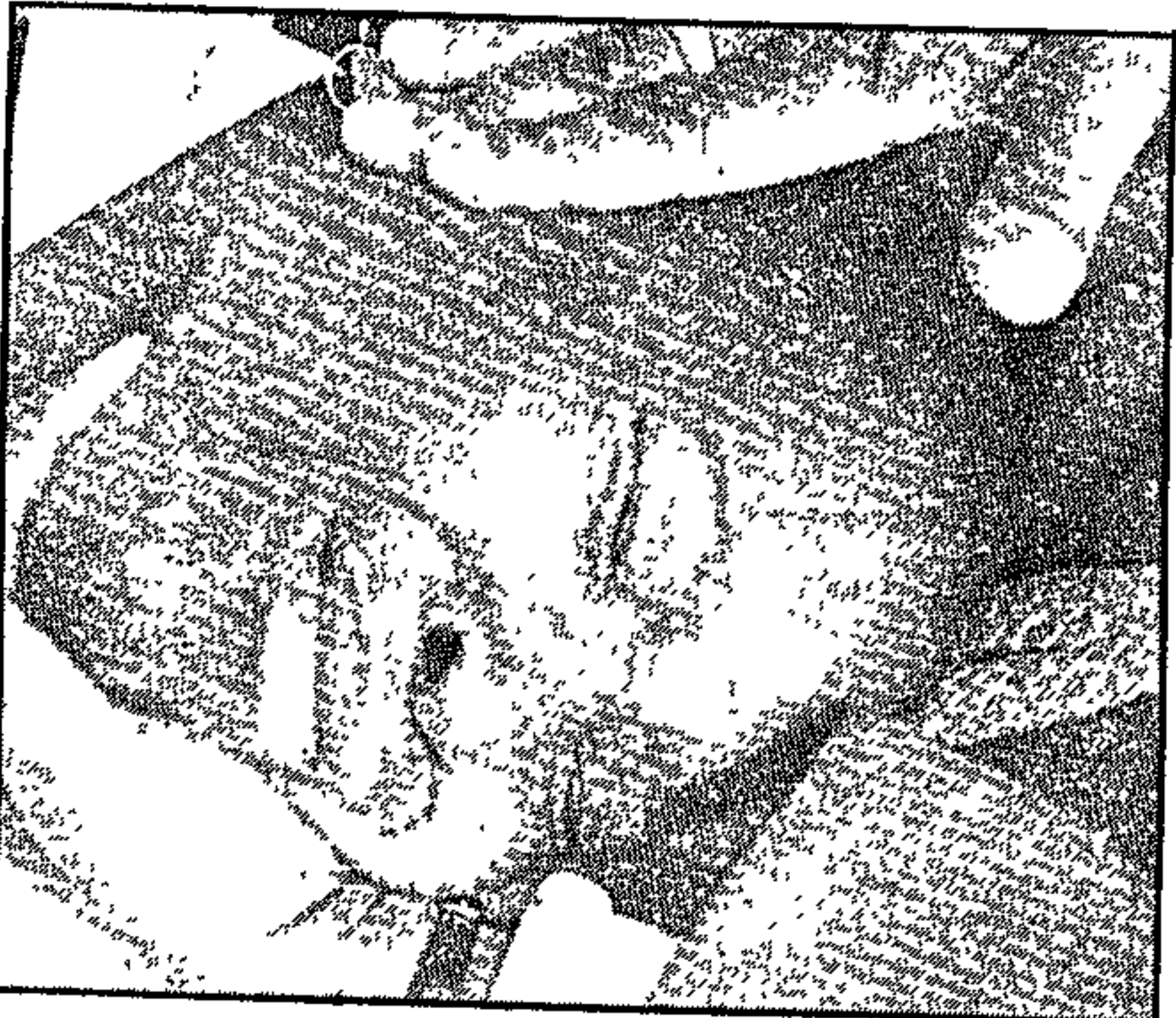
Yesterday's accord, the culmination of several months of hard work, is important because, for the first time, the three major parties in this tragedy have signed it.

In the past, similar efforts aimed at ending the hostilities had one major flaw. The agreement was either between Inkatha and the ANC, leaving out the government, or it was between De Klerk and Buthelezi, leaving out Mandela.

While the three-party agreement marks a milestone in attempts to stem the flow of blood, this unfortunately solves only one aspect of the problem. Many observers believe it will take more

# is signed

C/Per  
15/9/91  
274



**GRIEF ... A Soweto student mourns the death of a school friend.**

■ Pic: MIKE MZILENI

than an agreement among the ANC, Inkatha and the government to end the carnage.

A major challenge facing the three leaders is to make the accord work. Will their message of peace, reconciliation and political tolerance filter

involvement in the violence — desist from their activities and respect De Klerk's wishes?

Commenting on the upsurge of violence a week before the signing of the peace accord, director of the Wits University-based Project for the Study of Violence, Graeme Simpson, said this underlined the need for decisions taken at the top to be transmitted to the grassroots membership.

"Given the espousal of peace by the ANC, Inkatha and De Klerk, it does not make sense that they would support the sort of violence we have seen in the last few days.

"However, what this recent outbreak of violence demonstrates is that what happens at the top does not necessarily filter down. This means a lot of hard work needs to be done at grassroots level."

Simpson says unless all the parties involved in the bloodletting have control over their followers, the killings are not likely to end.

"The recent killings indicate that the ANC, Inkatha and the govern-



**STUNNED ... Elliott Motshweneng lost his mother, wife, sister and child.**

ment have no control over their members."

Another aspect being overlooked was that "even the government does not have control over its members engaged in covert activities".

"The other problem is

**CARNAGE ... a policeman inspects a blood-spattered bus at Vosloorus, after a man opened fire on passengers with an AK-47.** ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

## Real challenge is to stop dealers in death

that these covert activities have been legitimised by the government and they continue to be funded by the government. Some bureaucrats are not about to stop these actions."

Simpson says the poverty endemic in the townships could be another contributing factor. His views were endorsed by Gen Herman Stadler, regarded in the police force as an expert on violence.

Stadler says apart from poverty and unemployment and the "socio-economic problems which bring frustration", it is possible that "there are

some mavericks with AK-47s who are behind this. These people don't want the government's initiative to work."

Stadler refuses claims that the violence could be orchestrated or that the security forces are involved. "If it was orchestrated, it would not be confined to one area but would be spread countrywide."

Adding a chilling note to the complex nature of the violence, Simpson says there are people whose "power, authority and wealth depend on war. They depend on buying and selling assass-

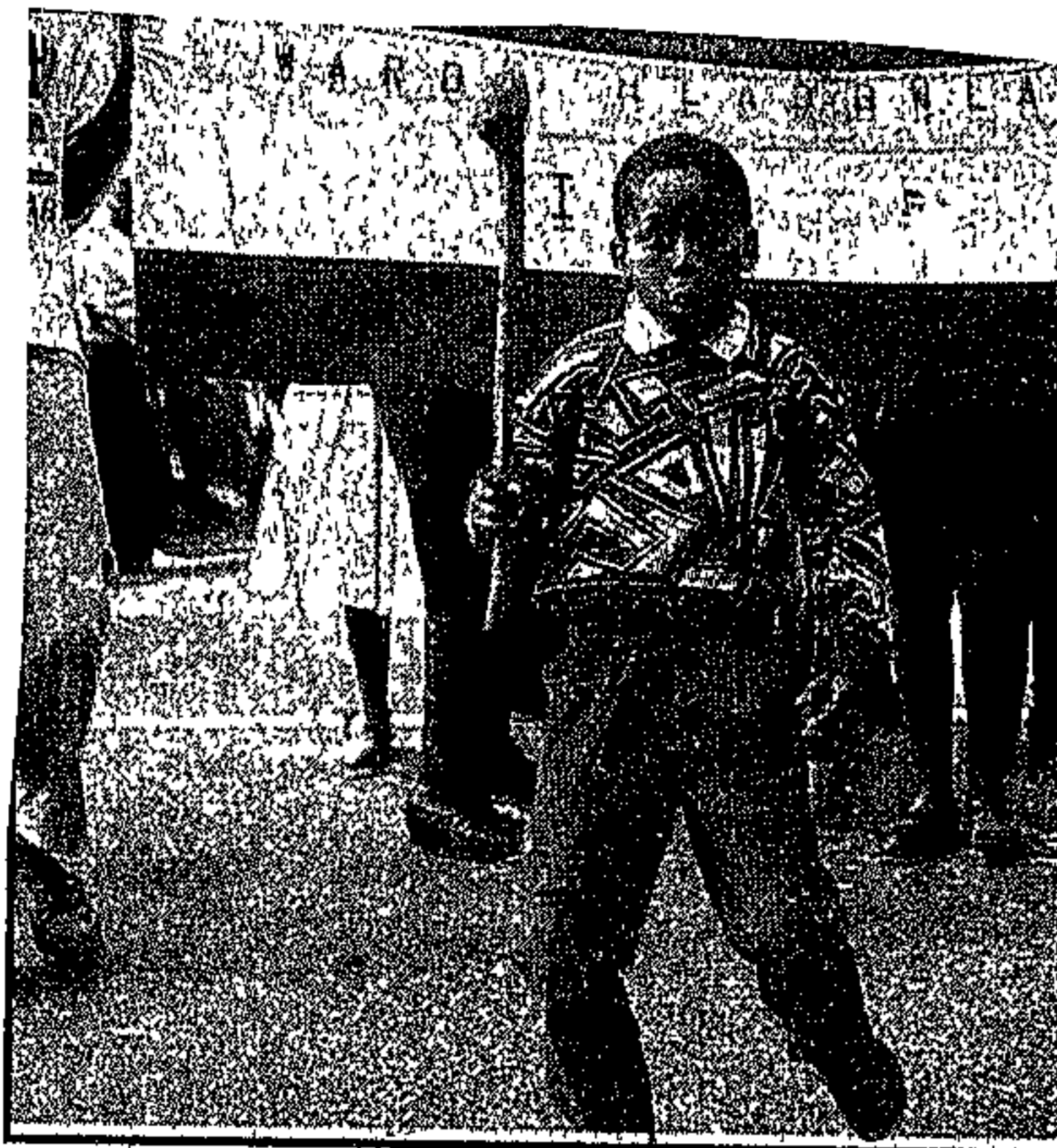
ins". These people, says Simpson, will do everything to perpetuate the killings.

Elements which thrive on continued fighting, says Simpson, may belong to the ANC, Inkatha and the government. They may also be mercenaries or warlords not affiliated to any organisation.

These people, he warns, will continue to trade in human misery to protect their maternal interests.

Taking the message of peace to the people and stopping those who trade in death is the real challenge facing De Klerk, Buthelezi and Mandela.





**YOUNG SUPPORTER . . .** A boy armed with a knobkerrie dances in front of an Inkatha flag.

## Inkatha warriors charge at Mandela

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

**SPEAR-WIELDING** Inkatha supporters charged at ANC President Nelson Mandela's entourage as he arrived for the signing of the historic peace accord in Johannesburg yesterday morning.

Seconds earlier, Mandela's motorcade had driven through thousands of armed Inkatha supporters waiting outside the hotel, chanting war songs and derogatory slogans against Mandela and the ANC.

Most IFP supporters did not recognise Mandela as his car slowly drove through, but some saw him as he got out of his red Mercedes. They advanced towards him with their weapons, crying for his blood. His security men reached for their guns but did not draw them. Several IFP leaders told the Inkatha men to go back and Mandela entered the hotel.

It happened so quickly

that Mandela, who was facing away from the threat as he greeted dignitaries, was hardly aware of the incident.

The start of the conference was preceded by an altercation between Capt PJ Peche and Musa Myeni, an IFP central committee member. This came after Peche had asked for IFP supporters to be ordered away from the hotel parking area.

"You move those people and Chief Buthelezi is not signing the accord," said Myeni.

"The signing of the accord is all about these people and there is no way you are chasing them away from here," he said amid a chorus of "tell him" from spear-wielding IFP supporters.

Most of Johannesburg's streets and the railway station were sealed off by IFP supporters.

IFP supporters had earlier defied a police order to dump their cultural weapons in a police van.

CP/Pres 15/9/91

274

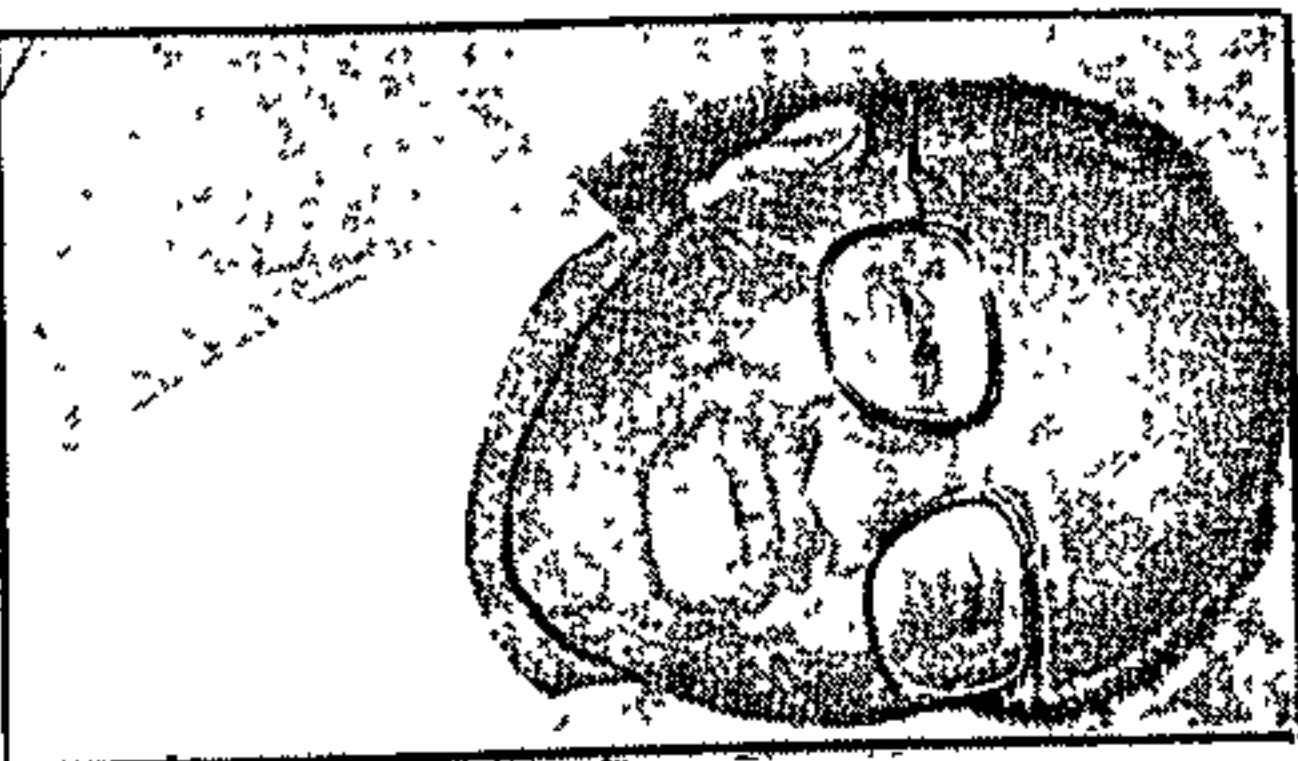


# MESSAGE OF PEACE

By Rev. Dr. STANLEY MOGABA, (Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa).

THE dark cloud of violence has burst into a storm of bloodletting in our country all over again, causing misery and hardship for countless numbers of people. In the name of God, I condemn these latest acts of savagery. All who believe in God and uphold his values can say only one thing: such gruesome vindictive violence is not of God. Indeed, those who are not working for peace can only have suspicion cast on them. For one is either working for peace or for violence. There can be nothing in between.

A question that comes to mind is: why are blacks the only ones to pay the supreme sacrifice? Why should black life be so cheap? Why do blacks permit others, whoever they are, to manipulate them?



Rev Stanley Mogoba

These questions must be asked again and again, because, unless they are put, white South Africans will be lulled into a false sense of security. When the patriotic front meets, it will need to confront these questions head-on. The peacekeeping forces also need to face some harsh realities. Surely it should not be impossible to apprehend people who commit gruesome murders in broad daylight. I believe that immediate steps must be taken to create a force that has the respect of the greatest number of people possible. It should comprise the broad spectrum of our people - the military forces, the South African Police, Umkhonto weSizwe, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, the KwaZulu police force and others.

I call on all our people to stop this madness of violence. I call on our authorities to recognise what steps should be taken to assist in this process. All should keep the words of Jeremiah in mind: "Unless a nation repents, it will be uprooted, run down and destroyed."

By ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU



I WOULD like to convey our condolences to those who have been bereaved in this week's upsurge of violence and our sympathies to the injured. This is a cry that comes from my heart. I know that it is also a cry that comes from the hearts of so many. "Please stop this senseless killing. Please end this violence. O Lord, how long must we still suffer this mindless bloodletting and savagery?" We are on the threshold of such wonderful possibilities in this beautiful, but oh so sad, land. There is the historic and unprecedented signing of the Peace Accord - which is almost a climax to unbelievable happenings that started in February last year. There is the release of our jailed leaders, and the unbanning of suppressed political organisations when all South Africans will be able to walk tall, when skin colour, race, gender, culture and religion will have no say of any significance about the worth of a person.

My dear sisters and brothers, the agents of evil and darkness do not want to see the birth of this new South Africa. So evil men mow down defenceless and innocent women and children, making life out to be cheap. If we go on like this, there will be hardly anybody left to enjoy the new South Africa for which so many have striven, so many have suffered, so many have been detained and banned, so many have been imprisoned, exiled and killed. Let us all commit ourselves to peace and tolerance and recognise that each person is of infinite worth - and that it is both a crime and a sin to take life. Let us throw away our AK-47s, our pangas and our knives and then we will have empty hands to clasp one another, to hold on to one another. For we belong together. We are a family. We can survive only when we hold on together; we will be free only when we hold on together; we will have peace only if we hold on together. Let us think peace and get rid of our thoughts of revenge and destruction. Let us speak peace and stop words that hurt and destroy - words of hatred. Let us live peace and act it out. Let us saturate the air with peace so the enemies of peace will stand out and be converted. Let us all shout out: "We want peace! Down with violence and murder and killings!" We can pray, all of us, the adapted version of Trevor Huddleston's prayer: "God bless South Africa. Guard her children. Guide her leaders. And give her peace."

Desmond Tutu

These changes have given more than just a glimmer of hope of a new dispensation.



# Accord reached at historic meeting

## CP Reporters

THE ANC, the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party signed the National Peace Accord at a historic convention held at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg yesterday.

But, although the accord has been signed, peace has not been sealed. This was grimly illustrated when two men wearing Inkatha T-shirts were killed at the Westgate taxi rank in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon after returning from the hotel where a large number of armed Inkatha men gathered in the streets.

The three parties yesterday agreed to "set aside all political differences for the sake of peace".

The treaty - aimed at ending seven years of slaughter during which time more than 10 000 lives had been lost - comes at a time of renewed violence on the Reef.

In the past week more than 100 people have been killed in Thokoza near Germiston, Vosloorus near Boksburg, and Soweto.

The accord was signed against the backdrop of hundreds of IFP members chanting war songs outside the Carlton Hotel. Mandela told about 300 delegates, represent-



**VICTIM ... An Inkatha supporter, hacked to death in the street near Westgate Station.**

ing a wide spectrum of interest groups, that the ANC signed the accord with reservations, some of them serious.

The ANC was, however, determined to honour every obligation of the accord. "Compromise ... and give and take" were essential to the success of the agreement, Mandela said.

He called on the United Nations and other international bodies not to support organisations that refused to sign.

De Klerk described yesterday's signing of the treaty as a historic day. He said the eyes of the world were "on us ... and we dare not fail them".

He called on South Africans to "rise above conflicts of the past and join hands in the quest for

peace".

Both De Klerk and Mandela held out an olive branch to parties which did not sign the accord and those who boycotted the peace convention.

Mandela said: "We would like this accord to be supported by all political organisations and parties".

De Klerk said everything should be done to convince the parties who did not sign to become part of the accord.

Two days before the signing, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been critical of the ANC and the accord. This gave rise to speculation that the peace treaty negotiated by church organisations and big business might not work.

However, Buthelezi

yesterday described the accord as an instrument of God to correct what was wrong. Although he expressed serious reservations about some clauses in the agreement, he pledged to abide by the letter and spirit of the document.

Rightwing parties boycotted the convention. Although the PAC took part they were not signatories. Azapo also did not sign.

Azapo spokesman Lybon Mabasa said his organisation welcomed the initiative.

Cosatu president Jay Naidoo said although the accord did not satisfy all the convention delegates, the "process certainly holds a ray of hope for all those who have suffered".

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said the PAC would continue to work for peace but could not be seen to serve in apartheid structures.

The two Inkatha men were allegedly killed at the Westgate taxi rank by Xhosa-speaking men wearing white headbands. At least three people were injured.

An eye-witness who refused to be named said trouble started after a group of Inkatha men moved from the nearby taxi rank and danced in front of the gate of the Westgate station with knobkerries and pangas. He alleged some of them were drunk.

A passerby was stabbed in the back, an old woman lost an eye and a Selby hostel resident sustained head injuries.

See Page 2



## Pact 214 must be peace put into practice

YESTERDAY's historic signing of a national peace accord by the government, the ANC and Inkatha should not just remain a piece of paper with signatures — it should be seen as a working document.

On the eve of the signing of this accord there was widespread scepticism over it ever working.

Many people believe the real issues that gave rise to violence have been overlooked.

They maintain that the problems were not caused by the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha or between Zulus and Xhosas. The problems are much deeper than that.

They believe, and with justification, that while they would welcome peace among black people, the problems that gave rise to violence remain entrenched. And that is the socio-economic and political situation in South Africa.

How does one maintain peace when he is homeless or lives under squalid conditions in a shack?

How does one maintain peace when he has no job or food to feed his children?

How does peace come about when some people live in single-sex dwellings without their families and are being derided by those fortunate enough to live in four-room matchbox houses?

How does peace come about when people have no political power to vote for a government of their choice? And how does one live in peace when for 43 years he was mentally and physically brutalised by the oppressive system of apartheid?

How do we justify thousands of unsolved murders in our townships? How do we tell the father who lost five of his family members not to revenge the killings?

Yes, we fully endorse the call for peace, reconciliation and tolerance. It is what the country needs, especially in this transitional period.

However, this call can only work if the socio-economic and political situation in our country changes dramatically. It will work if our people's expectations of a democratic and non-racial South Africa are met.

It will work if the birth of our new country comes about with little pain.

Most of the 11 000 people who have been killed in the past five years in unrest-related incidents had no choice. They never declared war with anybody. They were innocent bystanders.

We would like to see a speedy social transformation of our country. Perhaps only then will we normalise the situation.

KHU  
Editor.

71BIYA



## National Peace Accord



**MAKING PEACE . . .** The three main leaders at Saturday's peace accord, from the left, Mr Nelson Mandela, President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Picture AP

# Britain and US applaud accord

274 ACT 16/9/91

## Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The United States and British governments yesterday welcomed Saturday's signing of the National Peace Accord.

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said in a statement issued on Saturday by the Foreign and Commonwealth office in London: "The accord should provide the basis for much-needed measures to curb the violence which has caused great misery to many innocent people.

"We hope that all will now work closely together to ensure that the code of conduct and other provisions of the accord are implemented."

US ambassador to South Africa Mr William Swing said: "We wish to congratulate the South African people on the success of the historic National Peace Convention and the signing of the National Peace Accord."

"We look forward to early substantive talks between South Africa's leaders aimed at agreement on a new constitution."

Meanwhile, the process towards implementing the National Peace Accord

signed by 29 political parties, state and trade union organisations would have to move into top gear over the next couple of weeks to give force to the parties' commitment, a source in the peace process said yesterday.

He said the signatories met late on Saturday to decide on the first meeting of the National Peace Committee. This would happen later this week, either on Thursday or Friday.

The committee will comprise the signatories and two chairmen, one from the business sector and another from the religious groups.

Apparently a chairman from the business sector would not pose much problem. If he were available, Sacob president Mr John Hall would be the obvious choice of all parties, the source said.

However, the religious person could be a problem because of the close ties various religious groups had with organisations. This would be the first stage to setting up the committee, the national political organ overseeing the accord.

Other structures that had to still be set up were the monitoring mechanisms of the National Peace Secretariat, comprising at

least four nominated members of the committee and a representative from the Justice Department. The secretariat will establish and co-ordinate regional and local dispute resolution committees.

Along with these two bodies at the national level, the Standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation, which has already been gazetted, would operate.

All the other structures at regional and local level needed legal force to operate effectively. These are the Special Criminal Courts and the Regional Dispute Resolution Committees at regional level. At the local level there will be justices of the peace and the dispute resolution committees.

The accord makes provision for additional justices of the peace to be appointed after consultation with parties to the accord and the local dispute resolution committees.

It is understood that the Justice Department would appoint additional justices of the peace in certain areas and would also make provision for extra courts as special criminal courts.



# Unity the only key to peace, says Azasco

*Sowetan 16/9/91* *270*

**THE violence in black townships will not end despite peace accords, because black disunity created avenues in which enemy agents could operate.**

This was said by deputy president of the Azanian Students Convention Mr Vusi Hlongwa at the weekend.

He was addressing Azasco's first national conference at Medunsa near Pretoria. Hlongwa said the violence was being orchestrated by a "third force" operating with the approval of the Government.

"It is a strategy to induce political apathy by the regime so that our people can just follow anyone who looks like he

**By MATHATHA  
TSEDU and Sapa**

can bring peace, but only when black people are united can the agents be exposed," he said.

Hlongwa said it was for this reason that Azasco supported the decision to form a Patriotic Front of liberation movements to bring about unity among blacks.

Azasco was still committed to the formation of alliances with other student organisations. However, his organisation was against disruptions of classes which served only

to entrench the inferior condition of black students.

The congress started on Friday night with the first Steve Biko/Muntu Myeza memorial lecture delivered by Azapo's political education secretary, Mr Molathlegi Tlhale.

Family members of the late Myeza, including his widow Mrs Thandi Myeza, attended the lecture.

There was loud applause when messages of support from the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania were read.



# Ink still wet as signatories clash

274

Own Correspondent

16/9/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Minutes after signing the historic peace declaration, President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela clashed publicly over the presence of about 3 000 armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters outside the hotel.

The chanting crowd, bristling with spears and knobkerries, blocked the streets.

Police appeals that the men put their weapons in a vehicle and clear the streets were ignored. Barriers were put up to allow cars access.

At a press conference after the convention, President De Klerk was asked if permission had been given for the IFP show of support and, if not, why police had not dispersed the crowd.

President De Klerk said the centre of Johannesburg had not been declared an unrest area, so permission was not necessary. The prohibition on carrying dangerous weapons in public applied only to unrest areas.

He understood that the crowd had posed no threat to the public.

As President De Klerk finished, Mr Mandela strode to the microphone and said: "I reject the position of the State President. If those people outside were members of the African National Congress, the police would have used force... If they had refused to move the police would have used firearms against them."

Mr Mandela said that, during a raid on the ANC stronghold of Phola Park the day before, police had confiscated



INKATHA IMPI... Policemen keep a wary eye on Inkatha supporters at Saturday's peace accord.

Picture. AP

## Man killed in IFP clash

JOHANNESBURG. — A man was hacked to death and three people were wounded when a group of Inkatha supporters were allegedly attacked by panga-wielding residents of the Selby hostel on Saturday afternoon, police said.

About 3 000 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters were returning on foot from the signing of the historic National Peace Accord.

Meanwhile, two men were seriously injured on Saturday when they were thrown from a train between Johannesburg and the West Rand, police said. — Sapa

weapons similar to those that were being brandished outside.

Mr De Klerk, clearly irritated, said the government insisted that its security forces act impartially.

He had given instructions that the crowd should be handled in a manner that would ensure there was space for supporters of other organisations.

Mr Mandela, who had resumed his seat, said the ANC had ordered members not to come to the hotel.

The IFP president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the police would not have acted any differently if ANC supporters had gathered.



Mr Zuma

# Train killings 'a Renamo trade mark'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Professional killers schooled in train massacres in Mozambique may be involved in similar actions on South African commuter trains, Mr Jacob Zuma, ANC deputy secretary-general, said.

Mr Zuma, who spent several years in Mozambique and was involved in ANC military operations, said the train killings had the mark of similar massacres carried out in Mozambique by Renamo.

"The people who are doing it are highly professional and highly trained. It is a well-planned kind of operation," he told an SA Institute of Race Relations debate on violence in Natal at the weekend.

"If you look at Angola, Zimbabwe and South Africa, that method (train massacres) has never been used by anybody except Renamo. And the question is: Who is linked to Renamo? South Africa.

"There have been allegations of people who could not speak any of the languages in this country."



# Violence subsiding, say police

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

27/4  
16/9/91  
Last week's wave of violence, which claimed more than 121 lives in five days, highlighted the need for the signing of Saturday's historical Peace Accord, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said today.

Captain Kotze said the fact that the violence — which started suddenly last Sunday — appeared to have

subsided in the past few days was "a most important development".

The Peace Accord, he added, highlighted the need for grassroots involvement in peace initiatives and subsequent commitment to peace.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said her organisation did not want to dwell on the past, but hoped the Accord would go a long way towards ensuring that events such as last week's violence did not

occur again.

"We hope people recognise we need to give peace a chance and make the Accord work.

"For us the thing to do is to go forward and hope everything else is behind us. We look forward to implementation of the agreement in the spirit and letter of the Accord," Miss Marcus said.

At the time of going to press, Inkatha Freedom Party spokesmen could not be reached for comment.

RN AFRICA

BOX 4005  
NOBUHLE TOWNSHIP

NHAGE



# Hitches don't halt peace accord

Star 16/9/91.

(274)

Despite unnerving hitches, the National Peace Accord took off with a flourish at the weekend. However, some crucial issues remain. ESMARE VAN DER MERWE and PETER FABRICIUS report.

**T**HE National Peace Accord was launched with much drama, fanfare and optimism at the Johannesburg Convention on Saturday, but some crucial issues have still — after months of top-level negotiations — not been cleared up.

Among the issues still unresolved are the position of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the carrying of weapons, and a code of conduct for the South African Defence Force.

After a week of intense wrangling, the references to weapons in the accord were amended in a few significant ways on the eve of the convention.

Most important was that where the previous draft accord forbade the carrying of *dangerous* weapons at political gatherings, processions or meetings, the word "dangerous" was dropped from the version agreed to on Saturday.

And a new clause was inserted stating that the Government would issue proclamations to effect the ban.

Government and ANC sources said the effect of dropping the word "dangerous" was that all weapons — including the so-called cultural weapons so dear to the Inkatha Freedom Party — would be forbidden at political occasions.

However, IFP sources disagreed, and made it clear that the precise nature of the ban still had to be negotiated with the Government.

Said a senior ANC source: "As far as we are concerned, all weapons have now been banned. I'm not so sure whether Inkatha understands that, though."

The central question is whether or not "traditional" Zulu assegais should be allowed at political meetings.

However, ANC sources said its negotiators had wanted a definition — specifically outlawing all weapons, including knobkerries, to be included in the accord. This, the sources said, could not be achieved because the IFP refused.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi took a hard line on the issue at an impromptu press conference at the convention saying that assegais were not dangerous weapons but "traditional accoutrements" of the Zulus.

The defiant chief, asked



IFP on parade . . . Zulus songs and dances formed the background to words of peace spoken by a multitude of South African leaders on Saturday.

Picture: Tom Edley

whether he did not regard a spear as a dangerous weapon, lashed out at the reporter and said: "Only one percent of victims have been killed with spears. It is the AK-47 that kills people."

But a senior Government source close to the negotiations dismissed these remarks as rhetoric.

He suggested that the Government and the IFP had already reached a provisional understanding that spears should not be allowed at political gatherings.

The proclamation which the Government would issue would make, countrywide, the existing ban on assegais at political meetings in unrest areas. Another last-minute change

in the accord was that the clause stating "no private armies should be formed" was expanded to "no private armies should be allowed or formed".

The change was made at the insistence of the IFP, which argued that the original accord excluded the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

However, Government sources said the changes did not imply that MK would be outlawed, as it was a legal organisation. But it did mean that it could not be used as a private army.

ANC president Nelson Mandela made it clear at a press conference after the convention that MK would not be dissolved "now or in the future".

But he added that the position of MK was being negotiated with the Government, and because good progress had been made, it had not been thought necessary to mention MK in the accord.

Mr Mandela appeared to be referring to the negotiations on the D F Malan agreement relating to MK arms caches and certain of its activities.

President de Klerk pointed out that a clause in the final draft of the accord stating that it did not affect bilateral discussions had been inserted so as not to overrule the D F Malan talks.

Another major omission from the accord is the code of conduct for the SADF, which is still being negotiated.

However, this is expected to be similar to the code of conduct for the police — and the SADF is already covered by the general provisions on security force conduct in the accord.

An important addition to the accord is that all security force provisions and codes have been extended to the self-governing territories.

This will mean that the sometimes controversial KwaZulu police will fall under the control of the mechanisms in the accord.

Saturday's convention was dominated by Chief Buthelezi in one way or another.

His very vocal reservations about the workability of the accord, his objection to Archbishop (and arch-rival) Desmond

Tutu chairing part of the convention, as well as the presence of thousands of armed Inkatha limps at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg placed him at centre stage — where he no doubt wanted to be.

His every move was tracked by scores of local and international journalists and cameramen.

Several participants in the convention objected to the presence of the rowdy IFP supporters.

But members of the preparatory committee did nothing, fearing any objections might prompt Chief Buthelezi not to sign the accord.

So for several hours the IFP leader in effect held the convention to ransom.

But then President de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Herms Kriel personally appealed to Chief Buthelezi to tell the crowd to go home.

This he did — after rousing speeches by himself and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — from the roof of the Carlton Hotel patio.

The general anxiety about whether the IFP would sign the accord prevailed throughout the day.

Indicative of the sensitivity around the IFP issue was an immediate objection by the party's delegation, during a speech by Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa (firmly in the ANC camp) to the use of the word Inkatha instead of the Inkatha

Freedom Party.

The day of drama illustrated one point clearly: despite the relatively low support for the IFP in opinion polls, Chief Buthelezi's unorthodox approach has elevated his party into the top echelon of politics.

But whether it will remain there if the accord succeeds and universal peace comes, remains to be seen.

Despite the IFP histrionics, the absence of the right wing and the refusal of the PAC, Azapo and several other minor parties to sign the accord, it nonetheless remains a potent instrument for peace.

Whatever the outcome of the outstanding negotiations, it will still provide an impressive structure of codes and mechanisms to curb violence.

A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to seek peace, and obliges them to "publicly and repeatedly" condemn political violence and encourage political tolerance among followers.

Provisions for security forces, obliging them to be accountable to society and to maintain a higher standard of conduct than others, establishing a Police Board on which members of the public serve to regulate the police: creating a Police Reporter (previously named a Police ombudsman) — to monitor investigations of police misconduct, and obliging the police to co-operate with various independent structures to resolve disputes.

A police code of conduct which includes a commitment to use minimum force.

- A standing Commission on Public Violence and Intimidation to investigate the causes of political violence and ways of curbing it.
- A National Peace Committee to administer the implementation of the peace accord and ensure compliance with the codes of conduct.
- A State-paid but independent National Peace Secretariat to co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees and Local Dispute Resolution Committees.
- Special criminal courts to hear cases of political violence and unrest. As Mr Mandela said, the accord is not a magic wand, but it did offer "an historic opportunity for peace". □



# At the end of tough talks, it's a whole new ball game

By Peter Fabricius  
Esmarë van der Merwe  
and Carina le Grange

It was a tense moment for President de Klerk. He had endured a day of anxiety and drama at the peace convention, not least his difficult negotiations with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi about calling off his hordes of supporters chanting outside the convention hotel.

Then he had clashed head-on, at the international press conference afterwards, with ANC president Nelson Mandela about his handling of the IFP demonstration.

As he strode off the stage after the press conference, his office's director-general, Dr Jan-nie Roux, was waiting anxiously for him in the wings.

Both men looked tense and went into a huddle. Mr de Klerk's brow was furrowed. They must surely be discussing great matters of State.

## Christians back peace plan

In a response to the peace accord, about 400 Christians gathered yesterday in Kempton Park to launch the 1991 Harmony Safari.

The Together in Harmony concert marked the start of a 33-day mis-

A reporter drew near and heard Mr de Klerk, a smile of relief crossing his face, say: "Really ... well then it looks like Northerns or Free State will be in the final against Transvaal."

Dr Roux had just imparted to his boss the important news of the victory of their team, Northern Transvaal, over Western Province.

For Dr Roux — who had dashed out of the convention periodically to check on the game — the triumph was especially sweet as his son, Johan, had contributed to it.

## Switched

Rugby was an ever-present sub-theme to the convention. Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse looked mystified when the 300-plus delegates and journalists suddenly lost interest and broke into titters during his solemn oration for peace.

He did not know that behind him the TV

screens supposedly monitoring the convention had inexplicably switched to the rugby.

There was other light relief. Archbishop Desmond Tutu told an irreverent story about how God in His Creation had over-cooked blacks by leaving them in the oven too long — and over-compensated by taking whites out too early on the second try. (Why did Mr Hendrickse look smug at this point?)

Mr Mandela opened his first speech with a reminder to Mr de Klerk that "in one respect I stand head and shoulders above him and perhaps all of you". The convention hushed anxiously.

"Mr de Klerk is a young man of 50. I am 73." Relieved laughter.

When Mr de Klerk stood up to speak, he took up the challenge:

"I wish to state publicly that I don't compete with Mr Mandela when it comes to age or physical height."

It was in light exchanges such as these that the spirit of reconciliation built up in the negotiations was unself-consciously conveyed.

And in touching symbolic gestures both Mr Mandela, in his closing speech, and Bishop Tutu, with the final benediction, used excruciatingly pronounced but hugely appreciated Afrikaans.

Star 16/9/79

## Political rallies must end - bishop

The spirit of the peace accord should be brought to people at local level by placing a moratorium on political rallies and holding peace rallies instead, presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, Dr Stanley Mogoba, told the peace convention.

He also suggested that leaders of opposing parties or groups should be seen together by their followers at local level to "devolve the spirit of the accord down from lofty talk".

"Let leaders of such opposing groups be seen together, talking to each other. Let them be visible together in their communities," he said. (274)

The violence was a "national shame" and the signing and implementation of the accord was long overdue. It was time for the people of SA to shout from their rooftops "enough, enough!" to the violence. — Staff Reporter.



## 'Giant leap for all S Africans'

By Esmaré van der Merwe

More than 40 political, labour, church, business and Government organisations endorsed the National Peace Accord in Johannesburg on Saturday. Transkei and the PAC pledged support.

Here are some quotes:

- "We are sick and tired of saying we are sick and tired (of the violence)." — Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.
- "The signing of this accord represents one small step for many, one giant leap for all South Africans." — KaNgwane Chief Minister M C Zitha.
- "Our signatures alone cannot light the path to peace." — ANC president Nelson Mandela.
- "We have gone through a period of darkness we don't want to go through again." — Gazankulu Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi.

## ACCORD

# Making the peace

(274) AUG 16/91

Political Staff ESMARE VAN DER MERWE and PETER FABRICIUS analyse the National Peace Convention and report that crucial issues like Umkhonto we Sizwe's position still have to be cleared up.

**T**HE National Peace Accord was launched with much drama, fanfare and optimism at the National Peace Convention on Saturday, but some crucial issues have still not been cleared up.

Among the issues still unresolved are the position of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the carrying of weapons and a code of conduct for the Defence Force.

After a week of intense wrangling the references to weapons in the accord were amended in a few significant ways, on the eve of the convention.

Most important was that where the previous draft accord forbade the carrying of "dangerous" weapons at political gatherings, the word "dangerous" was dropped from the version agreed to on Saturday.

And a new clause was inserted stating that the government would issue proclamations to effect the ban.

Government and ANC sources said the effect of dropping the word "dangerous" was that all weapons — including the so-called cultural weapons so dear to the Inkatha Freedom Party — would be forbidden at political occasions.

However IFP sources disagreed and made it clear that the precise nature of the ban still had to be negotiated with the government. Said a senior ANC source: "As far as we are concerned, all weapons have now been banned. I'm not so sure whether Inkatha understands that, though."

The central question is whether or not "traditional" Zulu assegais should be allowed at political meetings.

However, ANC sources said its negotiators had wanted a definition — specifically outlawing all weapons, including knobkerries, to be included in the accord. Thus, the sources said, could not be achieved because the IFP refused.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelez took a hard line on the issue in an impromptu Press conference at the convention saying that assegais were not dangerous weapons but "traditional accoutrements" of the Zulus.

The defiant chief, asked whether he did not regard a spear as a dangerous weapon, lashed out at the reporter and said: "Only one percent of victims have been killed with spears. It is the AK47 that kills people."

But a senior Government source close to the negotiations dismissed these remarks as rhetoric.

He suggested that the government and the IFP had already reached a provisional understanding that spears should not be allowed at political gatherings.

The proclamation which the government would issue would make country-wide the existing ban on assegais at political meetings in unrest areas.

Another last-minute change in the accord was that the clause stating "no private armies should be formed" was expanded to "no Private armies should be allowed or formed."

The change was made at the insistence of the IFP which argued that the original accord excluded the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

However, government sources said the changes did not imply that MK would be



**THE BIG THREE:** President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelez listen to delegates at the peace accord signing at the weekend.

outlawed, as it was a legal organisation.

But it did mean that it could not be used as a private army.

ANC President Nelson Mandela made it very clear at a press conference after the convention that MK would not be dissolved "now or in the future".

But he added that the position of MK was being negotiated with the government and because good progress had been made, it had not been thought necessary to mention MK in the accord.

Mr Mandela seemed to be referring to the negotiations on the D F Malan agreement relating to MK arms caches and certain MK activities.

President De Klerk pointed out that a clause in the final draft of the accord stating that the accord did not affect bilateral discussions, had been inserted so as not to overrule the D F Malan talks.

Another major omission from the accord is the code of conduct for the Defence Force which is still being negotiated.

However this is expected to

be similar to the code of conduct for the police — and the Defence Force is already covered by the general provisions on security force conduct in the accord.

An important addition to the accord is that all security force provisions and codes have been extended to the self-governing territories.

This will mean that the sometimes controversial KwaZulu police will fall under the control of the mechanisms in the accord.

Saturday's convention was dominated by Chief Buthelez

in one way or another.

His very vocal reservations about the workability of the accord, his objection to Archbishop (and arch-rival) Desmond Tutu chairing part of the convention (the organisers backed down) as well as the presence of thousands of armed Inkatha "imps" at the plush Carlton Hotel in the middle of Johannesburg, placed him at centre stage — where he no doubt wanted to be.

The day of drama illustrated one point clearly: despite the relatively low support for the IFP in opinion polls, Chief

Buthelez's unorthodox politics have elevated his party into the top echelon of South African politics.

Despite the IFP histrionics, the absence of the right-wing and the refusal of the PAC, Azapo and several other minor parties to sign the accord, it nonetheless remains a potent instrument for peace.

Whatever the outcome of the outstanding negotiations, it will still provide an impressive structure of codes and mechanisms to curb violence.

● A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to seek peace, and obliges them to "publicly and repeatedly" condemn political violence and encourage political tolerance among their followers.

● Provisions for security forces, obliging them to be accountable to society and to maintain a higher standard of conduct than others, establishing a police board on which members of the public serve to regulate the police, creating a police reporter (previously named a police ombudsman) — not necessarily a policeman — to monitor investigations of police misconduct, and obliging the police to co-operate with various independent structures to resolve disputes.

● A police code of conduct which includes a commitment to use minimum force.

● A standing commission on public violence and intimidation to investigate the causes of political violence and ways of curbing it.

● A national peace committee to administer the implementation of the peace accord and ensure compliance with the codes of conduct.

● A State-paid but independent national peace secretariat to co-ordinate regional dispute resolution committees and local dispute resolution committees.

● Special criminal courts to hear cases of political violence and unrest.



Mood of 'extreme enthusiasm'

# Peace plan already on the move

By Peter Fabricius and  
Esmarë van der Merwe

Moves to establish the complex set of structures agreed to at the National Peace Convention are already under way.

All those who signed the historic accord in Johannesburg on Saturday believe it can work only if it is implemented without delay, and it is understood that arrangements for the first meeting of the National Peace Committee — the centrepiece of the peace plan — are being made urgently.

The NPC replaces the preparatory committee that brokered Saturday's deal and will comprise representatives of churches, business, the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The preparatory committee met immediately after the convention to discuss the next steps in the implementation of the accord.

"The mood is one of extreme enthusiasm among the signatories, and we are getting going today," one of the conveners said this morning.

"I fully expect that the work and enthusiasm that went into the weekend accord will be matched by efforts to implement it."

In spite of disagreements



over sensitive areas of the accord, all major leaders are confident it marks a breakthrough — President de Klerk said last night it opened the way for a quick start to constitutional negotiations.

High on the NPC's list of priorities will be the "expedient and effective" establishment of the standing statutory Commission on Violence and Intimidation, the National Peace Secretariat, special criminal courts to try crimes of political violence and mechanisms to monitor police conduct.

Consideration was expressed by participants in spite of unhappiness with the actions of IFP supporters outside the peace convention venue on Saturday.

Government sources said yesterday the presence of thousands of heavily armed IFP imps at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg could seriously jeopardise hopes of

a National Party/IFP moderate alliance.

They also cited IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "grand-standing" as a matter of extreme annoyance to the Government.

Although President de Klerk publicly tried to put a brave face on it, sources said the Government was furious at the IFP's performance.

They said the gathering of the chanting IFP supporters at the hotel had embarrassed the Government. And Chief Buthelezi's "hard-to-get" approach in the run-up to the convention had tried the Government's patience.

"I think you can forget about a moderate alliance. What was moderate about that?" one source said.

Sources told The Star at the weekend that the accord was nearly wrecked during the last few days before the convention.

In all-night sessions, negotiators representing the Government, the IFP and the ANC clashed heavily on certain aspects of the accord.

And even an issue as seemingly trivial as Archbishop Desmond Tutu's scheduled chairmanship of one of the sessions required an NPI delegation to fly to Ulundi to consult Chief Buthelezi.

Issues that remain unre-

● To Page 3

## Optimism over peace plan

From Page 1

solved after the accord include those of "cultural" weapons; the role of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe; and a code of conduct for the security forces.

The accord is, nonetheless, being widely regarded as the most important milestone on the road to lasting peace.

But its fragility was demonstrated minutes after its signing when Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela openly clashed over the presence of the IFP

supporters outside the hotel.

Mr de Klerk, asked whether the gathering had been authorised, said police had not given permission but they could not disperse the crowd as Johannesburg was not an unrest area, and they could act only if the crowd behaved in a threatening way.

Mr Mandela "totally rejected" this, saying if the crowd had been ANC supporters it would have been dispersed with gunfire.

Mr de Klerk responded

by saying he had given orders that if ANC supporters were to turn out, they were to be treated in exactly the same way.

Both Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk issued an invitation to the right-wing parties that did not attend the convention to become part of the process — or face marginalisation.

On the other side of the spectrum, the PAC, Azapo and other left-wing groups attended the convention — although they did not sign the accord.

# 'Accord may end sanctions, action'

Star 16/9/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

In the spirit of give-and-take engendered by Saturday's Peace Accord, ANC president Nelson Mandela signalled the ANC's willingness to compromise on two of its key bargaining chips: mass action and sanctions.

At an international media conference, Mr Mandela announced that the ANC would not resort to mass action campaigns if the accord worked, and would drop its insistence on the maintenance of sanctions once mutual trust had been established between the ANC and the Government on the creation of a non-racial unitary state with a one person, one vote system.

Mr Mandela was asked whether the accord's provision that no political party would seek to compel or force any person to withhold his or her labour meant the ANC would not longer embark on mass action.

"If the accord works well, there will be no question of any mass action. But if we (the signatories) fail to honour our obli-



gation and observe the terms of the Accord, and make no headway through persuasion, the only other power we (the ANC) can use is the power we have. Mass action is part of the power we will use if the power of negotiation and persuasion fails."

## Support

Later Mr Mandela was asked whether the ANC would support the lifting of sanctions to comply with the Accord's provision that all political parties would facilitate the rapid removal of obstacles to development and economic growth.

He said the ANC had introduced sanctions to achieve the abolition of apartheid and the extension of the vote to all

South Africans.

Apartheid laws had been scrapped but inequality still existed. As long as discrimination remained in the State's provision of health care, education and housing, sanctions would remain.

"I don't have the vote because of the colour of my skin. There is no reason why we should call for the lifting of sanctions."

However, the ANC was prepared to consider calling for the lifting of sanctions once its suspicion had been removed about the Government's sincerity to eradicate apartheid and to build a non-racial unitary state with an equal vote.

"It is possible that on the basis of that alone we can consider the lifting of sanctions before our objectives have been reached. But unfortunately, in our discussions with the Government, we have found the road very bumpy."

He expressed optimism that the differences between the ANC and the Government could be resolved soon.

Government sources said several clauses in the accord implied opposition to sanctions, and a contradiction of the ANC's official policy.



## **'We won't be bulldozed to early poll'**

The Government would not be bulldozed by the Conservative Party into holding an election before its present term of office ended, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He also indicated that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), should be disbanded because it was not "in the spirit" of the Peace Accord.

Speaking on SABC-TV's Agenda programme last night, Mr de Klerk said the Government had a five-year term of office and hoped in that period to hold a referendum in terms of the existing constitution to approve the new negotiated constitution.

Concerning private and political armies, he indicated he had received "certain guarantees" days before the signing of the accord from the ANC regarding the future of MK.

In terms of the Peace Accord no private armies may be formed or continue to operate.

Mr de Klerk added it was "high time" that the ANC became a political party.

Questioned about the carrying of traditional weapons — especially at the Peace Accord signing ceremony — Mr de Klerk said the issue was a very emotional one, particularly for the Zulu nation. — Sapa.

**'Violence is a sin.  
Peace is God's  
command' — President  
FW De Klerk**

**'Our signatures alone  
cannot light the path to  
peace' — Nelson  
Mandela, ANC  
president**

**'I commit the Inkatha  
Freedom Party to  
uphold this Accord'  
— Chief Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi**

**'The door to peace is  
now open' —  
Kwandebele Chief  
Minister James  
Mahlangu.**

# Big 3 stand firm

(274) AAG 16/9/91

**Boy of  
12 dies  
in  
taxi**



AAG 16/9/91

**EDWARD MOLOINYANE  
and JOHAN SCHRONEN  
Staff Reporters**

At least 10 people, including a 12-year-old boy conductor on a minibus taxi, died in township fighting at the weekend.

At least four of the deaths were related to the long-running minibus taxi war that flared up again more violently last week.

Police said there had been extensive damage to vehicles, most of them minibuses.

Shacks were gutted in Green Point, Khayelitsha, and a shop in Eimms Drive was also set burning. In an attack near the Site B police station a youth was shot and injured and more than 20 minibuses torched.



**SHOT DEAD:** A victim, above, of yesterday's attack on taxi-drivers at a

**TOS WENTZEL and ALAN DUNN, Political Staff**  
A NATIONAL peace committee and a permanent secretariat will be formed soon to administer the historic accord signed at the weekend.

The committee will consist of representatives of churches and business who served on the preparatory committee as facilitators of the peace accord and who organised the conference. They can co-opt members of political parties who signed the accord.

The secretariat will be a permanent body to serve the peace committee and will be financed by the government. The Department of Justice will make an announcement on this soon.

There will also be a standing commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation and special criminal courts to deal with political unrest, and regional and local dispute resolution committees.

- SA on the way back at UN — page 8.
- Making the peace — page 9.
- Death waits to strike from the seabed — page 9.

President De Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, have indicated that the weekend conference could be the precursor of an all-party conference.

In a TV interview Mr De Klerk said there was now no reason why a multi-party conference should not get off the ground soon. The position of Unkhonto we Sizwe would have to be dealt with as a matter of urgency.

Dr Viljoen said today that it was a high priority for the government to start as soon as possible with a multi-party conference.



# War

**EDWARD MOLOINYANE  
and JOHAN SCHRONEN**  
Staff Reporters

AT least 10 people, including a 12-year-old boy conductor on a minibus taxi, died in township fighting at the weekend.

At least four of the deaths were related to the long-running minibus taxi war that flared up again more violently last week.

Police said there had been extensive damage to vehicles, most of them minibuses.

Shacks were gutted in Green Point, Khayelitsha, and a shop in Ennams Drive was also set burning. In an attack near the Site B police station a youth was shot and injured and more than 20 minibuses torched.

And on Saturday a man was dragged from his taxi in Zola Budd Drive and hacked to death, while a taxi passenger was hit by a bullet fired from another taxi in Lansdowne Road, Philippi.

Yesterday's taxi shootings took place next to the taxi terminus behind the police station. An eyewitness said about 50 minibus taxis followed by a Casspir shortly after noon.

After taking the Khayelitsha turnoff from the N2 most minibuses drove across the robots into Meeway Drive, while two of them and the Casspir turned into Site C.

The witness, who followed the convoy, said he asked one of the drivers where he was going and was told the convoy was heading for the cemetery where Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) had been on guard since the war started several months ago.

"I turned back later and headed for Site C. I saw scores of taximen who had grouped at the rank earlier and who seemed to be holding a meeting, running in all directions."

"I heard several shots and a few minutes later the taxis, a blue car with a white driver and the Casspir, which had been parked in the street a few metres from the police station, pulled away," he said.



**SHOT DEAD: A victim, above, of yesterday's attack on taxi-drivers at a terminus, in Site C, Khayelitsha.**

**IN FLAMES: A Lagunya minibus, right, torched outside a petrol station in Khayelitsha.**

Pictures, OBED ZILWA, The Argus

The witness said when he investigated he saw two people, a taxi driver and a 12-year-old boy, said to be a conductor from Lagunya Taxi Association, lying dead a few metres from each other.

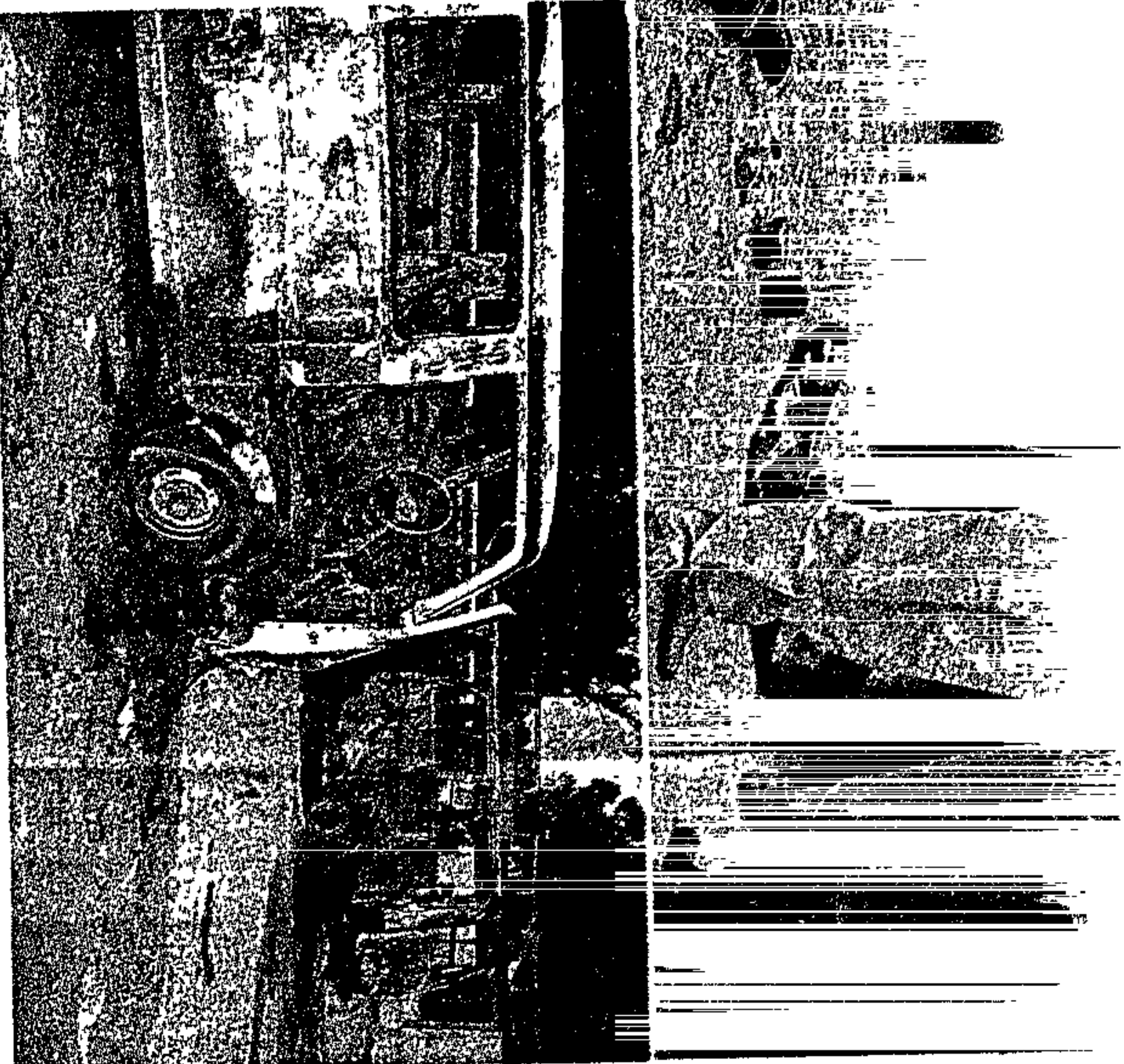
He said the driver, an unidentified man in his 40s, had "several nasty wounds".

Windows in the Lagunya offices at the rank were shattered by gunfire.

Police spokesman Captain Hendrik Opperman said three men were wounded yesterday in Site B and T Block by shots fired by unknown attackers.

Captain Opperman said allegations that policemen were responsible for this attack on the taxis were being investigated "as a matter of urgency" by a team headed by Deputy Chief Detective Colonel L. Wessels.

There were no minibuses at taxi ranks in Nyanga and Khayelitsha today and workers used trains and buses.



## WP counts cost after yobbos win the day

**GRAHAM LIZAMORE**  
Staff Reporter

AT least five spectators and two policemen were injured at Newlands South Stand when bottle-throwing rugby yobbos clashed with police during the Northern Transvaal-Western Province match on Saturday.

A police spokesman said several spectators, including two who appeared intoxicated, had been arrested and removed from the stadium. No charges had been laid.

Two policemen were slightly injured when spectators resisted arrest, said the spokesman.

Three schoolboys were injured by bottles.

The unruly behaviour in Saturday's clash between the Blue Bulls and Western Province was a replay of last year's "semi-finals" between the same teams at Newlands.

Last year after spectators disrupted the match at Newlands, officials warned that barriers might have to be erected and fans ejected from the grounds.

Mr Dawie Schoonraad, the WPRFU manager, said at the time the behaviour of some of the capacity crowd was "totally unacceptable" and would not be tolerated.

Mr Schoonraad is reported to have said a meeting was being held on Wednesday to discuss crowd behaviour.

● See page 4.

peace committee and will be financed by the government. The Department of Justice will make an announcement on this soon.

There will also be a standing commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation and special criminal courts to deal with political unrest, and regional and local dispute resolution committees.

- SA on the way back at UN — page 8.
- Making the peace — page 9.
- Death waits to strike from the seabed — page 9.

President De Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, have indicated that the weekend conference could be the precursor of an all-party conference.

In a TV interview Mr De Klerk said there was now no reason why a multi-party conference should not get off the ground soon. The position of Umkhonto we Sizwe would have to be dealt with as a matter of urgency.

Dr Viljoen said today that it was a high priority for the government to start as soon as possible with a multi-party conference.

The peace accord could be the single, most important contribution to the ending of violence.

Preparations for a multi-party conference were interrupted when the ANC issued its ultimatum about violence in April.

This issue had now been largely addressed by the peace accord.

Dr Viljoen said the loose threads of informal understanding which had been reached with parties interested in such a conference could now be taken up again.

● Renewed efforts are to be launched to draw the Conservative Party and rightwing groups into the peace process.

This is one of the priorities of Professor Johan Heyns, Afrikaner church leader and one of the facilitators of Saturday's peace initiative.

In spite of the success of the convention, he told about 300 delegates at the Carlton Hotel, "we have failed to bring together the whole spectrum of political groups".

Mr De Klerk told a news conference later that he did not think the rightwing decision to stay away from negotiations and the quest for peace reflected the general feeling of their supporters. A lot of those people were decent, God-fearing and church-going types who did not like violence.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the rightwing absence was not unexpected.

Peace could not be expected overnight.





men.

He was treated at the Alexandra clinic for a head wound. Two men were arrested.

In Jabavu, Soweto, an explosion caused R20 000 damage to a house. — Sapa.

## Readers hope peace accord works for unity

*Sowetan 16/9/91*  
By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THERE were mixed feelings from callers to the /Radio Metro Talkback Show on Friday - a day before the signing of the national peace accord by different organisations at the weekend.

While some said the accord was a positive move, others said the refusal by the Azapo and PAC, as well as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's statement prior to the occasion that he doubted its effectiveness, had poured cold water on the historic agreement.

Charles said Buthelezi's utterance had been disappointing. He said he believed the accord was going to work because for the first time all concerned political organisations were going to come together.

Archie from Tembisa said the nation had been praying for the accord to succeed. He said he was glad that it was going to bind every leader involved.

"I call on those leaders who signed to do the same as and reach our hearts. They must print pamphlets and preach peace and not only address us through the media."

Israel from Meadowlands said there were people who wanted to alienate the black community. The same people do not desire peace because they know it would mean majority rule.

Another caller said it must be remembered that the guilty are always afraid and hence the refusal to sign. He said the accord was good because everyone wanted the killing to stop.

Themba from Pimville said the accord was merely a gesture. He wished that the United Nations should have been brought in like in Namibia.





ABOVE: The leaders wait for their chance to speak at the National Peace Accord convention on Saturday. BELOW: Inkatha members perform in the street outside the Carlton Centre where the convention was held.



## Art Buchwald

THE movie of the summer seems to be *Thelma and Louise*.

It's the story of two women driving around the United States in a demolition derby, bashing male pigs who have done them wrong.

In fact, it is a female vigilante movie with the two ladies doing everything that women would like to do to men by taking the law into their own hands.

It's well made if you like a *Smoky* and the *Bandit*-type picture, and it features two very talented actresses, Geena Davis and Susan Sarandon, playing *Thelma* and *Louise*.

The trouble with the film is that if you go with your wife she wants to discuss it all night and you can lose a lot of sleep.

"What did you think of the movie?" my wife asked when we got home.

Like a dummy I answered "I don't have much respect for women who drive over the speed limit."

The lights went on, and she was off and running.

"That picture showed what women have to put up with all the time. The

## Women on the loose hit men where it hurts

man who tried to rape Geena had it coming to him."

I said "Susan Sarandon shot him in the heart with a gun. Even in the movies that's against the law."

My wife smiled "The audience liked it. They cheered."

"Movie audiences never want to take time to go through the legal process. Just because he attempted to rape her doesn't give them the right to shoot him dead and become Bonnie and Clyde."

"They wouldn't have done it if that cowboy hadn't made love to Geena Davis and stole all of *Thelma* and *Louise*'s savings."

"Women are tried of being made love to and then having guys take their money."

"It hurts them because they can never be sure if

the guy likes them for themselves or for the cash they carry around in brown envelopes."

I don't know why I was digging myself into such a big hole.

"Having their money stolen didn't give *Thelma* and *Louise* a reason to commit an armed robbery of a general store. That wasn't 'politically correct'."

"The audience loved it," she said "Besides, if someone steals money from you I don't see any reason why you shouldn't take money from somebody else."

"That's what the picture is all about. For the first time women are standing up for their rights and saying that they are not going to be assaulted by a guy just because he tells them how wonderful they are."

"Not all men rob wom-

en after they bed down with them," I declared "I know a lot of guys who aren't interested in a woman's money, but in her as a person."

"Name them," my wife challenged me.

"I'm not going to give names because then you'll just tell everyone and they'll get into trouble. I am aware that *Thelma* and *Louise* is just a movie, but I feel that its success is because the playing field is tilted toward the female perspective and that's bad for better relations between the sexes."

"It is not tilted," my wife said.

"Then why did *Thelma* and *Louise* get a standing ovation when they stuffed a state patrolman at gunpoint into the trunk of his car?"

"It wasn't because he was a man, it was because he was a police officer. Look, the movie is a fairy tale. All we are saying is that we want to be treated like men."

"That message comes through loud and clear," I told her. "But if *Thelma* and *Louise* is what women really want, I'm going to stay off the highways in Oklahoma and Arizona until they get it."

## Chapter One: (Principles)

SOUTH AFRICAN political parties committed themselves to the establishment of a multi-party democracy in a National Peace Accord on Saturday.

To ensure democratic political activity, participants committed themselves to uphold certain fundamental principles:

- Freedom of conscience and belief
- Freedom of speech and expression
- Freedom of association
- Peaceful assembly
- Freedom of movement
- Participate freely in peaceful political activity

The signatories accepted that democratic sovereignty derives from the people, whose right it is to elect their government and hold it accountable at polls for its conduct of their affairs.

The document noted the need for a non-partisan process of reconstruction and socio-economic development aimed at addressing the causes of violent conflict.

The parties committed themselves to facilitating the rapid removal of political, legislative, and administrative obstacles to development and economic growth.

The document noted that violence and intimidation diminished when investigated and exposed through the media.

The accord proposed the establishment of a Special Criminal Court to deal with unrest-related cases.

## Chapter Two:

(Code of conduct for political parties and organisations)

TO implement its provisions the signatories recognised the essential role played by political parties and organisations as "mediators" in a democratic political process, permitting the expression, aggregation and reconciliation of different views and interests.

All political parties shall contribute to the creation of a climate of democratic tolerance by:

- Publicly condemning political violence and encourage an understanding of the importance of democratic pluralism and a culture of political tolerance
- Local and traditional authorities should also support the right of all parties and organisations to have reasonable freedom of access to their members and supporters

Political parties and organisations are prohibited from:

- Killing, injuring, intimidating or threatening any person about his political beliefs
- Destroying or disfiguring any symbol of other political organisations
- Obstructing or threatening any person from attending any political gathering
- Seeking to force anyone to join a political organisation or 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

The accord also bars political parties from inciting violence and hatred.

Political parties are also obliged to inform appropriate authorities about the place, date, routing of public meetings, rallies and marches.

## Chapter Three

(Security Forces' General Provisions)

THIS provides for a set of principles and the setting up of a Police Board.

The Police Board will consist of both members of the public and representatives of the police in equal numbers.

The board will make recommendations to the Minister of Law and Order regarding the training and efficient functioning of the police.

This section also forbids public funds to be used to promote the interests of any political party or political organisation.

On dangerous weapons, it says "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."

## Chapter Four

(Sets out the Police Code of Conduct, which enforces police impartiality)

## Chapter Five

(Measures to facilitate socio-economic reconstruction and development)

THIS emphasises that development and reconstruction projects must actively involve the affected communities.

The National Peace Committee and the Regional Dispute Resolution Committees will establish per-

# Parties commit themselves to peace in SA

manent sub-committees on socio-economic reconstruction and development.

Attention would have to be paid of state resources and the cumbersome governmental structures.

"The sub-committees should identify flash points and co-ordinate socio-economic development that will defuse tensions in squatter settlements and hostels."

## Chapter Six

(Commission of Inquiry regarding public violence and intimidation)

THIS section states it was agreed established by the Prevention of Intimidation Act be used to expose violence.

"However, it may be necessary to amend the Act."

The permanent commission will be made up of a judge, a senior advocate and other duly qualified persons.

The body's functions will include:

- To investigate the causes of intimidation
- To recommend measures capable of breaking the cycle of violence
- To recommend measures to prevent further violence
- To initiate research programmes for the establishment of scientific empirical evidence
- To make recommendations on the funding of the process of peace

## Chapter Seven

(National Peace Secretariat, Regional Dispute Resolution Committees)

IT was proposed that committees be established at regional and local levels to investigate and resolve disputes at the grassroots level.

A National Peace Secretariat will be established, with at least four people nominated by the Department of Justice, would be responsible for co-ordinating the work of the Dispute Resolution Committees.

RDRCs will be constituted of representatives from relevant political organisations, trade unions, industry and business and tribal authorities.

The LDRCs will be constituted of representatives reflecting the needs of the community.

## Chapter Eight

(National Peace Committee)

THE political parties and organisations represented on the Preparatory Committee will constitute the National Peace Committee, together with representatives of the signatory parties.

This committee will monitor the implementation of the National Peace Accord and will ensure compliance with the code of conduct for political parties.

## Chapter Nine

(Enforcing the Peace Agreement)

DISPUTES regarding transgressions of the code of conduct for political parties shall be referred to the National Peace Committee or a committee to whom it has referred for resolution and thereafter for

## Chapter 10

(Special Criminal Courts)

SPECIAL Criminal Courts will be established to deal with unrest-related cases.

The Department of Justice, in consultation with local legal practitioners of the Bar, should establish procedures for the proposed courts.

These courts will not deal with civil cases and as a result will be able to deal with related cases swiftly and effectively.





wait for their chance to speak at the National Peace Accord convention on members perform in the street outside the Carlton Centre where the convention was held



## Women on the loose hit men where it hurts

man who tried to rape Geena had it coming to him."

I said "Susan Sarandon shot him in the heart with a gun. Even in the movies that's against the law."

My wife smiled "The audience liked it. They cheered."

"Movie audiences never want to take time to go through the legal process. Just because he attempted to rape her doesn't give them the right to shoot him dead and become Bonnie and Clyde."

"They wouldn't have done it if that cowboy hadn't made love to Geena Davis and stole all of Thelma and Louise's savings."

"Women are tired of being made love to and then having guys take their money."

"It hurts them because they can never be sure if

the guy likes them for themselves or for the cash they carry around in brown envelopes."

I don't know why I was digging myself into such a big hole.

"Having their money stolen didn't give Thelma and Louise a reason to commit an armed robbery of a general store. That wasn't 'politically correct'."

"The audience loved it," she said. "Besides, if someone steals money from you I don't see any reason why you shouldn't take money from somebody else." "That's what the picture is all about. For the first time women are standing up for their rights and saying that they are not going to be assaulted by a guy just because he tells them how wonderful they are."

"Not all men rob wom-

en after they bed down with them," I declared. "I know a lot of guys who aren't interested in a woman's money, but in her as a person."

"Name them," my wife challenged me.

"I'm not going to give names because then you'll just tell everyone and they'll get into trouble. I am aware that Thelma and Louise is just a movie, but I feel that its success is because the playing field is tilted toward the female perspective and that's bad for better relations between the sexes."

"It is not tilted," my wife said.

"Then why did Thelma and Louise get a standing ovation when they stuffed a state patrolman at gunpoint into the trunk of his car?"

"It wasn't because he was a man, it was because he was a police officer. Look, the movie is a fairy tale. All we are saying is that we want to be treated like men."

"That message comes through loud and clear," I told her. "But if Thelma and Louise is what women really want, I'm going to stay off the highways in Oklahoma and Arizona until they get it."

### Chapter One: (Principles)

SOUTH AFRICAN political parties committed themselves to the establishment of a multi-party democracy in a National Peace Accord on Saturday.

To ensure democratic political activity, participants committed themselves to uphold certain fundamental principles:

- Freedom of conscience and belief
- Freedom of speech and expression
- Freedom of association
- Peaceful assembly
- Freedom of movement
- Participate freely in peaceful political activity

The signatories accepted that democratic sovereignty derives from the people, whose right it is to elect their government and hold it accountable at polls for its conduct of their affairs.

The document noted the need for a non-partisan process of reconstruction and socio-economic development aimed at addressing the causes of violent conflict.

The parties committed themselves to facilitating the rapid removal of political, legislative, and administrative obstacles to development and economic growth.

The document noted that violence and intimidation diminished when investigated and exposed through the media.

The accord proposed the establishment of a Special Criminal Court to deal with unrest-related cases.

### Chapter Two:

(Code of conduct for political parties and organisations)

TO implement its provisions the signatories recognised the essential role played by political parties and organisations as "mediators" in a democratic political process, permitting the expression, aggregation and reconciliation of different views and interests.

All political parties shall contribute to the creation of a climate of democratic tolerance by:

- Publicly condemning political violence and encourage an understanding of the importance of democratic pluralism and a culture of political tolerance
- Local and traditional authorities should also support the right of all parties and organisations to have reasonable freedom of access to their members and supporters

Political parties and organisations are prohibited from:

- Killing, injuring, intimidating or threatening any person about his political beliefs
- Destroying or disfiguring any symbol of other political organisations
- Obstructing or threatening any person from attending any political gathering
- Seeking to force anyone to join a political organisation or 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

The accord also bars political parties from inciting violence and hatred.

Political parties are also obliged to inform appropriate authorities about the place, date, routing of public meetings, rallies and marches.

### Chapter Three

(Security Forces: General Provisions)

THIS provides for a set of principles and the setting up of a Police Board.

The Police Board will consist of both members of the public and representatives of the police in equal numbers.

The board will make recommendations to the Minister of Law and Order regarding the training and efficient functioning of the police.

This section also forbids public funds to be used to promote the interests of any political party or political organisation.

On dangerous weapons, it says "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."

### Chapter Four

(Sets out the Police Code of Conduct, which enforces police impartiality)

### Chapter Five

(Measures to facilitate socio-economic reconstruction and development)

THIS emphasises that development and reconstruction projects must actively involve the affected communities.

The National Peace Committee and the Regional Dispute Resolution Committees will establish per-

# Parties commit themselves to peace in SA

(274) CT 16/9/91

manent sub-committees on socio-economic reconstruction and development.

Attention would have to be paid to the allocation of state resources and the cumbersome nature of governmental structures.

"The sub-committees should identify potential flash points and co-ordinate socio-economic development that will defuse tension, for example, squatter settlements and hostels."

### Chapter Six

(Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation — "the commission")

THIS section states it was agreed the commission established by the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act be used to investigate and expose violence.

"However, it may be necessary to amend the Act."

The permanent commission will consist of five people — a judge, a senior advocate and three other duly qualified persons.

The body's functions will include:

- To investigate the causes of violence and intimidation
- To recommend measures capable of containing the cycle of violence
- To recommend measures in order to prevent further violence
- To initiate research programmes for the establishment of scientific empirical data on violence
- To make recommendations concerning the funding of the process of peace

### Chapter Seven

(National Peace Secretariat, Regional and Local Dispute Resolution committees)

IT was proposed that committees be appointed at regional and local levels to investigate violence at grassroots level.

A National Peace Secretariat, comprising of at least four people nominated by the National Peace Committee and one representative of the Department of Justice, would be established.

This in turn will set up and co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees (RDRC) and Local Dispute Resolution Committees (LDRC).

RDRCs will be constituted of representatives from relevant political organisations, churches, trade unions, industry and businesses, and local and tribal authorities.

The LDRCs will be constituted by drawing representatives reflecting the needs of the relevant community.

### Chapter Eight

(National Peace Committee)

THE political parties and organisations at present represented on the Preparatory Committee shall constitute the National Peace Committee (NPC) together with representatives drawn from other signatory parties.

This committee will monitor and make recommendations on the implementation of the National Peace Accord and will ensure compliance with the code of conduct for political parties and organisations.

### Chapter Nine

(Enforcing the Peace Agreement between the parties)

DISPUTES regarding transgressions of the code of conduct for political parties and organisations shall be referred to the National Peace Committee or a committee to whom it has referred the matter for resolution and thereafter for arbitration.

### Chapter 10

(Special Criminal Courts)

SPECIAL Criminal Courts will be set up specifically to deal with unrest-related cases.

The Department of Justice, in co-operation with local legal practitioners of the law societies and the Bar, should establish project committees to advise the Department of Justice on the administration of the proposed courts.

These courts will not deal with day-to-day crime and as a result will be able to dispose of unrest-related cases swiftly and effectively — Sapa



# Stage set

# for talks

(274)



CT 16/9/91

**Own Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — The historic National Peace Accord had set the stage for full-scale constitutional negotiations, President F W de Klerk said on Saturday.

He said at the signing that multi-party negotiations must be one of the follow-through activities of the accord and the day's events.

"I sincerely believe that until we also start negotiating constructively about what the future might look like, it will be difficult to implement this accord," he said after signing the document and committing the government and the NP to its conditions.

Mr De Klerk said the signing was only one step on the arduous road ahead, but it was an important breakthrough and a firm foundation on which to continue building.

Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi agreed that compromises reached during the drafting of the accord bode well for future talks.

It is understood many of the signatories view the National Peace Committee — the political organ overseeing the accord — as a platform to start

## BRITAIN AND US APPLAUD ACCORD

— PAGE 5

## PEACE ACCORD TEXT

— PAGE 6

preliminary talks leading to full-blown negotiations, overseen by the multi-party conference.

It is ideally placed as a forum for negotiating issues and the signatories, in the working groups and preparatory committee, have already started identifying areas to be negotiated during national constitutional talks.

On the issue of combating violence, Mr De Klerk said all parties were united — but on a host of other issues, such as an interim government, they differed widely "even with regard to points of departure".

"The challenge therefore is an awesome one... because the followers must see their leaders talking peace, talking about the future, and finding ways and means of co-operating."

Important demands would be made of leaders to

also address other issues on which it might be more difficult to reach consensus, he said.

The National Peace Committee is empowered by the accord to negotiate with parties that have not signed — such as the PAC, Azapo and the CP — to try to persuade them to make a commitment. This is also seen as a move to ensure that preliminary talks include all key players.

Mr Mandela added pressure by calling on the UN General Assembly and the international community to add their support to the process. He called on the UN to pass a public resolution forbidding governments from supporting organisations that did not sign the accord or support it.

It is understood that he was directing this specifically at the Conservative Party, which has been seeking foreign funding, but also wanted it to affect the PAC and Azapo. However, these organisations might sign after the Patriotic Front congress next month.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo echoed Mr De Klerk's sentiments on getting constitutional negotiations going.

He "solemnly" bound the SACP to the spirit and details of the accord.

The convention left three issues unresolved — the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the carrying of so-called traditional weapons and a code of conduct for the defence force.

# National peace committee to hold meeting this week

THE peace committee formed in terms of the National Peace Accord is expected to meet on Thursday or Friday.

The process towards implementing the accord, signed on Saturday by 29 political parties, state and trade union organisations, would have to move into top gear in the next few weeks to give force to the parties' commitment, a source in the peace process said yesterday.

He said the signatories met late on Saturday to decide on the first meeting of the peace committee. This would happen later this week.

The committee would be made up of the signatories and two chairmen, one from the business sector and another from the religious groups. Saccob president John Hall would be the obvious choice of all parties as business chairman, he said. However, choosing the religious person could be a problem because of the ties various religious groups had with organisations.

This would be the first stage to setting up the committee, the political organ overseeing the accord.

Other structures that had to still be set up were the monitoring mecha-

nisms of the national peace secretariat, comprised of at least four nominated members of the committee and a representative from the Justice Department. The secretariat will establish and co-ordinate regional and local dispute resolution committees.

The Standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation, which has already been gazetted, would operate along with these two bodies at the national level.

All the other structures at regional and local level needed legal force to operate effectively. These were the special regional criminal courts and the regional dispute resolution committees. At the local level there would be justices of the peace and the dispute resolution committees.

The accord makes provision for additional justices of the peace to be appointed after consultation with parties to the accord and the local dispute resolution committees.

It is understood that the Justice Department will appoint additional justices of the peace in certain areas and also make provision for extra courts as special criminal courts.

BILLY PADDOCK



Mandela calls for UN support

# De Klerk says accord opens door to talks

THE historic National Peace Accord had set the stage for full-scale constitutional negotiations, President F W de Klerk said on Saturday.

He said at the signing that multiparty negotiations must be one of the follow-through activities of the accord and the day's events.

"I sincerely believe that until we also start negotiating constructively about what the future might look like, it will be difficult to implement this accord," he said after signing the document and committing government and the NP to its conditions.

De Klerk said the signing was only one step on the arduous road ahead, but it was an important breakthrough and a firm foundation on which to continue building.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed that compromises reached during the drafting of the accord bode well for future talks.

It is understood that many of the signatories view the national peace committee — the political organ overseeing the accord — as a platform to start preliminary talks leading to full-blown negotiations, overseen by the multiparty conference.

It is ideally placed as a forum for negotiating issues and the signatories, in the working groups and preparatory committee, have already started identifying areas to be negotiated during national constitutional talks.

De Klerk said that on the issue of combating violence, all parties were united — but on a host of other issues, such as an interim government, they differed widely

BILLY PADDOCK

"even with regard to points of departure".

"The challenge therefore is an awesome one ... because the followers must see their leaders talking peace, talking about the future, and finding ways and means of co-operating."

Important demands would be made of leaders to also address other issues on which it might be more difficult to reach consensus, he said.

The national peace committee is empowered by the accord to negotiate with parties that have not signed — such as the PAC, Azapo and the CP — to try to persuade them to make a commitment. This is also seen as a move to ensure that preliminary talks include all key players.

Mandela added pressure by calling on the UN General Assembly and the international community to add its support to the process. He called on the UN to pass a public resolution forbidding governments from supporting organisations that did not sign the accord or support it.

It is understood he was directing this specifically at the CP, which has been seeking foreign funding, but also wanted it to affect the PAC and Azapo. However, these organisations might sign after the patriotic front congress next month.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo echoed De Klerk's sentiments on getting constitutional negotiations going. When signing the accord he said: "Without peace there can be no democracy, and it is equally true that without democracy peace remains under constant threat."

□ To Page 2

## Accord

He "solemnly" bound the SACP to the spirit and details of the accord

The convention left three issues unresolved: The continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe; the carrying of so-called traditional weapons; and a code of conduct for the Defence Force.

The last of these was in the process of being finalised. Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said he had submitted a draft at the beginning of the month but the ANC had only forwarded its objections and proposals last week and there had been no time to finalise it before the signing. It would be negotiated in the next few weeks and added as a codicil.

There was also a last-minute compromise between the ANC and Inkatha on Friday on two issues which saved the ac-

cord. Inkatha agreed to drop the word "dangerous" before weapons and broaden the clause to include all weapons. The ANC in turn agreed to "no private armies shall be allowed or formed".

De Klerk said government would be negotiating and consulting the ANC and Inkatha in the next two weeks to formulate a clear definition of what a weapon was, and he would then have this gazetted.

Mandela announced at a news conference after the signing that despite the ban on private armies the ANC would not disband MK. The future of MK was the subject of discussions between the ANC and government and that was why the accord did not cover this.

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 8

□ From Page 1

# Peace body to meet this week

CT 17/9/91

Political Staff

(274)

REGIONAL and local dispute resolution committees would be appointed by the National Peace Committee which is to meet this week, said a Department of Justice spokesman, Mr Werner Kriel. "We are trying to get off the ground as soon as possible," he said yesterday.

The committees were proposed by the National Peace Accord, signed in Johannesburg on Saturday, to combat violence and intimidation.

As soon as a dispute resolution committee for the Western Cape is appointed, it will try to resolve the conflict in Khayelitsha where 10 people died and more than 20 minibuses were burnt at the weekend.

Meanwhile Sapa-AP reports that:

- The Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, Prince James Mahlangu, has urged members of the Legislative Assembly to contribute to the accord.

- The Ciskeian government says it will ensure that the spirit of the accord is made known.

- The ANC Youth League in the Natal Midlands has pledged its support for the accord.

- The European Community yesterday welcomed the accord and hoped it would end the violence.



The National Peace Accord is imperfect and unfinished, but remains a victory for its signatories, writes

# A rickety foundation for long-standing peace

ONE could drive a Casspir, run an impi or march an Umkhonto we Sizwe platoon through the loopholes of the 33-page National Peace Accord.

It is pitted with flaws — important parts of it still have to be written, crucial definitions have yet to be agreed, and disputes over its interpretation will no doubt proliferate.

Imperfect and unfinished as it is, it represents a victory of unprecedented for the participants and proof that multilateral agreement is possible in a society as divided and angry as ours.

It is also the most concerted, most visible effort yet to stop the slaughter in the townships.

The Accord is a rickety foundation for peace. Most signatories agreed at the National Peace Convention that it would need hard work to translate its lofty ideals into reality.

It was but a single step, President de Klerk said, on the arduous road to peace ahead.

"We must be realistic," the convention's preparatory committee noted. "Peace is not going to descend on South Africa because of this Accord."

"... We are under no illusion that the Accord is a magic wand," said ANC president Nelson Mandela. Dr Sam Molsuanyane, co-chairman of the convention, agreed: "Peace cannot be assured by the signing of a document."

Mr de Klerk captured the general feeling "The Accord is not perfect. All of us would probably have wanted some or other further clause to have been inserted."

"Each of us would probably also have preferred certain clauses not to have been included. This also applies to me."

Mr Mandela confirmed that the ANC had some serious reservations about the Accord, "but we've accepted that in an Accord of this nature compromise is essential. There must be give and take."

Widespread agreement also

characterised thoughts on how to set about making the Accord work: create the peace mechanisms it envisages as soon as possible, and spread word of the accord.

The National Peace Committee, which will drive the peace process, will be formed this week. The creation of a National Peace Secretariat will follow, and a commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation will be established soon. Special criminal courts to deal with political unrest, regional dispute resolution committees and local dispute resolution committees will, it is hoped, also take form.

One of the most frequently expressed views at the convention was the need to transmit the accord and its contents to grassroots supporters. Only in this way, speakers said, could a culture of tolerance and peace be achieved.

"The Accord is a piece of paper," said Chief Minister T K.

Mopeli of the QwaQwa government. "Unless there is a change of heart on the ground, at the local level, we shall have laboured in vain."

Mr de Klerk amplified the point: "I believe that the Accord must be a living document. In the days ahead we will have to further develop and refine the shared principles and aims in our battle against violence and intimidation."

The Accord demanded that leaders of people filled with anger and revenge should do something about it. "It is easy to fault your opponents, or to put the blame on the security forces. It is much more difficult to acknowledge and to rectify your own faults and those of your supporters. However, exactly that is now a priority," he said. "Each and every leader is now called upon to secure the commitment from his supporters to honour this Accord."

Another striking feature of the

conference was that nobody, not even the headline groups that shied away from signing, doubted the honest intentions of those who wrote it.

But unfinished business remains — a code of conduct for the SA Defence Force must be finalised and inserted into the Accord. And the thorny issues of "private armies" and "traditional weapons" are still unsettled.

Government, ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party members worked through lengthy negotiations last week, until only hours before the convention, in search of agreement on these problems. Phrases were altered at the last minute to enable the "big three" to sign.

The document states that "no private armies shall be allowed or formed". This was apparently insisted on by the IFP, which believes, with the Government, that it applies squarely to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Mr Mandela stated, however, that the ANC had no intention of

disbanding MK "either now or in the future". The matter was under discussion with the Government, and they were trying for an amicable solution.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was equally intransigent on so-called traditional weapons. The Accord, which prohibits possession, carrying or display of weapons or firearms at political meetings or marches, did not include "cultural" weapons, he said.

The Accord goes further, obligating all political organisations actively to discourage and prevent weapons at political gatherings. Judging by Mr Buthelezi's attitude, this has a slim likelihood of practice.

Mr de Klerk said there was no definition of weapons in the document. That would be contained in a proclamation issued by the Government after further consultations with the IFP and ANC. He anticipated a decision "in the next week or two" □

ALAN DUNN

274



# Commission without clout?

Star 17/4/91. (274)

The standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence is one of the centrepieces of the historic National Peace Accord. But the commission has not met with the unqualified approval of human rights lawyers, Political Editor **SHAUN JOHNSON** writes.

**I**N HIS response to the Inkatha funding scandal, President de Klerk placed heavy emphasis on the Government's proposed "Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation" Five months passed with no obvious activity about the commission, until it resurfaced in the National Peace Accord signed in Johannesburg on Saturday.

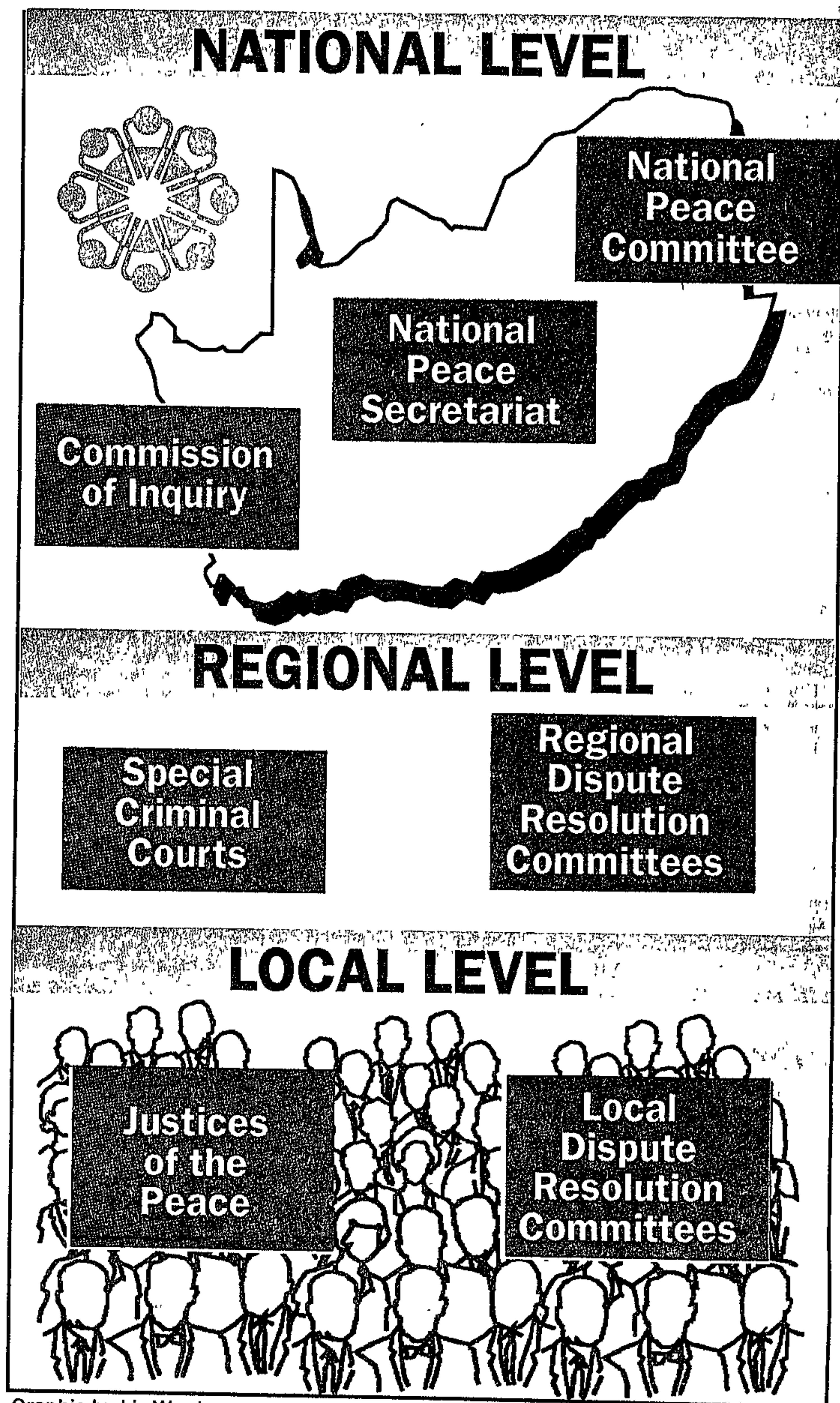
Observers welcomed the inclusion of the commission proposals in the multilaterally-endorsed document — chiefly because it addressed the criticism that Government was attempting to impose solutions unilaterally — but now that its workings have been described in detail, human rights lawyers are expressing disquiet.

In a memorandum in the possession of the Star, prepared jointly by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), it is argued that the commission is one of the key mechanisms for ensuring implementation of the codes of conduct contained in the National Peace Accord for political parties and the security forces. It is charged with inquiring into the nature and causes of public violence, making recommendations to the State President concerning appropriate policies on the question, and inquiring into the funding of the peace process and the compensation of victims of violence.

As such, the lawyers believe, "the commission has not been given sufficient legal powers to achieve these ends."

The Nadel/LHR document, overseen by lawyers David Pitman and Greg Nott, identifies alleged "deficiencies in the powers of the commission"

There is concern that the



Graphic by Liz Warder



17/9/91

274

commission will not be authorised, unless under special circumstances, to inquire into occurrences which took place and ended before July 27 this year, or to inquire into incidents before this date where other official investigations are already under way.

The authors say "We view these limitations as being a potentially severe restriction on the ability of the commission. The cut-off date is arbitrary. Further, there are numerous instances of prosecutions being held where witnesses did not come forward to testify out of fear of reprisals and intimidation.

"It is desirable that the (se) events should be investigated."

The lawyers question the fact that the commission — and, indeed, the broader Peace Accord — appear to be concerned to be "forward looking" and that "the events of the past are to be buried".

Moreover, the Nadel/LHR document places a question mark over the proposed composition of the commission, and its independence "The Act (Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act of 1991,

**Keeping the peace . . . National level: the National Peace Committee, made up of representatives of the signatories under a chairman and vice-chairman drawn from the religious and business communities, will monitor and make recommendations on the implementation of the Peace Accord. The National Peace Secretariat, comprising at least four persons nominated by the NPC, will establish and co-ordinate regional and local dispute resolution committees. The Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation is a statutory body to investigate violent incidents and make recommendations of how violence and intimidation can be prevented. Regional level: special criminal courts will probe unrest-related cases. Regional dispute resolution committees will settle disputes, monitor peace accords and advise the commission on matters causing violence and intimidation in the region. Local level: local dispute resolution committees, drawing representatives from the communities, will create trust and reconciliation between grassroots community structures and co-operate with the local justice of the peace in combating and preventing violence and intimidation.**

the enabling legislation for the commission) does not make it clear who will comprise the investigation team for the commission. One of the parties who will be bound by the codes of conduct set down in the Peace Accord will be the SA Police. This arises out of repeated allegations that the police have not acted impartially . . . in the ongoing violence. It is imperative that the SAP are not exclusively appointed to the positions of investigators for the commission"

Regarding the independence of the commission, the lawyers observe that there are limitations on public access to reports drafted by the commission. "We believe the commission should be fully accountable to the public and that the State President should not have the sole power to withhold publication of the findings.

"The commission does not have powers to discipline or prosecute parties subject to its inquiries. It is therefore important that the commission enjoys

independence in publishing its findings if it is to command the confidence of the public."

The document concludes by expressing the broad concern that the commission — while clearly desirable in principle — may not in practice be "adequately empowered to investigate and expose violence and intimidation . . .

"We urge the State President to take these observations into account when appointing the commission's chairperson and the investigating team." □

Star 17/9/91 (274) ~~274~~

## Mandela attacked over MK

While defending the carrying of "traditional" weapons by his supporters, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday attacked ANC president Nelson Mandela for not dismantling the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

On Radio 702's "Newstalk", he said: "Mandela said his organisation would not dismantle Umkhonto we Sizwe. How can one then talk of peace when there are hundreds of arms caches around the country?"

On "traditional weapons" he said this was "not an issue". It

was being discussed with the Government. He repeated he was "not optimistic" that the Peace Accord would work.

Mr Mandela was emphatic on Saturday, after signing the Accord, that a clause stating that "no private armies shall be allowed or formed" did not mean the ANC would disband MK.

Speaking on SABC-TV's "Agenda" programme on Sunday night, President de Klerk said he believed that MK should be disbanded as it was "not in the spirit" of the Peace Accord.

— Staff Reporter.



# ANC-Inkatha clash threat to conference

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The ANC's wish to exclude Inkatha representatives is casting a pall over a coming conference at Notre Dame University that could play a key role in determining when and how US companies reinvest in South Africa.

The conference, organised at the ANC's request, is intended to establish dialogue between top US executives and the ANC on what a new South African government will need to do to attract US investment.

The ANC delegation is to be headed by foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki and will include Mr Max Sisulu and other senior ANC economists.

Organisers, who also include executives active with the former Sullivan Code companies, hope that the ANC will take the opportunity to modify its stance on sanctions.

The response so far from US business leaders has been "very good", said Father Oliver Williams, a specialist in business ethics and adviser to US corporations in South Africa. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen also plans to at-

tend.

Mr George Schroll, a retired Colgate-Palmolive executive, said the ANC side had "dwelt on the need for job creation and investment". He had responded that the ANC's stance on sanctions was "contradictory".

Fr Williams said that though the main purpose of the conference was to enable the ANC to hear the concerns of US business first-hand, it had originally been agreed in principle that representatives of Inkatha, the PAC, Azapo and other parties would be invited.

However, the ANC informed organisers that, as a result of the Inkatha slush-fund scandal, Inkatha would no longer be welcome at the conference, now scheduled for October 6-8.

This has infuriated Inkatha.

Mr Schroll said yesterday that the organisers were trying to change the ANC's mind.

Organisers warned that the ANC could only harm itself in the eyes of the American business community by taking a hard line on the issue.

● Simon Barber's column — Page 8

# Groups are hopeful over quest for peace

*Sowetan 17/9/91*  
**MOVES** to establish the complex set of structures agreed to at the National Peace Convention are already under way.

All the signatories to the historic accord believe it can work only if it is implemented without delay, and it is understood that arrangements for the first meeting of the National Peace Committee - the centrepiece of the peace plan - are being made urgently.

The NPC replaces the preparatory committee which brokered Saturday's deal and will consist of representatives of the churches, business, the Government, ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The preparatory committee met immediately after the convention to discuss the next steps in the implementation of the accord.

## Breakthrough

"The mood is one of extreme enthusiasm among the signatories," one of the convenors said yesterday.

"I fully expect that the work and enthusiasm that went into the weekend accord will be matched by efforts to implement it."

Despite disagreements over sensitive areas of the accord, all major leaders are confident that it marks a breakthrough - President FW de Klerk said on Sunday night it opened the way for a quick start to constitutional negotiations.

High on the NPC's list of priorities will be the "expeditious and effective" establishment of the standing statutory Commission on Violence and Intimidation, the National Peace Secretariat, special criminal

## Political Staff

nal courts to try crimes of political violence and mechanisms to monitor police conduct.

The confidence was expressed by participants despite unhappiness over the actions of IFP supporters outside the peace convention venue on Saturday.

Government sources said yesterday the presence of IFP supporters could seriously jeopardise hopes of a National Party/IFP moderate alliance.

## Annoyance

They cited the gathering of thousands of armed IFP supporters at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg - and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "grand-standing" - as matters of extreme annoyance to the Government.

Although De Klerk publicly tried to put a brave face on it, sources said the Government was furious at the IFP's performance.

"I think you can forget about a moderate alliance. What was 'moderate' about that?" one source said.

Sources revealed at the weekend that the accord was nearly wrecked before the convention.

Issues which remain unresolved include those of "cultural" weapons; the role of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe and a code of conduct for the security forces.

The accord is, nonetheless, being widely regarded as the most important milestone on the road to lasting peace.

(274)



# Five killed, six wounded in unrest

PRETORIA. — Five people died and six were wounded in unrest-related incidents throughout the country on Monday and early yesterday. (274) ET 18/9/91

Yesterday's police unrest report said the body of a man with hack wounds was found at Mandela Park Squatter Camp, Tokoza, while a man was shot dead by unknown gunmen at Jabulani Hostel in Soweto.

East Rand police found the body

of a man in Phola Park yesterday, and a second man was killed shortly after.

In Alexandra, the bullet-riddled body of a woman was found on Monday night.

Six men — two of them police — received bullet wounds in township shootings on the Witwatersrand and near Port Shepstone in Natal.

One policeman was wounded at

Phola Park, while a second was slightly wounded at Gamalakhe near Port Shepstone.

Men were wounded by gunfire at Tsakane, near Brakpan, and Merafe Hostel in Soweto. At Daveyton, near Benoni, two wounded men were found.

● The Black Sash repression monitoring group in Durban yesterday reported two deaths in Natal political violence over the past two days. — Sapa

# MK staying alive or going into limbo?

THE national peace accord has focused attention on the ANC's underground Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) army, and raised questions about its future.

Even before the ink had dried on the signatures of the contracting parties to the accord, President de Klerk was pressing for the dissolution of MK in its present form as a guerilla army.

Its continued existence was contrary to the spirit of the accord, Mr de Klerk said on television at the weekend.

The relevant clause in the accord reads: "No private armies shall be allowed or formed."

A qualifying clause defines a private army as one which is formed on the basis of party or political affiliation.

The pertinent clause was different in an earlier draft. It said simply: "No private armies shall be formed."

The words "allowed or" were inserted in the final version, reportedly at the insistence of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, to extend the prohibition to MK.

As a guerilla army which existed before the peace accord was drawn up, MK — which was made legal with the ANC and SACP after President de Klerk's speech on February 2 1990 — was not affected by the ban on private armies in the first draft.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has, however, not made the same deduction as Mr de Klerk about the need to disband MK.

"We have no intention of dissolving MK, either now or in the future," he said at a news conference after signing the accord. "It is a matter which is under discussion between the ANC and the Government. We are discussing it in a spirit of reconciliation."

At the same conference, Mr de Klerk drew attention to earlier bilateral agreements between the ANC and his administration, insisting that the peace accord supplemented rather than repaced them.

Three bilateral agreements are involved: the Groote Schuur Minute of May 1990, the Pretoria Minute of August last year, and the D F Malan Agreement of February 1991.

In the Groote Schuur Minute, the ANC and the De Klerk administration undertook to end

PATRICK LAURENCE looks at the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe in light of the national peace accord.

the "climate of violence and intimidation", and to undertake a process of peaceful negotiations.

At the Pretoria Minute the ANC agreed to suspend its "armed struggle and related activities" as part of a quid pro quo for the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles by April 30 1991.

The months after the signing of the Pretoria Minute were characterised by haggling between the ANC and the authorities over the meaning of the three words: "and relative activities".

There were serious differences of interpretation over whether the ANC's agreement to suspend "armed struggle and related activities" merely meant a cessation of a direct act of war, or whether it precluded the ANC from recruiting and training guerillas or smuggling weapons into South Africa on assumption that the suspended war might have to be resumed at a later stage.

These differences were largely, but not completely, settled at a meeting at D F Malan Airport in February. The interpretation which was agreed on represented, in large measure, a victory for Mr de Klerk's insistence that the Pretoria Minute bound the ANC to more than a mere moratorium of overt acts of warfare by MK guerillas.

The ANC representatives

concurred that the Pretoria Minute meant: An end to the infiltration of men and materiel into South Africa; a halt to the building of underground structures; a proscription on statements inciting violence and on threats of armed action; and a prohibition of the training of guerillas in South Africa.

Looking back at the bilateral agreements at Groote Schuur, Pretoria and D F Malan Airport, one overall conclusion can be drawn: MK was in the process of being transformed from a guerilla army into an ancillary political force under the aegis of the ANC.

That process was, however, disrupted by the intensification of the township violence and the ANC's suspension in April 1991 of constitutional discussions with the De Klerk administration.

The national peace accord has put the process back on the rails and the demilitarisation of MK is once again on the agenda under the heading: No private political armies.

Whether the process will be completed depends on the discussions referred to by Mr Mandela, and on whether Chief Buthelezi's IFP can be prevailed upon to abandon its proclaimed right to carry "cultural weapons", a phrase which includes spears and knobkerries.

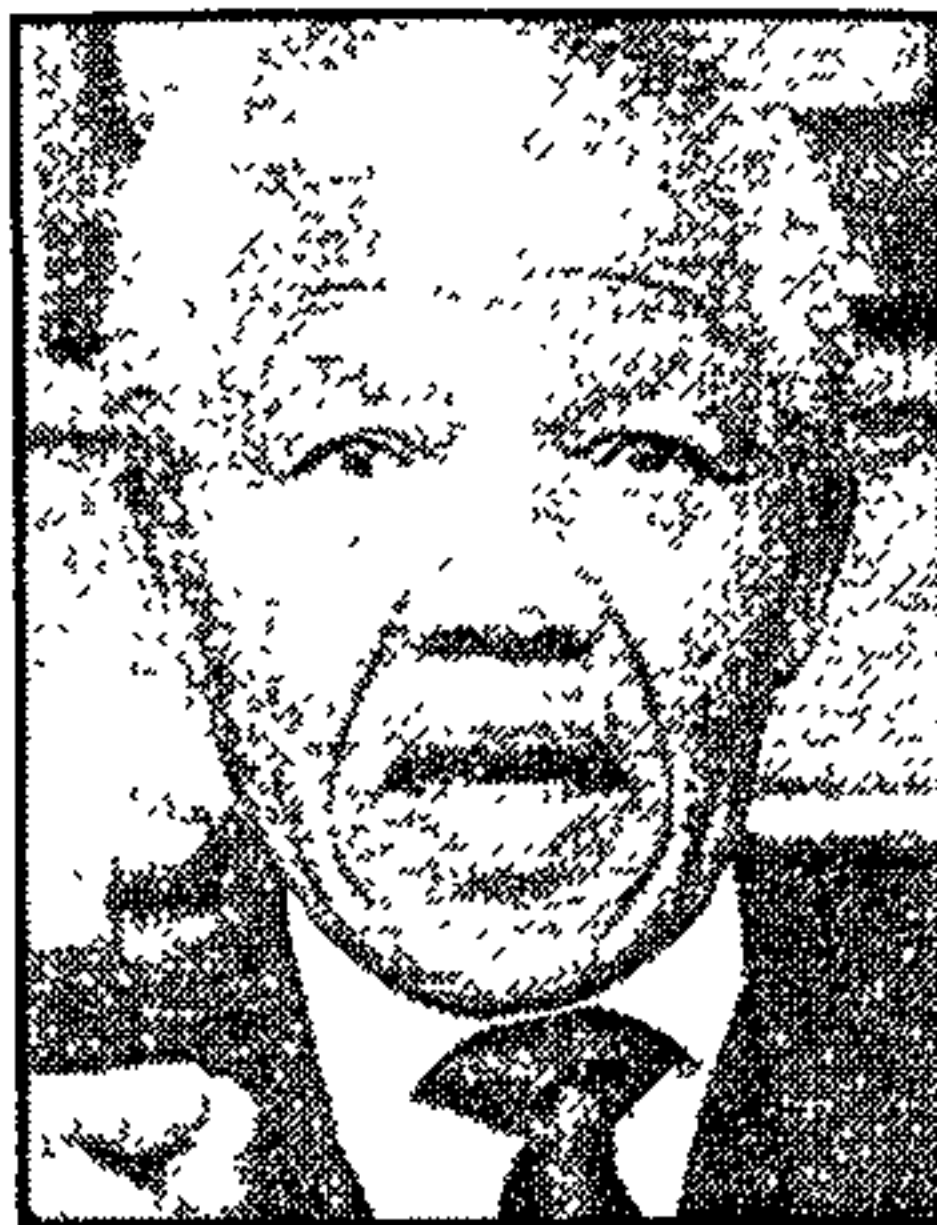
Assuming that the weapons issue is resolved — the peace accord bans the carrying of weapons to, from or at political meetings — the metamorphosis of MK into a political auxiliary of the ANC seems likely in the short term.

One of its main functions will be look after the welfare needs of the returning or unemployed MK soldiers.

In the longer run, MK, or elements of it, may coalesce with the SADF and the armies of the four nominally independent black homelands, to form a defence force for the emerging new South Africa.

In the interim, some trained MK fighters may serve in self-protection units. The units, unlike private armies, are allowed under the peace accord.

They differ in three important respects from the prohibited private armies: their members may carry only licensed arms; they must not be recruited from one political party only; and they must liaise with the police. □



No intention of dissolving MK . . . Nelson Mandela.



The Peace Accord provides important machinery to monitor violence, writes Allister Sp

# A watchdog for ordinary

Star 18/9/91

(274)

THE most important thing about the National Peace Accord is not so much what was said at the conference, or even who signed it, but the monitoring machinery it establishes.

This is because I don't believe the people mainly responsible for the violence were present at that conference. Their signatures are not on the Accord.

But the mechanisms that will now be set up under the Accord will provide a system of independent investigation that could begin to expose them and bring the violence under control.

Although I deeply deplore his refusal to sign the Accord, I thought the PAC's Clarence Makwetu was right in his assessment of the violence when he said he did not believe it was being perpetrated by ordinary township people, but by "faceless, professional hit men".

"When it began in Natal there was indeed conflict between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha," Mr Makwetu said. "But now there is a force of well-financed, well-trained hit men who do these things and then disappear without trace."

How, he asked, could one apportion blame when the violence was so random? How could an Inkatha or an ANC gunman who opened fire in a crowded train know he wasn't killing his own supporters?

I heard a lot of talk around the conference that the weakness of the Accord was that it was an elitist deal, that it was all very well for political leaders to sign the Accord but would they be able to ensure that it was adhered to by their followers? I don't buy that. I move a lot about the townships and in rural areas and am convinced this violence is not driven from the grassroots level.

Ordinary township and village dwellers are being traumatised by it and they are desperate for it to stop.

To the extent that political rivalry is a factor, it is political leaders, especially local leaders and "warlords", who are responsible—not their followers.

But increasingly the violence has become a systematic campaign of destabilisation. Initially it seemed aimed at destabilising the ANC to the advantage of Inkatha. Now the objective has been broadened last week's violence

bore all the hallmarks of a planned operation aimed at sabotaging the National Peace Convention and, beyond that, the whole negotiating process.

It was not a mass uprising or a clash of rival crowds. It was sparked by three gunmen who ambushed an Inkatha Freedom Party crowd marching to a rally. Reporters have since established that the men reconnoitred the terrain and their escape route beforehand. They were professionals.

When the predictable retaliatory attacks followed, many of these, too, were triggered by strategically placed gunmen.

Last Wednesday, a sniper opened fire in Alexandra township; next day there was the mass-killing in the bus who blitzed the passengers then stepped out and was driven away by a minibus that had been following. Again, professionals.

To determine who is responsible, ask yourself who stands to benefit from wrecking the negotiating process. One group only—the right wing, which has declared its opposition to the negotiations and warned repeatedly of its wil-

lingness to resort to violence

Once this point is grasped, others fall into place. Such as the frequent allegations of partisan behaviour by the security forces and the remarkable failure of the police to arrest the destabilisers—a police force that previously had a tremendous success rate in terrorism cases.

According to the newsletter Africa Confidential, informal surveys indicate that 60 percent of the Defence Force's junior officers and 50 percent of its senior officers are supporters of the Conservative Party and strong opponents of President de Klerk's negotiation initiatives.

Brigadier Theunis "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, former chief interrogator of the security police, once told me he believed 70 percent of the police force supported the right-wing cause. It is an estimate that gains credibility from the items of police force uniform—caps, shoes, shirts, sweaters—one sees worn openly at AWB rallies.

In addition, South Africa has acquired a sizeable informal military sector foreign mercenaries, veterans of other African wars, and right-wing reservists trained in commando units and other spe-

cial forces. It is this element that is widely believed to have been responsible for running the destabilisation campaigns in the African Frontline states, supporting organisations like Renamo—far enough away from the formal military command to be deniable, close enough to get the supplies and support they need.

Now we have a destabilisation campaign at home, aimed at wrecking the negotiation process the rightwingers don't want. Professional gunmen sow mayhem, agents provocateurs spread rumours that provoke pre-emptive attacks, panic and turmoil become widespread, and somehow the follow-up police work seems to be just a little slow off the mark. No one gets caught.

There have even been allegations that a police general in charge of investigating political crimes countrywide is a "fixer" deployed to cover up police involvement in them. Allegations which, not surprisingly, the police deny.

The point is the peace Accord provides for monitoring machinery outside of Government—a multiparty National Peace Committee to monitor adherence to

the codes of conduct for political parties and the police, a standing commission of inquiry to investigate cases of political violence and intimidation, and a Police Reporting Officer, a kind of ombudsman, appointed on the advice of the Association of Law Societies and the General Council of the Bar, empowered to order investigations.

That means any cover-up attempts can be spotted and thwarted by independent monitors. Obstructiveness can be exposed. It also means that people in the black community, who are reluctant to go to the police with their complaints because of a breakdown of trust—and the fear of being regarded as "sellouts"—will now have an alternative authority they can turn to.

Nearly a year ago, when the violence first began spreading, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert observed that the most serious flaw in our transition process was the lack of an independent Untag to monitor the security forces. He suggested we try to establish some kind of internal equivalent. The peace accord goes some way towards doing that. □



The major players in South Africa must mobilise their resources to create the right culture, writes Joe

# It's time for the leadership to start talking peace

Latakond

**M**OTORISTS made a quick turn and sped away from Jules Street as column after column of Inkatha supporters made their way towards the centre of Johannesburg last Saturday morning. Pedestrians made a dash for safer vantage points, taking time only to note the toy-toting antics of the frontline column, made up of Youth Brigade members and ululating women — one with a baby on her back.

But when the first column came closer, and the full array of weapons was displayed, those who remembered the senseless attacks on innocent people in Mofolo the previous weekend knew that safety rested in getting away as far as possible. The group of whites who gave some of the impiis beer and other kinds of liquor may or may not have known just what they could be involved in. It just need-

ed one drunk person to make an attack — and there would have been grave trouble indeed.

There were not only traditional weapons, there were spears, yes, and knobkerries, yes. But there was more. And where were they heading? To the signing of a peace accord in the city centre, and so who cares if they terrorised shopkeepers, motorists, and anyone else along the way? It was clearly a well-orchestrated event, and the message was clear: there will be no peace without Inkatha. Similarly, the right wing has made its own position clear: there will be no peace without the right wing. And then, the African National Congress has put its own position: there will be no peace as long as the ANC does not get its own way in the process.

The first principle in the peace accord states that all the signatories are committed to the es-

tablishment of a multiparty democracy in South Africa. This must be noted by all those Western and other donors who think in terms of who is the "sole representative" of "the people" — and thereby create the very opposite of a multiparty democracy. It also states that democracy is impossible in a climate of violence, intimidation and fear. Which is all well on paper, but the truth being that there is currently no democratic culture in the black townships. It is fear that supports and upholds bankrupt political activities like rent boycotts and stayaways. It is true that in the initial stages of any liberation struggle, the process of political conciliation often does involve intimidation. It is the classic manner of raising the levels of political consciousness, but always carries with it the danger that even when that process is complete, the culture of

non-democracy and intimidation continues.

So does the peace accord have a chance? The sad answer is no, not as long as political leadership is playing games while people are dying. The signing of a document may make good international television, but it does little on the ground to produce the atmosphere of peace that is necessary for democracy to work. It is all very well for Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk to sit down and smile for television cameras while signing a peace accord, while their supporters are at each other's throats.

There is much speculation about a Third Force in the violence. Is there a new role for As-kari? Is it part of Mr de Klerk's second agenda? And then, on the part of the ANC, can they genuinely claim to be committed to peace while their supporters still

cannot tolerate opposing political views, and force thousands of children out of classrooms who demand the right to an education? Or force people not to go to work because somebody "in the leadership" has declared a stayaway?

Indeed, ANC spokesmen Saki Macozoma and Ronnie Marmoepe have both admitted that the reason for poor responses to stayaway calls has been insufficient consultation with community members and other organisations. Other organisations state that past "consultations" were simply a process where the ANC was advising the organisations of what they intend doing. This is in fact one of the major stumbling blocks in the process of setting up a patriotic front, where one organisation should not see itself as being the major partner in the alliance.

The Rev Stanley Mogoba's sug-

gestion that a moratorium be declared on "political rallies" is a good one, except that somebody still has to determine what a "peace rally" is. Thousands of Inkatha supporters have turned up at "peace rallies" armed to the teeth. Similarly, thousands of ANC supporters have left "peace rallies" and engaged in attacks on the homes of political opponents and policemen.

Clearly, peace can have a chance only if the organisations commit the same kind of resources they employed during mass mobilisation, to create a peace culture. What is required is for the leadership to get off its pedestal and to pound the streets talking peace, instead of just doing it for the international media while preaching the opposite on the ground. That is what is meant by giving peace a chance. □



# Plans to explain peace pact content

The Argus Correspondent

(274) ARG 18/1/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Plans to explain and advertise the contents of the National Peace Accord to the public will be discussed at the crucial first meeting of the newly-formed National Peace Committee on Friday.

The NPC's launch meeting is seen by participants and observers as the litmus test of whether the principles contained in the accord can be translated quickly into practice at grassroots level — where the violence takes place.

Provisional plans for popularising the accord were made before its signing on Saturday, according to peace initiative facilitator Dr Theuns Eloff, and these will be presented to the NPC for ratification or amendment.

Dr Eloff said early thinking was along the lines of mounting a grassroots publicity campaign which could involve — among other things — the distribution of pamphlets in the townships, and the use of the more "glamorous" media such as television.

It was also decided in principle that State funds would be used to finance the campaign.

# Investigators pull 24 policemen off duty on suspicion of serious crimes

**AT LEAST 24** policemen had been suspended and faced possible charges ranging from assault to murder, SAP special investigations head Maj-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen said yesterday.

He said in an interview that several cases of political violence were likely to come before the courts in the next few weeks as a result of nine months of countrywide investigations conducted in co-operation with the ANC and human rights lawyers.

Monthly meetings are taking place between Van der Westhuizen and ANC legal

department officials, who provide evidence and possible leads for investigation.

Van der Westhuizen's unit is likely to link up with the national peace committee being formed in terms of the peace accord signed at the weekend. Van der Westhuizen said it was likely that he would report to the committee and conduct investigations on its behalf.

His 29-team unit was set up at the start of this year specifically to investigate politically motivated violence.

Detailing progress made in 22 cases of political violence, Van der Westhuizen said

**PATRICK BULGER**

the investigation into the "headphone" murder of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni in January was nearing completion and that police were waiting for an independent forensics report from the SA Bureau of Standards before forwarding the case to the Witwatersrand attorney-general for a Supreme Court inquest.

He said 11 policemen attached to the Welverdiend riot unit near Carletonville had been suspended and the docket would be handed over to the Transvaal attorney-general next Friday.

The inquest into the death of Chief Maphumulo Mhlabuzima was under way, and four arrests had been made in connection with the killings of Mool River ANC members Sonnyboy Majola, and Mandla Mabida. A chief had been arrested in connection with the murder of five ANC members at Richmond in Natal, and a search was on for a second chief.

He said two people had been arrested in connection with the murder of five people at Erica's Tavern at Sebokeng in July and 10 people had been held in connection with the Swanleville massacre in May.

The Kliptown train killing of June 25, in

## Policemen

gation of a man known only as "Sambo" at Komatipoort.

Four special constables and two police officers had been suspended in connection with 11 murders at New Hanover in 1988 (known as the Trust Feeds killings). They would appear in court on October 15.

Meanwhile, self-confessed train killer and former SA Defence Force member Felix Ndimane has fled SA for Mozambique. In the Maritzburg area, 67 people involved in a people's court face charges resulting from 15 deaths, and two policemen have been suspended following another Natal killing.

Among other incidents, a complaint about an SAP investigation that resulted in

**From Page 1**

an attorney-general failing to prosecute in a public unrest incident had been reopened and a policeman charged with assault. He had been suspended and would appear in court in Worcester later this month. An ANC complaint after a recent alleged police assault at Ermelo was being investigated and an identification parade would be held next week.

Charges in connection with the Jeppe train massacre in September last year, in which 21 people died, had been provisionally withdrawn, but the investigation is continuing and a man is due to appear in court later this month.

● Comment: Page 12

which six people died, had resulted in three arrests. Police believed they knew the identity of those responsible for killing recently released Robben Islander Mziwonke Jack in June, and were searching for them. It was suspected that the two men also killed a policeman earlier this year, Van der Westhuizen said.

Thirty-six members of the Three Million Gang, which allegedly killed 10 people in Kroonstad earlier this year, had been arrested, while four policemen had been suspended after the death during inter-

□ To Page 2



September 19 1991

# Crime 'tearing country apart'

Sowetan

19/9/91

274  
274

**CRIME** in South Africa was at its highest level ever, police said yesterday.

A popular perception that unrest was tearing the country apart was mistaken, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Mostert of the police liaison division in Pretoria.

While in the 15 months prior to February, 3 000 people had died in unrest incidents, 22 000 people had died in crime-related incidents.

Mostert was speaking at an event devoted to communication between police and the media.

Mostert said some peo-

SA Press Association

ple believed the situation was verging on anarchy, "but I wouldn't go that far".

However, something had to be done, he said.

The new South Africa was a fact, he said, but it was also a fact that police were symbols of order.

Attacks on the police would mean an end to order, said Mostert.

Earlier during the briefing, Colonel Frans Malherbe of police liaison on the Witwatersrand said allegations had been made that the police favoured whites, that they favoured

blacks, that they favoured the National Party, that they favoured the ANC and that they favoured the Inkatha Freedom Party.

There were also allegations the SAP was the cause of the violence in the country.

"Needless for me to say that this isn't the case," Malherbe said.

This did not mean the police were angels. Malherbe acknowledged elements in the force who had in the past overstepped the proper bounds.

Although mistakes had been made, the police had

learned from these.

Malherbe said certain sections of the media regarded the police as the enemy.

"We all have a job to do. As long as everyone's approach is objective and honest, I don't think it's reasonable to believe that we are your enemies."

Malherbe said the police wished to invite "outsiders to come into the circle and adopt us as a friend and accept our open policy".

He also set out a 10-point code of ethics which mandated honesty, accessibility and willingness to disseminate good as well as bad news.

## Success mechanisms 'built into accord'

ET 19/9/91 (274)  
Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — The peace accord signed in Johannesburg last weekend contained built-in mechanisms for success, the deputy secretary-general of the African National Congress, Mr Jacob Zuma, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Diakonia breakfast briefing here, Mr Zuma said these mechanisms would help to ensure that the accord was monitored and that those who violated it were dealt with.

Mr Zuma said the negotiation process now under way in South Africa was "unique" and unlike any other experience, including those of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

South Africa had put the "cart before the horse" and had said that political prisoners had to be released before constitutional arrangements could be made.

This explained why the process of the removal of obstacles had been so difficult, Mr Zuma said.



## Cops shot at in Khayelitsha

Crime Reporter 274

POLICE yesterday reported that two police patrols were fired on during separate incidents along Zola Budd Drive in Khayelitsha on Tuesday afternoon.

A police spokesman said that in the first incident two members of the Cape Town Riot Unit were shot at while travelling in a Casspir in M-Block about 1.45pm.

He said a policeman chased after two men and managed to recover a "zip gun" and a spent .38 shell. CT 19/9/91

In a second incident, seven shots were fired at a Casspir while it was on patrol along Zola Budd Drive about 6.35pm.

No arrests have been made in connection with the incidents.

# ANC, IFP set wheels rolling

Political Staff

(244)

star

1919/91

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have launched comprehensive programmes to ensure the implementation of the National Peace Accord at grassroots levels.

"It will involve hard work and critical decisions are still to be made," said IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos.

The IFP programme will involve training members in positive interaction with former foes. Training manuals on negotiation and dispute resolution are to be compiled.

The IFP has translated the accord into Zulu and is sending this version to branch leaders.

Its action programme focuses on ways the party could best co-ordinate its resources to implement the accord.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the movement had already begun a process of ensuring the implementation of the accord before it was signed.

The draft document was discussed in all ANC branches.

A briefing document, in which the accord has been summarised, has been compiled as part of the ANC efforts to inform members of what the accord entails.

Various clauses of the accord will also be distributed in pamphlets to inform those who do not belong to the movement.



TEL

# 24 policemen are now suspended

Twenty-four policemen have been suspended, and seven of them charged with assault or murder, in connection with political violence, police said yesterday.

Major-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen said the other men might face criminal charges after investigations are completed.

General van der Westhuizen was confirming a newspaper report yesterday which said 24 policemen were suspended after investigations by a special unit set up this year to probe political unrest.

The general, who heads the special unit, said six policemen had been charged with murder in connection with

the deaths of 11 people during a police raid in 1988 at New Hanover, Natal.

A seventh policeman faces assault charges relating to a public unrest incident.

General van der Westhuizen said 11 policemen attached to a riot investigations unit near Carletonville on the West Rand had been suspended.

They are expected to face assault charges in connection with incidents last year.

Four more policemen were suspended in connection with the death of a man during interrogation.

Another two were suspended in connection with a killing in Natal.

General van der Westhuizen said all the suspensions stemmed from incidents in 1990 and 1991.

The suspensions are "normal procedure" when a policeman faces serious charges, General van der Westhuizen said.

The suspensions follow a series of meetings between General van der Westhuizen and representatives of the African National Congress, which accuses Government security forces of having a hand in political violence.

The violence has killed thousands of blacks and threatens President de Klerk's reforms.

In the latest unrest, police said yesterday, three people died in

Soweto in clashes overnight.

Most violence in black townships is attributed to the long feud between supporters of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party joined Mr de Klerk on Saturday in signing a peace pact, but clashes have continued.

Both the ANC and Inkatha oppose apartheid but have deep tribal and ideological differences.

The ANC is refusing to begin negotiations with the Government on a new constitution ending white-minority rule until the violence stops. — Sapa-AP.

## Peace accord labelled as 'doomed' for its national approach to local issues

SHARON SOROUR  
Labour Reporter

274

AG 19/9/91

THE historic Peace Accord signed at the weekend might be doomed to failure, industrial sociologist and labour expert Dr Duncan Innes has warned.

"I do not believe it will bring an end to the violence. It has been signed at a national level, but the violence occurs on a local level," said Dr Innes, an associate professor at the University of the Witwatersrand's industrial sociology department.

President De Klerk, African National Congress president Dr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi were the key figures among about 30 leaders who signed the accord on Saturday.

The mini-summit was described by signatories as a symbol of hope that signalled a new era of peace, and the accord was set to remove two of the most important obstacles still blocking the peace process, the carrying of weapons (including cultural weapons) and the establishment of private armies.

But Dr Innes said the "wor-rying thing" about the Peace Accord was that it was a complex document and comprised complex mechanisms.

"Will the organisations on the ground and the justices of the peace be able to follow the complex procedures and be able to implement the plan on a local level?" he asked.

The accord involved the monitoring of security forces and, for the first time, signalled the start of an interim government, he said.

"The ANC, the government and Inkatha are agreeing on the joint administration of an aspect of government, namely controlling the security forces."

But Dr Innes said that while the ANC leadership supported the accord, there was strong support for self-defence units by ANC members and supporters on the ground.

"They don't trust the accord."

About 80 self-protection units had already been formed in the Transvaal, and they were dangerous because they were not well organised.



# New unrest probe urged

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent ARG 19/9/91

THE new national peace committee should immediately appoint regional and local dispute-solving committees to investigate the causes of violence in Khayelitsha, the Democratic Party has urged.

It was time for the new structures to be tested on the ground, said Mr Jasper Walsh, chairman of the DP in the Western Cape.

He warned that continuing violence stood in the way of investment and economic reconstruction and that practical steps had to be taken.

"Causes of violence must be isolat-

ed and removed. In particular allegations of, at best, police ineffectiveness and, at worst, complicity in the violence must be dealt with. To achieve peace we must have an effective, impartial police force with the confidence of all to maintain law and order."

Mr Walsh urged the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, to investigate these allegations and.

It was also essential that new dispute-solving structures be set up in the Western Cape.

"The time for talk is over — these committees will now be judged by their effectiveness on the ground," he said.

THE National Peace Accord signed by major political parties and groupings in Johannesburg on Sunday committed those leaders present to strive for democratic political activity, for peace and to adhere to mechanisms set in place for monitoring and investigating the violence that has beset the country over the past 18 months and longer.

In the agreement, chapters three and four deal with the activities of the security forces.

Among other things, Chapter Three covers general provisions for a set of principles and the establishment of a Police Board. This will consist of both members of the public and representatives of the police in equal numbers. It will make recommendations to the Minister of Law and Order regarding the training and efficient functioning of the police.

Chapter Four sets out the Police Code of Conduct, which enforces police impartiality. All members of the South African Police shall commit themselves to abide by this code, which is as follows:

As a police official I will observe the oath of loyalty which I made to the Republic of South Africa by performing the task required of me by law, with untiring zeal, single-mindedness and devotion to duty, realising that I accept the following principles:

- To preserve the fundamental and constitutional rights of each individual by the use of preventive measures or, in the event of disruption, to restore social order by the use of reactive policing.

#### Offences by police

- The authority and powers accorded to the police for the maintenance of social order and the subsidiary objectives they adopt depend on and are subject to public approval and the ability to secure and retain the respect of the public.

- The attainment and retention of public approval and respect include the co-operation of the public in the volun-

# Code will help SAP be seen to be promoting cause of peace

tary observance of the laws.

- Any offence or alleged offence by any member of the South African Police of the common law or statutory law, including the Police Act and the regulations promulgated in accordance thereof, shall be thoroughly investigated and, in the event of any violation, appropriate measures shall be taken.

Such an offence or alleged offence, depending on the nature thereof, may be referred to a Police Reporting Officer of the commission established in terms of the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation Act, 1991 or to a commission that shall be specifically appointed for that purpose.

All assistance or co-operation possible shall be rendered to a commission such as this and the Police Reporting Officer and, where investigations are undertaken by the police at the request of the commission or the Police Reporting Officer, a special investigation team shall be used.

- The extent and quality of public co-operation proportionally diminishes the need for corrective measures.

- The favour and approval of the public shall be sought by enforcing the law firmly, sensitively and with constant and absolute impartiality; giving effective and friendly service to each individual, regardless of political and religious belief, race, gender or ethnic origin; reacting as quickly as

possible to requests for help or service; making personal sacrifices to save lives; encouraging police community relationships and by promoting participation by the community.

#### Least use of force

- The least possible degree of force be used in attaining the aim of policing and then only when persuasion, advice and warnings have failed to secure co-operation, compliance with the law and the restoration of order.

- Judges' Rules shall consistently be applied by all police officials.

- Police officials must adhere to the executive function of policing and refrain from taking it upon themselves to perform a judicial function.

- All police officials in uniform shall wear a clearly distinguishable mark of identification.

- The integrity of policing is reflected by the degree of personal moral responsibility and professional altruism evident in the behaviour and actions of every individual member of the police.

- The stability of society and the vitality and continuity of democratic ideals depend on policing that: is consistently aware of the sensitive balance between individual freedom and collective security; is consistently aware of the dangers inherent in illegal and informal coercive actions and methods; will never given in to the temptation to sacrifice

principles by resorting to reprehensible means to secure good ends.

- The professionalisation of policing depends primarily on intensive selection, training, planning and research.

- The needs of the community shall be considered in the training programme of the police and the contribution made by communities in this regard, shall be taken into account.

#### Self-control

- Every member should strive and apply him/herself to individual and institutional professionalism by self-improvement and study.

- Any offence by any member of the police, committed in the presence of a fellow member of the police, shall be dealt with by such a fellow member in accordance with the powers and duties conferred on him or her by any act relating to such an offence. In addition such a fellow member shall forthwith notify his or her commander.

To maintain these principles, I undertake to:

- Make my personal life an example worthy to be followed by all.

- Develop my own personality and also create the opportunity for others to do likewise.

- Treat my subordinates as well as my seniors in a decent manner

- Fulfil my duty faithfully despite danger, insult or threat.

- Develop self-control, remain honest in thought and deed, both on and off duty.

- Be an example in obeying the law of the land and the precepts of the force.

- Prevent personal feelings, prejudice, antagonism or friendship from influencing my judgment.

- Receive no unlawful reward or compensation.

- Remain worthy of the trust of the public, by unselfish service, seek satisfaction in being ready to serve and to dedicate myself in the service to my God and my country.

*"Servamus Et Servimus — We Protect And We Serve"*



# Key day for peace group

THE newly-formed National Peace Committee will discuss ways to explain the National Peace Accord to the public at its crucial first meeting tomorrow.

The NPC's launch meeting is seen as a test of whether the accord can be translated quickly into practice at grassroots level.

Provisional plans for popularising the accord were made before its signing on Saturday, according

*Sowetan* 19/9/91 (274)  
**Sowetan  
Correspondent**

to facilitator Dr Theuns Eloff. These will be presented to the NPC for ratification or amendment.

Eloff said the provisional plans included mounting a grassroots publicity campaign using television and pamphlets distributed in townships.

It was also decided in principle that State funds

would be used to finance the campaign. Some thought, however, that if non-signatories to the accord such as the PAC and Azapo were to be involved, the use of private money might be necessary.

Eloff said it could take two to three weeks to establish a National Peace Secretariat, which would lead to the disbanding of the remaining ad hoc working group set up by the original

National Peace Initiative. Business and church facilitators of the accord are now in the process of stepping back, allowing political parties to take the process further. However, a representative of both interest groups will serve on the NPC.

At tomorrow's meeting a chairman and vice-chairman drawn from business and religious leaders will be elected.

## Alex to talk peace

THE Alexandra Civic Association yesterday invited the clergy to attend a "peace" meeting at the Alexandra City Council tomorrow. *Sowetan 19/9/91*

Mr Mike Beea, for the association said the meeting would discuss and endorse the National Peace Accord.

Beea said his association "wholeheartedly supports the talk-peace initiative" launched by Sowetan. (274)  
He said: "We are all duty bound to contribute towards peace on a daily basis and to honour our leaders' signatures which are attached to the accord." - Sowetan Reporter.



# Peace vows at victims' funeral

By Stan Hlophe 20/9/91

Political leaders yesterday pledged to honour the Peace Accord and condemned the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party for destabilising the black community at the funeral of 10 victims of violence, including a baby, in Soweto yesterday.

The infant was still-born after its mother, Elizabeth Mathoba, who is recovering in hospital, was hacked by thugs last week.

Thousands of mourners and supporters of various organisations at Regina Mundi church heard speakers calling for the formation of defence units and the arming of the community against vigilantes.

Police monitored the funeral procession from the church to Avalon

cemetery.

ANC Welfare Department head Winnie Mandela told the cheering crowd that the National Executive Committee was committed to the Peace Accord.

Mrs Mandela assured the crowd that the ANC would do everything in its power to "protect and defend" the implementation of the Peace Accord.

But Mrs Mandela warned that the ANC would not tolerate the senseless killing of people by forces intent on destabilisation and promised there would be no more mass funerals.

She called upon Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, to be man enough to sign the peace accord.

Mrs Mandela said the ANC's signing of the accord should not be seen as a sign of weakness.

Azapo president Pan-

delani Nefolovhodwe also committed his organisation to peace.

He said, however, Azapo did not sign the Accord as it did not want to legitimise the Government.

He said that as long as the Government was in power there would be no peace in South Africa.

Floyd Mashele, chairman of the Mshenguville Crisis Committee, said those buried were victims of the Inkatha who had no respect for human life.

Mr Mashele urged the community not to allow further killings as enough had already died.

Kgabs Masonkutu, of the Soweto Civic Association, urged the community to intensify defence units in each and every street and house against the warlords and vigilantes.

274  
CORD

STRIPED

# Commission to begin once nominees listed

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Department of Justice is ready to appoint the standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation envisaged in the National Peace Accord as soon as the National Peace Committee (NPC) comes up with a list of nominees.

The NPC will meet for the first time today to set in motion the commission of inquiry and other key peace-keeping mechanisms of the peace accord signed last Saturday.

A Justice Department spokesman said the commission was ready to be implemented "as soon as we know who the members should be".

The NPC must suggest nominees for the three ordinary members of the commission.

Although the accord does not require the State President to be consulted before appointing the chairman and vice-chairman, this had been done, the Justice Department said.

At today's meeting, other peace accord signatories will be drawn into the NPC to join the Government, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and church and business representatives who formed the National Peace Initiative (NPI).

The NPC will also have to decide who to appoint to the paid National Peace Secretariat envisaged in the accord, and the subordinate committees for resolving disputes.

The Department of Constitutional Development Services is to support and finance the NPC, the Justice Department will support and finance the National Peace Secretariat and the special criminal courts to be set up for trying cases of political violence, while the SAP will finance the mechanisms for monitoring the police.

No new legislation will be needed to establish the special criminal courts.

Three main issues outstanding from the accord have still not been resolved — a proclamation banning weapons from political gatherings, the position of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and agreement on a code of conduct for the SA Defence Force.

The Government has not yet concluded separate consultations with the IFP and ANC to decide whether the ban on weapons should include "cultural" weapons.

Government sources have indicated that the ban will include assegais — as do the existing proclamations in unrest areas.

A draft SADF code of conduct was drawn up by the SADF and submitted to the ANC early in August. The ANC's suggestions were submitted to the NPI last week and will now be considered by the NPC, where agreement is expected.

Discussions about MK's role will take place in the Government/ANC liaison committee set up in February to implement the DF Malan Agreement on MK activities.

## Transkei opens up property rights

UMTATA — Non-Transkeians, particularly those with professional and technical skills, are welcome to apply for property rights in Transkei, the homeland's leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

In his budget policy speech, Major-General Holomisa said

his government had introduced legislation making it possible for financial institutions to own property in Transkei.

"A large number of professional and technical people who are non-Transkeians have also acquired permission to build houses in Transkei," he said.



LEADERSHIP

FM 20/9/91.

# That uneasy feeling 244

**One** of the most important elements of Saturday's signing of the National Peace Accord was its visibility. At a time when leadership in all quarters must be seriously questioned — over the ability to curb public spending, control violence or even call a stayaway — the presence together of the major participants in negotiations for democracy could have some symbolic effect.

If President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are seen to be linking hands on peace, if on little else, perhaps the evidence that the country is ungovernable — at least in various segments — will be balanced by a small infusion of hope. Hope is what leaders must inspire, along with trust, if we are to find our way out of several areas of impasse.

The way in which violence flared up so abruptly on the eve of the accord — and the swiftness with which it abated — leaves a disquieting impression that someone is turning it on and off like a tap. This despite a false lull in which the security forces appeared to be regaining some control and some confidence of the various stricken communities.

The truth is that as long as anyone is capable of triggering off such outbursts of barbarism — during which the death toll at times exceeded that of the strife in Yugoslavia — enduring peace is a forlorn prospect. In fact peace will come only when the various opposing communities are disarmed and rogue elements from every quarter tracked down and charged. That the main leaders understand this is the key to

the significance of the accord — which does not mean that the accord guarantees social calm.

Perhaps fortuitously, there are signs of a kind of war-weariness on all sides. The ANC-Cosatu-Cast stayaway called for the first two days of this week — though responsibility for the call is being ducked at various levels of the leadership structures — was an evident failure. Perhaps ordinary people are tired of being asked to make sacrifices which have no impact other than to feed the rhetoric of otherwise impotent politicians.

For its part, government displays continuing uncertainty and an unhealthy willingness to resort to ad hoc measures to deflect criticism of policy. One small example was the abrupt release of the report of the Task Group on broadcasting last Friday — after it had been sincerely promised to the public for next Wednesday.

From Inkatha, Buthelezi's seeming surliness about the accord itself may simply be a hangover from the withering analysis he was subjected to over Inkathagate. But Buthelezi's equivocation generates the same unease in those looking for clarity in leaders as government's policy flounderings and the ANC's interminable twists and turns.

If the three leading figures of our national life so often appear insecure and bereft of ideas, what can be expected of their followers?

It is a most unsettling environment in which to try to do business — of any kind. ■

## THE SADF'S SPECIAL FORCES OPERATE IN TOTAL SECRECY ... w/ Mail 20/9-26/9/91

THE Special Forces of the South African Defence Force have been accused of planning train massacres, of being behind political assassinations and of kidnapping foreign nationals and pressganging them into terrorist activities.

Several of their members were directly involved in the leadership of the now-disbanded hit-squad operation, the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Yet they remain completely closed to public scrutiny and outside the ambit of the National Peace Accord, signed on Saturday by the government, the African National Congress, Inkatha and other parties to the conflict in South Africa. It is presumed, however, that their activities will be covered by the Code of Conduct for the SADF, which is currently under discussion by the National Peace Committee.

Yet there is a contradiction here: the Special Forces are by their very nature highly covert units. The SADF, for example, refused to respond to even the most general queries about the nature and composition of these mysterious units. How then are they to be monitored by the Peace Accord and its mechanisms?

The question is especially important as the Special Forces have been blamed, by defectors from within their ranks, for many of the train massacres and "third force" attacks that have stoked up internecine violence in the townships.

In recent months several former Special Force members have begun to open the book on what they are about and what they've been up to. *The Weekly Mail* pieces together some of this information.

### RECONNAISSANCE REGIMENTS

Technically speaking, these are the only true-blue Special Forces of the SADF — though other units such as the Parabats and 32 Battalion can be described as specialised forces.

The four Recce regiments are headed by the General Officer Commanding Special Forces, Major General Joep Joubert, who is answerable only to the Chief of the SADF, General Kai Liebenberg (and ultimately to the minister of defence). The Recces have the authority to initiate their own operations provided these are approved by the Chief of Staff Operations.

1 Recce, based in Durban, is the original Reconnaissance regiment, formed as a Permanent Force unit in 1972. Its official role is to carry out "specialised research and development work for the Special Forces" and to do this it has a training wing responsible for all initial training of special force members.

2 Recce, based in Pretoria, was formed three years later as a Citizen Force regiment.

4 Recce, based at Langebaan in the Western Cape, specialises in seaborne operations. It was used extensively in Angola in the late Seventies

There is one major party to the violent conflict in South Africa which is not covered by the National Peace Accord: the Special Forces of the South African Defence Force.

By GAVIN EVANS and EDDIE KOCH

and Eighties. Among its members was Major Wynand du Toit, the SADF officer captured by the Angolans on a pro-Unita sabotage mission in the mid-Eighties.

5 Recce, based at Phalaborwa, consists mainly of foreign black troops, with white South African and former Rhodesian officers. It has operated mainly in Mozambique and Angola, but is reported to have also been involved in several operations inside South Africa.

It has several sections. 5.1 (Phalaborwa) and 5.2 (formerly the Caprivi Strip) are both commandos consisting of about 60 people each. 5.4 is responsible for intelligence and 5.5 for training and both have a core of about 15 people.

The Special Forces' description of their own mission is clear: "To inflict the maximum disruption on the enemy of the state by means of special actions", and their brief is to operate inside and outside of South Africa as the situation demands.

Over the past decade the Recces have relied

heavily on soldiers of foreign origin — Rhodesian officers and former Angolan and Mozambican troops. The reason, according to one former CCB member who spoke to *The Weekly Mail*, was because "foreigners have better access to foreign countries, are easier to use for underground work and there is deniability if they are captured".

4 and 5 Recce Commandos were formed in 1978 but, according to former *Africa Confidential* editor Steve Ellis, "the origin of 4 and 5 Recce is really the story of Rhodesians coming south after Zimbabwe gained its independence".

Hundreds of former members of the Rhodesian special forces trekked south in 1980 in what was known as Operation Winter. Each officer was then interviewed by Liebenberg and called to account for those under their command.

Two new Recce regiments were immediately formed consisting entirely of the former Rhodesians — 3 Recce (Phalaborwa) and 6 Recce (Durban). These, however, were soon disbanded. 6 Recce, for instance, was headed by ex-Rhodesian special force officer Garth Barrett, but he fell out with the SADF after a raid on Mozambique in which one of his men was killed — leaving little with clear evidence of South Africa's involvement in the civil war there.



2019-26191

## ... AND THE PEACE AGREEMENT DOES NOT COVER THEIR OPERATIONS

The Rhodesians were later absorbed into the other Recce regiments. For instance, a former commanding officer of 5 Recce is Colonel Bert Sachse who was trained at Sandhurst, then joined the Selous Scouts and later the Rhodesian SAS. One of his lieutenants was a Sergeant Major Pretorius, a former Rhodesian army NCO who was in charge of the detention barracks in Bulawayo.

Especially in the early days, others were drawn from Britain and America — such as former US special forces officer Major John Murphy who was seconded to 1 Recce and was killed in a mysterious parachute accident in 1983. At the time it was alleged he was an informer for the CIA.

While most former soldiers from the Angolan FNLA were later absorbed into 32 Battalion, some of their best men found their way into the Recces.

5 Recce was initially comprised mainly of former Angolans, but later Zulus, Tswanas and Shangaans from Mozambique were added to their commandos.

Two of these foreigners were Sergeant Felix Ndumane and Carltos Joao Maria, who say they were abducted from Mozambique in 1982 and 1978 respectively, forced to join 5 Recce and used in assisting Renamo with attacks on trains and other terrorist operations in Mozambique, Namibia, Angola and Swaziland. Ac-

cording to Ndumane, 5 Recce was also involved in operations inside South Africa, including some of the recent train massacres of civilian commuters.

He also said several 5 Recce members have returned to Mozambique where they have purchased farms from which support for Renamo is channelled.

While the Recces are an autonomous force they enjoy close relations with SADF Military Intelligence (currently headed by Lieutenant General Witkop Badenhorst), with the CCB and with the security police.

Nowhere was the link between the Recces and Military Intelligence clearer than in the SADF's support for Renamo. According to several sources, throughout the Eighties 5 Recce was seconding several of its members to Renamo on a full-time basis. At least until the mid-Eighties Renamo was being run by an officer in the Military Intelligence Division, Colonel Charles van Niekerk, whose continued involvement was exposed in the late-1984 capture of the Vaz diaries (several months after the Nkomai Accord was signed).

The CCB also had close links with the Recces, from which several of its members were drawn.

CCB managing director Colonel Joe Versier is a former commanding officer of 5 Recce.

Senior CCB member Colonel Cortie Mee-

rholtz was former second-in-command of 5 Recce who worked closely with Ndumane.

And according to some CCB sources the CCB only moved out of the direct control of the Special Forces in 1988, but remained under the direct authority of Major General Eddie Webb as a "civilian" unit which could not be directly linked to the military.

Since the CCB was disbanded last year several of its members have joined 5 Recce.

### 44 PARABAT BRIGADE

This elite army unit is currently headed by Colonel M Alexander and is based at Murray Hill outside Pretoria. The operational element of its activities falls under 1 Para in Tempe base near Bloemfontein, which is commanded by Colonel L Rudman.

The Parabats were involved extensively in Angola and Namibia. Some 370 parabats from 44 Parachute Brigade were responsible for the Cassinga massacre in May 1978.

According to several sources, after 1980 large numbers of former Rhodesian parabats joined 44 Parachute Battalion. Several CCB members were also recruited from the Parabats.

### 32 BATTALION

Described by *Jane's* South African military correspondent as "probably the finest light infantry in the world today", these "Buffalo Soldiers"

are almost all former Angolans from the FNLA movement.

32 Battalion was formed in 1976 at the end of the Angolan civil war, and for over a decade was headed by Colonel Jan Breytenbach and was primarily involved in the SADF's war against Swapo in Namibia. The SADF regards them as a highly efficient and courageous unit while to Swapo and the African National Congress they are the chief villains of the military. They have frequently been accused of atrocities — civilian or otherwise.

For many years they have maintained close links with the Recces and particularly with 5 Recce (which used 32 Battalion for much of its initial recruitment).

After Namibian independence in 1989 they moved to Pomfret in the Northern Cape, where they are currently commanded by Colonel M Delpert.

They have recently been involved extensively in the black townships — in Natal and in the Transvaal (for example in quelling the violence at the Phola Park squatter camp).

● The official response from the SADF to a set of questions from *The Weekly Mail* about the Special Forces met with the following reply: "It is not SADF policy to divulge any information about its Special Forces".

## Not a final accord

## — but a beginning

20/9-26/9/91. (274)

**W**HILE mixed signals were emerging from within Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel last Saturday, feelings elsewhere were more clear-cut: the National Peace Accord will not bring peace to South Africa.

Since the signing — or non-signing by the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action — of the accord, not one of dozens of people to whom I've spoken believes it will hold.

The reasons for their cynicism vary, depending on the organisation they support or despise: Inkatha Freedom Party supporters outside the Carlton showed they are not in a conciliatory mood; the ANC's refusal to disband Umkhonto weSizwe showed it will resort to arms if it doesn't get its way; the white rightwing's absence showed it is hell-bent on fighting the black majority; FW de Klerk's refusal to acknowledge the existence of a "third force", never mind that it may be lurking within the security forces, showed either he isn't sincere or he doesn't know his own troops.

Adding to the cynicism, people with whom I watched SABC-TV's broadcast from the Carlton were amused, if not amazed, by the characters from the tricameral parliament and bantustans who queued to be seen on the side of peace.

Nearly all these characters were elected by pitifully few people; some are known for their over-robust tactics. Cynics haven't forgotten that those politicians' participation in the present system was the cause of much violence in the first place.

That is why they sympathised with the PAC's, Azapo's and Wosa's refusal to give legitimacy to "system" politicians. They have an uncomfortable feeling that the accord will be used as a basis for the National Party's envisaged multi-party talks, where politicians with negligible support will be given equal say, hence credibility and legitimacy they don't have.

The preceding week's carnage on the Reef gave the peace convention a sense of extreme urgency. At a loss to find a reason for the killers' actions, or to discover which organisations the killers represented, delegates and the media were understandably keen to get the accord going.

The enthusiasm of the moment veiled the scepticism of many delegates themselves, and that fuelled the cynicism of people outside. If some signatories don't believe the accord will bring peace, why should those who feel helpless in any case?

Simply, everybody believes that one or more of the signatories was blowing hot air rather than smoking the pipe of peace. Each of the major political signatories has a fall-back position, goes the reasoning, and that position stands for violent implementation of its views.

So the accord may as well have been signed with fast-fading ink.

That doesn't mean it must be torn up and thrown on the bloody scrapheap of our failures. Heaven knows our country has bled enough for more than three centuries, and except for the dehumanised killers, all of us desperately crave peace.

If the accord is clutching at straws, at least it's better than clutching weapons of mayhem.

Defective as it is, the sceptics must nevertheless give it a chance, if for no better reason than that we really have little choice.

If the National Party decides to hand power to an interim government tomorrow or agree to the concept of a constituent assembly, it is unlikely that peace will suddenly descend on the land.

More probable is that if a third force is at work — as PAC president Clarence Makwetu told delegates, and more and more people suspect — the chances of further provocative violence will increase.

A start towards ending the bloodshed has to be made, and now is as good a time as any.

The accord is bound to fail if it is regarded as the final word and the last chance to find peace, if at the first instance of renewed violence, sceptical delegates go around saying gleefully "I told you so".

Its best hope is for it to be regarded as a point of departure, to ensure that signatories pay more than lip-service to it, to continue working as hard as possible to correct the defects, to get the message across to the perpetrators of violence, and especially to involve everyone in the process.

As desperately as peace, we need hope.

If the accord results in the saving of just one life a day, it will represent an advance.

If it collapses in acrimony, we might as well prepare for greater conflict.

● Ameen Akhalwaya is editor of The Indicator

■ NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye



## NEWS



Gallie visit ... French Minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn (right) faces the media at a conference with Foreign Minister P. Botha. Picture. Jacob Rykliff.

# Top French delegation on trade visit to SA

By Kalzer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

French Industry and Trade Minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn and a delegation of MPs and businessmen who arrived in South Africa yesterday, are to meet Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

The meeting in Pretoria will be one of four meetings the delegation will hold today.

The others will be with business organisations, including the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) and the French Chamber of Commerce and In-

dustries of Southern Africa.

Shortly after arrival yesterday, the delegation was briefed by the French Trade Commission and later had talks with Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, and Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Dr Tertius Delpont.

During its five-day visit the delegation — which was met at Jan Smuts Airport by Foreign Affairs Minister P. Botha and French Ambassador Joelle Bourgois — will hold talks with a wide range of business and political leaders, including

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Others will include Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett, Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister Dr Org Marais, Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, and Nafcoc president Dr Sam Motsuenyane.

Addressing a press conference at the airport on their arrival, Mr Strauss-Kahn said his visit to South Africa — the first by a high-ranking French Minister since 1975 — had both political and economic importance for the two countries.

He said France, which was

one of apartheid South Africa's fiercest critics, now wanted to be among "the strongest supporters" of the political change.

Mr Strauss-Kahn said France wanted to have stronger economic links with South Africa, so that his country could appear at the top of the list of this country's trading partners.

"It is obvious to everybody that South Africa can be a leading country in Africa, and it will therefore need France's help."

But normalisation of relations would have to take place "parallel to the continuing democratic process".

Mr Strauss-Kahn said Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not one of the people he would meet, because France wanted to preserve its good relations with the ANC.

Mr Botha, sitting next to Mr Strauss-Kahn, immediately added that the IFP leader was not being snubbed by the French delegation, but it had a tight schedule.

In his remarks at the press conference, Mr Botha said South Africa had gone a long way towards eradicating apartheid and had nothing to hide.

W  
di  
Z  
rh

By R  
Star

HAI  
man  
desi  
Joh  
hosp  
beer  
by  
the  
C  
be  
frie  
H  
hip  
was  
a n  
rivi  
hos  
der

F  
at  
Sou  
Rh  
I  
se  
con  
an  
con  
re



... IT'S A START BUT MORE IS STILL TO BE DONE

# trip that saved the peace talks

cause they were frequently unable to state a position and know that it would be ratified by Buthelezi.

"And that meant they could not budge on an issue," a source said.

"All three parties placed major obstacles in the way of the process," said one facilitating source close to the negotiations. "But the IFP placed the most dramatic obstacles closest to the time of the convention and they were almost all superficial."

He cited the dispute on the chairmanship, Buthelezi's late arrival at the conference and the large impi outside the conference.

"Inkatha was the weakest party with

the fewest resources, and Buthelezi was not served by the fact that the people close to him could not take an independent line. In a way it needs to be strengthened," said the source, who believed that the Peace Accord would serve many of the functions of an interim government.

Inkatha had so few negotiators at its disposal that it was often not able to place one person in every working group. And several sources have commented that the standard of the negotiators was not up to that of the other parties.

In the run-up to the final signing, it was apparently not clear either that

ANC president Nelson Mandela would sign the accord if certain wording was not absolutely correct. "But he had the good political sense not to make this public," *The Weekly Mail* was told. Moreover, the ANC had not gone far enough to normalise its relationship with Inkatha before the conference.

For its part, the government had consistently found itself in difficulty in moving "from the old South Africa to the new". It would find itself agreeing to new mechanisms and concepts and then wanting to wrap itself up in legislation and legalities which would use a parliament in which the other players

were not represented.

The major hitches to the agreement have in fact all still to be resolved. Those are the questions of the carrying of dangerous weapons (or traditional weapons) and the question of Unkhonto weSizwe (MK). And a third major item, that of a code of conduct for the South African Defence Force has yet to be thrashed out and incorporated into the Accord.

Last minute, exhausting negotiations into the night produced clauses on MK and weapons which were so vague that they could be agreed to "without reservation", but which require further talks. Inkatha, which did not want to

agree to the banning of what it calls its "cultural" or "traditional" weapons, decided at the last minute to accept the wording without an adjective and so the clause simply refers to "weapons". Effectively, the whole issue has yet to be dealt with.

For its part, the ANC, having accepted the concept of outlawing "private armies", will not agree that MK is one such army. But this area is being negotiated outside the Peace Accord with the government.

Basic to the clause is the notion that an army should not be linked to one political group — a concept that the ANC accepted. "The most one can say about MK in that regard is that it is linked to two parties," the source said. Meanwhile the horse trading is about to begin on how to convene the vari-

● To PAGE 7



BEHIND THE PEACE ACCORD ...

# Keeping a check on police could be the Achilles heel

W/Mail 20/9 - 26/9/91

DESPITE the new structures and mechanisms spawned by the National Peace Accord in its bid to halt the violence, at the end of the day those responsible for investigating incidents and allegations of police misconduct will still be the police themselves.

"When you build a bulldozer, you can't expect it to suddenly behave like a Formula One racing car," said Professor Clifford Shearer of the Centre for Community Law at the University of the Western Cape. "Members of the South African Police have been drilled in strategies of repression. How can they learn overnight to be protective?"

At present there is no specific provision for independent investigative teams to conduct their own inquiries and thus provide a double-check on police probes. In the eyes of some observers, this omission is crucial and could prove the Achilles heel of the accord.

While the accord spells out a new code of conduct for the SAP, opening the way for it to cast off its old role as defender of National Party policy and assume a new one as protector of the public at large, the big question is whether the police code's sentiments can be translated into reality on the ground.

The pact hinges on all parties concerned having a "sincere commitment" to combatting violence and intimidation. Such commitment may be held by police officers in the upper echelons of the force, but members of the public — especially in communities torn apart by violence — would be hard-pressed to be persuaded that it was common to all SAP members.

A sociologist and criminologist, Shearer is engaged in a project on policing for a new South Africa. While attached to the University of Toronto, he was involved in determining policing policy for Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

"Clearly a new style of operating is being promoted within the force," he said. "Yet there is still room for the police to use their discretion in terms of what they target (for investigation) and what they don't."

"Investigation is crucial to any inquiry. In normal society, the press provides an independent investigative

Who'll investigate the police under the National Peace Accord? The police themselves — and this could be the flaw in the agreement, reports GAYE DAVIS

capacity. How good would investigative journalism be if the press relied entirely on the police gathering their information? Would you trust them, even if they assured you they were acting with the best will in the world?"

As the accord stands, complaints about police can be laid at a number of doors: those of police reporting officers, the commissioner of police or the Standing Commission on Violence and Intimidation.

Police reporting officers will be appointed in each region by the minister of law and order from names submitted by the Association of Law Societies and the General Council of the Bar. They could be former policemen, prosecutors, lawyers, retired magistrates or former members of an attorney-general's staff.

Allegations against police will be investigated by special police units who will report their progress to the police reporting officer. He can recommend the suspension or transfer of police under investigation and will recommend any disciplinary action to the commissioner of police.

According to Shearer, there would be little problem with police doing internal investigations. "But the external review body needs its own investigative capacity because of the possibilities of cover-up and also the need for the process to enjoy the confidence of the public."

"If the police are the only ones compiling information, then they will be in control of the process. There must be a mechanism to keep the police honest so they don't use investigations to white-wash."

Shearer expects problems with the accord — not least because he believes the structures created to provide an external review mechanism are too many and too complex. "At present it's unclear with whom complaints should be laid and how to maintain the integrity



Put it there ... Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk offer to shake hands with Mangosuthu Buthezi ... Photo: JOHN PARKIN, AP

of the process."

Crucial to the success of the accord will be the extent to which police investigations not only succeed, but are seen to succeed by members of affected communities.

"It's crucial that the process unfolds in the public eye," said Shearer. For this reason, he believes that policy recommendations made by the new Police Board to be set up in terms of the accord should be made public — and that the police should be compelled to explain their refusal for adopting any such recommendations.

Made up of equal numbers of police

and public representatives, the board will play no role in the day-to-day functioning of the police — and its recommendations will only be made public where it is deemed "essential in reconciling the interests of the community with those of the police."

In Shearer's view, the new mechanisms provide for increased scrutiny of the police but fall short of ensuring the actions of the government and the SAP are made visible. "We need the capacity to bring about a new style of policing, a mechanism for encouraging commitment to change on the part of the police."

Support for the notion of an independent investigative team came this week from Lieutenant-General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, head of special police investigations into political violence.

"I would welcome it," he said. "The press would stop calling me a fixer."

So far 24 SAP members have been suspended and face possible prosecution following investigations by Van der Westhuizen's 29 special teams countrywide. Van der Westhuizen believes this proves the job is being properly done — but he acknowledges the difficulties of persuading the public that this is in fact the case.



# Labour provided blueprint

274  
20/9-26/9/91

BY DREW FOREST  
"CHRIST! It reads like a recognition agreement!" Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo's reaction to the Peace Accord speaks volumes about the central trade union role in the peace process.

In the limelight at the weekend peace convention in Johannesburg were the African National Congress, Inkatha and the government. But it was a show largely written and choreographed by Cosatu, insiders say.

It was Cosatu which, at a "tripartite alliance" meeting earlier this year, argued for a new, strategic approach to violence, involving a convention of all key parties culminating in an accord.

After the "Sandton meeting" of June 22, which set up a preparatory committee to draft an agreement, the federation was absorbed into an alliance team alongside the ANC and South African Communist Party.

Its co-ordinator was to be "little" Jay Naidoo (no relation), a commercial unionist with long experience of peace efforts in Natal. Tough and shrewd behind a jovial exterior and described by colleagues as an "enormously skilled negotiator", he was to prove central to the initiative.

He was backed by one of Cosatu's longest-serving and most intellectually supple unionists, South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union general secretary John Copelyn.

Labour's influence is everywhere evident in the peace accord. It shows the unionist's typical attention to detail and taste for binding, enforceable agreements rather than vague professions of principle. "We didn't want something which relied on trust and goodwill," (little) Naidoo told *The Weekly Mail*. Labour's stamp is also evident in the provision for binding arbitration, both

as a way of resolving disputes over the accord and breaches of the codes of conduct.

There can be little doubt that the two-year "Saccola" talks between labour, capital and, ultimately, the state over the Labour Relations Act formed an important background to the peace initiative. "They gave us an insight into negotiating with the state in a multilateral context," Naidoo said.

The peace process may have been Cosatu-driven, but it also showcased the cream of South Africa's political shakers and movers.

Among the ANC's key men were Thabo Mbeki, described by one source as "a stunning negotiator", Aziz Pahad and former Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi. The latter, who combines union and political skills, made a powerful impression: "He's reasonable, strategic, charming, understated. Definitely someone to watch," was one comment.

ANC supremos Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa made decisive interventions in the closing stages on the dangerous weapons issue.

Representatives of enlightened capital played a broker role, bowing out at the closing stages when the politicians took over.

"Government came in because of business, and once government was in, the IFP had no choice but to participate," observed one source.

Key business leaders included Anglo American director Bobby Godsell, who is emerging as a central figure in a range of transitional forums — a unionist described him as "honest, charismatic, far-sighted and clever".

Barlow Rand's Andre Lamprecht, once prominent in labour's demagogue as a "union-basher", played a vital

backroom role, and unionists also pay tribute to the South African Chamber of Business's urbane John Hall as "an able defuser of tensions".

Perhaps the biggest surprise for the alliance was the expertise of the government team, and particularly of Defence Minister Roelf Meyer. "They were as good as the best employers," said one union man.

"We expected lock forwards in ballet shoes — negotiating is a new game for government," said Naidoo. "We were surprised by their skills and the way they've internalised negotiations."

Far less cohesive, sources say, was the IFP team, although Frank Mdlalosi and Walter Felgate ultimately emerged as the key negotiators. At the stage when the process was broken down into five working groups — on codes of conduct, the security forces, socio-economic reconstruction and process itself — different IFP members sent out different signals.

They were clearly hobbled by their political bosses: two agreements on dangerous weapons clinched in the forum were thrown out by Umlandi. There were also signs that the IFP was uncomfortable with a tight accord, seeing it as too restrictive.

"It was useful for business and the state to see what (IFP president Mangosuthu) Buthelezi is really about," said one alliance source. "There was general outrage at the appearance of an impi outside the convention — people saw it as orchestrated intimidation."

Unionists are cautiously optimistic about the accord, stressing that it differs from its predecessors in of its multilateral character, detailed mechanisms for co-operation and dispute-settlement and high international profile.



A parent's anguish ... A Soweto father carries the tiny coffin in which his baby will be buried. The infant was one of 14 people killed in Soweto on 'Bloody Sunday' two weeks ago. The victims were buried at a mass funeral in Soweto yesterday

Photo: GUY ADAMS



ON Wednesday last week, when the Inkatha Freedom Party's Mangosutho Buthelezi told the BBC he did not believe the National Peace Accord would work, he didn't intend to be present at the Carlton Hotel on Saturday to sign it — a move which would have been certain to scuttle the Accord and wreck hopes for peace.

But a last minute dash to Ulundi saved the day. Aboard the private jet were businessman facilitators John Hall and Sean Cleary and the Rhema Church's Ray McCauley, another conference facilitator.

The three had a lengthy agenda for discussions with Buthelezi. He was refusing to have Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu co-chair the peace convention on Saturday, and was exercising

ing a veto on many of the proposals his negotiators brought back to him.

In the end it was agreed that the businessmen would chair and the church leaders pray — and so the meeting was chaired by South African Chamber of Business president John Hall and Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Chamber of Commerce, while Tutu and South African Council of Churches president Khoza Mgojo offered the closing prayers.

Many close to the peace process believed that Inkatha placed many obstacles in the way of the Accord. The IFP, as one of the three main parties

## The frantic jet

Hitches on all sides — and Inkatha's clear reluctance to negotiate — almost scuppered the peace accord, signed at the eleventh hour

**PAT SIDLEY** reports

involved in the process — with the government and the African National Congress — was the party with the fewest resources and the scarcest skills to cope with the demands of the negotiations.

Its three negotiators, Frank Mdlalose, Suzanne Vos and Walter Felgate, have all come in for criticism be-

# National peace body in place by Monday

cr 21/9/91 (274)  
Political Staff

THE National Peace Committee is to be constituted on Monday after an interim committee was appointed yesterday morning at a meeting in Pretoria.

The president of the South African Chamber of Commerce, Mr John Hall of Barlow Rand, was elected interim chairman, the committee said in a statement.

Representatives of the ANC-led alliance, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party were present at yesterday's meeting.

The political parties and organisations that formed the preparatory committee for the NPC will, in terms of the accord, form the NPC together with representatives drawn from other signatory parties, where it is believed that their inclusion would give effect to the accord," the statement said.

The Interim Committee said it had also decided that, as a matter of great urgency, other structures to be established in terms of the accord, such as the Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation and the National Peace Secretariat, should be established as soon as possible after the full meeting.

The NPC is to be the supervising body implementing the agreements

'Don't pin all hopes on accord'  
cr 21/9/91, (274)

Staff Reporter

THE Peace Accord signed by more than 30 parties "was more likely to succeed" than past initiatives, but it was "dangerous to pin all hopes on it", Professor Janine Rauch of the University of the Witwatersrand said yesterday.

Speaking at an intervarsity law conference at the University of the Western Cape, she said: "If Inkatha were to pull out, which is not unlikely" it could destroy future faith in these initiatives.

The conference, hosted by the UWC Interim Law Faculty Council, addressed the issue of "The role of the police prior to, during and after transformation", and included a paper from Captain Dirk Opperman of the SAP.

Professor Rauch said the success of the accord hinged on trust and participation, and "for those not willing to sign the accord the implication is they are not interested in peace".

The accord was "more likely to succeed" because it had a detailed code of conduct for the SAP and political parties, there was swift recourse to justice and there was multi-party monitoring of the police, she said.

signed last weekend.

Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, said yesterday that although the police would implement those aspects of the accord which were applicable to it as soon as possible, committees still had to be formed.



# Peace body meets

24/9/91  
PETER FABRICIUS: Political Correspondent

AN interim National Peace Committee was formed in Pretoria yesterday to implement the National Peace Accord signed a week ago.

The interim committee is to arrange the establishment of a full National Peace Committee which will meet on Monday September 30.

The interim committee comprises the members of the preparatory committee of the National Peace Initiative which wrote the peace accord — representatives of the Government, the ANC and Inkatha.

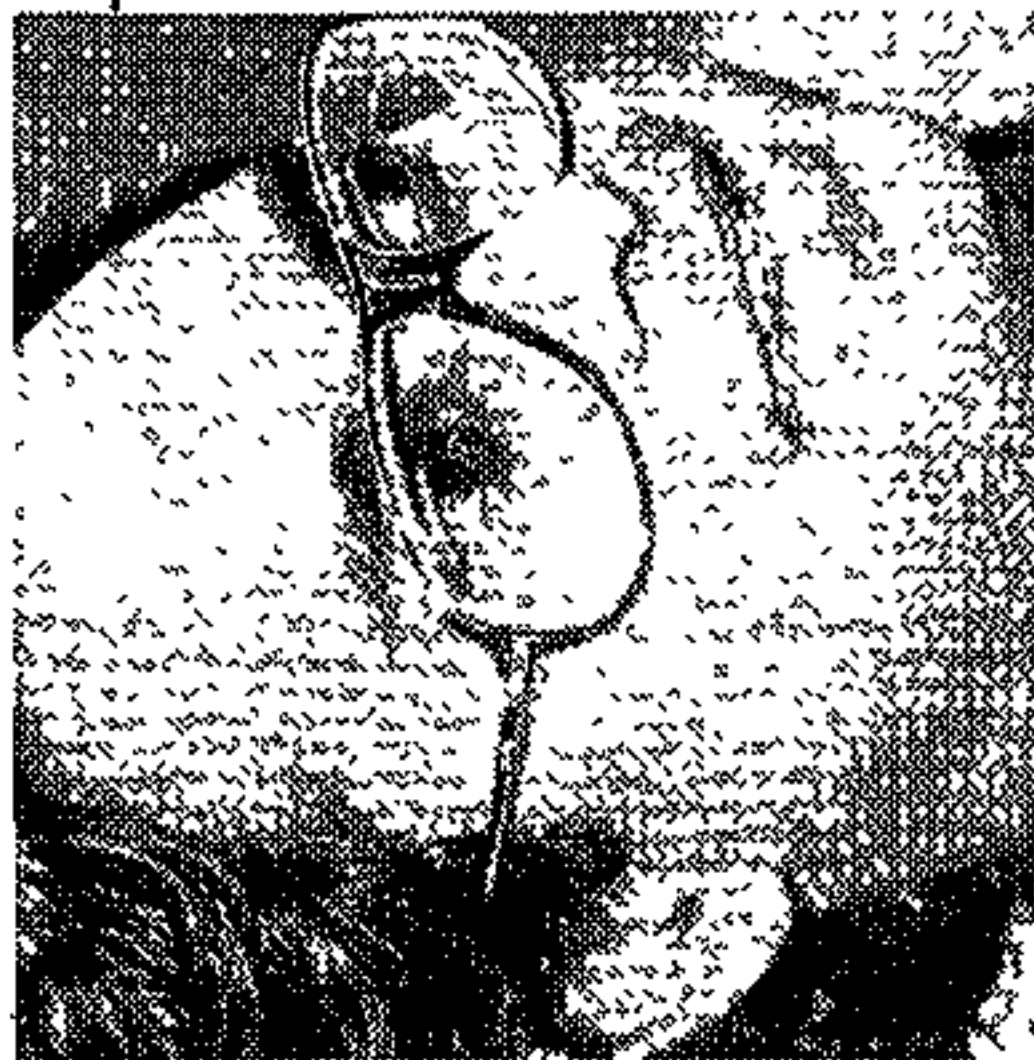
One of the tasks of the interim committee will be to decide which other signatories of the accord to draw on to the NPC.

The new members will attend the full meeting on September 30.

The interim committee said in a statement after yesterday's meeting that "as a matter of great urgency" other structures of the peace accord — such as the standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence and Intimidation and the National Peace Secretariate would be set up after the full NPC meeting.

The accord states that the NPC must propose a list of candidates for the positions of the three ordinary members of the commission.

Barlow Rand's John Hall was chosen yesterday as chairman of the interim committee.



JAY NAIDOO ... long nights

## MIKE ROBERTSON talks to one of the quiet movers behind last week's peace initiative

gation during the peace initiative. In this capacity he served on the so-called "process" group, which negotiated the complex set of structures to implement the peace accord, chairing its management committee. When, after the publication of the draft peace accord, more than 60 pages of comment and suggested amendments were received, he was elected to chair the editing committee.

JAYENDRA NAIDOO no longer wishes to be known as "little Jay". The tag was coined in the late 70s to distinguish him from then fellow student Jayaseelan Naidoo who later went on to be elected as Cosatu's first general secretary.

Despite the passing of a decade and noticeable changes in their physical size it has stuck.

But after the signing of the National Peace Accord last weekend Jayendra is certain to get his wish. For there was nothing little about his behind-the-scenes contribution towards making the accord possible.

After leaving the University of Durban-Westville, Jayendra joined the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa in 1981.

In 1987 he was appointed national education co-ordinator for its successor, the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union.

He was one of the unionists, along with the National Union of Metalworkers of SA's Alec Erwin, who were prominent in attempts to end violence in Natal.

Perhaps for this reason, and because he had asked for a year's leave and therefore had no other pressing duties to distract his attention, he was asked to co-ordinate the activities of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu dele-

tee which was set the task of agreeing on a final version.

It was in this position that he earned the respect of not just his alliance colleagues, who knew him to be a tough and shrewd negotiator, but also that of the government and Inkatha representatives as well as the church and business facilitators.

The trade union contribution to the peace accord can be gauged simply from the one-page Chapter 9 titled Enforcing The Peace Agreement Between The Parties.

In it strict procedures are laid down for dealing with any differences in interpretation of the accord including the appointment of arbitrators.

Mr Naidoo believes that the presence of unionists and, as mediators, businessmen like Anglo's Bobby Godsell and Middelburg's John Hall, all of whom had gained valuable experience at the coalface of management/union bargaining, was vitally important.

"I think the union experience at collective bargaining had a very important role to play. All other parties acknowledged at some stage that the union presence was really useful in getting the sort of agreement we did."

However, he is also fullsome in his praise for the facilitators.

# Little Jay a huge force behind the peace accord

He recalls that: "As the process went on there was a chemistry about the fact that we were making such good progress. That in itself assisted parties to become more enthusiastic and more committed to the process."

Asked when he became confident the accord would become reality, Mr Naidoo laughs and says "lunchtime on Saturday".

But he is serious. "There were still plenty of problems. We did not have an accord the day before the convention. It was still in the negotiation room and then in the morning there was the drama outside the hotel and there had been a number of state-

ments made the day before. Lunchtime was the only time you were able to say it was all over."

The previous five days Mr Naidoo did not get much sleep as his committee worked day and night to resolve outstanding problems.

"We had to process about 60 pages of comment and proposed amendments. Some of it was very good. We did as much as we could and referred sticky matters to the different working groups."

"Some of the things that had been fudged became unravelled and some of the things that we had expected would be cleared up between the main parties were unclear. This included the question of dangerous weapons."

"The crunch came on Wednesday after the preparatory committee met and there were still outstanding problems. Thereafter we had two sessions lasting to 5am."

One of stickiest issues dealt with was the question of dangerous weapons. Eventually after much heated debate and desperate calls to the various principles the parties agreed that no weapons be carried or displayed at public meetings.

Mr Naidoo says it took more than a 100 hours and 25 drafts before this was agreed.



...a week of  
coll of dead from  
ch at times threat-  
the peace talks  
the organisations  
d without reserva-  
ly on Friday after  
committee, which  
final wording, had  
week  
was also not  
of armed  
surged in mock  
venue, the Carlton  
inside fumed  
deliberate provoca-

ed

\* later requested  
thelezi to ask his  
to avoid any possi-  
y did so after King  
Mr Buthelezi had

...over, an Inkatha  
and three others  
are attacked by a  
mob in downtown



THREE WISE MEN: President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi together yesterday

Picture: DAVID SANDIS

to 16  
killed  
in the

left  
the  
of  
and

Man-  
press  
sign-  
times  
peace  
not

he  
of  
ions  
at  
why  
ectly

basic  
in  
MK  
k-  
egot-  
in  
free-

asked

a pro-  
d-wea-  
and  
said  
car-

the  
for  
a  
with  
us

sen-  
rea-  
would  
...ha  
...what  
...ed  
...was  
...to  
it was  
duous

# Signing a nation's birth certificate

THE leaders of a nation divided against itself came together yesterday, offering prayers in Sanskrit and Afrikaans, Arabic and English, to pledge themselves to the pursuit of peace in a land torn by violence

In that moment, perhaps, greater things were born. The negotiations for a new South Africa have begun.

The National Peace Accord, conceived simply as an attempt to curb violence, expanded in scope as it took shape. The document that has emerged from the negotiations — conducted essentially by Inkatha, the Nationalists and the ANC under the auspices of church and business leaders — goes far beyond the question of violence.

It is a statement, albeit incomplete, of certain basic human rights, to be exercised without fear of violence or intimidation: the right to freedom of speech and conscience, freedom of association, freedom of movement and of peaceful assembly, and freedom to take part in politics.

South Africa has never before seen such an assembly of leaders as those who came, united in purpose, to the Carlton Hotel. When Mr Nelson Mandela, leading the ANC delegation, remarked that compromise was essential in an accord of this nature, there was a loud "Hoor! Hoor!" from the audience.

## Prayers 274

Moments after Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa denounced the peace accord, Thabo Mbeki took him by the hand and led him into a corner behind the television cameras where they whispered earnestly together. Dominee Johan Heyns was overheard to say to Joe Slovo, "Don't you feel uncomfortable during the prayers?" — or so, at least, a prominent Afrikaans journalist swears.

Bantustan leaders came in strength, but Zululand appeared in many guises. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi led the Inkatha Freedom Party delegation, King Goodwill Zwelithini led his own delegation, the Kwazulu Chiefs' Caucus had five representatives, and the Kwazulu government had its own delegation.

Among the diplomats and observers at the back of the hall there was some disapproving comment about the appearance outside in the street, in violation of the spirit of peace, of an

## THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT by Ken Owen

Inkatha impi carrying instruments of bloodshed which they call "traditional". But the spirit of tolerance held Nobody referred out loud to the mob in the street, or to the evident provocation which it intended, though history may record that the behaviour of Inkatha was on the outer edge of decency.

There were some dissident notes. WOSA, the radical left-wing trade union, denounced the accord as putting black people in league with the police and the army, whom Azapo denounced as the coercive arms of the government, but Cosatu's Jay Naidoo, addressing himself to his "sisters and brothers" smoothly pledged support.

## Warped

Murray Hofmeyr, former chairman of JCI, pronounced the occasion "a fundamental turning point in the history of South Africa" and Robin Carlisle of the Democratic Party, an emotional man, declared, "We are witnessing a miracle."

And so, perhaps, it was. Nobody expects this agreement to bring the violence to an end, though the burst of violence that preceded the signing may now abate. As President De Klerk said, if the accord is to succeed, it must become "a living document".

Cycles of violence and counter-violence have bequeathed to this country a depraved faith in the gun, the bomb, the necklace and the spear. The police are undermanned and under-trained, and they have forfeited the trust of the people. In the streets, in the night, roam young men whose minds have been warped by the experience of the past decade, fondling firearms.

Nevertheless, negotiations have begun, and in the shape of this accord, in its statement of principle and its mechanisms for enforcement, in its reliance on consensus and its three-tier structure, it is possible to discern the first, faintly drawn outlines of our future.

History may yet select this accord, rather than the constitution which is still to come, as the birth certificate of a nation.

# Cheers! Two share our R500 000 cash prize

By TERRY van der WALT and CHARIS PERKINS

IT WAS lucky Friday 13 — two Sunday Times — a Transkeian security guard and a Johannesburg divorcee — who each R250 000 in our Crossword competition.

Mr Solomon Fuzani, of Umtata, who bought R1 to enter, and Mrs Christine Larratt, 32, of Johannesburg, had two mistakes each share the R500 000 prize.

Mr Fuzani couldn't have his good fortune. The Sunday Times told the good news on Friday. He has been trying my for years I hoped that day I would be enough to win a R4 000 consolation prize," he said.

## Feast

Mrs Larratt, a divorcee mother, said "It is too wonderful for words. I believe it".

Mr Fuzani, who turns on September 25, is the second eldest of nine children and lives in a one-roomed home with his driver father, Daniel, mother, Eunice, 48, five other family members. He is a night security guard.

□ To Page 3



BUBBLY winner Solomon Picture: HORACE POTTER

## PICK 6

TURFFONTEIN  
Only 26 winners collected a dividend of R56 123,10 each. Numbers: 1, 3, 1, 9, 10, 9, 11

GREYVILLE  
22 winners each collected a payout of R16 790,00. Selections: 1, 8, 3; 8, 3, 8, 4

MILNERTON  
There were 17 winners with each collecting R24 118,30. Combinations: 6, 11, 4, 7, 4, 4

## Champ Brian's wife wins with a smack

By TERRY BARON Sacramento

BRIAN MITCHELL'S wife was involved in a verbal punch-up with a sister of Tony Lopez.

At the post-fight press conference, Cathy Mitchell threatened to punch Tony's

sister Dianne while the fighters were being interviewed. They had become friends.

The verbal sparring started behind the bleated sportswriters. Cathy said to Tony's sister: "That's a good one you've got over there." Dianne snarled: "You shut your mouth."

Cathy snapped: "You shut your mouth yourself — or I'll give you a smack."

● Big fight, Page

## Dingaen Thobela still tops

BIG-TIME boxing returned to SA in spectacular fashion when Dingaan Thobela retained his WBO lightweight title with a convincing points win over Puerto Rican Antonio Rivera in Johannesburg last night. ● See Page 26



**T**HE signing of the National Peace Accord has cleared the way for a multi-party conference to begin before the end of the year — late October or early November, I would guess — but it won't be smooth sailing.

First must come a test of strength, masquerading as a popular revolt over the introduction of value-added tax (VAT) at the end of this month. Essentially, the campaign against VAT is a trial run for a new set of political tactics: armed struggle has run its course; now comes mass mobilisation.

Those nice people who can't tell a peace accord from a love letter may be deeply distressed by the turmoil, and some may even think the accord itself has failed. The opposite is true: turmoil is a sign of success. The accord has shifted the struggle from the military arena to the political, and to that extent it represents a normalisation of South African society.

But *a luta continua*. Peace, if you like, is war by other means.

To understand the new phase of the struggle it is useful to look closely at some of the provisions of the peace accord that have had little public airing, in particular the enforcement mechanisms. The central mechanism is the national peace committee that

includes representatives of the ANC and Inkatha, and which has the power to co-opt other signatories of the peace accord.

The peace committee, in turn, nominates four of the five members of the national peace secretariat — the fifth member is drawn from the Department of Justice — and the secretariat takes decisions by consensus. "The State" is expected to provide the resources to enable the secretariat to function as an instrument of dispute resolution.

Similarly, the peace committee puts forward a list of nominees for the peace commission which must inquire into the causes of violence, and it must establish sub-committees to deal with socio-economic reconstruction and development.

The political effects of this structure are two-fold.

On the one hand, members of the ANC and Inkatha have been put into a position to inquire into, if not directly supervise, the actions of the SADF and the SAP, and to do so while on the payroll of the state. On the other hand, the National Party has drawn both organisations into co-responsibility, not only for the control of violence, but for socio-economic reconstruction.

No sensible person expects the peace accord to bring violence to a

# KEN OWEN

## ON SUNDAY

27/4  
22/9/91

sudden halt. There are simply too many weapons in the townships, many of them AK-47 assault rifles smuggled into the country — often as a form of capital — by refugees from Mozambique. The townships are too turbulent, and the "lost generation" is too wild.

**T**O bring peace will be a long, slow business. The significance of the accord, however, is not that it will bring instant solutions but that it is, as any political innocent must perceive, the first step towards creating an interim administration to run the country while constitutional negotiations proceed.

This is a new game. There's little reason now to worry about "armed struggle". The ANC no longer has the

capacity, even if it had the will, to "return to the bush", as the romantic phrase has it. The main sources of money and weapons have dried up, the Umkhonto "army" is disaffected and a drain on slender resources, and the vaunted arms caches probably contain not weapons, but mocking notes from the police.

Simultaneously, sanctions are falling away, and the ANC needs to develop new tactics. Having gained a foothold in the joint administration of the country through the peace accord, the ANC's immediate aim must be to widen its role. Land allocations, educational reconstruction, housing, health, employment, and the general allocation of resources all become parts of the same battlefield.

However, in the view of the ANC, the government will not yield control

unless it comes under pressure. Bereft of both armed struggle and sanctions, the ANC has only one arrow left in its quiver: mass action, led by the trade unions, to bring the people into the streets, and to cripple the economy.

**V**AT, thanks to the efforts of white middle class shoppers and petty vested interests, offers the perfect pretext. All taxes are unpopular, but VAT is particularly unpopular because it strikes at a black population that, by and large, has come to believe that the whites, represented by the government, owe it reparations.

Actually, VAT is a good tax, likely (after a burst of opportunistic price increases) to prove less inflationary than GST, and likely to promote

economic development and job creation. But this is not easy to explain, especially not to illiterates, and anyway, black people don't see why they should pay any tax at all until they can vote.

The campaign is being conducted, as it was bound to be, in terms of the hardship which a tax on food and medicine will inflict on the poor. There is some truth in the assertions of hardship, of course, but in political terms that is irrelevant: the hardship of a general strike will be infinitely greater, and nobody bothers about that.

There is another point. For the ANC, a campaign against VAT holds a promise of drawing new classes of whites — poor, conservative, and non-political, rather than the usual human rights lobbies and politicised church groups — into a battle against the government. That would fulfil a principal strategic aim of widening its support base.

The stakes are high, very high. If the government can be forced to negotiate on taxes, as sportsmen must negotiate on tours and artists on concerts, the ANC will have established itself as an indispensable partner in the administration of the country. The effects of the peace accord would be extended to all areas of government, and magni-

fied immeasurably. In effect, there might emerge something in the nature of an interim government, no matter what the National Party thinks of that idea.

However, the showdown comes at the worst possible time for the trade unions. With an army of unemployed standing on the sidelines, with retrenchments on every side and with recession at its worst, it is a brave working man who abandons his job to demonstrate in the streets.

**T**HE mood among businessmen, many now fighting for mere survival, is tough, and the unions have not been notably successful in their wage negotiations this year. Besides, the political strains within the union movement, which were smothered during the days of revolutionary fervour, are coming to the surface, and the best union leaders are wholly occupied by national politics.

So brace yourself for a showdown. Neither tax revolt nor general strike is a gentle business, but the showdown had to come, sooner or later. It's just as well it comes so soon after the peace agreement, while enthusiasm for peace is still high. That enthusiasm, too, is about to be tested.



## PEACE ACCORD

# Will words become deeds?

FM 20/9/91  
(274)

The signatories to last Saturday's historic Peace Accord are well aware that peace is not going to descend on SA merely because they came together to endorse lofty ideals — though the police did report a notable decline in violence in the days following it.

The gathering was one of remarkable symbolism. Eighteen months ago it would have been unthinkable to have State President F W de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi together on the same platform, let alone

short, decorative knobkierie

Also unresolved is the question of the continued existence of the ANC's armed wing, Umkonto we Sizwe (MK), which Mandela said was the subject of continuing negotiations with government — and which Buthelezi this week said was cause for doubt that the accord would hold.

De Klerk explained that after further consultation with Inkatha and the ANC, government would issue a proclamation on cultural weapons. A draft proclamation would

be ready "in a week," with a definition of dangerous weapons.

Mandela was clearly riled by the Inkatha demonstration. When De Klerk was asked whether the police had given permission, he explained that Johannesburg was not an unrest area and the police, therefore, did not intervene.

Mandela immediately took to the rostrum "I totally reject the position as stated by the State Presi-

dent. If the people outside were ANC, the police would have dispersed them by force." Buthelezi then shot up, but De Klerk, restraining him, intervened. "We've just signed an accord. Government insists on security force impartiality. I gave instructions that, should ANC supporters also arrive, that there be adequate space set aside for them."

Mandela. "We stopped members of the ANC from coming here."

Buthelezi. "Wherever the King is, people come and congregate without a permit. Some people are nurturing false wounds."

How, after that little spectacle within an hour of signing the accord, could it hold?

"The questioner has misunderstood what happened," said Mandela. "I took up the matter with the State President. It would be an illusion to think that because we've attached our signatures we won't criticise, it's part and parcel of debating differences frankly and openly."

Added Buthelezi. "It amazes us that we blacks are supposed to be a monolith and not disagree. We may disagree robustly; simply because there's an exchange of ideas does not mean no accord."

Scepticism is in order, but the accord seems to have a chance of succeeding. The style of the event could well be a foretaste of how the multi-party talks will go — and a

demonstration of how the major players must keep their nerve under provocation.

One of the accord's important provisions is that the parties should not compel anyone to boycott business or withhold labour. But this does not mean the ANC will desist from its mass action campaigns. According to Mandela, problems can be addressed by negotiation and discussion. "But if there's no headway through persuasion, then mass action is the only other way to address our grievances."

The problem is that mass action can be inflammatory, a factor that the ANC persists in ignoring.

The test of whether the accord brings peace will be whether the codes of conduct for political parties and organisations are adhered to by all South Africans, even if (like the Conservative Party) they were not represented.

The parties gave assurance of a commitment to implement proposed structures as soon as possible — specifically, to establish:

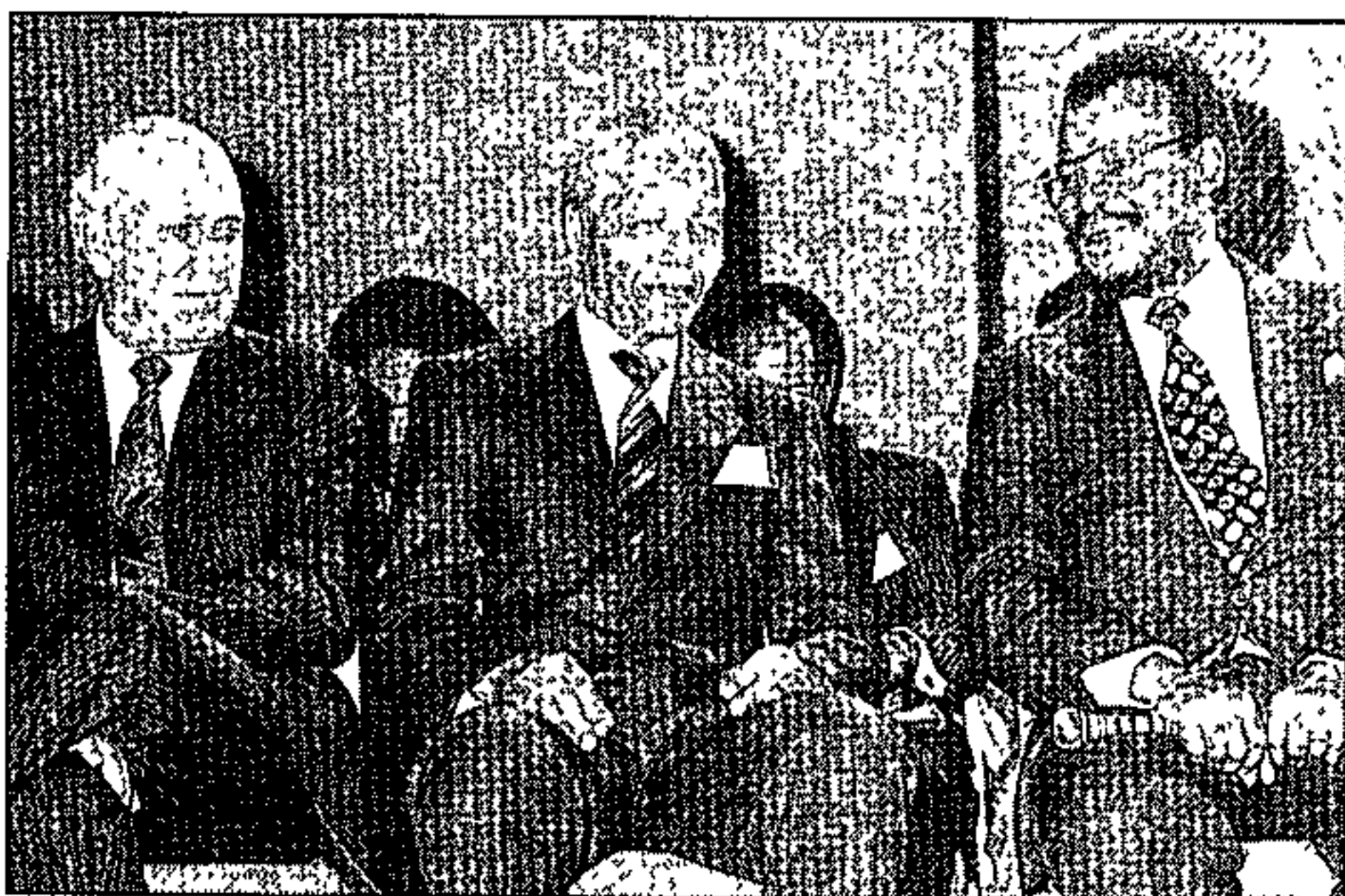
- The statutory commission on violence and intimidation,
- The (non-statutory) national peace committee, to be set up "within a week";
- The national peace secretariat, which would provide the link between the national and regional bodies; and
- Provisions relating to police activities.

A code of conduct relating to the Defence Force is being negotiated. At regional level, special criminal courts will be set up to enable faster, firmer action against violence. At local level, justices of the peace will be appointed, and local dispute resolution committees are to be formed. These bodies provide the practical mechanisms to translate lofty hopes into peace, observed Anglo American's Bobby Godsell, one of the convenors representing business.

Accepting fully the responsibilities and obligations placed on government, De Klerk described the accord as "but a single step on the arduous road to peace. But this first step represents an important breakthrough. It establishes a firm foundation on which we can continue building. The darkness of violence is making way for the light of peace."

De Klerk observed that all the parties, including his, would probably have wanted other clauses to be inserted, or some excluded. "I, nevertheless, signed the accord because the government and the National Party can fully identify with its principles and aims." Government would do "everything in its power to ensure that the envisaged structures function properly."

The accord must be a living document, said De Klerk. "In the days ahead we will have to further develop and refine the shared



De Klerk, Mandela, Buthelezi ... a good start

smiling and shaking hands

All three men took considerable political risks in consenting to the format of Saturday's meeting — and now Mandela and Buthelezi, in particular, may need to take further risks to translate the spirit of the accord into reality.

It is perhaps sobering to remember that, on a personal level, the accord merely established a familiar pattern. Relations between Mandela and De Klerk have generally been cordial; the enmity between the ANC and Inkatha at grassroots has not destroyed the old friendship between Mandela and Buthelezi; and De Klerk and Buthelezi have never been enemies.

But this time the leaders' give-and-take relationship was public and unashamed. Even the tasteless, somewhat provocative "cultural" gathering of some 3 000 Inkatha imps outside the Carlton Hotel venue was not allowed to sour the mood. The Zulus dispersed after King Goodwill Zwelithini and Buthelezi addressed them during the lunch break, following a request by De Klerk.

The controversial question of bearing "traditional weapons" remains glaringly unresolved in the accord, which forbids the carrying of weapons in public. Buthelezi said this did not refer to "cultural" weapons, which was why he was carrying one — a

FM 20/9/91 (274)

principles and aims in our battle against violence and intimidation. Equally, we will have to build consensus regarding a new constitution and a strong economy."

He pointed out that the accord was not the only agreement on matters it deals with. "There are also other undertakings and mutual agreements between leaders and between political parties and organisations. It is equally important that those should be honoured." If they were not, then the accord would also be affected. "Principles contained in this accord demand that we should honour meticulously existing bilateral agreements" as well.

De Klerk concluded by focusing on leadership. He argued that among some parties and organisations, there are those who do not really want peace. "This accord demands from leaders with followers who feel that way, to do something about it. It is easy to fault your opponents or to put the blame on the security forces. It is much more difficult to acknowledge and rectify your own faults and those of your supporters. However, exactly that is now a priority."

Mandela said the congress had reservations about the accord "but we accept that in an accord of this nature compromise is essential, there must be give and take." Mandela dedicated his organisation to "nurturing the spark of hope that we have lit today; ending the spectre of the rule of terror in the lives of our people; and devoting all our efforts to make this accord work for peace."

The ANC's possible "patriotic front" allies, Azapo and the PAC, both declined to sign the accord — though they attended the convention and pledged their support. Transkei strongman Bantu Holomisa pledged to underpin, but did not sign, the accord. He felt the preamble did not refer to certain fundamental obligations of government; that the general principles did not go far enough; and that it should have established the reasons why past accords had failed.

Holomisa has a point. None of it will mean anything if the man in the township street does not feel safe to go about his business. ■



# Why we did not sign PAC, Azapo

THE PAC and Azapo have been accused of playing politics with the lives of black South Africans for refusing to sign last week's National Peace Accord.

This accusation was levelled before and after the ANC, Inkatha, the government and several organisations – including churches, trade unions, homeland leaders and big business – signed the accord.

The charge against the PAC and Azapo was given further impetus towards the end of the peace convention when ANC president Nelson Mandela, one of the three major signatories, drew wide applause when he proposed that the United Nations General Assembly be requested not to support any organisation which had not signed the accord.

However, a senior PAC leader, who asked to remain anonymous, told City Press: "From what we gathered at the convention, we believe he was not referring to the PAC."

He added that Mandela would meet their leadership to clarify his statement.

The spokesman said the PAC had refused to attend the government's Pretoria peace summit on May 24-25 for several reasons, including the organisation's policy of "no collaboration with what we consider an illegitimate government".

He went on to say that "the PAC and the ANC agree that violence was being orchestrated" and that the "regime was not doing anything to stop it".

The organisation's chief of publicity, Barney Desai, said the accusation was unfounded because, although the PAC did not sign last week's accord, it took part in the deliberations to "underscore that violence is unacceptable and must be stopped".

Desai said that to show their commitment to peace initiatives, the PAC entered into bilateral agreements with the ANC last year to stop conflict between their members. These talks had reduced such conflict to a minimum.

During last week's peace convention, PAC president Mlamli Makwetu proposed the involvement of the international community "to ascertain who is responsible for the violence".

Makwetu added the PAC welcomed the "principle of working for peace in the townships".

The PAC, he added, made the "solemn pledge that we will . . . work tirelessly for peace among Africans".

The PAC leader was however critical of some aspects of the accord, including that it did not identify the orchestrators of violent incidents such as the Jeppe train massacre, and the fact police would investigate police.

## Proposals

Desai said the October 25-26 Patriotic Front conference would discuss the current violence and make "concrete proposals".

Azapo said in a statement that it was willing to participate in any peace process, but was not willing to directly or indirectly legitimise the present regime, as that would run counter to achieving lasting peace.

It believed peace accords should be preceded by the identification of the real causes of violence and the types of violence signatories hoped to curb.

It also asked why the current law enforcement machinery was inadequate to curb the violence, adding the accord revolved too much around the ministry of the South African Police, the Commissioner of Police and the Police Ombudsman.

"The accord as it stands legitimises the various government-created structures of oppression, the very structures our people are fighting against," it said, adding the accord sought to co-opt liberation movements into government structures.

"We further insist that lasting peace in our country will be achieved when the present regime shall have relinquished power, and give way to the establishment of democracy in our fatherland."

The organisation has drawn up an alternative draft Peace Accord which it would present to the National Peace Committee. It would also "pursue discussions with the National Peace Committee to find ways and means of how Azapo can assist in bringing lasting peace to our country," it said.



to get her there is a great possibility peace may result."

He said the accord was also particularly significant because it addressed socio-economic restructuring and development.

**Inkatha's Youth League chairman, Musa Zondi,** said the accord on its own was not "magic" but added the Inkatha Freedom Party was committed to making it work.

"But at the same time, we cannot make peace work alone, so the fact Inkatha, the ANC and the government are all involved is a positive step."

The difference between this accord and the previous peace pact between the ANC and IFP was that structures set up after the January meeting were "ad hoc", whereas formal local and regional multilateral structures would now be implemented, he added.

"We're optimistic, but it all depends on what the organisations that signed the accord will do to make peace work," said Zondi.

Natal Midlands ANC regional executive member Reggie Hadebe expressed cautious optimism about the effectiveness of the accord.

"We're committed to it and we fully support it but at the same time we have mixed feelings about its effectiveness," he said. "The present pattern of

violence, particularly in the Midlands, is no longer large groups attacking each other, but rather in the form of hit squads. The present mechanisms (of the accord) do not address this so we see this as a problem."

"(Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and Inkatha are casting doubt on peace. The fact that they came to the meeting with a large group of armed people is a statement that undermines the accord," he added.

The head of the Inkatha Institute's violence study unit, Kim Hodgson, said violence levels would subside once joint peace committees were in place, leaders actively preached peace to their communities, and repudiated unruly elements and perpetrators of violence.

The ANC's leader in Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast, Dr Siyabonga Cele, also expressed hope that the accord would help end the IFP/ANC conflict on the South Coast. The ANC had been trying to establish local

C/Per 22/9/91

peace committees to no avail in the Greater Port Shepstone area, he said, adding that formal implementation of joint structures would go a long way to addressing the fighting there.

Many of the protagonists of violence in the area had not been accountable to any organisation, but had committed atrocities simply in the name of one or another political organisation. Formal structures may be able to address this problem, he added.

A Durban-based Black Sash monitor said it was too early to judge the effectiveness of the accord, but added she was not confident it had filtered down to grassroots level yet.

Durban SAP spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo expressed similar sentiments: "It's still too early to say whether the accord has been effective."

Maritzburg police spokesman Lt Henry Budhrum said he was "very optimistic".

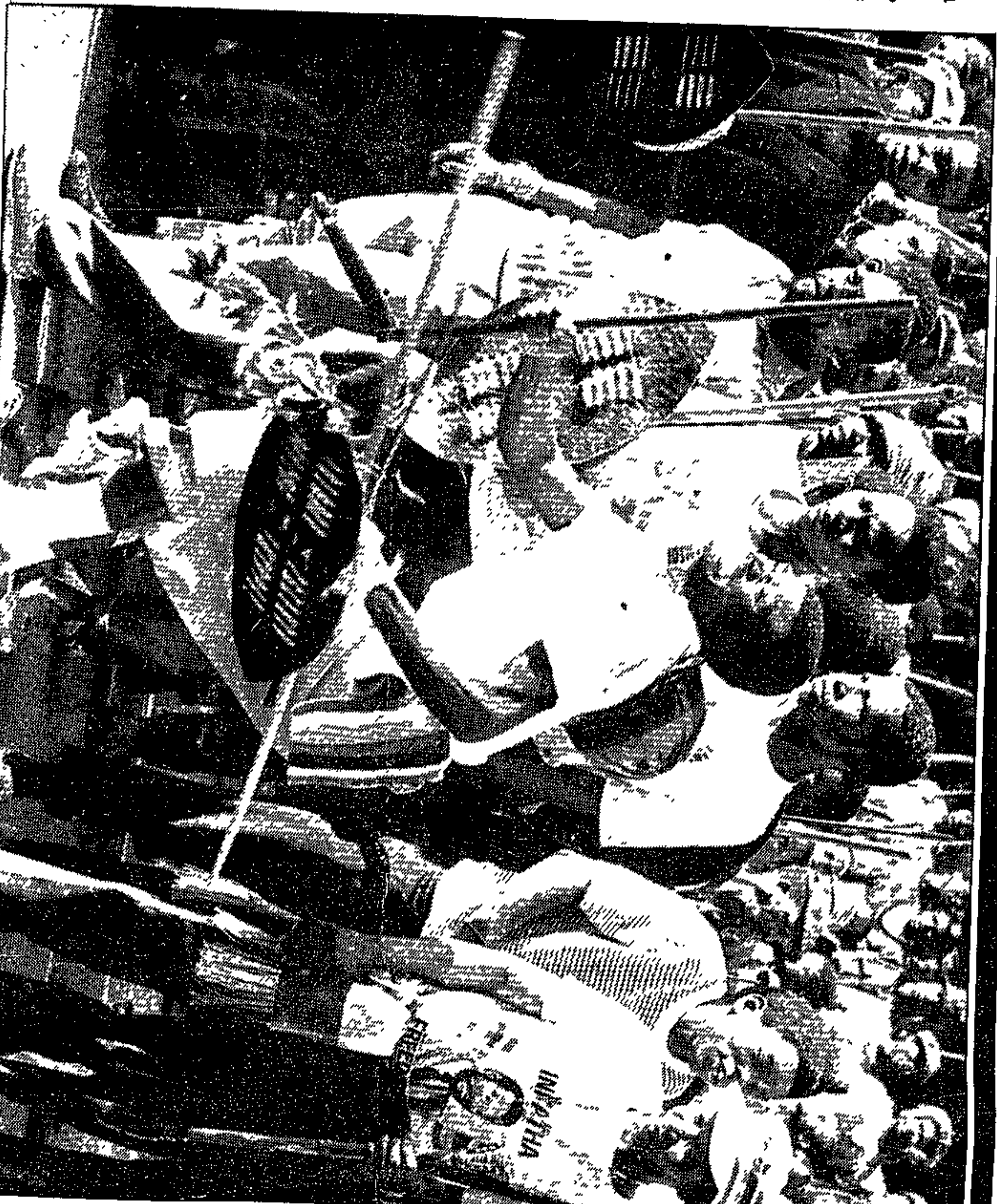
The Midlands area had, however, been quiet for Greytown, Pierre Cronje, said the accord was significant in that there was now a public commitment to peace from all the major parties on a multilateral basis.

"There will now be more pressure from all concerned parties to bring back any dissenting party."

Cronje added that peace was not simply the absence of violence or the signing of non-aggression pacts, but required grassroots involvement on concrete issues such as security, law and order and justice.

It was also significant that the accord would address socio-economic and developmental problems.

Although there have been no serious outbreaks of violence in Reef townships in the past five days, it would be foolish to believe that peace has descended on the black communities.



**WAR SONGS ...** Zulus demonstrate outside the talks venue. Will the people at grassroots level heed the call of the peace accord signatories? Everyone waits to see.



by **SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa**

ON THE eve of signing the National Peace Accord, KwaZulu's Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed reservations about the agreement achieving the desired results.

At the time, Buthelezi said even if agreement was reached at the highest level he doubted it would filter down to grassroots level which was "where the violence is, where they are fighting, where they are killing each other".

Even some of his members, who were chanting and singing war songs outside the Carlton Hotel, where the peace accord was signed, carried placards casting doubts about the usefulness of the agreement.

Inkatha's fears were given added substance when two of their members were killed at Westgate Station, Johannesburg, the afternoon the accord was signed. A week after the accord was signed, Buthelezi's forebodings have not come to pass. The Reef townships, which have been the scene of some of the bloodiest killings in the past, have been relatively quiet.

On Friday, only one violent incident was reported in Soweto. While the Reef townships remained quiet, sporadic killings were reported from the Natal Midlands and the South Coast.

Three members of Inkatha in a minibus were ambushed and killed in Ndeleni while three other people were killed at Kaw Magoda near Richmond on the South Coast.

In spite of this latest renewal of violence several prominent Natal political leaders, unrest monitors and police spokesmen expressed optimism about the peace initiative.

"There is no doubt that the accord will work. We are determined to see that it does. If we did not think it was the correct thing for South Africa we would not have signed it," said ANC Southern Natal deputy chairman Jeff Radebe.

"It not only binds us and Inkatha but even the government and its security forces are part of the agreement. We believe if we look all these forces



**PEACE BROKERS . . . Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F.W. de Klerk at the peace accord meeting.**

**Pics: EVANS MBOWE**





**GREETINGS . . .** Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the United Methodist Church of Southern Africa, greets a congregational member of the local church during his visit at the weekend to attend the church's conference in Guguletu. Bishop Muzorewa, who was prime minister of Zimbabwe/Rhodesia for six months in 1979, said that after six years he had quit politics. He was now living his whole life for his church, which had 10 million followers in Southern Africa.

Picture. ALAN TAYLOR

## Muzorewa calls for peace prayer

CT 23/9/91 By RAMOTENA MABOTE (274)

SOUTH AFRICANS should all pray for peace and talks so that oppression could end "and you could join us all in Africa as a free people", the leader of the United Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, said in Cape Town yesterday.

The duty of the church was to teach its people to respect peace, justice and freedom for all human beings, he said.

The former prime minister of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia government, Bishop Muzorewa arrived in Cape Town last Thursday at the invitation of the regional branch of his church to a three-day conference that ended yesterday at Guguletu Civic Hall.

Bishop Muzorewa said that Christianity had a role to play in politics but politics had no role to play in Christianity.

He said his church had long been opposed to the ideology of apartheid, "which was what I told the then South African prime minister, Mr P W Botha, when I came here some years ago".

Bishop Muzorewa, 66, said he did not regret his six-months' reign as prime minister in 1979 because he did it for the people who wanted him in the position.

"I did not go into politics voluntarily, people begged me to lead the United African National Council (UANC), when all their leaders were in detention or exiled," said Bishop Muzorewa.



# Violence in the community

## trying to treat a deadly infection

(274)  
CT 23/9/91

The violence which is endemic to many parts of our country is the most serious obstacle to political democracy and to economic development.

PAUL GRAHAM argues that the festering conflict within the community should be dealt with at the earliest possible time and offers guidelines to deal with the problem.

THE worst problem with community violence is that people think it will go away. No one wants to give their full attention to it — not even the police. All those trying to attend to it do it "after hours". Even peace talks stop the moment the bodies are buried or the fight has stopped — until it starts again.

Community violence is a disease. It infects communities already weakened and prone to infection. Firstly, the state of communities makes some more susceptible to violence than others. Marginalised, poorly policed communities, with breakdowns in local government and conflicts over resources, are easily susceptible to the emergence of violence. In Natal, communities existed under increasing patronage as strong men pacified whole areas, buying loyalty and armies through their ability to deliver resources and prestige to those communities.

The trigger which led to the first outbreaks of community violence was inevitably a real or perceived threat to the power or status of these men. They responded vigorously, provoking both fear and anger, sometimes translated into retaliation. As the violence increased, so, like a plague, did it disperse. Refugees carried with them both the stig-

ma of having been in a violent area and the prejudice, fear and anger of having been victimised. The violence, fuelled by rumour, secretive planning, an increasing arms race, fear which could cause a whole community to uproot itself on gossip, and bedevilled by racist, inefficient and occasionally coldly calculating police, spread from area to area.

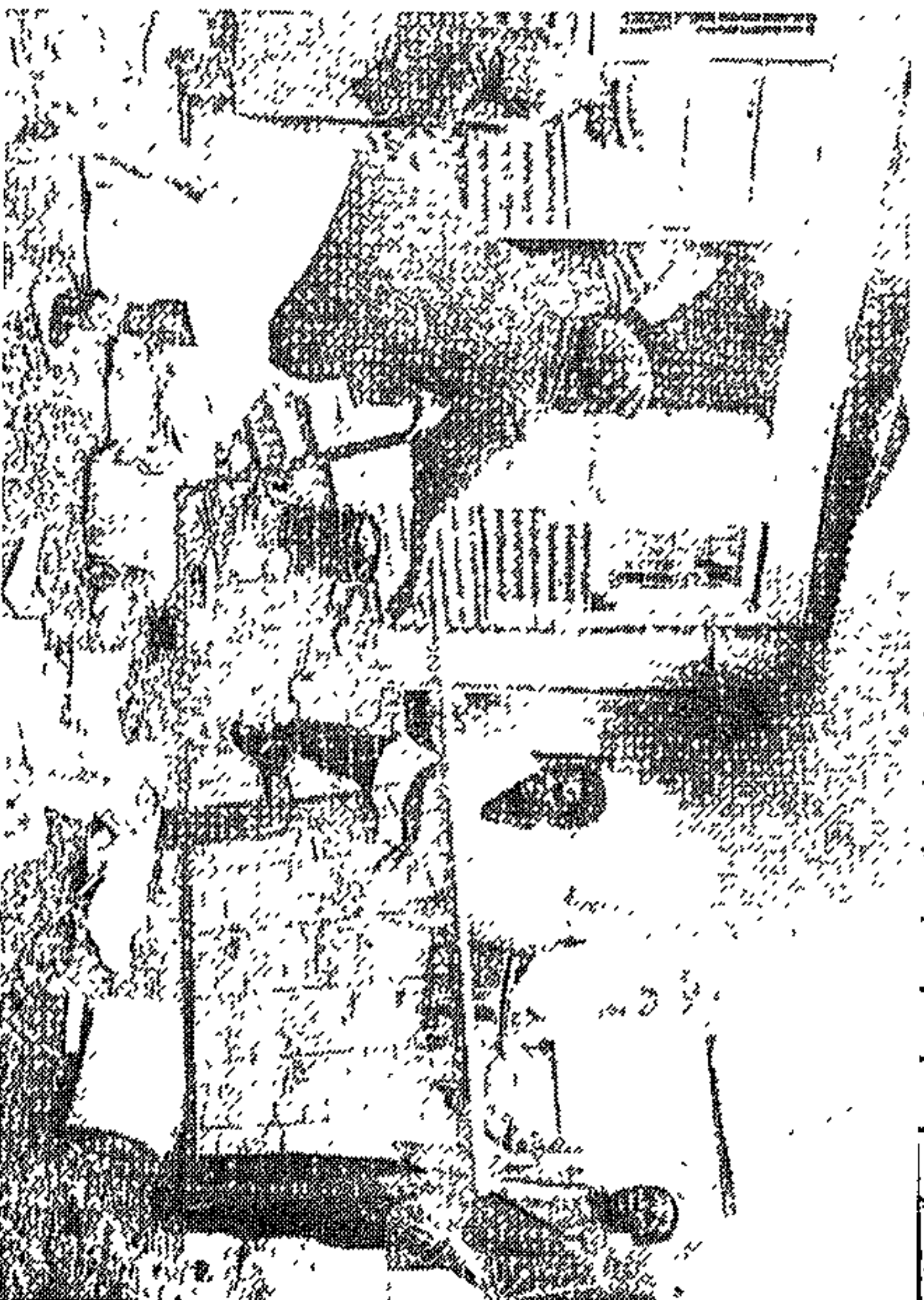
It is difficult to really understand the violence because, as with any disease, it enters periods of remission, throws off new symptoms and like a chronic illness has a life of its own. What is clear is that it debilitates and weakens community life to the point where violence is the first recourse in any conflict.

How then to heal community violence.

There are preventive measures, and in some communities it is still possible to take these. A community is most at risk in an undemocratic, poorly resourced environment where hard men can emerge and can feed off the community.

The measures that assist in immunising communities from violence include the creation of an organisation which is inclusive (of all ages, sexes and interest groups); the policing of the community; the ability to establish community life and have

**WAR WOUNDS**... Community violence can be compared to a disease. People think it will go away and so it is not receiving full attention. It infects communities already weak and prone to infection.



good relations with one's neighbours; and the creation of opportunities within which taxi wars, water and boundary disputes, housing and land patronage, trading monopolies and corruption have no place.

### Lessons

At this point, the analogy must give way to description of what has been tried and seems to work. It is no coincidence that the present peace plan being discussed at national level has emerged. It is very much a product of lessons from Natal.

- Its components are
  - Developing a code of conduct for the security forces
  - Developing a code of conduct for political organisations.
  - Developing an enforcement mechanism to monitor the codes.
  - Developing a programme of reconstruction.
- These components are obviously predated by getting all parties to the conflicts to agree on the peace programme.
- At a local level, there are some immediate steps and lessons
- The first lesson is the hardest to learn and to





apply. Access to a community in crisis comes as a result of a relationship which existed before the immediate crisis. It is extremely difficult to offer assistance if there is not some previous relationship — although there are strategies for gaining access.

Violence is not irrational. It has benefits for some. It is important to raise the cost of violence. And it can be done in a number of ways.

An obvious one is by increasing the public awareness of violence and shining a spotlight on to it. Violence flourishes from neglect.

In Natal we have tried to do this by "EPG" visits immediately after an incident — this cools down the participants and allows those committed to peace a chance to enter.

Another way is by demonstrating through public education what the real costs of the violence are.

A third is by putting pressure, not on the perpetrators, but on those who appear to support them — whether morally or financially.

### Programme

What does not seem to work, unless it has the real support of law enforcement agencies, are appeals to the courts through interdicts and special rulings. All these do is expose people.

Violence increases where law and justice are inactive. Where there is no real policing, the initial incidents of violence stimulate a "wild west" scene in which the strong and armed survive.

Hence, structures and activities which increase the accountability of security forces are essential.

It is important to maintain a programme and it seems most easy to do this in the areas of community reconstruction. These words are used because violence does not only cause damage to property. And it is important to focus on the people involved and not only their houses. For a start, it's much cheaper, as reconstructed communities attend to their own needs and can mobilise resources much more efficiently.

All the description above is based on the premise that the community can heal itself with care and attention. But it can't do that if within it are people intent on destabilising the community.

They could be a gang of criminals, a particular hard man, or a shadowy group whose identity is unknown. Removing these from the equation in order for a community leadership committed to peace to emerge is not easy.

In some cases — if the "germ" is within the community itself — self-interest can yield surprising results, provided people are able to treat all that has gone before as "war", to be put aside and no retribution asked.

In some cases, it is more difficult. Painstaking description of the incidents, lobbying of powerful people and parties, creation of alliances, building up of unassailable cases in public and through the new police liaison structures; all seem to help. What does not always help is publicity aimed at discrediting — often it misses its aim, and where it does hit home it can have unintended consequences. Among these are increased sympathy between white allies and security forces, increased defensiveness, retreat towards violence rather than talks, forcing underground that which was more visible, and so on.

The violence in Natal started in the 1970s when intolerance and resentment were allowed to fester. Or perhaps it began at the turn of the century when the era of divide and rule dislocated communities. Wherever it began, by the mid-80s it was very present. By 1991 the fear of rural armed banditry stalks the province.

Put out the fire when it is only a spark. Don't wait until communities have "Aids" before trying to heal them.

□ Paul Graham is regional director of Idasa in Natal and has extensive experience in monitoring and mediating in the violence in that province.







IC pr

A

1

950  
ves

83-34

TON

HOME

TE

TE

TE

TE

TE

TE

TE

TE

TE

SF410  
calenr  
■ St

appointment of a commission to set up guidelines for the education, training and deployment of a new SADF.

Discussions on the code are continuing between the National Party, ANC and Inkatha and it is expected to be finalised within weeks. It will eventually become part of the National Peace Accord which was signed last week.

## Police

Work on the SADF code, meanwhile, coincides with other important developments in the depoliticising of the security forces:

- A long-awaited SADF report on conscription, the Gleeson Report, will be released within weeks — it is expected to widen opportunities for conscientious objection;

- The SA Police will soon announce the appointment of a senior officer specifically charged with the retraining of policemen to ensure they comply with the terms of the peace accord.

The draft code of conduct document states that military professionalism alone, without an understanding of the ethical values required by military service within a democracy, was insufficient for a society in transition.

It was therefore essential that members of the SADF learned to participate in a democratic society both as citizens and as soldiers with "self-knowledge, courage and knowledge of the values with which they are entrusted".

A member of the SADF will respect and defend the right of all to live in peace, freedom and justice.

"As such they recognise human rights in the execution of their duties and shall accept personal responsibility both for the care and the legality of the conduct of their subordinates," the draft states.

The recruitment, appointment and promotion of SADF members will be based on merit, adherence to the values set out in the SADF code and the National Peace Accord. It will also be representative of the composition of SA society.

## Mercenaries

The draft also states that soldiers will be protected against the abuse of military authority by the legal right to refuse orders which violate the SA constitution, national laws and the provision of the code.

Every soldier will accept responsibility for his orders and their execution, but will equally enjoy the right of every citizen to be protected by the laws of the country.

The SADF will be bound by those provisions of the National Peace Accord applicable to the security forces when acting under the command of the SAP.

It will not allow its members to be used as mercenaries nor will it employ foreigners to perform military functions on its behalf.

The code also proposes that an ombudsman be established to receive, investigate and monitor public complaints of army irregularities.

A commission, made up of people suggested by the National Peace Committee, will be appointed to make recommendations on policy and SADF training

SA's security policy

□ To Page 2

# SADF is tamed

From Page 1  
will be governed by these principles:

- The preservation of peace while maintaining freedom, independence and territorial integrity;

- Non-intervention in domestic affairs except when acting under the command of the SAP;

- Non-aggression to SA's neighbours;

- Effective defence if deterrence of aggression fails.

Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers this week revealed that a senior police officer would be appointed to take charge of the retraining of SAP members.

Riot control units would be the first to be retrained to ensure they "understand the sensitivities of the communities they serve and

change the service they deliver".

Mr Scheepers said another senior officer would be appointed to ensure that all aspects of the accord affecting the police were implemented. These included the setting up of two special squads to investigate political violence and police misconduct as well as the appointment of ombudsmen.

The finalising of the code of conduct for SADF members is expected to coincide with the release of the Gleeson Report on conscription.

## PIC

GREYVILLE

Only 5 win  
R73 280,70 each  
1, 2, 6; 6; 1, 5.

KENILWORTH

One punter col  
R197 941,80. Col  
8, 11; 8, 12, 7; 1.

TURFFONTEIN

320 winners collected a div  
of R4 130,80 each Numbers  
5, 11, 12; 3, 1



# 'Criminals to blame for wave of violence'

Star 23/9/91

274

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Mafia-style warlords are exploiting political violence in the townships and making money out of the business of killing, according to Graeme Simpson, acting director of the Project for the Study of Violence.

"You pay for weapons, you pay for assassinations and you have to pay for your safety."

He said that previous attempts at defining the alleged "Third Force" in the current violence had been somewhat simplistic.

Scant attention had been paid to the group of

people who not only had a political interest in disrupting the peace process, but a material interest as well.

SAP Brigadier Leon Mellet said the police had no information about warlords as such, but that intimidation with no real political motives was prevalent.

"It's true that people are using the violence and ethnic differences for financial gain — for example, through the smuggling of weapons," he said.

Mafia-style protection rackets did exist and people were deliberately intimidated to make

them toe the line, he added.

Mr Simpson said the prevailing climate of political violence and intolerance, plus the unshackling of organisations which were previously oppressed, had created the space for a criminal element.

In the context of this climate of violence and the economic recession there was a fine line between political and criminal violence.

"What started off as having a political motive spirals, and the perpetrators of the violence turn into hired killers," he said.

lay September 23 1991

CITY/NATIONAL

# SADF assured of voice in new code of conduct

(274) AUG 23/91

ALAN DUNN  
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, today assured the Defence Force it would have to approve a military code of conduct being negotiated with the African National Congress before the government ratified it.

"The military is going to have to be happy with this, otherwise it will not obey it," he said in response to leaks to the Press of draft codes.

Mr Meyer's words constitute an undertaking that he, as political head of the Defence Force, will not impose a code.

He did not think the finalising of a code, which would be included in the National Peace Accord (NPA), would be too difficult. Agreement was possible, he said, essentially because the original was penned by the SADF's top structure.

It is understood that the government presented its initial proposal for a code of conduct to the ANC at the beginning of August. The ANC issued its response the week the national peace pact was signed. Sources said the government team hoped in turn to produce its reaction within two weeks.

The SADF's original draft was apparently based on those codes applicable in most Western countries. Government sources pointed out that the code presently under negotiation essentially existed in the Military Discipline Code.

The sources noted that the version of the code leaked to the Sunday Press contained the ANC's counter-proposals, which still had to be negotiated. Inserted clauses such as a rule forbidding employment of foreigners — which might have been directed at the legendary and largely Portuguese-speaking 32 Battalion — came from the ANC and would have to be thrashed out.

It is believed the ANC is concerned at the lack of enforcement mechanisms and proposed the creation of an "ombudsperson" to receive and probe public complaints against the SADF.

It has further suggested the creation of a commission made up of people recommended by the National Peace Committee, to draw up guidelines on future SADF training and policy.



JOHANNESBURG. — Agreement on a code of conduct for the SA Defence Force was highly likely within the next few weeks, despite the marked difference of emphasis between the ANC's and government's proposals, sources in both camps said yesterday.

ANC sources expressed surprise at the "remarkably progressive proposals from this defence force" but believed them to be too general.

The ANC was also concerned that they did not provide for "sufficient monitoring or enforcement mechanisms".

ANC and government leaders yesterday remained officially tight-lipped, saying they did not want to

# Early agreement likely on SADF

say anything that might bedevil the whole process.

The Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the SADF was still studying the ANC's counter-proposals, which had been received only about 10 days ago. He expected negotiations on the proposals to start within two weeks.

An ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the SADF was still studying the ANC's counter-proposals, which had been received only about 10 days ago. He expected negotiations on the proposals to start within two weeks.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

Cape Times, Monday, September 23 1991 9

say anything that might bedevil the whole process.

The Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the SADF was still studying the ANC's counter-proposals, which had been received only about 10 days ago. He expected negotiations on the proposals to start within two weeks.

An ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

The ANC source said its counter-proposals were not in any way designed to wrest control of the SADF from the state.

illegal or contrary to the constitution;

● The SADF is answerable only to the constitution and not the governing party;

● Make allowances for alternative forms of service and other conditions governing conscientious objectors; and

● Provide for the appointment of a commission to draw up guidelines for the education, training and deployment of a new SADF.

Mr Meyer said he had not been intimately involved with the defence working group during most of the peace initiative negotiations, as he was not then the minister.

The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, who was involved, said yesterday that the initial draft SADF proposals had been drawn up and submitted to the former minister of defence, General Magnus Malan, before being presented for discussion by the peace accord working group on security matters.

He said that until discussions were concluded it would be inappropriate for him to discuss further details.

# Meyer has key role in talks

IDENT

Political Staff

CT 23/9/91

DURBAN. — The new Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, has emerged as a key player in the all-party effort to overcome the problem of violence and the role of the security forces.

His prominent role in negotiations was highlighted at the weekend by the draft SADF code of conduct — although Mr Meyer played down his own role in compiling the document.

ANC sources have described the proposals as "remarkably progressive", although they have called for a number of adjustments. Agreement on the new code is expected within the next few weeks.

It will then be included alongside the police code of conduct in the Peace Accord.

Although Mr Meyer was not involved in early negotiations, it is understood he has played a decisive role since becoming Minister of Defence at the beginning of this month.

There have been reports that he helped compile the draft before he took over the portfolio from General Magnus Malan, but Mr Meyer said yesterday that he had not been intimately involved before becoming minister.

ANC sources have suggested that the reason for the delay in compiling the draft — which was to be included in the Peace Accord signed on September

To page 2

● Early agreement likely on SADF code — Page 9

From page 1

## Army code

14 — was that the organisation was waiting for Mr Meyer to become involved in the talks.

Mr Meyer has in the past been praised by ANC leaders, among them MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani, for his willingness to listen to their views.

As Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development he was deeply involved in behind-the-scenes talks during the earlier part of the year and made few speeches in Parliament.

Mr Meyer yesterday declined to comment on the reports, saying he did not want to bedevil negotiations. The draft was completed about a week before the signing of the Peace Accord.

However, the ANC's counter-proposals were received only two days before the Peace Convention and negotiation is still required before a final version will be signed.



8 killed in (274)

## Sunday unrest

274/9/91  
EIGHT people died in countrywide unrest on Sunday, and seven people were injured.

Police found five bullet-riddled bodies on the Reef, two of them at Wolhuter Hostel in Jeppe.

Two other bodies were found in Thokoza and the fifth one in Daveyton.

Three people died in Natal, in shooting incidents at KwaSahnge and Inanda.

Five of the people who were injured stormed the Greenwood Park police station.

A man is under police guard at the Robertson Hospital following a shooting in the Nqubela township. — Sapa

---

# Inkatha admits it may be wrong

Sowetan 24/9/91

FOR the first time Inkatha officials have acknowledged that there could be a sinister "third force" at work, attempting to break down relations between the IFP and the ANC by instigating violence.

The head of the Inkatha Institute's Violence Study Unit, Mr Kim Hodgson, believes the continued attacks in Natal are due to one of three reasons - either the African National Congress no longer has control over "vigilante groups" who attack IFP members on their own initiative; or the ANC is conducting a concerted

Sowetan Correspondent

campaign of violence against Inkatha; or a sinister third force is at work instigating violence deliberately.

Hodgson used the killing of an Inkatha organiser in Richmond, Mr Ndodi Thusi, as an example.

Thusi, his wife and four-year-old child were assassinated on August 30. It would appear the killer was someone known and trusted by Thusi, as he was obviously in the same car and shot Thusi from behind.

"It is quite possible that

something more sinister is behind many of these sorts of incidents, which often spark off violence between the ANC and Inkatha," Hodgson said.

Meanwhile, alleged violations of the National Peace Accord signed on September 14 have prompted IFP leaders in the Natal Midlands to make an urgent appeal to IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi for action.

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Mr

David Ntombela and assistant urban representative Mr Philip Powell claimed a "systematic campaign" was being waged against the IFP by the ANC in the region and said the matter should be raised with President FW de Klerk as soon as possible.

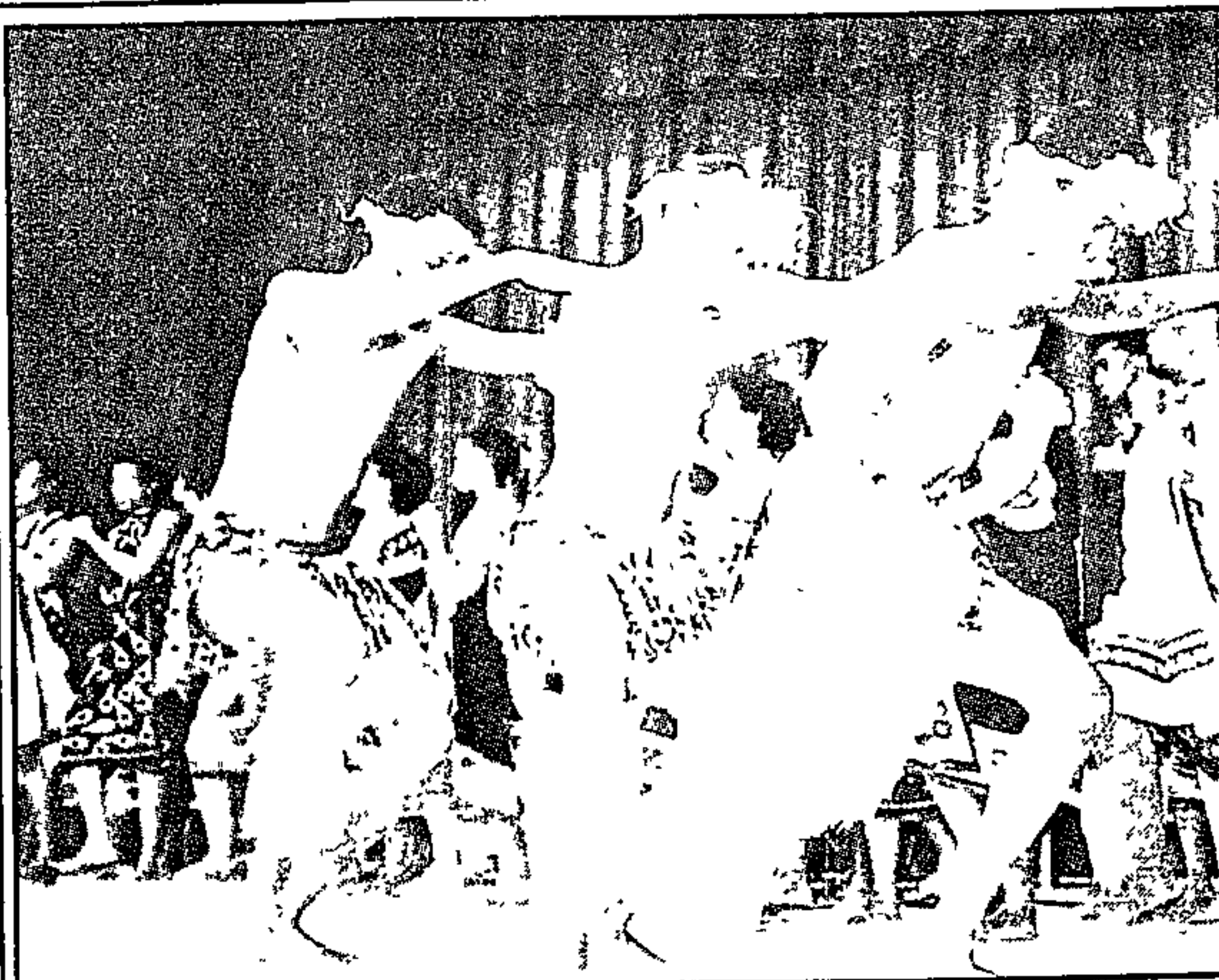
However, the ANC has refused to comment on the allegations and said the correct forum for talks on the crisis was the National Peace Committee.

During August this year

more than 60 IFP members and supporters were killed in Natal - more than half the 100 unrest-related deaths recorded for the month, according to Hodgson.

He said at least 17 assassination attempts on IFP leaders had been made, with seven of them successful, during the same period.

Hodgson said there was also conflict in Tongaat the North Coast and Gamalakhe, near Pietermaritzburg.





# Nearly half white adults have guns

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Nearly half of South Africa's white adults, about 1,6 million, live in a household which possesses a firearm, according to a survey by a market research group.

Market Research Africa said yesterday that its Sociomonitor survey of 2 211 urban adults found late last year that 56% of Afrikaans-speaking households had firearms, compared with 38% of English-speaking households.

In the A income group (with a monthly household income of more than R8 000) three out of five households had a firearm.

Fifty-three percent of B income households had firearms, as had 31% of D income households.

MRA chairman Mr Clive Corder said: "The high occurrence of private ownership of weapons in South Africa is creating considerable anxiety. Many people who have had no formal training in the use of firearms have potential access to a dangerous weapon."

White South Africans were overwhelmingly in favour of the deployment of the South African Defence force in unrest areas, the survey also found.

Four out of every five people interviewed supported the use of soldiers in unrest areas.

Men were more in favour of this step than women: 77% of women supported the move and 86% of men were in favour of troops being used in the townships. — Sapa

(274)

CT 24/9/91

(274) CP 24/9/91

## CP rejects code of conduct for SADF

JOHANNESBURG. — The CP yesterday rejected the draft code of conduct for the SADF, which proposes allowing soldiers to disobey "political" commands, saying it would corrupt military discipline.

CP defence spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said it was ridiculous for soldiers to judge their orders. They ought to trust their commanders and obey instructions without question.

Meanwhile, right-wing groups yesterday rejected plans by Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder for a united right-wing front to oppose conscription.

The CP, HNP and AWB said young men should continue to report for national service as the SADF provided useful training.

● While welcoming proposals for a code of conduct for the SADF, the End Conscription Campaign has criticised the secrecy surrounding discussions on the plan.

In a statement released yesterday the ECC, which was banned a few years ago for opposing compulsory national service for white males, said it was concerned that the proposals appear to be the result of secret negotiations between the ANC and the government". — Sapa



## Town honours ambassador to Denmark

CAPE TOWN — SA's ambassador-designate to Denmark, Conrad Sidego, yesterday received the freedom of Tulbagh. *(24/9/91) B/Day*

Speaking at the award function, former Anglo American public relations official Sidego said change and democratisation in SA were unstoppable and irreversible. *24/9/91*

SA's citizens had to ensure, by tak-

ing an active interest in the political process, that their will was impressed on the new constitution.

Blacks and whites were equally the victims of SA's politics, he said.

Sidego, who leaves SA on Sunday to take up his post in Copenhagen, said he would encourage Danish businessmen to become more involved with SA. — Sapa.

Robert Beaumont said he expected the trees, including palms and pin-oaks, to do well in Cape Town, as the soils there were better than on his 35ha Brits farm.

All the trees bought by Equicor were suitable for Cape Town.

Although the technique had caused controversy, Herschon said he was happy the project was keeping the environment green. Also, it lessened the subjective reaction of people to specific architectural styles.

## Firearms 'part of the household'

*B/Day 24/9/91*  
ABOUT 1,6-million white urban South Africans live in a household with a firearm, a survey by Market Research Africa (MRA) has found.

MRA said yesterday its Sociomonitor survey of 2 211 urban adults found late last year that 56% of Afrikaans-speaking households had firearms, compared with 38% of English-speaking households.

In the A income group (with a household income of more than R8 000), three out of five households had a firearm.

Fifty-three percent of B income households had firearms, as had 31% of D income households.

Those living in small towns and villages

were more likely to have firearms (59%) than those in metropolitan areas (41%).

Firearm possession was highest in Transvaal (52%), followed by the Free State (47%) and the Cape (43%). The lowest incidence was in Natal (42%).

MRA chairman Clive Corder said: "The high occurrence of private ownership of weapons in SA is creating considerable anxiety."

"Many people who have had no formal training in the use of firearms have potential access to a dangerous weapon," Corder said.

*(274)*  
Business Day Reporter

ICE

E

C

# 'Each policeman has to adhere to code'

Star 25/9/91

274

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Every member of the police forces of South Africa and the six self-governing territories will have to give a written undertaking that he or she accepts the police code of conduct contained within the National Peace Accord.

This was announced after a conference in Pretoria yesterday where Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and his counterparts from KwaZulu, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane and Lebowa fully committed their police forces to uphold the letter and spirit of the accord and to implement it as soon as possible.

The accord commits

the police to behave impartially and with restraint in dealing with political crime.

The conference also resolved that:

- All the provisions of the accord would be reflected at all levels of training and re-training.
- Joint units would be established to investigate violence and unrest-related crimes.
- Joint units would be set up to investigate complaints on police conduct.
- Each self-governing territory would appoint a member of its police force to serve with the SAP and members of the community on the proposed Police Board.
- Copies of the police Code of Conduct spelt out in the peace accord should be made available to every police offi-

cial and that every member of all police forces within the country should be required to give a written undertaking that he or she accepts and understands it.

- The self-governing territories should use SAP Reporting Officers to avoid duplication.

The conference also discussed cross-border policing and training.

Among those at the meeting were: Minister of Development Aid Jacob de Villiers; Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers; Gazankulu Chief Minister and Police Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi; Qwaqwa Police Minister R H Mopeli; KwaZulu Minister Without Portfolio N J Ngubane; KwaNdebele Deputy Law and Order Minister S J Mabona and KaNgwane Police Minister M S Gininda.



## 26 leftists assassinated

CT 26/9/91 Own Correspondent

(274)

JOHANNESBURG. — Unidentified assassins killed 26 left-wingers between September last year and the end of June this year, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) says.

There were also 32 attempted assassinations of left-wingers, 14 recorded death threats and six abductions, the HRC says in a report.

Police are investigating the claims.

# ANC: No mass action

274  
100  
ARG 16/9/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela signalled after the National Peace Convention that his organisation was retaining its hardline sanctions stance but would suspend mass action.

Mr Mandela told a press conference after the convention that the ANC had called for sanctions to achieve the "dismantling of apartheid in all its forms" and to "get the vote extended to all South Africans".

In spite of various reforms, neither of these objectives had been reached.

If an "atmosphere of mutual trust" between the government and the ANC was achieved, the lifting of sanctions would be considered, but the government would have to commit itself unequivocally to a constitution that would not discriminate against anybody.

The ANC has rejected the recent National Party constitutional proposals as an attempt to retain white privilege.

Mr Mandela said that "if the accord works well there will be no question of mass action".

The ANC believed in negotiation, but would consider returning to mass action if it could make no headway.

Mr Mandela said he rejected the concept of a troika leadership after negotiations, because it would leave many important organisations out of the decision-making process.

President F W de Klerk said the NP did not advocate a troika leadership. Its constitutional proposal for a three-to-five-man executive council to lead the country was intended to move the country away from the winner-takes-all system.

Chief Buthelezi said that if one of the three had not signed the accord it "would have not been worth the paper it was written on".



# Umkhonto we Sizwe must help train youth — Hani

*Sowetan 26/9/91*

274

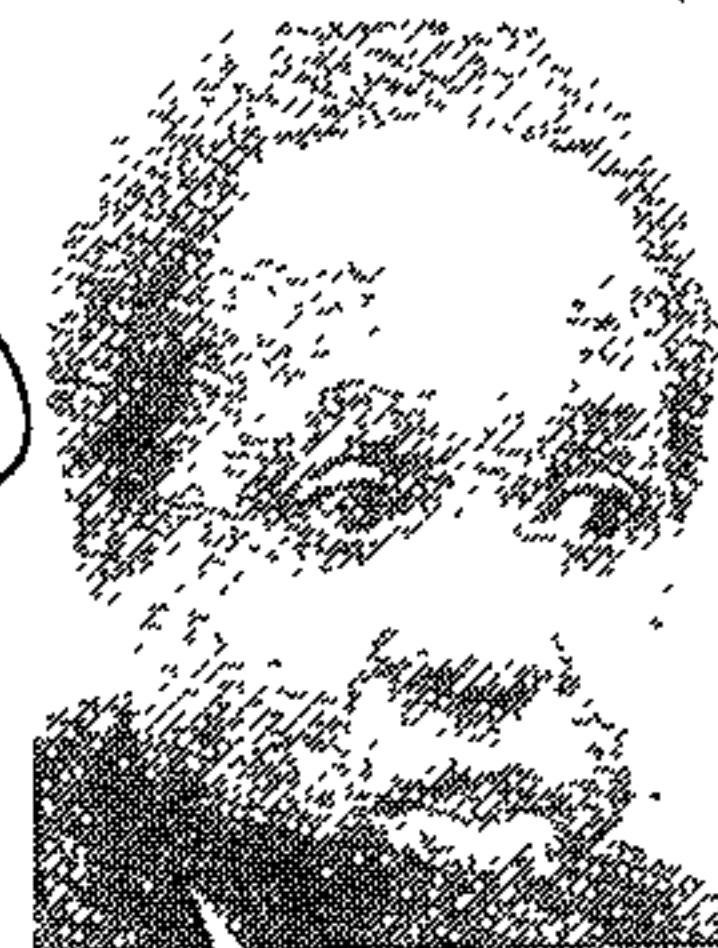
SOLDIERS of Umkhonto we Sizwe must help train township youths in combat tactics and set up defence units to retaliate against those who do not want peace, MK Chief of Staff

Mr Chris Hani said in Crossroads on Tuesday.

Speaking during a visit to Crossroads to promote peace in the troubled Cape squatter camp, he said the MK programme would

emphasise discipline and would be aimed at helping the whole community.

He said defence units were necessary as people had a right to defend themselves - *Sapa*



CHRIS HANI

THE

# Bid to give teeth to accord

274  
So we can  
26/9/91

THE Joint Working Committee in Natal has begun report-backs to their supporters on the National Peace Initiative and are planning regional and provincial workshops on the accord's implementation.

The JWC comprises representatives of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

## Report-back

A JWC official said yesterday that the alliance had started its report-back on the first national draft peace accord as far back as June 26.

Leadership from the African National Congress, SA Communist Party, Cosatu and many of the labour federation's affiliates have been briefed on the accord, the official said.

## Benefit

Major questions being asked at report-back meetings revolve around how to use the accord and how it could be implemented to the benefit of communities.

"We're not using the approach of mass rallies to get the accord to our people. We're going to the key leadership at regional and local levels of the various structures and briefing them," he said.

## Prevent

The leaders were being informed how they could use the accord to address and prevent violence and the obligations placed on them as leaders.

Referring to the joint police/ANC monitoring of a Shaka's Day rally in Gamalakhe near Port Shepstone, the official said:

"The experience at Port Shepstone this weekend in using the accord was a reasonable success and we will pursue that approach."

South African Press Association

16/1/91



## A cleaner act

Can SA's powerful security forces — made up as they are of a heterogeneous mass of individuals — change their spots? That's what it is required to do in terms of the two new codes of conduct for the SA Police and SA Defence Force, the former contained in the September 14 Peace Accord documents and the SADF code still in draft form and not yet officially public.

It will obviously take time to see any changes on the ground. But the process leading towards a more professional, publicly accountable and non-partisan force has been under way for some time and results are starting to show.

While the codes bring the security forces within the ambit of internationally acceptable standards for security personnel, they are a radical departure from the bad old days when both the army and police were seen as an extension of an apartheid government.

Effecting the transition by changing attitudes at the top, or removing those generals who won't change, is the easy part. Getting the message down to rank and file members, many of whom spent years working under apartheid ideology, is going to be much harder.

For the SADF, in the past not as directly politicised as the police — and under the conscription system consisting of a large, changing civilian component — the transition will probably be easier. Its new code, still subject to negotiation (and leaked to the press last week), contains elements which clearly attempt to place members outside political control, though head of communications Chris van der Westhuizen says much of

Continue

## SORRY, LAWRIE

Lawrence Schlemmer's article on hostel-dwellers and violence (*Current Affairs* September 20) first appeared, in a longer version, in the latest SA Foundation Review. Through an oversight this was not acknowledged, and we apologise.

FM 24/9/91

the draft code drawn up by the SADF is existing policy.

Whether by design or not, parts of the code compelling SADF members to disobey overtly political orders and binding them to the constitution almost read like anti-coup measures.

Van der Westhuizen says, however, the code must be considered a draft document that could change depending on negotiations and that while the ANC's comments on the draft are being looked at, the final code must be acceptable to the SADF.

It is also clear, from both codes, that education and an element of retraining are considered essential by both the SAP and SADF to get the message home to members.

The new SAP code of conduct contains at least two important principles that will largely change the character of old-style police activities. They are a commitment to protect all people "in a rigorously non-partisan fashion" regardless of their political belief or affiliation and the "prompt and efficient investigation and prosecution of its own members alleged to have acted unlawfully."

In this regard progress has been made and current court cases — like the trial of seven policemen, including two officers, in connection with the murder of 11 people at Trust Feeds, Natal, in 1988 — as well as several expected cases following the recent suspension of 24 policemen, are certainly having an effect.

After almost being royal game under the State of Emergency regulations, the mere fact that some members now face charges is likely to keep any potential offenders in line.

Major General Ronnie van der Westhuizen, head of SAP special investigations, told the *FM* that dockets ranging from assault to murder had been handed over to the Attorney-General. "We have 25 units across the country investigating all allegations of violence. The investigations are ongoing and not only into matters relating to SAP members."

For example he says a number of individuals will probably appear in court soon in connection with violent incidents on trains and "people's courts."

Radley Keyes of the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group in the Natal Midlands says high-profile court cases involving policemen are one of the main factors putting pressure on SAP members to follow procedure and not act illegally.

"The only option the police have is to clean up their act, otherwise they will never be

Continued on page 56

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 24/9/91

Continued from page 53

trusted by township communities, which in turn taints the whole system of law and order and justice"

While Keyes notes a changing attitude in the police — especially among senior officers and what he calls the professional policeman who wants to pursue his career regardless of a new government — he says anti-ANC and anti-communist attitudes are still rife.

"What's critical with the new code is that it is reinforced by an education programme."

Etienne Marais, of Wits University's independent policing research project, says he has seen a change in attitudes towards the SAP, though at this stage it seems limited to the leadership of organisations and communities. "The Peace Accord should make people more open towards the police and improve their credibility, not so much the code itself. What's important is that, by signing the accord, the police are now accountable to groups like the ANC and IFP."

DP regional director in Durban, Roy Ainslie, says his unrest monitoring group has been getting increased co-operation from uniformed police in townships and that recently the Durban riot unit has been outstanding in its handling of violent incidents. But he says the problem still seems to lie with members connected to what used to be the security police.

"The actions of some of these members tend to undo the good work being carried out by the uniformed branch. We get reports of incidents all the time and continually pass on the information to the special investigation units with little effect."

The KwaZulu police, who Ainslie says seem to regard themselves exempt from the new code, are also responsible for the poor perception township communities have of the police "But we have seen changes and it gives us hope. We may all be surprised," he says.

Continue







# **VIGILANTE ACTION**

(274) (229)  
UNKNOWN assassins allegedly killed 26 government opponents between September last year and June this year, according to a Human Rights Commission report entitled *The New Total Strategy — 12 Months of Community Repression, July 1990 to June 1991*. (WMA) 2-11-91 - 3-10-91  
There were also 32 attempted assassinations of left-wingers, 14 recorded death threats and six abductions. Most of those killed were African National Congress members, but Pan Africanist Congress members and trade unionists featured prominently.  
The report says South African security forces were responsible for 238 deaths between July 1990 and June this year — an average of 20 deaths a month.  
Since the Goldstone Commission in March 1990, 2 640 people have died as a result of "vigilante action", which it says represents 83 percent of all politically related deaths during that period.  
In the latest HRC weekly report, 17 deaths and 16 injuries are attributed to new "vigilante actions". Eleven people died and 14 were injured in the PWV area while in Natal six deaths and two injuries were recorded.

(274) ET 2819191  
**Chikane slams secrecy**

A COMMISSION of inquiry into the causes of violence is unlikely to be successful unless the government first publicly discloses all its covert operations, says SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

In an interview in the latest issue of New Era magazine, Mr Chikane said that State President F W de Klerk's proposed standing commission on violence was "definitely insufficient". — Sapa



# Crocker pins hopes on the peace-makers

PATRICK LAURENCE

SOUTH Africa was becoming a "nation of peace-makers" and was at the beginning-of-the-end phase of negotiations, former US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker said yesterday.

Dr Crocker, who played a pivotal role in the settlement which led to Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from Angola, was speaking at a conference organised by the Institute for Personnel Management.

Reflecting on the Namibian-Angolan settlement, Dr Crocker stressed the important role played by individual negotiators. Negotiations were not simply an impersonal interaction between underlying forces but were influenced by the interlocutors, he said.

"What really matters is individual people," Dr Crocker said, recalling how the replacement of a reluctant, obstructionist Cuban negotiator by another who was a "stunning negotiator" had brought immediate positive results in the Namibian-Angolan talks.

In that peace settlement an outside party, the US, has played a key role but Dr Crocker did not envisage a parallel rôle for an external actor in the SA settlement.

## Encouraging

The role of outsiders was restricted to encouraging South Africans to become a "nation of peace-makers", Dr Crocker said, adding: "It is a source of pleasure to the US to see South Africans becoming a nation of peace-makers."

With Dr Crocker on the panel were several South Africans: Mohammed Valli and Papi Moloto of the ANC, Lawrie Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe of the National Party and Bobby Godsell of Anglo American.

They agreed that there was no major or direct role for international actors in the negotiation process in South Africa.

Mr Valli, however, thought that there could be a rôle for an international monitoring force as mooted by the OAU.

Mr Godsell was generally sceptical of "facilitators".

## Balance

But his experience in helping to broker the National Peace Accord he was one of the business representatives had convinced him that facilitators' rôle could be positive.

Dr van der Merwe doubted whether facilitators, however sincere they might be, were ever neutral or independent. If they were brought in to help negotiations it was important to ensure that they represented a cross-section of interests. The emphasis should be on "balance rather than neutrality", he contended.

Professor Schlemmer warned of the dangers of a protracted negotiating process: the ANC risked loss of the mystique it had built up during its long period as an outlawed organisation and consequent "disintegration", while the National Party, having checked the growth of its right-wing foes, might once again be seriously threatened by them.

The potential weakness of the ANC and the NP might, however, facilitate the peace process.

A common theme was the critical rôle that the media played, either negatively or positively, during the negotiating process.

Mr Moloto warned of the perils of acquiring a "media profile". It imposed constraints on the recipient's freedom of action as the media expected him to conform to their image. "The media taketh away more than it giveth," Mr Moloto said.

# Hit-squads defy peacemakers, <sup>(274)</sup> — HRC report

ARG 28/1/91

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

HIT-SQUAD actions and related activities are continuing in the face of peace moves, according to the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

Its latest report lists more than 100 alleged hit-squad actions, including 28 assassinations and 40 attempted assassinations, during a one-year period from July 1990 to June this year.

The Johannesburg-based commission presents an alarming picture of the toll on life in township communities as a result of attacks involving security forces, vigilante groups, hit squads and attackers of uncertain identity.

In the single year more than 3 000 lives were lost, nearly 7 000 injuries were recorded (possibly as many as 10 000 altogether) and more than 8 000 people were arrested.

The report says tens of thousands of people lost their homes and have become internal refugees.

In addition to the actual and attempted assassinations listed, the HRC says hit squads were behind 14 death threats against activists, one disappearance, six abductions, five cases of harassment, seven attacks on buildings and offices, three burglaries and three smear campaigns.

Of 94 individuals said to have been targeted by hit squads, 51 are or were members and office-bearers of the African National Congress, 19 were active in civic or residents' associations and 10 were trade unionists.

Of 13 attacks on organisations, the ANC was the target six times and Cosatu or its affiliates five times.

The HRC says that from the latest information a picture emerges of "a high degree of co-ordination between activities of the security forces, vigilantes and hit squads — a conclusion that has been drawn by many for some time now."

The commission concludes there are indications that a new "total strategy" has emerged from the ashes of the one that existed in the P W Botha era.

"The apartheid government now stands precariously poised between two divergent and probably irreconcilable threats to its future survival. On the one hand the threat of economic collapse, and on the other the threat of the loss of power."

The signs are the government is addressing the threat of the loss of power by adopting a twin-track strategy of negotiating and destabilising simultaneously, says the commission.



# Villain of 'peace'? Not me

SITimes 29/9/91

THE media can be powerful for peace or for war. It can be powerful for reconciliation or for revolution.

The Sunday Times was not powerful for peace in its editorial of September 22. It brought into the post-National Peace Accord process a jarring note which only those who wish to undermine the peace process could have applauded.

There are a number of observations that the Sunday Times made in its editorial which require correction.

The facts are simply that the Inkatha Freedom Party worked round the clock to help establish the Peace Accord. There has never been any wavering in my commitment, or the IFP's commitment, to the peace process.

On the day the Peace Accord was signed I greeted Mr Mandela, I greeted the State President and I said goodbye to both of them.

## Impression

I would not be drawn into showmanship which would have deceived IFP members and the South African public by shaking hands for TV consumption.

The fact is that the signing of the accord could not replace bilateral agreements between the IFP and the ANC about how to normalise their own relationship.

The shaking of ceremonial hands would have given the impression that this was the case and denied the need for the ANC now to begin dealing with the IFP in a normalised way.

The contingent of Zulus, some of whom were IFP members, as is their tradition and custom, wished to honour His Majesty the King of the Zulus by gathering to show respect for him.

As the State President mentioned during the press conference, they did not do anyone any harm and dispersed peacefully after honouring their king. It was,

## Chief MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI responds to a Sunday Times editorial on the isolation of the Inkatha Freedom Party



in fact, one of them who was attacked and killed as they walked peacefully to return home.

Why did the press not report that, before we left the Carlton Hotel, about 100 plus or minus supporters of the ANC were also peacefully toyi-toying just a few metres from where some IFP supporters were singing and dancing?

I did not delay proceedings by arriving late. Proceedings had not started by the time I arrived, and Mr John Hall as chairman had rightly said that he would not delay proceedings if I was delayed because my spectacles were broken and I had to wait for the optician to open to get them fixed.

Some delegations arrived even after I arrived. It took a good 20 or more minutes after my arrival before the convention started.

I find it strange that the Sunday Times interpreted these facts in the way it did. The Sunday Times talks as though these actions gave rise to "disenchantment", and I emphasise that I quote when I record the Sunday Times saying that disenchantment began surfacing "even in the National Party, which until quite recently harboured a lingering hope that a Zulu-Afrikaner alliance might become a bulwark against the full force of black government".

That there was this hope is a construction of the Sunday Times. All my political life I have struggled to establish a multi-racial government.

I have never once had any discussion with any National Party leader in which we talked about

Zulus and Afrikaners ganging up against a black majority government.

The Sunday Times raises a fiction and then uses interpretation to shoot the fiction down.

The Sunday Times editorial did enormous damage by stating that I was overtly hostile towards the delivery of a prayer by Archbishop Tutu. This is totally untrue.

I had no objection whatever to the archbishop being asked to pray at the ceremony. The only issue at stake was whether or not the archbishop should chair the meeting.

Archbishop Tutu has been quoted as saying that he is a member of the ANC and he has certainly given ample evidence that he supports the ANC's basic positions. That is his prerogative.

His church status does not preclude him from holding political views. If he has so chosen, however, to hold the views he does hold, then he has debarred himself from playing a neutral role as chairman of an event such as the National Peace Convention.

I respect the archbishop as my bishop, and I respect him as my father in the church. I respect his pastoral role in the church. None of this respect, however, precludes me from differing with Archbishop Tutu politically. That does not make us enemies in any sense.

It is very distorting for the Sunday Times to say that the IFP has "fallen out with the churches".

The reality is that the IFP and the SACC have established a joint work group to normalise relationships because past disruptions

in our relationships can no longer be tolerated.

Inkatha leaders have been targeted for violent death by our political enemies, and the Sunday Times has no right whatever to say that "there has been enough evidence of a resort to violence, or counter-violence, by Inkatha members, often led or encouraged at the high level of the organisation". Because some Inkatha leaders have been convicted of using violence it does not mean that this very damaging assertion can be made.

I have never attended a single meeting of the IFP where decisions to kill for political purposes were made.

The Peace Accord must work. If it does not work there will be no politics of reconciliation and there will be no negotiations to end our country's political crisis through non-violent means.

## Acknowledged

The Sunday Times, instead of implicating the Inkatha Freedom Party formally in instigating violence, should have stated how constantly and fearlessly, and at what great cost, I have rejected revolutionary violence and the punitive isolation of South Africa.

Fortunately, not many South Africans will so easily allow wool to be pulled over their eyes with regard to the part I have played to enable this country to reach this stage.

President De Klerk himself acknowledged my role specifically in his February 1990 speech in Parliament.

I and IFP members have suffered enormously because we have campaigned for the very peace process which could now be getting under way.

To turn the IFP into the villain of the piece at this crucial time for which we have so struggled is grossly unfair and amounts to a punitive distortion of what the IFP is and does.



# Step by steady step On road from IDAKAR

STIMES 29/1/91

274

ON the notice board in the Department of Foreign Affairs operations room in the Union Buildings one telephone number is written particularly large.

It is the home number of the African National Congress international head, Thabo Mbeki. It is a small but pertinent indication of what is becoming increasingly clear — in the new South Africa, negotiations rule.

Pivotal to the event that sparked off the whole process is difficult but, according to the ANC, the meeting in Dakar, Senegal, in 1987 between a few of its senior members and a group of academics, politicians, church and business leaders led by Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert was pivotal.

At the time, President PW Botha stated these pioneers. But in later published and private meetings in Lusaka, Leverkusen and Paris, the seeds of February 2 were planted.

Since then negotiations have blossomed, though purists insist on referring to them variously as "talks to remove obstacles", "talks about talks" and, more recently, "negotiations about negotiations".

The first negotiations committee formed after the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations on February 2 last year was the STEERING COMMITTEE. The two main players involved in this committee were the government's constitutional adviser, Fanie van der Merwe, and the ANC's then intelligence head, Jacob Zuma, now deputy secretary-general of the organisation.

Its primary function was to arrange the Groote Schuur summit between the government and the ANC on May 4.

However, it has continued to meet since and, particularly when relations between the two threaten to break down completely, it has played an invaluable role in keeping talks on track.

The Groote Schuur summit spawned the WORKING GROUP ON POLITICAL OFFENCES.

This committee was set the

THIS WEEK the PAC and Azapo climbed on board the negotiations bandwagon — well almost. MIKE ROBERTSON traces the events which have brought us to the verge of talks on a new constitution

task of defining a political offence to pave the way for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Membership of the committee has changed over the past year-and-a-half.

With the decision to release prisoners who had committed murder with a political motive, the committee all but concluded its work.

However, it still has to resolve outstanding differences on a handful of cases such as prisoner Robert McBride and exile Henk Graskop.

## Implications

The signing of the Pretoria Accord on August 9 gave rise to two new working committees — one to deal with the implications of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, the other to hold exploratory talks on constitutional negotiations.

The ARMED ACTION WORKING COMMITTEE made no real progress until February this year when, at the DF Mahan Airport summit, the ANC agreed to forgo all violent attacks, infiltration of men and material, the creation of underground structures, state-ments inciting violence, threats of armed action, and training inside South Africa.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok headed the government team on this committee, while Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hamu headed the ANC team.

At DF Mahan some issues relating to the suspension of armed action could not be resolved, and yet another working group, the LIAISON COMMITTEE, was set up.

It was charged with resolving outstanding differences relating to the registration of arms, identi-

fication of arms caches and the demobilisation of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres.

This committee took several months to start its work, mainly as a result of the ANC putting forward senior MK member Siphewe Nyanda to serve on it.

Nyanda, who was involved in the so-called Vula plot, had at that time not received indemnity.

Meyer is the government's chief representative on the committee.

It has met several times, but has as yet not reached any agreement. Both sides, however, say that one is in sight.

The second Pretoria Minute working group, the so-called PARAGRAPH NINE COMMITTEE, made some progress in agreeing to logistical and agenda items for an all-party conference, but its work came to a grinding halt when the ANC broke off talks as a result of the government's failure to deal with violence.

Meyer headed the government team on this committee while international head Thabo Mbeki fronted the ANC team.

The ANC ultimatum led to the church and business brokered peace initiative which culminated in the signing of the National Peace Accord recently.

The drawing-up of the peace accord saw the establishment of a preparatory committee (consisting of church and business leaders), five working committees (the NP, ANC, and Inkatha were represented on these) and a committee to edit the final draft, which was chaired by Cosatu's Jayendra Naidoo.

Negotiations on the peace accord ultimately took in all major political players, with the exception of the Conservative Party, as well as the SAP and SADF.

The monitoring mechanisms

set in place by the peace accord will eventually bring about a host of new committees, which, while their primary role will be to deal with violence, will also be forums for negotiation.

These include the NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE, the NATIONAL PEACE SECRETARIAT, REGIONAL DISPUTE RESOLUTION COMMITTEES and LOCAL DISPUTE RESOLUTION COMMITTEES.

## Formalise

In addition, the code of conduct for the SADF calls for a new committee to be set up by the SADF, MK and homeland government armaments to discuss their future.

With the signing of the peace accord, the ANC and government have again, informally, resumed talks on an all-party conference.

A meeting of the PARAGRAPH NINE WORKING COMMITTEE to formalise these discussions is expected soon, if it has not already taken place.

Soon after the signing of the Pretoria Accord, a meeting attended by the government, the majority parties in Parliament and homeland leaders was held.

These initial discussions led to the formation on February 26 this year of a WORKING COMMITTEE ON NEGOTIATIONS, on which all these parties are represented. Later in the year, all the parties represented in Parliament, with the exception of the CP, formed another working committee to discuss negotiations.

The Patriotic Front Conference later this month will see the formation of another "working committee", this time involving the PAC and Azapo as well as some 50 other organisations.

The all-party conference (the ANC's name), multi-party conference (as it is referred to by the National Party) or pre-constitutional assembly conference (the PAC's name) will bring all these organisations together for the first time.

Informed speculation is that it

will take place in November.

After an initial plenary meeting, the plan is that it will break into further working groups to discuss. Interim or transitional measures, the basic principles of the new constitution, a negotiating mechanism, and the role of the international community.

Negotiations are also taking place between individual government departments and extra-parliamentary organisations.

In February this year, after a meeting between delegations headed by President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, a working



HOW IT ALL STARTED... Thabo Mbeki and Frederick van Zyl Slabbert at the 1987 meeting in Dakar

group to discuss educational matters was set up.

The Department of Manpower is negotiating the future of the National Manpower Commission with Cosatu.

The Department of Development Aid has had talks with

Cosatu about extending trade union rights to homelands.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and the ANC's international department are in constant touch on a broad range of issues.

Even the Department of Finance which, given the VAT

saga, must be ruing the failure to consult more widely, is said to have suggested to the ANC that they set up a structure to discuss future economic policy.

They know a boom industry when they see one. It's just a pity one can't buy shares.

# CASIO DIGITAL DIARIES. SIMPLY THE BEST.



The Casio SF9500's IC card system, together with its 64KB RAM gives this digital diary the power of a pocket computer.

Optional extras such as a legal card, Medical card and Theaurus/Spell Check card make the SF9500 an indispensable source of information. And that's not all. The IC card system, makes the possibilities endless — a Spanish/English Translator card and a Power Spreadsheet card have already been developed and will soon be available.

Furthermore many more cards will follow.

Other features of this highly versatile business partner are: ■ Memory capacity of 56 006 characters ■ Pen printer adaptability ■ Business card management



for a long time after reading  
ing a report in City Press

as they were scared of  
Khethisi.

## Monument to peace

*29/9/91*  
THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central executive yesterday resolved to look into the construction of a monument to peace to commemorate people who have died for an end to violence "in the long black struggle for liberation".

Meeting in Ulundi, the Iqembu Lenkatha Yenkululeko also expressed its shame "at the way in

which internecine black-on-black violence continues to escalate".

"The violence which so mars current-day politics in South Africa not only shames the vast majority of black South Africans, but it amounts to a violation of the memory and the esteem we have always felt for black South Africa's martyrs," the resolution said. — Sapa

## Monument to peace

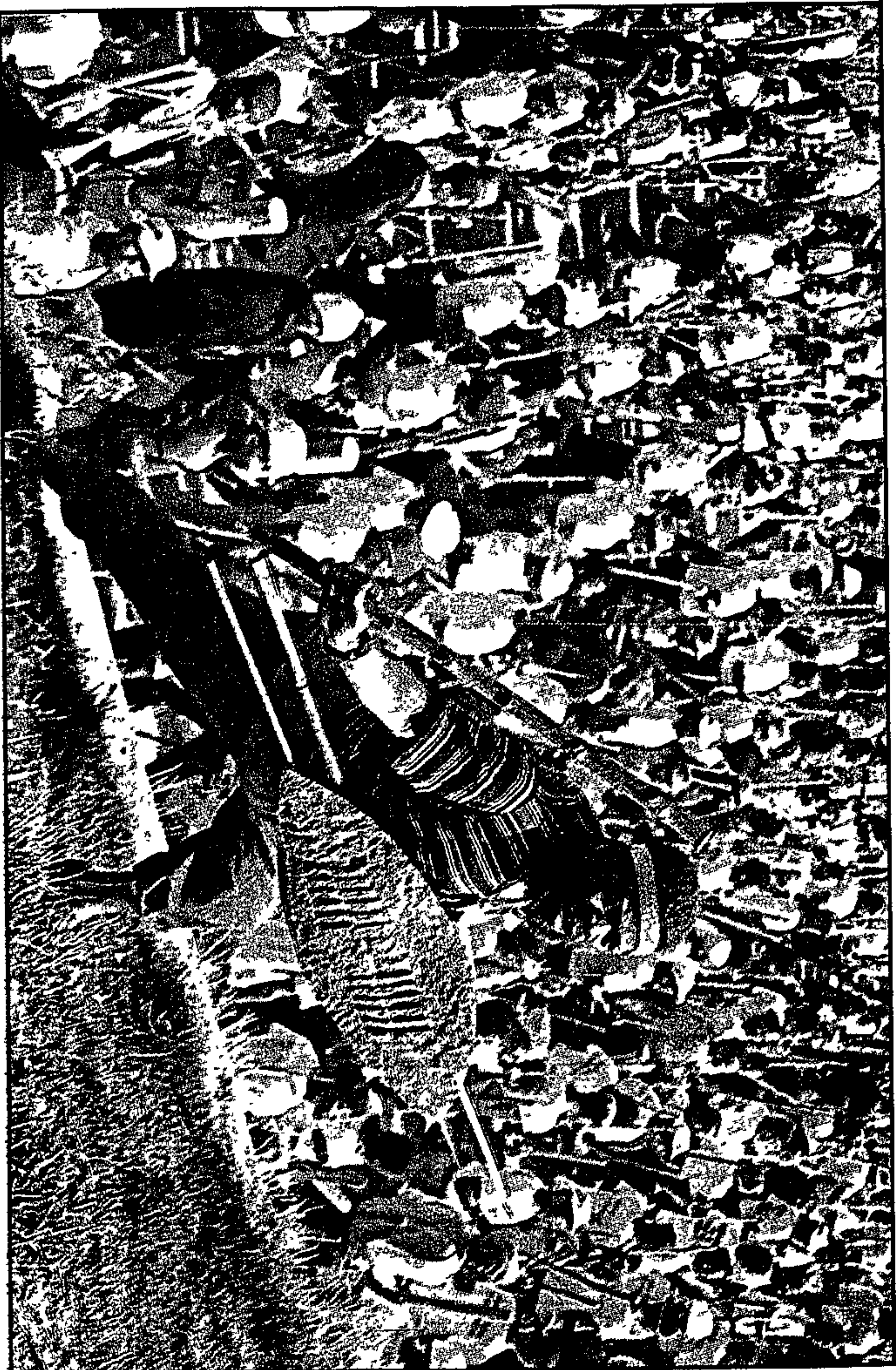
*Open 29/9/91*  
THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central executive yesterday resolved to look into the construction of a monument to peace to commemorate people who have died for an end to violence "in the long black struggle for liberation".

Meeting in Ulundi, the Iqembu Lenkatha Yenku-luleko also expressed its shame "at the way in

which internecine black-on-black violence continues to escalate".

"The violence which so mars current-day politics in South Africa not only shames the vast majority of black South Africans, but it amounts to a violation of the memory and the esteem we have always felt for black South Africa's martyrs," the resolution said. — Sapa





Peace rally . . . an Inkatha supporter with "cultural weapons" in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: Joao Silva

## Halt this just for revenge

### — Zulu king

ENHLALAKAHLI, Buthu Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for peace at a Shaka Day rally yesterday.

King Zwelethini said members of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC should have the same vision of a new South Africa. *Star 30/9/91*

Speaking at Enhlalakahle in Natal, the king said: "They should never ever, under any circumstances, pick up weapons to slay a brother because of political intolerance.

"Put the brutality aside. Stop not only killing, but also stop the hatred and the anger and the lust for revenge."

Chief Buthelezi, who is also president of the IFP, said he squirmed when he thought how white South Africans must view the black-on-black violence.

"It shames not only me and you, but it shames the whole of black South Africa."

● In Johannesburg, several thousand Inkatha supporters gathered at George Goch Stadium to celebrate Shaka Day.

— Staff Reporter and Sapa.



## Police challenge ANC claim on gangsters

*B. P. aug 30/9/97*  
THE Law and Order Ministry on Saturday challenged ANC President Nelson Mandela to verify his claims that police were recruiting and training people as gangsters.

Opening the ANC's Western Cape conference on Saturday, Mandela said the police had broken the spirit of the national peace accord. "The police are recruiting and arming people under false pretences and then

sending them out on acts of gangsterism ... killing innocent people and leaving evidence that it has been done by the ANC." *(274)*

Law and Order spokesman, Capt Craig Kotze urged Mandela to make his information available to police.

The police remained committed to the letter and spirit of the accord and intended to implement its provisions as soon as possible, he added. — Sapa.