RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL
1991

APRIL -
Leaders to meet on violence?
Prohibition won't be renewed.

No gatherings at will.
Two die in Natal S Coast violence

PRETORIA. — Two men have been killed on the Natal South Coast in the past 24 hours, police report.

Police found the body of a man who had been stabbed at Murchison, Port Shepstone.

In the same area, a group of armed men attacked a kraal, killed one man and abducted another.

A strong contingent of policemen and troops has moved into the Magola district near Richmond, Natal, where 19 people have been killed since Thursday.

At Khayelitsha, Cape Town, a privately owned car was stoned and set alight.

In Soweto, a home was damaged by a petrol bomb.

In Lephalale, near Bethulie, one man was shot dead and two were wounded when South African and municipal police were called in to disperse a crowd of about 1,000 people who were stoning the home of a councillor, Mr Abraham Phillip. — Sapa
7 more die in unrest incidents

PRETORIA. Seven people were killed in countrywide unrest in the past 24 hours, police said in their unrest report yesterday.

Three of the deaths occurred in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg. Police said two of the dead were shot, the other person was stabbed to death.

Earlier yesterday a man was injured in a stoning. Police are investigating a charge of attempted murder.

Three more deaths occurred in Natal. Police said they found two bodies at Zula Location near Umko- maas. One had been shot and stabbed, the other stabbed.

At Mabeleni, near Greytown, police said a man was killed and another was injured when gunmen opened fire on a group. — Sapa
John Carlin finds that the continuing cycle of violence has boosted Inkhata at the expense of the ANC.
John C tarninds that the continuing cycle of violence has boosted Inikanth at the expense of the ANC.

"Losing out in the Townships Power"
Close door to violence, urges bishop

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Methodist cleric Bishop Peter Storey yesterday suggested that religious leaders should monitor the peace process in South Africa.

The churches, which did not have a power motive, could play a vital role in ensuring the participation of all political parties in a multiparty conference, he told a conference organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA in Johannesburg.

Emphatic

Adding his voice to that of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who last week made an emphatic plea for peace, Bishop Storey said the door to violence as a last resort should be closed once and for all.

If violence were not truly denounced by all the major political parties, politicians should not expect to be believed when they called for peace but continued to carry traditional weapons, or run the Civil Co-operation Bureau, or set up self-defence committees, or shout "one settler, one bullet".

Bishop Storey, of the south-western Transvaal district of the Methodist Church, launched a stinging attack on the major political parties, saying "the struggle had become much less moral lately than during the four decades of apartheid rule when it had been led by the churches."

Behave

Churches had earned the right to be present at an all-party conference to "make the politicians behave."

"The future is far too important to be left in the hands of politicians," he said.

A multitude of groups - such as the trade unions, churches, women's groups, youth movements and human rights organisations - did not identify with the main political players, but had earned the right to play a role in drawing up a new constitution, he added.
THE ANC’s national executive committee will meet tomorrow to discuss the formation of a “three wise men” team to deal with township violence.

This follows a decision taken at the weekend’s peace summit between Inkatha’s Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

But the ANC and Inkatha seem unlikely to agree to Government suggestions that the three-man committee - comprising Buthelezi, Mandela and President FW de Klerk - be expanded to eventually discuss constitutional matters.

Neither the ANC nor Inkatha would yesterday comment further on the implications of Saturday’s peace summit.

But ANC spokesman Saki Makozona said the latest peace accord would accelerate the implementation of the January 29 peace accord between the two organisations.

That accord:
- Called on members to cease attacks on each other;
- Suggested a joint tour by Mandela and Buthelezi of areas affected by violence;
- Renounced the use of intimidation to win support;
- Committed both organisations to desist from vilifying one another or indulging in “killing talk”; and
- Agreed that the existing joint mechanism, set up in 1988, should be used to monitor violations of the agreement.

On Saturday, in the wake of renewed clashes between supporters of the organisations, Mandela and Buthelezi agreed.

In a five-point pact, the two leaders agreed to monitor:
- The dates, venues, speakers and subject matter of peace meetings;
- The distribution of peace accord pamphlets;
- Other activities of peace committees;
- Joint undertakings; and
- The activities of local peace units.

- Sowetan Correspondent
ANC, Govt deadlocked over arms

The ANC and the Government have failed to reach agreement on the issue of traditional weapons and curfews in violence-stricken townships.

However, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok undertook to discuss the issue of cultural weapons with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi after a meeting with a top-level ANC delegation in Pretoria yesterday.

The deadlock follows last week's two-week ultimatum to the Government by the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (CAST) to disarm fighting factions of all weapons, including traditional weapons — or else CAST would help to provide the community with weapons to stave off attackers.

Effort

The action came after 15 people were massacred in Alexandra last Wednesday.

ANC publicity secretary for the PWV area Popo Molefe described yesterday's marathon four-hour meeting with the Government as open and frank.

"I wouldn't say the meeting was successful, but we discussed fundamental issues and agreed that all parties should make a determined effort to handle the violence," he said.

The ANC team was led by internal leader Walter Sisulu.

Mr Molefe said the ANC had called for a total ban on traditional weapons in townships — but could not find agreement on the issue with Mr Vlok.

The delegation had informed Mr Vlok that the curfew imposed in Alexandra was unacceptable and did not contribute to the effort to bring peace to the township, he said.

Speaking at a press conference after the meeting, Mr Vlok said he found it strange that the ANC wanted the curfew lifted, as the organisation had asked him to use every means at his disposal to bring the violence under control.

"The curfew is an instrument that I am using. However, we will consider their representation."

On the question of cultural weapons, Mr Vlok said the Government also had to consider other parties and could not force decisions on them.

He said the hostel system and the role of the police were also discussed.

"I told them that the police was committed to catching the criminals involved in the violence. We are acting as impartially as possible."

"The Government is investigating the whole hostel issue."

In the latest development, police and CAST are at loggerheads as the organisation sets up "community defence units" and prepares to arm them unless police disarm all groups in the strife-torn townships by Wednesday.

CAST spokesman Cas Coovadia said yesterday it would be tragic if people were forced to fight violence with violence, but people would no longer sit back and wait for police to protect them while the massacres continued. CAST had begun organising the community into disciplined defence units and was looking at ways to finance and build up a stock of weapons.

Asked to comment, police said they would take action against any group that took the law into its own hands.

● Weapons of love or war — Page 17.
Weapons as part of their tradition.

In the history of sports, weapons play a significant role, often reflecting the cultural and historical background of the region. They are not just tools for combat but also symbols of status and skill.

The use of weapons in sports is not without controversy. Some argue that they contribute to the balanced development of athletes, while others believe they promote violence and aggression.

On the other hand, certain sports have evolved to incorporate elements of traditional weapons, blending tradition with modernity. This fusion not only preserves cultural heritage but also adds an artistic dimension to the sport, making it more appealing to a wider audience.

Considering the dual nature of weapons in sports, it is crucial to strike a balance between tradition and modernity. By doing so, we can honor our cultural roots while promoting a healthier and more inclusive sport environment.
Hundreds flee violence in SA

From Melinda Ham Lusaka 274

AS THE first groups of long-term exiles leave for repatriation to South Africa, hundreds of new refugees fleeing current political violence in the country, are arriving here.

International development agencies have been unprepared for the new arrivals and both funds and assistance are not sufficient.

"Some arrive with bullet wounds and bruises. Some are half-naked and others barefoot," said Mr Graham Marodi, who is in charge of the ANC's Chelston Transit Centre in Lusaka.

More than 400 refugees between the ages of 14 and 30 are now living in the centre. "Three hundred more are expected by the end of the month," said Marodi.

"The ANC in Botswana and Swaziland arranges transport for some while others find their own way to Zambia by hitching lifts."

**Donors**

"But donors fail to understand why people are still coming out of South Africa when it's time to go home," he said.

Marodi admitted donors had not been responsive to the transit centre's needs. Only the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Lutheran World Federation had assisted, he said.

The transit centre is ideally a temporary home for the refugees for a few weeks before they leave on scholarships for secondary or university education abroad.

But in reality many youths have been waiting since August 1990 as only Nigeria has so far provided 500 scholarships.

"We want the world to know that we have hundreds of young people who are in desperate need of scholarships," Marodi said. — _AIA_
Vlok, ANC discuss traditional weapons

PRETORIA. — A top-level ANC-led delegation yesterday called, when they met Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, for a “total ban” on the possession of traditional weapons.

The delegation saw Mr Vlok for three hours, discussing ways of ending the violence in Alexandra township.

Alexandra Civic Organisation member Mr Popo Molefe said after the meeting that no agreement had been reached on the question of possession of traditional weapons.

Mr Vlok told a separate media conference that the issue would be discussed with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but that nothing would be enforced unilaterally.

He said any solution would work better if it was reached with the co-operation of all parties.

“I agree with the ANC that pangas and axes are not traditional weapons, but we must be very careful when we disarm people,” said Mr Vlok.

“It is not only a knife or axe that can be a dangerous weapon,” he added.

“A stone can be, even a woman’s shoe, under certain circumstances.”

Mr Vlok disclosed that the regional police commissioner, the ANC and Inkatha were working together to monitor the situation in Alexandra, and to restore peace to the township.

The ANC leaders at the meeting were NEC members Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Joe Nhlanhla.

Mr Molefe said channels would be kept open with the police regarding allegations of alleged police misconduct.

Mr Vlok said: “I assured them we are acting as impartially as possible.”

He would consider the delegation’s representations, and have further discussions with the ANC and other interested parties as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, police have denied claims that they threatened yesterday to kill a student activist in Alexandra who was not at home during a raid in which nine other ANC-linked activists were picked up for an identification parade.

— Sapa
Poll: violence fuels white gloom

CAPE TOWN — Internal political tension which manifested as severe violence in black townships contributed to the relative pessimism of white consumers about the short-term future of the SA economy.

Only 33% of white consumers anticipated a slight improvement in the economy during the next 12 months, the Bureau for Economic Research (BER) at Stellenbosch University disclosed in its latest trade and commerce survey released today.

While only 9% foresaw a considerable improvement, 55% anticipated a deterioration. Of these, 33% indicated it would be slight, and 22% were "extremely pessimistic and anticipated a considerable deterioration".

However, white consumers were "considerably more optimistic" regarding their personal financial position over the next 12 months. But it was expected that in 1991 salary and wage adjustments would be more conservative.

On the whole, the confidence level of whites was negative and had displayed a downward trend since the second quarter of 1990.

The bureau was also not overly pessimistic in its predictions for consumer spending for 1991 and 1992. "We anticipate a growth of close to 14% in nominal terms in the remuneration of employees — marginally higher than the anticipated inflation rate of 13.5% for 1991."

Speculation in the media about the timing of the upswing in the business cycle combined with the consensus among economists that this recession will "not be as deep as the previous recession," could cause consumer confidence to improve even sooner than mid-1991, the bureau said.

Wholesalers reported the level of sales up in the first quarter compared with the same quarter a year ago. Sales of consumer goods fared better than expected but a net majority of wholesalers expected sales to be down in the second quarter.

Current business conditions were classed as unsatisfactory by 62% of respondents.

In addition, a net majority of retailers reported higher sales compared with a year ago. This trend was made possible by greater-than-expected sales of semi-durables as well as non-durables.

Durable sales were down.

"What is remarkable under the present economic contraction is that retailers expect even better sales in the second quarter of 1991, with dealers in non-durable and semi-durable goods being most optimistic," the bureau said. — Sapa.
Outlaw these weapons, Vlok is told

A TOP-LEVEL delegation led by the ANC called for a total ban on the carrying of "traditional weapons" when it met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in Pretoria yesterday.

The delegation held talks for three hours with Vlok on ways of ending the ongoing violence in Alexandra Township.

Alexandra Civic Organisation's Mr Papo Molefe said afterwards that no agreement had been reached on the question of the possession of the weapons.

Vlok told a separate media conference the issue would be discussed with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but that nothing would be enforced unilaterally.

He said any solution would work better if it was arrived at with the co-operation of all parties.

"I agree with the ANC that pangas and axes are not traditional weapons, but we must be very careful when we disarm people.

"It is not only a knife or axe that can be a dangerous weapon. A stone can be, even a woman's shoe, under certain circumstances," Vlok said.

He revealed that the regional police commissioner, the ANC and Inkatha were working together to monitor the situation in Alexandra, and to restore peace to the township.

Vlok said: "I assured them we are acting as impartially as possible."

Sapa.
NEC extends talks on township violence

Yesterday's crucial ANC national executive committee meeting to review the continuing township violence has been extended until today.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday this move could be seen as indicative of the seriousness of the matters being discussed. She confirmed that violence "in its totality" was the main item on the agenda.

It is understood regional delegates of the ANC attended the meeting, which was called to review the mounting violence, identify the causes and thrash out solutions.

The extraordinary NEC meeting came in the wake of top level talks between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban last weekend.

In a five-point plan, the two leaders agreed that their organisations would monitor the activities of each other and that dossiers on the activities of the two groups would be exchanged.

They also agreed to the monitoring of the activities of joint peace committees and the distribution of peace accord pamphlets.
ANC to march countrywide

By Monica Oosterbroek

Thousands of ANC supporters are expected to take part in countrywide marches on prisons tomorrow to demand the release of all political prisoners and indemnity for Ronnie Kasrils before April 20, the date set in the Pretoria Minute.

People in the PWV area will march to Pretoria Central prison, Diepkloof prison, Leeuwinhof prison in the Vaal Triangle, Krugersdorp prison, and Modder B prison, near Springs.

The marchers plan to hand a memorandum to prison officers demanding the release of all political prisoners.

In other parts of the country, people will march to Nelspruit prison, the Maritzburg prison, CR Swart in Natal and Fort Glamorgan in the eastern Cape. The ANC will hold a picket in Cape Town.

An ANC spokesman said the southern Free State had refused permission for seven marches and authorities in the northern Free State allegedly demanded R10 000 to allow people to march to Kromstad prison.

An ANC, SACP and Cosatu statement said 1700 political prisoners were still in jail, of whom 66 were on Death Row.

ANC spokesman Barbara Hogan said tomorrow's campaign was a peaceful way of pressuring the Government to meet its promises.
TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE

BLANKET OF THE DARK

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met in Durban on Saturday in a second attempt to end violence in the townships. But in a week of violence in Alexandra, that left more than 23 people dead, the troubling question arises: who is monitoring the police?

Mandela and Buthelezi, with this in mind, have suggested a *troika* of themselves and President F W de Klerk to monitor the violence and find ways to end it.

But the violence has developed so many layers it is impossible to point at one more serious than another. Conflict takes many forms, struggles for land, battles for political hegemony, and criminals operating under the cloak of political confusion to serve their own ends. The participants are members of political groupings, primarily the ANC and Inkatha, ordinary non-political township residents, common criminals; and the police and SADF members.

The police say they have no figures of how many perpetrators of violence are finally tracked down and brought to book. But the popular black perception is that these figures are very low compared to the scale of violence. The police point out that those arrested in unrest incidents could be charged with a variety of offences.

But how accurate are reports of violence, and can these mask more serious undercurrents? The most frequently relied upon data for violence monitoring are police unrest reports, though both the ANC and, to a more effective extent, Cosatu, have established their own violence-monitoring and prevention committees. Journalists rely extensively on police unrest reports.

Official reports give only a tally of deaths for a 24-hour period. There is often no indication which deaths — if any — are being followed up, and which have been written off as hopeless cases because there are no leads and no suspects. Even if it is accepted that the police have a difficult job dealing with individual cases when violence flares, it remains their job to do so.

To proceed as if this were not the case makes the police themselves accountable — and even more threatening in the eyes of township residents.

Police spokeswoman Lt Nina Barkhuizen tells the *FM* that the police do not always mention unrest reports how many people had been shot by police themselves. She does not feel this gives rise to a distorted impression — that all deaths are a consequence of township feuds.

Captain Piet van Deventer, police spokesman over the Easter weekend, says he relies on information conveyed to him by Johannesburg police. He says residents who had more information about deaths in their area should contact the police.

However, residents are frightened, particularly when they believe the police themselves are the perpetrators of violence, many even feared talking to the *FM*.

It is apparent that police (and journalists) have become increasingly sloppy in reporting violence — partly, no doubt, because of the sheer numbing scale of it. Police often restrict journalists who visit unrest areas or harass them. Many journalists, alarmed at the high level of violence and its unpredictable nature, understandably fear going into townships and rely on second- and third-hand accounts from police or political organisations.

Political organisations, in turn, make pronouncements based on their own hearsay information — such as the statement given by the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) last week — which are often inflammatory and based on scanty knowledge. Cast visited Alexandra only after the press conference at which it said it was prepared to arm residents.

In addition to all the other causes of violence in this country and the failure to bring it to an end, the loss of truth and the accumulation of lies, distortion, rumour and fear is helping increase the spiral. This is a process that thrives independently of whatever summit meetings or talks are arranged. It is what "out of control" means.

Political leaders — Buthelezi, Mandela and Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok — have all gone into townships on highly publicised media visits. Such visits are often meaningless to the people experiencing violence.

Consider the case of Mercy Ndlovu, interviewed by the *FM* last Wednesday in Alexandra.

She was the only person who survived after assassins shot and killed eight family members in the same room as she. In all she lost 10 family members and three friends in that massacre.

Charlene Smuth
DON'T LOOK FOR A THIRD FORCE

THE CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE
Women marching against violence

The 8th March every year is International Women’s Day. This day is remembered because 80 years ago, thousands of women marched in New York on this day, to mourn the death of 172 women who had died in a burning textile factory in New York. The bosses had locked the doors of the factory to prevent theft. When the fire broke out, women either had to burn to death or jumped to their deaths from the 18th floor of the factory.

On the 8th of March every year, women all over the world commemorate this day. They use this day to mourn women who have fallen in the struggle, to rejoice in the gains that we have made and to celebrate the solidarity of women.

This year on the 8th of March, women all over South Africa participated in various activities. In Johannesburg hundreds of women took to the streets in a candlelit march to protest against violence against women and to demand to be safe in the streets and in our homes.

The night of the 8th was cold and wet, but the women still marched. We covered our heads with plastic shopping bags, we carried umbrellas and many just got wet. The candles went out and we lit them again and again.

Women marched from the city centre to Hillbrow. These were the areas where women are often most at risk. These are the areas where there is overcrowding and poverty, where women often work and have to catch their transport. These were important areas to march through.

Women were on the march as individuals and from organisations. Many organisations were represented, but many were not. This is significant. If we are to succeed in our struggle, we need to draw all women, from many organisations into the struggle for women’s rights. Women’s issues should unite us. This year we could see the flags and banners of the ANC Women’s League, People Against Women Abuse (POWA), Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW) and the South African Communist Party.

However many organisations were not there or did not have a banner, so we could not see them. Next year we should have more women, more organisations and more flags and banners.

We can also see that not all of these organisations were women’s organisations. Many of these organisations were democratic organisations, with a long history of struggle for liberation. It is important that these organisations support the women’s struggle. There are many ways that this can be done. Perhaps you would like to write to Learning Nation and tell us what you think?

There were also many men on the march. Some women felt that this was wrong. Other women felt that it was right that men supported the women. What do you think? Why don’t you write to us at Learning Nation and tell us what you think?

The ANC Women’s League and POWA spoke to us at the march.

Sonti from POWA gave us an important message, she said,

"The march is about violence. Many women feel safe now at the march because we are together, and this feeling of safety helps to make this a joyous occasion. But we all know that tomorrow we will be afraid again. Isn’t that what this march is all about?"

Sonti also said that we must demand state run shelters for battered women in all cities and townships. Rape in marriage must be recognised. Abortion must be legalised and hospitals must have units to deal with women traumatised by rape.

Ferona from the ANC Women’s League, talked about women who had suffered in detention, been raped and sexually harassed in detention.

She talked of the violence against women and of the solidarity of women on International Women’s Day. She said that we must demand the right to be safe in the streets at night, to be able to walk in the streets at 3am if we choose.

She told us that women are still oppressed, that society is still dominated by men.

She told us that this march was happening at a very important time in our history. That after many years of struggle we are at the brink of writing a new constitution. That we as women have to make sure that our demands as women are reflected in that new constitution.

The messages are clear. Now we must act.
ANC leaders meet on violence

JOHANNESBURG. All members of the ANC's national executive committee met in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss the violence sweeping the country.

The ANC's spokeswoman, Ms Gill Marcus, said the meeting would continue today.

Details of the discussions would be disclosed today, she added. — Sapa
ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu last week suggested six steps to achieving peace in South Africa. Most of his recommendations — such as achieving a culture of tolerance and reforming the police force — were long-term.

One, however, could be implemented immediately with resounding effect: “Disarm all groups,” he said.

South Africa is one of the few countries in the world where, despite daily violence and a strong police force, people can walk through the streets wielding weapons of war with apparent impunity.

Trade union members march through the streets waving handguns, “comrades” wield home-made guns, far-rightwingers carry rifles and Inkatha members carry “traditional weapons.”

Tutu mentioned “traditional weapons” in particular, a reference to the fact that police seem often to ignore “impos” carrying such items, regardless of how deady they may be. “It is nonsense, utterly unacceptable to speak about traditional weapons. Traditional weapons kill. And it is quite wrong to allow certain groups blatantly to move around armed,” he said.

At least two Inkatha public rallies recently the “traditional weapons” being openly waved around and fired into the air, were rifles. There were also pangas, iron spikes, knives, spears and axes.

So far the authorities have blindly accepted Inkatha’s own view that “traditional” or “cultural” weapons are fine for public display — a factor which has undoubtedly contributed to the violence. Unfortunately, a meeting between police and the African National Congress on Wednesday failed to reach agreement on this issue.

Until this changes attempts by the police to boost their credibility will be still-born, and calls by ANC leaders to get their members to accept Inkatha in “their” townships may fall on deaf ears.

A more effective approach would be for the Inkatha leadership to take the lead — and ban such weapons themselves.

Inkatha members, however, are not the only ones to bear arms; if they are to be persuaded to lay down their weapons, others will have to as well. This will only be achieved if applied across the board to all political groupings.

No one is suggesting that the police be entirely disarmed — this was an experiment tried in Namibia with the effect of much better police-public relations, but a soaring crime rate. However, ill-disciplined police would also need to be restrained in their use of heavy weaponry.

Tutu made five other concrete suggestions.

- The first is that all of us must help to develop the culture of tolerance: live and let live. Let us practise the motto: I disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it ...

In the violence of the past six months in the Transvaal there have been two common denominators: extreme aggression by Inkatha members in their bid to establish beach-heads in ANC-dominated communities and resistance by ANC communities to any opposition on their turf — a factor which has also contributed to clashes with the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo.

In recent months Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others, such as national chairman Frank Mdlalose and youth leader Musa Zondi, have been consistent in their calls for peace. But the actions of certain regional leaders have directly contradicted this approach. The violence committed by their well-armed followers has often been carried out in the fashion of tightly planned military manoeuvres.

This has been exacerbated by a rampant Zulu tribalism — often as a crude but effective mobilising tool to use hostel dwellers as the storm troops of the movement.

In the ANC the growing acceptance of political pluralism by most national and regional leaders is often neither understood nor accepted further down the line. The return of the “necklace” and the persistence
armed and contribute to a culture of violence

*their weapons of war. GAVIN EVANS reports

Whatever the intentions of the brass at the top, there have been scores of examples of the South African Police showing bias regarding the ANC and Inkatha.

A step towards resolving the problem would be for the government to agree to having the future of the security forces one of the central issues on the agenda of the forthcoming Multi-Party Conference.

O"I urge that all political leaders stop their killing talk, stop their belligerent, bellicose utterances that incite others to violence whatever the intention of the speaker might have been. There is legislation available and I urge the government to use it."

Better still would be for the organisations to take matters into their own hands and censure or expel leaders who rattle sabres.

Instead, when Winnie Mandela said last month that no amabhaca should leave Bekkersdal alive, the ANC jumped to her defence. Similarly Inkatha stood by its Midlands leader David Ntombela despite actions and speeches which are out of line with the goal of peace.

O"I want to suggest that the municipalities, city councils, local councils, the churches, community organisations, political groupings, participate in a campaign with the people to clean up those townships. Perhaps our people may then begin to regain the self-esteem, self-respect and pride that they are losing."

At best this looks like being a possible end result of a township peace process, rather than a starting point.

Imagine the Alexandra Civic Organisation's Moses Mayekiso, Inkatha's Humphrey Ndlouvu, the ANC's Popo Molefe and Alexandra mayor Prince Mokoena pushing a wheelbarrow together and you'll get a sense of just how far there is to go.
Untag is no tourniquet for the blood flow

The only solution to the current transitional violence is the establishment of an interim government, argues MARK GEVISSE.

AFTER the resurgence of violence in South Africa's townships last week, various solutions - mongering three up two tangible possibilities: the disarmament of all groups and the establishment of monitoring forces.

Both these solutions are mooted when the Reef went up in flames in August last year, both were tried and, even though both seemed to work as band-aids in the short-term, neither has stopped the flow of blood.

A third option, the bringing in of a United Nations peacekeeping force, is impossible at the moment as the state is unlikely to relinquish its sovereignty and its control over security until an interim government is in place.

This leaves South Africa with one solution: the establishment of an interim government - or at the very least a multi-party conference. Only then could effective policing be brokered, either by bringing in an international force or by the establishment of an internal security force that does not have the blood of apartheid on its hands.

"Security," says Idass's Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, "is something that has to be negotiated, just as we negotiate health or education or housing. But before we can negotiate all the rest, we have to negotiate a safe and stable transition. The former cannot happen without the latter, and neither can happen until all parties are sitting at the same table and hammering out a common agenda."

Having the African National Congress and Inkatha monitor each other, or independent groups monitor both, under the current regime will be as ineffective as members of the Abstinence Society trying to shut down every speakeasy on Chicago's South Side during the Prohibition years. Disarming township residents in Alexandra, 1991, would be as foolhardy as trying to round up the whiskey gangs in Chicago, 1930. While the little guys get caught, the bosses consolidate their monopoly on the "trade."

And as the whisky flowed in Chicago, so blood will flow in Alexandra. The reason in both cases is identical: the "trade" is controlled by elements who seem to be not only outside the law but immune to it too. The problem lies with the law-breakers and with the law itself, for it is tarnished with illegitimacy. Internal monitoring does not, get to the root of this violence - the assassins who have the firepower and support to gun down vigilantes.

It has become clear that South Africa's own security forces cannot get near the root of this violence either.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said: "We are doing everything in our power to stop the violence. But its real cause is a political turf battle between ANC and Inkatha. There will be no solution until people realize that nothing is solved by settling disputes in blood."

But there will also be no solution if the force keeping the peace has a record as tainted as the security forces.

In the face of this, calls for UN intervention have been gathering strength. But, said the ANC's Saki Macozoma, "even if the regime were to invite the UN in, there would be little cooperation because the government would insist on maintaining its sovereignty and the UN would need absolute authority if it were to do its job properly."

It would be much better, he said, "if South Africans were to find ways and means of curtailing the violence without resorting to outsiders to do it for them."

Could some sort of deal therefore be brokered whereby a UN peacekeeping force would work with - or even under - the South African authorities? "It is highly unlikely," said UN director of administration and Untag director Cedric Thorneberry, "because this would create a situation where the UN, while not having any real authority, would be held responsible for whatever happened."

Namibia, he said, was "an international problem. There was no sovereign government, and nations as far-flung as Cuba and the United States were involved." He did stress that the UN has on occasion been asked to intervene in purely internal dilemmas - its supervision of the last general election in Haiti is one example. But Haiti was in such a state of anarchy that there was no de facto sovereign government. South Africa has a stable incumbent regime and a powerful liberation movement.

"What made Untag successful in Namibia," said a Namibian newcomer, "was its massive presence. There were 8,000 UN officials for only 1.6-million people."

For anything similar in South Africa, an impossibly large force would be needed.

And in Namibia, the UN presence was largely symbolic and psychological: there was none of the transitional violence we are experiencing in South Africa.

Of course, the establishment of an interim government will not itself stop the violence, and the argument can be made that speeding up the negotiations process will only increase it. The August conflagration came, after all, only days after the signing of the Pretoria Minute.

"All we can hope for from a multi-party conference or an interim government," said Slabbert, "is the creation of a neutral third force that will play a non-partisan role. The trick is we have to create it out of internal forces who have a history of being militantly partisan. It will probably be the most difficult task we'll have."
The sticking-point

Traditional weapons or weapons of war?

The bloody violence engulfing South Africa's black communities has brought into sharp focus the controversial issue of "traditional" or "cultural" weapons, which have been used to deadly effect. The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg, THABO LESHILO asked black leaders their views.

"NOTHING will stop a Zulu man from carrying a weapon. Not even God himself. Or even Lungi -- he who keeps his eye on the bottomless pit," So says Humphrey Ndlovu, Inkatha's secretary for the PWV area.

He dismissed the controversy surrounding the display of traditional weapons at Inkatha public meetings and 'peace rallies' as "unnecessary noise" by the media.

"A Zulu man will never visit a neighbour without carrying a weapon -- (he carries the weapon) even when he boards a train or walks in town."

Instead, Mr Ndlovu says, the media should be concerned about "foreign" weapons -- guns, AK 47's and tombs.

He said Inkatha members carried the iqaga or iwisa (knobkerrie), awana (shield), induku (stick) and several kinds of spears as parts of their tradition -- not to attack anybody.

Except the one with a long handle used in wars -- remember the Battle of Isandlwana in 1879 -- different kinds of spears could be carried for propping up cows, by a newly- wed woman entering a new family, hunting, slaughtering beasts or at weddings.

However, pangas and axes displayed at Inkatha rallies were not traditional weapons, he said.

Why should a man carry weapons when proposing love?

"To show their fullness or completeness. The man would feel incomplete without his ishebu [telairst skirt], spear and stick," explained Professor O T Nxumalo, Zulu writer and head of the department of sociology of education at the University of Zululand.

"The weapons are not carried to attack the woman but for the man to perform a dance once the woman accepts his proposal," the professor said.

Pointing to the problem of terminology when dealing with the issue of traditional weapons, Professor Nxumalo said the word "weapons" sometimes conveyed the wrong meaning.

"People carrying the "weapons" did not consider them as such.

"What may be a weapon today might not be a weapon tomorrow, depending on the usage," said Professor Nxumalo.

The ubozo or umdondo -- long walking-sticks used by the aged -- could also be sharpened and used to jab at the enemy.

"When describing 'traditional' weapons and attempting to implement change, it is important to know the cultural background so as not to cause affront.

"It is also important that people within a culture understand how people outside that culture interpret their actions."

The professor said traditional sticks carried by Zulu-speaking people included:

- Ushungana: a small stick decorated with beads. It has a scooped head and is used at dances.
- Isigila: a rough knobkerrie made from the root of a tree. This is hurled at birds and small prey when hunting.
- Umzaca or umshiza, a thick stick-like stick carried by young men for defence.
- Ukhande a long sharp stick for throwing at the intsemwa (a round object resembling a water melon). The ukhanda would be hurled at the intsemwa after it had been left to roll down a mountain in a game, he said.

Mr Molathlegi Thiale, Azapo's political commissar, said: "Azapo takes the view that the so-called traditional weapons which are paraded as a trade-mark of the Zulu speaking people are a facade and at best a simulacrum."

"Initially, these spears were not meant for war but for ceremonies and hunting. That they were used in tribal wars was only incidental," he said.

"Hence, it is absurd to suggest that the Zulu-speaking people have an inviolable right to carry these spears wherever they go because these are portrayed as their tradition.

"The spears and sticks which were hitherto meant for hunting are not the natural preserve of a certain section of the oppressed and exploited black community.

"We argue that the hunting grounds no longer exist and the level of our development negates the carrying around and usage of such horrendous weaponry," he said.

Mr Pidney Ngcukana, the PAC's secretary for culture, explained that among Xhosa-speaking people, traditional weapons were used in initiation rites. The new entrant into manhood had to carry a stick. A stick was also used for herding animals.

He traced the carrying of weapons to olden times when a man walked ahead of his wife to protect her from animals.

"Inkatha does not carry traditional weapons. It carries weapons of war and we oppose that. Their leaders must stop maintaining that those weapons are traditional," he said.

Mojakhu Gumbi, secretary of the Black Lawyers Association, said Inkatha's transformation from a cultural movement to a political party had disqualified it from claiming the right to carry traditional weapons at rallies and meetings.

"Holding political rallies and launching branches of a political organisation are foreign concepts among Africans."

Self-defence did not justify "possession of dangerous weapons because, according to the law, you can't carry a weapon anticipating self-defence. Self-defence comes automatically. It is not something you premeditate," Mrs Gumbi said.

Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said: "There is no such thing as a 'traditional weapon' in legal terms."

However, police could not disarm people who had gathered for a "peaceful purpose", he said, adding that police had sometimes taken away people's right to defend themselves by disarming them.

"The crucial concept which applies is the purpose or intent for which certain weapons are to be used," he said.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the organisation believed the concept of traditional weapons was being twisted around to justify violence and destabilise the black community.

"Nobody should be allowed to carry a weapon. The next thing, right-wing Afrikaners will say it is the Boer tradition to carry guns," he said.
Meet our demands or talks are off, Mandela tells FW

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

(CCB) and other bit squad be "routinised" (isolated and punished)

- All special counter-insurgency units be publicly dismantled and disarmed, including the CCB, Roesheen and the Askari. A multi-party commission should be set up to oversee this process.
- All police officers implicated in the Soweto massacre in March last year be immediately suspended and charged, and all officers implicated in the last month's Doornfontein and Benoni shooting on March 24 be suspended pending the findings of a commission of inquiry.
- Satisfactory assurance be given that security forces will use cordoned-off areas and the use of live ammunition be prohibited on such occasions.
- All laws be introduced in the current session of Parliament to outlaw the carrying of all weapons, including traditional weapons, at public gatherings and processions.
- Effective steps be taken to begin the process of phasing out hostels and other labour compounds and transform these into family housing units and single occupancy flats.
- An independent commission of inquiry be set up to investigate all complaints of misconduct by the security forces.

Yesterday's ultimatum was contained in a letter to President de Klerk and his Cabinet, released at a press conference at the ANC's Johannesburg head office.

Addressing the press conference, Mr. Mandela hinted that the ANC might reconsider the ultimatum "if the Government responds in a satisfactory way".

This is the second ANC deadline presented to the Government recently. In December, the ANC warned that it would review the suspension of the armed struggle if all political prisoners were not freed and all exiles not allowed to return by April 30.

TO PAGE 2.
Buthelezi defends use of cultural weapons

By TERRY VAN DER WALT

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week defended the right of Zulus to carry traditional weapons.

An ANC delegation met Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok this week to discuss the Alexandra violence and to demand that the carrying of cultural weapons be banned.

Although no agreement was reached after the three-hour talks, Mr Vlok said he would meet Mr Buthelezi.

Mr Buthelezi told the Sunday Times that, as a Zulu clan leader, it was his duty to uphold the tradition of cultural weapons.

But he slammed people who carried bush-knives, pangas and axes as "cultural weapons" — and then used them in fighting.

He listed acceptable cultural weapons — which he also carried at ceremonial functions — as shields, spears, battle-axes and sticks.

"There has never been an occasion where I have even dreamt of using any of them to harm anyone," he said.

Reacting to the ANC's call for their banning, Mr Buthelezi said: "One can understand it when people are dying like this, but one must also have a balance. The most lethal weapons are, of course, the AK-47s. "In the conflicts, most of the people are decimated by AK-47s and other sophisticated arms. It is not the cultural weapons that are used."

He said the carrying of cultural weapons was one of the problems he discussed with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at their five-hour meeting in Durban last Saturday. Their first meeting took place two months ago.

"The meeting was very welcome and I look forward to more," said Mr Buthelezi.

He said he and Mr Mandela had spoken on the phone several times after the meeting.

Mr Buthelezi echoed the sentiments of Archbishop Desmond Tutu that the time had come for black people to stop blaming the government and apartheid for the violence and to assume responsibility for it.

"It is a shame that we should be tearing each other apart after all our heroes have died for, when things have reached a point where what they strived for is within reach."

(234)
ANC must ‘fight state violence’

THE ANC must begin to defend the people against violence by the state.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela promised us shortly after his release the days were over when people would be defenceless against state hostilities.

Then the ANC promptly accepted the government’s request to suspend Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

A few months after this the violence by armed people resumed against unarmed people.

Mandela, Joe Modise and Chris Hani you must allow the people to arm themselves against the violence of the state.

Who is going to vote for the ANC while its people are dying. – Zwelibanzi Bomela, Johannesburg
Mandela sticks to ultimatum

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela yesterday slammed the door on any flexibility in the ANC's ultimatum to the Government.

There would be no engagement or discussion between the African National Congress and the Government after May 9 if President de Klerk effectively rejected the organisation's demands to end the violence in South Africa, the ANC deputy president told the US television network CBS.

Interviewed by telephone from his home in Soweto on "Face the Nation", Mr Mandela said the ANC had made it clear that the Government had until May 9 to respond to ANC demands.

Asked if Mr de Klerk had not already effectively rejected the demands in his initial reaction, Mr Mandela said: "It is not within my capacity to put an end to the violence."

Mr Mandela also said: "There is a third force. There is the use of unacceptable methods by the police which have resulted in heavy casualties."

"There is the connivance of the Government, its failure to use its capacity to put an end to the violence."

Asked if he was not concerned that his threat of mass unrest, in the event that the US lifted sanctions against South Africa, would isolate and turn the international community against him, Mr Mandela said: "No. The failure of the Government to honour agreements with the ANC obliges us to take some action."

Asked whether President de Klerk would be rewarded if he had done, he said: "I find it very difficult that anybody should reward an oppressor and not the victims. The people who need to be rewarded are the victims of apartheid and not the man who applies apartheid."

Asked whether the victims of apartheid were not suffering more than anyone else from sanctions, Mr Mandela said he disagreed.

He added: "If the international community took into account the wishes of blacks, and the SA Government and the mass media did the same thing, I would not today be sitting in Soweto. I would be sitting in the Union Buildings."

Mr Mandela said that some people said blacks were free as a result of Mr de Klerk's changes. In fact, he still could not vote.

While some of Mr de Klerk's reforms were commendable and he was to be congratulated for them, it was pointless to repeal the Land Acts and Group Areas Act and not give resources to blacks to take advantage of the repeal of the legislation.

Asked if he still regarded Mr de Klerk as a man of integrity, Mr Mandela said: "We must not exaggerate the integrity of any person, no matter what his position is. We must concentrate on the policy he represents, and Mr de Klerk represents a policy which has brought a lot of suffering on the people of South Africa. Our people are suffering now."

- Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is expected to respond to the ANC today.
- Peace bus in trouble — Page 11.
Inkatha won’t give up weapons

By Brian Sokute
and Abel Mushy

Inkatha supporters will not abandon the carrying of “traditional weapons”, the organisation’s national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said yesterday.

Addressing a crowd of about 3,000 people at Katlehong’s Huntersfield Stadium, Dr Mdlalose said it was Zulu tradition for men to carry sticks.

“If a snake is seen here, how are we going to kill it?”

On Friday, the ANC said it would suspend all talks with the Government if, among other demands, Parliament did not introduce laws to outlaw the carrying of all weapons, including “traditional weapons”, at public meetings and marches by May 9.

Self-made swords, sticks and knobkerries were among the weapons brandished by singing, slogan-chanting and dancing Inkatha supporters yesterday.

Speakers, including Dr Mdlalose, repeatedly urged the crowd to stay calm and listen to speeches. However, they sang songs of “war” against the Xhosas and the ANC.

Speaking to journalists later, Dr Mdlalose—who claimed he was in Katlehong to promote peace—said his organisation was “not tribal” because it also had Xhosa members. Inkatha did not have AK-47 rifles, allegedly carried by ANC supporters, he claimed.

‘Surprised’

He also said he was “surprised and worried” about the ANC’s cancellation of this week’s meeting with Inkatha.

“I received a call from John Nkadimeng, of the ANC national executive committee and co-chairman of the joint Inkatha-ANC peace committee, who said the meeting has been cancelled because other ANC leaders like Thabo Mbeki will not be present.”

Responding to Dr Mdlalose’s statement, the ANC last night said it wished to make it clear that it had not cancelled or postponed the proposed April 11 ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party meeting, but was merely looking for a date suitable to both parties. The ANC said the meeting was of great importance.

About 10,000 supporters, many of them armed, yesterday attended an Inkatha rally, in open veld at Emdeni, Soweto.

The general secretary of the IFP’s PWV region, Humphrey Ndhlovu, told the rally that Inkatha “had no problems” with members of other ethnic groups, particularly Xhosas.

IFP Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza had earlier said his organisation would do all in its power to fight for the right to carry traditional weapons.

Residents watching the rally expressed concern that under the pretext of calling for peace, Inkatha was in fact using the rally as a platform to boast about its strength and conquests.

They said most of the Inkatha supporters arrived by train from various hostels.
**Mandela faces deadline on violence**

Police in an armoured vehicle watch a group of Zulus armed with a variety of "cultural" weapons at a peace rally held by the Inkatha Freedom Party in KwaZulu yesterday.

**Nine killed as violence flares in townships**

Johannesburg - Nine people, including two nurses, were killed in clashes between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC in the KwaZulu-Natal province yesterday.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday defended the organisation's controversial threat to break off negotiations with the government in an interview on US television — amid growing fears that the ANC's seven-point ultimatum could derail peace talks with Inkatha.

Mr Mandela told CNN's "Face the Nation" programme that the ANC's May 8 deadline was "firm" but appeared to show flexibility in saying that President F.W. de Klerk must "address" the issue of the seven-point programme, which includes a call for a blanket amnesty for those involved in the violence.

ANC leaders are said to have explained the ultimatum to foreign diplomats in the country.

ANC training continues — says Chris Hani

The ANC's open letter to Mr De Klerk included a stinging broadside at Inkatha, saying that the ANC's "flimsy" case against the party was a "mockery" of the fact that Inkatha was the laughing stock of international diplomacy.

ANC leaders also called for a total ban on "traditional" weapons, including the AK-47 rifle.

Mr Mandela, speaking at the ANC's "Face the Nation" news conference, said the ANC would not again be "tricked" by Inkatha's promises.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC had written to Mr De Klerk on May 7 warning that failure to respond to its demands would result in an immediate political and diplomatic boycott of the ANC by foreign countries.

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From page 1

Mr Mandela said that the ANC's policy of "non-violent" struggle had been based on the belief that the government would not respond to its demands.

He said the ANC was now re-evaluating its position and that the government's refusal to respond to the ANC's demands would result in a boycott of the ANC by foreign countries.

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After Threases

March halted

John Nisswanger — An explanation and
Emergency can ‘end the violence’

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE continuing violence could be stopped if the state of emergency was re-imposed, a Government source said at the weekend.

The African National Congress has dismissed the suggestion as “nonsense” and “mere twaddle”.

According to the Government source, a state of emergency would have the desired effect on the ground, but would be politically unacceptable.

However, a good start would be the surrender of AK-47 rifles, the source said.

“One AK-47 rifle is worth 1 000 traditional weapons,” he added, referring directly to an ANC demand in Friday’s ultimatum which, among other things, called for legislation to outlaw the carrying of “traditional weapons” at public gatherings and processions.

The ANC’s letter to State President FW de Klerk laid the responsibility for the violence at the door of the State.

The organisation said it would withdraw from negotiations if certain conditions were not met by May 9.

De Klerk responded by saying that the allegation was unfair.

He said the ANC sought political gains by creating more obstacles to negotiations while the Government was removing the last vestiges of apartheid.

In the ultimatum, the ANC also demanded:

* The dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok;
* That all officers in the South African Defence Force and the South African Police, who bore direct responsibility for the setting up and management of the Civil Co-operation Bureau, be dismissed.
Vlok hits out at ANC ultimatum

Despite its undertaking to suspend violence, the ANC — "or individual members of the organisation" — continued with activities based on violence — such as Operation Vula.

By contrast, the Government's policy showed "care and respect for human life", he said.

Despite its "war-talk and sabre-rattling", the ANC would eventually have to come to negotiations, Mr Vlok said.

The Government and the ANC were still talking.

In Ulundi yesterday, Chief Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly: "What the ANC is actually doing is making the kind of demands which would precipitate what will be nothing less than a civil war in South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said President de Klerk must inform the world about the seriousness of the new situation and seek the help of nations in curbing the ANC's "lust for power".

In Pretoria yesterday, the Afrikaanse Weerstands beweging (AWB) came out in support of Mr Vlok and General Malan.
DURBAN — The Inkatha Institute claimed yesterday that between 70 and 90 percent of all "violence" killings over the two month period from January 29 were as a result of shootings.

The institute, was responding to what it termed the "tribal weapons" debate.

It said in a statement January 29 had produced the greatest hope that the violence would be able to halt the violence in Natal and Transvaal townships.

Two months later it had become clear there had been no such end to the violence.

Media reports showed that of the 84 more serious incidents recorded in Natal and Transvaal 84 percent of these were regarded as attacks against Inkatha supporters. — Sapa.
Political unrest claims nearly 600 this year

The Institute says the number of political fatalities in each of the last six years is as follows: 1985 — 876; 1986 — 1,298; 1987 — 661; 1988 — 1,140; 1989 — 1,403; 1990 — 3,699.

Political violence has claimed the lives of more than 9,700 people since its outbreak in September 1984 — with between 550 and 600 people having died in the first three months of this year, says the SA Institute of Race Relations.

Compared to the first quarter of last year, this year's violence-related deaths are low. However, January to March 1991 has still been the second worst period on record.

It was not always clear whether particular deaths were politically related or not.

The lower and higher figures for this year's first quarter had been provided to cater for this uncertainty.

The Human Rights Commission is expected to release its latest political death statistics this week.

The continuing violence on the Witwatersrand has created great difficulties for assistance groups attempting to help the injured and families of the dead.

Tony Pierner, head of the delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in South Africa, said it was very dangerous for Red Cross teams to go into townships during ongoing skirmishes.
Vlok lashes out at ANC ultimatum

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night joined the attack on the ANC's ultimatum to the Government on the violence issue.

His reaction followed a warning by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the ANC's move would plunge the country into a major crisis.

The ANC's seven demands included the dismissal of Mr Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Responding to the ANC's accusation that the Government and Inkatha were responsible for the current level of township violence, Mr Vlok said it was the ANC and SACP which had originally unleashed the violence now threatening the country.

He was issuing his statement "to place the false propaganda and untruths spread by the ANC and the SA Communist Party in the correct perspective".

"It was their policies and activities, aimed at making the country ungovernable and seizing power, which led to this violence," he said.

The ANC's Marxist ideology led to the "brutalisation of a whole generation of black youth which grew up in a culture of violence".

Many of these youths were playing a role in the present violence which the ANC and the SACP could not control.

Most of the accusations of police complicity in violence against the ANC had been made before and had been investigated, he said.

A special investigation team would go through the new allegations "with a fine tooth comb", he promised.

He also said he hoped that discussions would be held with Chief Buthelezi as soon as possible to try to solve the very sensitive matter of "cultural weapons" - a key complaint in the ANC ultimatum.

However, Mr Vlok said he did not think confiscation would stop the killing.

"The answer to our problem doesn't lie in disarming people. I think it lies in changing the attitude of people to each other."

On the ANC demand that the Government should suspend policemen involved in the Davelton and other shooting incidents, Mr Vlok said it was not normal procedure to suspend policemen in these circumstances.
Talks bus halts ANC Ultimatum poses the real danger to the future talks. Magnus Malan and the international investors will run off quietly in horror.

The ANC has now made it politically impossible for de Klerk to get rid of General Constand Viljoen and the South African Defence Force. The ANC has finally, after years of political negotiations, forced the government to accept majority rule. But the ANC is still far from satisfied. They want to go further, and they are not afraid to use force to get what they want.

JOHNSON

To the government, the ANC is a formidable enemy, and the battle is far from over. The ANC has a long history of fighting for freedom and justice, and they are not going to give up easily. The government must now decide whether they want to continue fighting or whether they want to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

In recent months, the ANC has been conducting a campaign of civil disobedience, and they have been arrested and detained by the police. The government has responded with a crackdown, and there have been reports of human rights abuses.

The ANC has been successful in mobilizing support among the African population, and they have won elections in many areas. The government has been forced to concede some concessions, but they are not ready to give up power.

The ANC has set a deadline of June 1 for the government to respond to their demands. If the government fails to respond, the ANC will intensify their campaign of violence and disruption.

The government has been seeking international support, but they have not been successful. Many countries have condemned the ANC's tactics, and they have called for a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

The ANC has been accused of using violence to achieve their political goals, but they argue that they are defending their rights and their land. The government has been accused of using violence to suppress dissent, but they argue that they are protecting the country from a Communist takeover.

The ANC has been accused of using纳米技术 to gather intelligence on the government, but they argue that they are justified in using any means necessary to defend their cause. The government has been accused of using纳米技术 to gather intelligence on the ANC, but they argue that they are justified in using any means necessary to protect the country.

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Rescue

It will take yet another high-profile, face-to-face meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela (complete with carefully-worded face-saving statement) to rescue it again, but this will not be as easy as before.

Belief, especially among whites, in the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement and ability to deliver it, will be difficult to sustain. The Government cannot and will not meet all of the ANC's demands (ironically, the ANC has now made it politically impossible for De Klerk to get rid of General Magnus Malan), and international investors who have been sniffing around the South African market will run off yelping in horror. South Africa, they will say, is best left to its bickering fate.

Horrific

The horrific township violence, the point of the ultimatum, will continue as the leaders lock horns in politicking, instead of linking arms in peacemaking. One could go on with the sorry list: in all, the effect of the accident is catastrophic.

Why has it happened? The ANC's stated reasons for threatening to pull out of the talks - just when a breakthrough on the all-party conference appeared possible - seem to be only one part of a much bigger, and it is perfectly justifiable to push for the suspension of security officers who have been linked to criminal activities.

Further, a call for a blanket ban on the carrying of weapons in public, and a proposal for a multi-party commission to oversee the dismantling of state "dirty tricks" departments are interventions which the ANC has every right to make.

The problem is the cumulative effect of these demands, and their association with a deadline which, unless met, threatens apocalypse.

The ultimatum shows no awareness of (or respect for) the extent to which the negotiations process in South Africa is held together by the na-

Basic confidence in the peace process has been shaken as never before and there will be a ripple effect throughout the society.

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This mood has been heightened by the relentless violence, and the broader political implications thereof. In particular, there is panic in ANC circles at the attempted elevation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a status equal to that of Mandela and De Klerk.

Ruse

This is not justified by his support levels, it is argued, and is a ruse to reduce ANC influence in negotiations.

Coupled with a woeful lack of ANC organisation around the country - it is even possible that the ANC's June Conference will have to be postponed - this has caused ANC militants to try to put on the brakes, and the pressure has become too much for Mandela to withstand.

Schedule

The ANC's priority now is to regroup internally (the planned expansion of the NEC forms part of this), whether or not this throws the negotiating schedule out of kilter.

It is therefore a comprehensible strategy for internal damage-limitation, but is implemented at the risk of the entire peace process. To return to the motoring metaphor: it is likely that the vehicle can be panel-beaten this time around, and that it will be on the road again.

But as everyone who has had a serious accident knows, if you bend the chassis, the car is never quite the same again.
9 700 have died in political violence

POLITICAL violence has claimed the lives of more than 9 700 people since its outbreak in September 1984 according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Between 550 and 600 people died in the first three months of this year. Compared to the first quarter of last year, this year's violence-related deaths are low.

However, January to March this year is still the second worst period on record, the institute says.

The exact number of deaths could not be established because it was not always clear whether particular deaths were politically related or not.

The lower and higher figures for this year's first quarter had been provided to cater for this uncertainty.

The institute says the number of political fatalities in each of the last six years is as follows: 1985 - 870; 1986 - 1 298; 1987 - 661; 1988 - 1 149; 1989 - 1 402; 1990 - 3 699.

The Human Rights Commission is expected to release its latest political deaths statistics later this week.

The continuing violence on the Witwatersrand has created great difficulty for assistance groups trying to help the injured and families of the dead.

Tony Pflmmer, head of the delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in South Africa, said it was very dangerous for Red Cross teams to go into townships during ongoing skirmishes.

"We often have to wait a while before we can attend to the injured. The violence happens mostly at night and it is too dangerous for us to go in. For our safety, the police also prevent us from entering townships."

Sowetan Reporter.
Mandela in phone call to Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to open the way for discussions on recent sharp exchanges between them, the ANC said yesterday.

An ANC statement said the conversation, initiated by Mr Mandela, was “lengthy” and “cordial”.

The conversation follows criticism of Inkatha by the ANC. In its ultimatum to the government the ANC called Inkatha a “minor” political player.

An appendix included examples of instances in which the ANC alleged that Inkatha had used violence, helped by the security forces, to infiltrate areas where it previously had no support.

Chief Buthelezi was outraged, and warned that civil war could follow.

Both leaders agreed to lend their “immense personal authority” to ensuring that relations between the ANC and Inkatha were not disturbed, the ANC said.

Meanwhile Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday declared Thokoza, Vosloorus and Katlehong unrest areas. He also imposed a 9pm to 4am curfew on the townships.

At a peace rally in Katlehong yesterday, Umhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said the basic position of the ANC was unity among the oppressed.

The violence was detrimental to the negotiating process, he said. Troops and police should remain in the area as it was the government’s duty to keep peace, but security forces should change their tactics by discussing ways to end the violence with the local leaders.

“It would be very irresponsible for me to call for the removal of the security forces,” Mr Hani said.

Sapa reports that the ANC and PAC have postponed talks in Zimbabwe from this weekend until next week.
Smuggled arms ‘a major factor’

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Arms smuggled into SA were probably a major factor in escalating township violence, the head of Pretoria University’s Strategic Studies Department Mike Hough said yesterday.

Hough was reacting to ANC claims that government was dragging its heels over township violence.

He said the sources of arms being used in township violence and other criminal activities had to be pinpointed and dealt with.

There were weapons caches laid down during the ANC’s “armed struggle” which had not been found and which could be a source.

But he said there was probably a lucrative illegal arms trade from neighbouring states.

In SA’s transitional stage, a measure of violence and unrest was inevitable, but this had reached a critical level which demanded urgent short-term action.

Until there was a united and co-operative effort by all the players involved there was little prospect of curbing escalating violence.

Hough said weapons such as axes and sharpened pieces of metal were not traditional weapons.

Traditional weapons should be clearly defined and anyone carrying weapons which fell outside this definition should be apprehended.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said anti-crime drives, including searches for illegal weapons, were a police priority.

He said police were alert to the probability of arms smuggling from territories outside SA.
‘Violence may be political norm’

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Violence in South Africa’s townships risks becoming the normal form of political expression, Africa Confidential says in an analysis of the “new order” in Africa.

It notes, however, that South Africa is leading the way in seeking a constitutional system to accommodate the multiplicity of ethnic and factional interests prevalent in most African countries.

The article, in the London journal’s latest edition, identifies South Africa as the most important example of the “political change sweeping Africa”.

A widely-held view is that its “political prospects for change are quite good, while the economic prospects appear bleak”.

“The continued high level of killings increasingly suggests that political violence may be even more prevalent in the new South Africa than in the old.”

Looking at other countries, it says Renamo’s refusal to honour a ceasefire indicates that its real motive is not to fight for power through political means, but to seize it by force.

“The same could become true of South Africa’s townships, where unending violent struggle risks becoming a normal form of political expression.”
GABORONE - Foreign ministers of the Frontline states, Nigeria, the ANC and PAC hold the South African Government directly responsible for most of the escalating violence in the country.

In a communiqué released yesterday after a one-day meeting in Gaborone, the FLS foreign ministers demanded that the Government take urgent practical steps to put an immediate end to the carnage in South Africa.

The Botswana Press Agency reported the meeting “noted with concern” the re-deployment inside South Africa of Buffalo, Battalion 32, Koevoet and other Civil Co-operation Bureau formations to instigate acts of violence.

Briefings

The meeting discussed in depth the current developments inside South Africa following detailed briefings by the ANC and PAC on the questions of sanctions, violence and constitutional arrangements.

While noting positive developments in some areas, the foreign ministers expressed disappointment and concern at the lack of substantive progress in such key demands as ending violence, unconditional return of political exiles and the establishment of a democratic forum to draw up a nonracial democratic constitution.

Concern

The meeting expressed great concern at the unprecedented escalation of violence currently being witnessed inside South Africa and urged all South Africans to exercise maximum restraint and political tolerance among themselves.

They welcomed the meeting planned for this weekend in Zimbabwe between the national executives of the ANC and PAC and supported the call for the convening of a patriotic conference in May.

They also commended the governments of Angola and Mozambique for the continued search for lasting peace. - Sapa.
Resignation calls are meaningless - Azapo

DURBAN. — The ANC's call for the resignation of the Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok was meaningless as the violence in the townships would continue even if this occurred, the Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley contended that even if the two resigned "tomorrow", violence would continue because that is a vital part of the strategy of the De Klerk regime. "Azapo has always demanded that the entire regime resign," he added.

He claimed the State was using the apparent conflict within the liberation movements to further its own aims.

Mr Moodley said Azapo wanted the ANC and the PAC to join it in a consultative conference "so that we can meet behind closed doors to thrash out a strategy which will force the De Klerk regime out of power". — Sapa.
ANC ‘cowboys’ won’t beat Inkatha to the draw

**MUSA MYENI, Inkatha Freedom Party executive member and head of international relations, has a warning for the African National Congress following last week’s ultimatum to the government. The cowboy approach will be met by cowboys.**

What this means, he explains, is that if the ANC wants to start the armed struggle up again and make targets of white people and Inkatha “we will not sit by. So we are headed for a bloody situation.

“Make no mistake. Don’t think the 25 000 AK-47s that were delivered in the Transvaal in January and all the other weapons that the ANC has will make the world go round.

“You need people to operate them. The people that you have are not made of steel. They are made of blood and flesh. They will kill some of us, but some of them will be killed.”

As he speaks, a white piano tinkles away in the corner of the Johannesburg Sun coffee shop. It’s cocktail hour. The migrant workers’ hostels of Alexandra and the civil war that Myeni, sunglasses peeping out of his top suit pocket, and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are warning about seem as distant as the Kurdish frontier.

A rising star in the organisation, Myeni — who has a Masters degree in international relations from the University of Geneva — has been holding court in the coffee shop all day.

He explains how his party has been on an organisational drive, particularly in the Transvaal, where it has come face to face with the ANC, resulting in the interethnic conflict that threatens to sabotage peace in South Africa.

“‘Inkatha is growing at a phenomenal rate, not because we are trying to destroy the ANC, but because we are giving the country what it wants.’ He defines this, broadly, as multiparty democracy and a free market economy.

Such sweet sentiments do not accord with the ANC’s depiction of the IFP in its open letter to President FW de Klerk.

Clearly pointing a finger of blame at the IFP, the ANC isolated a pattern in which “in almost every instance of violence ... a group of individuals, drawn from a specific area of the country, sharing a common language and publicly identifying themselves with a specific political party have established control over a migrant work-

If the ANC carries out its ultimatum then the country is heading for a bloody situation, warns Musa Myeni.

**PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

spoke to the Inkatha Freedom Party executive member

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Musa Myeni ... civil war warning

er’s hostel through acts of intimidation.”

The ANC letter claimed that they use red headbands for common identification and “supported by others of like purpose, based in from other areas, they than stage a provocative armed demonstration through the township, escorted by police.”

Myeni counters that the problem is that the ANC does not like the IFP to hold rallies on its turf. “Why is it that whenever Inkatha wants to have a rally, then the ANC jumps and wants to have its own rally? Have you heard of one case where the ANC has been attacked while having their own rally?”

“When our guys hit back, then the whole world says look at them. There is a big cry about cultural weapons. But these are ordinary workers who are being attacked just because they are Zulus by Xhosas hiding behind the ANC flag.”

In Alexandra, he claims, the ANC took a decision on the Wednesday before the Inkatha launch to disrupt it because the ANC leadership felt it was not in their interests to have the IFP launched publicly on the home base of Moses Myeko and Alfred Nzo.

“The comrades called people out of their homes, warning that Inkatha is coming. On the night of March 8 Mr Ndzuza of 18th Avenue was hacked to death and run down for being a member of Inkatha.

“The comrades moved on to 10th Avenue, attacking a certain Mr Dube who escaped, alerting other members of the IFP that they were being attacked. The hostel only got involved the following day.

“The message that reached the hostel was that Zulus were being attacked in the township, so Zulus inside the hostel started attacking Xhosas inside the hostel and those known to be ANC members also escaped the hostel and ran away.

“Then a lot of Zulus came in from the township into the hostel. We had more than 15 000 men inside the hostel and 8 000 outside the hostel. We were trying to calm them down the whole weekend.”

“But what of the use of rondavels, the badge of identification of IFP supporters in the hostel?

“It is normal for every regiment to be identified by the colour of its shield,” he explains. “Last year Zulus were identified as Zulus for attack so they wanted to identify themselves — so that they don’t kill their own people. They have at times killed their own people — one guy in Alex was killed because he wasn’t wearing his red band.

“They have identified ANC members wearing red bands and pretending to be IFP like that and they’ve ended up terribly.”

Changing gear, Myeni estimates that more than 40 000 whites have joined Inkatha in the Transvaal alone, emphasising the point by waving at a besuited executive on his way in to the coffee shop. “Ja, ja. Hoe gaan dit?” Myeni smiles to the nise who signals back.

“That’s another member.”

Inkatha’s Sandton branch is to be launched in a few weeks with a big rally. Myeni assures that Inkatha won’t be bussing people in from the rural areas for the launch.
ANC BUDGET

ON a hypothetical budget of R28.75-billion in a future South Africa, the African National Congress would provide a capital subsidy of R12 000 for 1.2-million homes, spending R20 million on each of 250 townships; R5-billion for an employment training scheme; R6.5-billion to establish 150 000 small farmers; and R7.5-billion for school buildings and teacher training. It said it is the latest issue of its official mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

The organisation would also spend R500-million on training one million adult literacy teachers; R11-billion to equalise pensions; R2.5-billion on a feeding scheme for pregnant mothers; R2.5-billion on a school feeding scheme and R5.2-billion on industrial restructuring. About R300-billion would be set aside to provide work for one million people developing a rural infrastructure and R300-billion for primary health clinics.

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

BETWEEN 550 AND 600 people have already died through political violence in South Africa since the beginning of this year — the second-worst period on record — according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Fatalities due to unrest have increased dramatically since 1985, according to SAIRR figures. The number of deaths is as follows: 1985 — 879; 1986 — 723; 1987 — 661; 1988 — 1,403; and 1990 — 3,695.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) says 314 people were killed and 611 injured in various incidents of political violence during March this year.

Two hundred and six of those killed were in the PWV area, 46 in Natal, five in the Orange Free State, two each in the Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and Bophuthatswana and one in the Western Transvaal. The HRC attributes 247 of the deaths to vigilante-related actions, 30 to security force actions and one each to hit squad and rightwing actions. The cause of death is uncertain in 35 cases.

DETentions
ANC and Inkatha youth plan to meet

By GLENGA DANIELS

THE African National Congress Youth League is for the first time considering meeting the Inkatha Youth Brigade in an anxious bid to bring peace to the townships.

The youth league has not extended a formal invitation yet but sees the meeting as an urgent matter, the organisation said this week.

The initial reaction of Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Thembu Khoza was: "We don't know anything about this, it must be a dream. How can I comment on something I have not heard of? Will I see it for the first time in the newspapers?"

Later, Khoza said: "This is a positive move by the ANC Youth League, and where we can talk we will but where we can't then we can't."

He elaborated: "There are ways of stopping violence; some of their strategies will be different, like the formation of defence units which we believe will create an explosive situation in the townships. We oppose this and when we meet them we will tell them this."

Khoza said he had problems with "agendas", saying that while this was the first time the youth would meet there had been meetings between the ANC and Inkatha where this "problem" arose.

"The whole matter needs a method about who will work out agendas and where meetings will be staged," said Khoza.

The ANC Youth League said this week that because recent meetings between the ANC and Inkatha have led to an escalation of violence rather than peace they would rather have meetings "on the ground". Khoza said this was a fine idea.

Media officer Parks Mankablana said the ANC hoped to do this by encouraging their branches to meet the Inkatha Youth Brigade branches in the different townships and discuss ways of making peace together.

"It is our belief that discussions on the ground, provided there is genuine commitment on all sides to eliminate violence, will result in peace among our people."

While the Youth League will be encouraging both sides to meet in a peace bid, it will also continue to support ANC campaigns like the demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government. It will also have its own focuses, one of which will be an AIDS campaign.
Only an urgent all-party conference can bring peace

There IS a way to end the violence

By Phillip Van Niekerk

There is a way to get national negotiations back on track: an urgent conference of all major political parties to hammer out a joint strategy on the violence wrecking South African townships.

The proposal of an all-party conference on violence came this week from Idasa director Frederik van Zyl Slabbert as a way forward from the African National Congress' seven point ultimatum to the government, which almost certainly will not be met by the May 9 deadline.

Most political pundits believe that the ultimatum, far from achieving its aims, has given Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok new leases on life, and needlessly antagonised the Inkatha Freedom Party.

However, the ANC has brought home to the government the fact that there is an emergency situation in the black townships that can no longer be tolerated, and that negotiations for a new South Africa cannot proceed until the slaughter is brought under control.

And many of the ANC's demands - such as the disbanding of counter-insurgency units and the suspension of police officers involved in massacres in the townships - could form discussion points in a serious debate about how the crisis is to be overcome.

Despite the modification of the ultimatum this week by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who stressed the organisation's 'flexibility' on the issue, many analysts agree that, all else having failed, a fresh approach is urgently required to deal with the conflict.

Another face-to-face encounter between Mandela and President FW de Klerk, the magic formula that has ended past stand-offs, won't swing it this time.

As long as the violence continues, the ANC will be under pressure from its township constituency, which sees the negotiations with the government as meaningless while the townships are burning, to take the kind of hard-line represented by last Friday's ultimatum.

Slabbert said this week that until the country had solved the basic problem of stability, vio-
ANC ‘cowboys’ won’t beat Inkatha to the draw

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What this means, he explains, is that if the ANC wants to start the armed struggle up again and makes targets of white people and Inkatha “we will not sit by. So we are headed for a bloody situation.

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Myeni counters that the problem is that the ANC does not like the IFP to hold rallies on its turf. “Why is it that whenever Inkatha wants to have a rally, then the ANC jumps and wants to have its own rally? Have you heard of one case where the ANC has been attacked while having their own rally?”

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GLOOM OVER ANC'S ULTIMATUM

FRANS ESTERHUYSE EXAMINES THE EFFECTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS EPISODE

The ANC's sudden threat to withdraw from negotiations shows the South African political scene and has various repercussions. This week's Weekend Argus political correspondent argues that the country's political climate is darkening.
ANC youths told to grab whites' guns

THE ANC Youth League has called for weapons to be seized from white rightwingers and criminals to arm community self-defence units. Youth League president Peter Mokaba said the plan was part of a "peace offensive" aimed at halting the growing violence which has claimed thousands of lives since August.

Mr Mokaba would not be drawn on the methods to be used to acquire the weapons, but said the community would "find ways". There was a gun in virtually every white home, he said.

He added that his organisation, which he said had about 200,000 members, had taken a resolution at its five-day executive conference in Durban at the beginning of this month to launch an offensive for peace.

It had already been decided that Youth League cadres should be instructed on how to establish self defence units.

Weapons were an important component of these self defence units, Mr Mokaba said.

Thugs

He said the ANC Youth League had no arms at its disposal, although South Africa was highly militarised.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC Youth League's first priority would be to take away guns from people using their weapons against them.

Thugs, criminals and the right-wing were using their arms against the black community. It was important for blacks to disarm these people as part of an anti-crime campaign and, in so doing, obtain guns for self protection, Mr Mokaba said.

"What is wrong in laying siege to a gang of criminals? That is how the community will get their guns."

"We have rightwingers shooting at black people in the townships. If people can disarm them, they must do it."

Dangerous

"They will have taken a gun out of the hands of a dangerous person and put it in the hands of responsible defence units," Mr Mokaba said.

He added that the peace offensive also included disciplining ANC Youth League members not to attack other organisations and to encourage meetings at grassroots level with these members.

"The only weapons the government objects to are those carried by those related to the ANC," he said.

"Our members are going to claim the right to carry arms like everyone else."

He warned the government to "watch out" that its actions did not lead to a return to the armed struggle.
Weapons deal may break the deadlock

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

The government hopes to compromise with the ANC on at least one of the grievances contained in the organisation’s ultimatum delivered this week to President FW de Klerk.

A top official indicated this week that the government was prepared to take action on the ANC demand that people not be allowed to carry sticks, axes and knobkerries at rallies.

The demand has angered Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, who insists on the traditional right of Zulu men to carry such weapons. He has also called on the ANC to surrender its AK-47 assault rifles.

Now government officials involved in the negotiating process are hoping a compromise can be struck between all parties.

One suggestion is that such weapons be carried only in rural areas. Another is that individuals be allowed to carry “cultural” weapons but not when they move in large groups.

Because of the sensitivities surrounding the carrying of “cultural” weapons, officials said, it would probably be necessary that a government/ANC/Inkatha working group be appointed to look into the matter.

The effort to secure a compromise on the weapons will be part of a wider peace initiative by the government in response to the ultimatum by the ANC this week that unless seven demands were met by May 9 — including the resignation of two ministers — it would consider pulling out of negotiations.

Meeting

Dr Viljoen emphasised that while the ANC ultimatum was being viewed as serious, contact with the organisation had not stopped.

It is understood that on Monday the first meeting of the Liaison Committee, appointed to implement the DF Malan agreement on armed action, took place.

Nelson Mandela yesterday denied suggestions that he had been pressured by hawks within the ANC to issue this week’s ultimatum to the government on violence.

Speaking at a funeral service for victims of violence in Alexandra, Mr Mandela said he had been the one who suggested to the ANC National Executive Committee that the time had arrived to pull out of talks with the government.

But he was overruled by people, who were called the “hawks” within the ANC, including PAC leader Joe Slovo, ANC chief of staff Chris Hani and ANC director of information, Paulo Jordan, when they made the suggestion of a “break-off.”

Mr Mandela scathingly attacked the media, accusing it of trying to mislead the country by saying there were differences within the ANC — with radical youth forcing his hand on certain issues.

“...we will defend the right of the press to criticise political organisations and public figures, but they should deal with this from a non-partisan basis and should not project white views,” he said.

He told one of the people quoted as forcing him to issue the radical demands by Youth League president Peter Mokaba, who was书记 of his supporters:

“...there are differences of opinion on a variety of matters within the ANC. But the organisation does not have differences among its members. Most important, in the spirit of comradehood...”
Violence is a threat to elections for new SA

VIOLENCE could keep nearly a fifth of all black voters from the country's first non-racial polls, a new survey has revealed.

The Market and Opinion Surveys poll of 900 urban-based black South Africans showed that 71 percent would vote in a free election if there was no trouble. But 16 percent indicated they would stay away in the event of violence. The results reflect the extent of intimidation caused by the latest township violence.

A recent poll by Market and Opinion Surveys suggests that one of the real unanswered questions is not who people will support — but whether they will vote at all.

Players

The survey also shows that in the event of large-scale violence the ANC would lose marginally more support than its main rival, the Inakatha Freedom Party — one-sixth of potential voters compared with one-seventh in the case of Inakatha.

But it is the smaller parties who would suffer the most. The PAC, Azapo and UDF can be expected to lose a third of their support if there is violence or intimidation.

The Market and Opinion Surveys poll and another survey by Markinor also confirm findings that there are only two main players: Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk.

The surveys show the ANC enjoys the overwhelming support of black South Africans — six out of 10 urban blacks.

Some of the findings of the two polls are:

• President De Klerk enjoys as much prestige among urban blacks as Nelson Mandela.

• ANC support is not evenly spread. It enjoys the support of 88 percent of Xhosa, 68 percent of North Sothos, 55 percent of South Sothos and 58 percent of Zulus.

Regionally, too, the ANC has different levels of sup-

BY BRIAN POTTINGER

port — up to 95 percent in urban areas in the Eastern Cape, but only 43 percent in metropolitan Soweto.

• More blacks support the National Party than whites support the ANC.

The polls put the number of blacks who would vote for the National Party at six percent. The Markinor poll, however, indicates 48 percent of blacks who believe "quite good" about the National Party would perhaps vote for it or would definitely vote for it.

Conversely, the Markinor poll could only find six percent of whites who felt "quite good" about the ANC or who might vote for it.

Rejected

The Market and Opinion survey showed that although the Inakatha Freedom Party had strong support in certain areas (particularly in the hostels), overall support for the organisation was weak and opposition to it was surprisingly virulent.

The Markinor poll found that 82 percent of its respondents rejected the organisation totally.

The Market and Opinion surveys suggests that if there were a peaceful election tomorrow, the following results could be expected: ANC (42 percent), NP (eight percent), Inkatha (seven percent), Azapo (three percent), United Democratic Front (three percent), PAC (three percent), South African Communist Party (one percent), Democratic Party (two percent).
ANC Youth spurn Inkatha meeting

By EDYTH BULBRING

Leaders of the ANC Youth League have refused to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade's leadership until "peace on the ground" has been achieved.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said his provisional national committee had declined the invitation in a letter.

He did not think a meeting would serve any purpose.

The two meetings between ANC deputy president Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in January and March had failed to end the violence, he said.

Mr Mokaba said it was not the correct approach to hold meetings to discuss the violence for propaganda purposes.

The ANC Youth League had suggested that both organizations should order their members not to attack each other.

The refusal to meet on a national level would not apply to meetings between local Inkatha and ANC structures, which would be encouraged.

This would then lay the basis for a top-level youth leadership meeting, which would approve the peace achieved, Mr Mokaba said.

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Musa Zondi said he was sorry the ANC Youth League had refused the invitation.

He said the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade had issued the invitation as a follow-on to the historic accord between Mandela and Buthelezi on January 29, which had agreed to end hostilities.

Mr Zondi said the purpose of the meeting was not to stage a publicity stunt or to negotiate peace.

Instead, the meeting would aim at looking at practical ways of achieving the spirit of the January accord.

The ANC Youth League's response to the invitation revealed a gross misunderstanding of the aims of the meeting, Mr Zondi said.
‘Protect yourselves’
Mandela tells crowd

By DAN DHLAMINI

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged people to form defence units to protect themselves against the “enemy”.

He was speaking at the mass funeral of Anne Ramokgola, 38; Solomon Ramokgola, 21; Timothy Ramokgola, 17; Paul Ramokgola, 15; Eric Yawa, 18; Michael Ndlovu, 18; Sello Phiri, 21; Sipho Radebe, 21; and Lydia Maphanga, 28.

They were killed in an ambush on a night vigil in Alexandra township last month.

Mandela said the ANC had agreed with the government to suspend the armed struggle, but never agreed that people should not defend themselves.

Mandela accused the government of working hand-in-glove with criminals and of being reluctant to stop the violence.

He said the main purpose of the set of demands the ANC had made was to force the government to stop the violence.

Addressing more than 20,000 mourners, South African Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane blamed the government for the violence which has claimed many lives.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said the time had come for blacks to unite and stand up against the “third force”, which he said was taking advantage of the faction fight between blacks.

State President FW de Klerk, the AWB, and the Inkatha Freedom Party were responsible for the current violence in black townships, Albertina Sisulu, wife of ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, told mourners in Soweto yesterday.

She was addressing thousands who attended the funeral of Ezekiel Jongi Ndazanga, an ANC cadre who collapsed and died in Tanzania last month. The service was also addressed by Winnie Mandela and Mankekelo Mahlangu, a former Azapo member who joined the ANC in exile.

In a scathing attack on De Klerk, Sisulu accused him of insincerity in the negotiations to bring about a new democratic government.

“De Klerk, the AWB and the IFP are directly responsible for the current violence. We are aware of the thousands of murderers who are brought in loads of trucks and buses at night to kill our people,” she told the ulcerating crowd.

Mahlangu, who went into exile 10 years ago, appealed to the mourners to pick up Ndazanga’s “spear” and march forward to freedom.
Ultimatum not unreasonable, says Macozoma

by SEKOLA SELLO

CONTRARY to claims by Pretoria, Inkatha Freedom Party and many political commentators, the ANC had no intention of wrecking negotiations following its ultimatum to the government.

Their action was not prompted by petulance or an attempt to placate members, its critics have widely alleged, says spokesman Saki Macozoma.

The ANC has come under fire from several quarters since it sent an open letter to State President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet. Demands include the dismissal of State Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, implementing measures to stop the countrywide violence and the banning of traditional weapons.

Responding to the call for his dismissal, Vlok accused the ANC of being responsible for the violence. Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was also criticised in the letter, defended the carrying of traditional weapons and said the violence was part of a ANC plan to make the townships ungovernable.

But the ANC’s Macozoma said it was the “government’s failure to stop the violence, act against Vlok and Malan and its unwillingness to implement the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes” which forced the ANC to issue the ultimatum.

Dismissing claims that the ANC was unreasonable to expect the government to react to its ultimatum by May 9, Macozoma said the demands did not contain anything new.

“Giving the government a month to respond to these demands is more than reasonable. We have given them ample time.”

Macozoma said the violence issue had been discussed regularly with the government and the ANC could not “simply fold their arms while people continued dying.”

He repeated the ANC’s argument that the violence was aimed at weakening the movement.

According to Macozoma, the “qualitative nature of the current violence shows that it is dissimilar to what occurred in Natal in the past.”

“Since the violence was exported to the Reef, it has taken on a new character. Today sophisticated weaponry is being used and people are being killed at random, like in the trains.”

He denied claims by the government and Inkatha that the ANC was responsible for the proliferation of weapons in the townships.

It was “common knowledge” that the government had stockpiles of these weapons and had also supplied UNITA and Renamo rebels in Angola and Mozambique respectively.

Macozoma admitted some members were not happy that while the organisation honoured its obligations, their negotiation partners continued to fail to fulfill their part of the agreement.

“It is only reasonable for our members to feel unhappy,” he said.

Saki Macozoma ... demands are not new.
`are a recipe for civil war'

By Helen Grange and Peter Fabričius

Civil war could erupt if the ANC carries out its intention to form defence units in strife-torn townships, the police have warned.

In a strongly worded statement, Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said the creation of private armies was a recipe for civil war.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, at a funeral in Alexandra on Saturday, said the ANC would form defence units despite any protests from the Government.

Captain Kotze said the police were opposed to all private armies, including the ANC's self-defence units and the AWB's Witkommando.

Such organisations could lead only to further polarisation and even greater bloodshed.

The police would not allow the force's functions to be taken over or allow anyone to take the law into their own hands, he said.

However, the Government is showing signs of readiness to meet some of the ANC's ultimatum demands for measures to end township violence.

And there are Government moves to hold a multiparty conference on violence.

**Initiative**

Although the Government is reluctant to be seen to be reacting to the ANC's demands — which might suggest that the ANC has the initiative — it has made clear that further action on violence is imminent.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais has reacted to ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba's weekend statement that the ANC has called for weapons to be seized from white right-wingers.

Mr Marais said he simply could not see such a campaign being successful.

Mr Mokaba had said the plan was part of a "peace offensive" aimed at halting the growing violence. ANC supporters would "find ways" to acquire the weapons kept in virtually every white home.

"The current possession of illegal AK-47 rifles is already reaching such proportions that the police can't deal with them," Mr Marais said.

"But I don't think the threat to acquire white-owned firearms is anything to be worried about.

"The kind of security measures people have taken are already a serious obstacle. It would be difficult to get a firearm unless there was housebreaking and theft involved.

"This kind of activity could not amount to much unless the process of law and order completely collapsed," Mr Marais added.

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Roelof Meyer said in an interview last night that the Government was looking at steps to end the violence.

This was not being done with a view to meeting any particular demands, he added.

And Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said on SABC-TV that the Government accepted that it was its responsibility to end the ongoing violence.

He said various Cabinet Ministers were busy with discussions on various ways of solving the problem.

In an open letter to President de Klerk, the ANC threatened to pull out of negotiations unless the Government met seven conditions, including immediate legislation to outlaw the bearing of traditional and other weapons at political meetings and processions.

The Government seems to be willing to consider action to curb the bearing of traditional weapons by Inkatha supporters.

But it is concerned that this will antagonise Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A conference which brought together the Government, ANC and Inkatha — and possibly others — might be the place to discuss the traditional weapons demand.

Another demand which should not be problematic for the Government — but which might antagonise Chief Buthelezi — is that it should take effective steps to begin phasing out hostels.

An encouraging development is that the ANC has noted Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's announcement last week that he had fired CCB agents and had taken other "firm measures" to wind up the organisation.

Some ANC leaders are interpreting this as a positive response to its demands for the firing of officers responsible for the CCB and other hit squads and its demand for the dismantling of these units.
Row looms over
‘defence units’

Political Staff

THE ANC and the government could be heading for another clash — this time over the organisation's renewed calls for township "defence units.”

On Saturday ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela called on township residents to form the units irrespective of government protests.

Yesterday Captain Craig Kotze, a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's office, responded by warning that the police were "totally opposed to all private political armies” from any organisation.

Their presence could only lead to "faster polarisation and even greater bloodshed" and were a recipe for civil conflict, he said.

Captain Kotze added that the SAP would not allow its function to be taken over by any organisation or let anyone take the law into his own hands.

Mr Mandela, speaking to mourners at an Alexandra Stadium funeral, said: “If the government takes exception to the decision to form defence units it would be like a voice in the wilderness — we are not going to listen. If it is okay for whites to have neighbourhood watches and civilian guards it should be equally acceptable for blacks to have their own defence units.”

The function of the units would not be to mount attacks, but to defend the people, he said.

At the weekend ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba called for weapons to be seized from right-wingers and criminals to arm the defence units.

He declined to be drawn on the methods to be used to achieve this but said that the community would "find ways”. There was a gun in virtually every white home, he said.

The police have stressed in the past that such armed units are not acceptable and nobody will be allowed to carry unregistered firearms.

Mr Mandela said the decision to form the units did not contravene the agreement struck with the government not to train MK members inside the country.

“We are going to honour that agreement,” he said. “But there was no agreement that we will not form defence units to defend our people.”
Eglin: violence hurting talks

Violence had reached a level and persistence which threatened the process of negotiation and reconciliation and, with it, the new nonracial and democratic South Africa, Colle Eglin (DP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Speaking during the first-reading debate on the Budget, he said that so far the Government had been unable to create a peaceful, orderly society.

There could be no prospect of peace when millions of South Africans were without jobs.

Increasing numbers of people realised that the massive task of socio-economic restructuring could not wait until South Africa had a new constitution.

Sound international economic relations were of critical importance if the country were to get its economy moving forward again.

Internally, a comprehensive and co-ordinated plan of action was needed which would involve the private sector, the Government and various non-governmental organisations.

"I see no such plan of action emerging from this Budget, nor indeed from the ranks of the Government."

Mr Eglin said the Government had a vital role to play in the fields of job creation, productivity and economic growth — not as a competitor in the field of production or as an interventionist manager, but as a co-operative, creative and reinforcing partner of the various private-sector elements.

Sapa.
23 killed, 100 injured in clashes

Staff Reporters

More than 23 people died, and more than 100 were injured—some seriously—in incidents of unrest around the country since Sunday.

At least 11 people were killed and 73 hurt in clashes in Soweto.

About 15 people were admitted to Baragwanath Hospital after clashes involving the police, Zulus living in the Nancefield hostel, and nearby residents of Orlando East.

Yesterday morning, police found the bodies of two men at the Merafe hostel. They had been shot.

Two Inkatha leaders, whose names have not yet been released, were killed in KwaMashu near Durban, police said yesterday.

Ten people died and 14 were injured in incidents of unrest at Gamalakhe near Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast on Sunday.

Police said a crowd of 200 people, some with firearms, had attacked a Zulu gathering. There were four immediate deaths and 14 people injured.

A man was killed when unknown gunmen fired a number of rounds at his private dwelling at Gezembre, Mantisburg, early yesterday.

At Khayelitsha, Cape Town, police shot dead a man yesterday after he attacked municipal policemen with a knife.

Police said a bullet-ridden body was picked up outside the Nancefield hostel yesterday afternoon.
Minister hints at new steps to halt township violence

State set to act on weapons
ANC gives details of units for self-defence

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC for the first time has detailed how paramilitary self-defence units could be formed and deployed nationwide under the guidance of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A confidential 29-page booklet being circulated to ANC structures is likely to add to the growing government-ANC tension over self-defence units, which the ANC says are necessary to halt township violence.

The booklet recommends regular physical exercise, weapons training at weekends, the wearing of uniforms and the purchase of licensed weapons and crossbows.

It envisages a 2,000-strong township defence force, organised along paramilitary lines, would be needed to protect 20,000 township residents.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend again called on blacks to form self-defence units.
Bloody weekend death toll rises to 11

THE death toll in Soweto violence since the weekend rose to 11 yesterday when police discovered three more bodies.

Police said at least 73 injured had been taken to hospital since Saturday.

Various unrest incidents were reported from around the country.

Soweto SAP spokesman Lt Govindasamy Marienuthoo said one body was found yesterday afternoon near the Nancefield hostel. Groups of stone-throwers had also attacked commuter trains at Nancefield station.

Nancefield hostel was the scene of heavy fighting at the weekend. Police reinforcements were sent in and maintained a strong presence in the area throughout Sunday and yesterday.

Two bodies were found at the Merafe Hostel early yesterday morning.

Sapa reports police on Sunday found two bullet-riddled bodies at Merafe Hostel and two charred bodies at Nancefield. Five other bodies were found in the Merafe/Nancefield area during Sunday.

SAP headquarters said in their unrest report yesterday that six people were killed and 17, including a policeman, injured in unrest incidents elsewhere in SA in the 24 hours until 6am yesterday.

At Nkul Angelo Players, four men were killed and 14 injured when a group of blacks opened fire on a rival group.

Police shot dead a man in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, after he attacked a municipal policeman with a knife.

A gang of five unknown gunmen shot at motorists on the freeway near D F Malan Airport yesterday morning. No one was hurt, but the gunmen fled before police arrived on the scene.

At Gezinvest near Morolong a black man was killed when unknown gunmen fired a number of rounds at his home. A policeman was slightly injured at Els River, Cape Town, when his police vehicle was attacked by stone-throwers.

In Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, one man was stabbed to death and another fatally hacked.

In Katlehong, near Germiston, an SAP vehicle was damaged in a stone-throwing attack.
CAPE TOWN—DP foreign affairs spokesman Colin Eglin yesterday made a direct and urgent appeal to President PW de Klerk to convene a summit of leaders against violence.

Following his speech during the Budget debate in Parliament, Eglin had private contact with De Klerk and asked him to make the elimination of violence his top priority for the next few weeks.

Afterwards, Eglin said he called on De Klerk to lead a truly national campaign against violence by convening a summit of leaders from all sections and interests in SA, talking to as many people and organisations as he could, seeking advice, making changes and acting innovatively.

"One thing the State President must not do, and that is to say that there is nothing more the government can do.

Earlier, during his speech, he said violence had reached a level and persistence which threatened the process of negotiation and reconciliation and, with it, the new non-racial and democratic SA.

He said regardless of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's motives, arguments or strategy in issuing an ultimatum 10 days ago, the central fact was that violence had reached threatening levels.

South Africans had grown up in a culture of violence, whether based on the violence of apartheid or the violence of liberation.
Eglint asks F W for summit on violence

Political Staff

MR COLIN EGLIN, the Democratic Party's MP for Sea Point, has called on President F W de Klerk to convene a summit of South African leaders on the elimination of violence.

The veteran former party leader said he was making the urgent appeal as a result of the "violence that is threatening the process of negotiation".

It follows the ANC's controversial seven-point ultimatum to the president, which threatened to suspend talks if the government failed to take various steps to address the violence before May 9.

Mr Eglint said: "I call on the president, not just as head of government but as head of our South African state, to make the elimination of violence his number one priority for the next few weeks."

This would include the convening of a summit of leaders, talking to as many people and organisations as he could, seeking advice, making changes and "acting innovatively".

But there was one thing the president must not do: "That is to say that there is nothing more the government can do. If that would not merely be failing South Africa — it would be abdicating to the forces of anarchy."

Earlier Mr Eglint had said that "violence has reached a level and a persistence that threatens the process of negotiations and reconciliation and with this the attainment of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa."
Soweto: 11 dead since the weekend

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The death toll in Soweto violence since the weekend rose to 11 yesterday when police discovered three more bodies.

Police said at least 73 injured had been taken to hospital since Saturday.

A Soweto police spokesman said over the past two days 12 bodies have been found in the Merafe/Nancefield area.

Nancefield hostel was the scene of heavy fighting at the weekend. Police reinforcements were sent in and maintained a strong presence in the area throughout Sunday and yesterday.

Various unrest incidents were reported from around the country.

At Gezehno near Maritzburg, a black man was killed when unknown gunmen fired a number of rounds at his home.

On Sunday 10 people died and another 14 were injured in incidents of unrest at Gama-lakhe, near Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast.

A police spokesman said yesterday that during one incident, at about 04.45am, a chief called a meeting so that an induna could be elected.

A crowd of about 200 people, some using firearms, attacked the gathering and there were four immediate deaths and 14 people were injured.

Later three more bodies were found.

In another incident a further three bodies were found, a motor vehicle destroyed and two houses gutted.
**State moves to end feuds**

THE Government is expected to make a major announcement this week introducing measures to try to end the endemic township violence which is threatening negotiations.

It is expected that the announcement will include measures to curb the carrying of vicious weapons such as pangas and axes at political meetings and marches.

**Weapons**

Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok hinted at steps to come during a phone-in programme on SABC Radio last week.

It now seems that the Government might compromise with the ANC, which has demanded a ban on "traditional weapons", by allowing traditional Zulu weapons such as knobkerries and sticks but forbidding more dangerous weapons such as axes and pangas.

**Move on pangas**

Sources suggest that this might be part of a general statement on violence, which could happen before President PW de Klerk leaves for a visit to England, Ireland and Denmark this weekend.

De Klerk may also attend a multi-party conference to discuss the violence.

The Government is showing signs of readiness to meet some of the ANC's demands spilled out in an April 3 ultimatum calling for an end to the violence.

Constitutional Development Deputy Prime Minister Roelf Meyer said in an interview on Sunday night that the Government was looking at different steps to end the violence.

**10 killed in Soweto clashes**

FIVE more bodies were found by police in Soweto yesterday following fierce clashes between hostel dwellers and township residents at the weekend.

Soweto police spokesman Lieutenant Govindsamy Mariemuthoo said the bodies were picked up around Klipspruit township and Merafe and Nascofield hostels.

He said the death toll since the fighting broke out on Saturday stood at 10 and about 72 people had been injured.

Mariemuthoo said the situation was quiet yesterday. No further incidents of sporadic violence were reported.

Colonel Tenie Haigryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said police had stepped in during a pitched battle between Inkatha supporters from Nancefield Hostel and African National Congress supporters from neighbouring Klipspruit township on Sunday night.

They fired teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse the warring factions.

He said about 2,500 people were involved in the clash, which involved "a lot of bullets". Police were also fired at.

In one incident, an off-duty policeman was stabbed with a spear.

Scores of the injured were taken to Banglwana Hospital.

Haigryn said fighting broke out on Saturday when four people were killed. Two bodies were found with gunshot wounds, another was necklaced while the fourth had been stabbed and hacked to death.

**Attacked**

Fighting apparently broke out when hostel dwellers were attacked by township residents.

Revenge attacks were later carried out at the Power Park squatter camp.

Several petrol bombs and stones were thrown and live ammunition was fired at the police.

Three bodies were found in the area on Sunday morning.

Police found the bodies of two men who had been shot at Merafe Hostel. Two other bodies were found in the hostel area.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

and Sapa
Mixed views on units

SOWETAN/Radio Metro Talkback callers expressed mixed views on self-defence units suggested by ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela at the Alexandra mass funeral on Saturday.

Mashumí from Mamelodi told host Tim Modise defence units would plunge black areas into further violence.

He wanted to know who would head the units, saying “they could be taken over by these young rascals who call themselves comrades.”

“While I agree with Mandela, I fear, however, that the ANC might become victim to its own good intentions.”

Peter from Dobsonville said every human being had a right to self-defence. He said defence units would usher peace into the townships.

“We have lost confidence in the police force and feel that this call came too late,” he added.

Sandle said the defense units would be acceptable on condition those in charge underwent intensive training.

Joseph from Atteridgeville said the call for defence units was justified.

Path from Vosloorus said the ANC should have consulted other liberation movements before unilaterally making such a call.

She said those in charge of defence units should be taught how to deal with people. “If they are armed they might take the law into their own hands,” she added.
Road to Liberty or Anarchy?

Mark Suzman examines a new report on mass mobilization.
No more pangas, axes and knives

Political Correspondent

The police have placed a ban on the carrying of pangas, axes and bush-knives at political marches and meetings, but will continue to allow "traditional weapons" — including spears, sticks and knobkerries.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced this in Cape Town yesterday. He said: "This should be seen as firm evidence of the Government's commitment towards ending the violence."

— The ANC last night welcomed the announcement. Spokesman Saki Macozoma said it would be evaluated by the ANC's national executive committee after May 9 in terms of its recent ultimatum to the Government threatening to call off talks if steps were not taken to end violence.

Mr Vlok also strongly rejected ANC charges of police "bias, brutality, inaction or wrongful actions", as well as claims that police ignored warnings of violence.

He released a thick dossier of correspondence between the police and ANC officials and lawyers about 19 cases where the ANC had made such accusations.

Mr Vlok said the documents proved these accusations were groundless.

He expressed concern about the ongoing violence, but pointed out that there had been a significant drop this year.

In January there had been 545 unrest incidents compared to 876 in January last year. In February there were 526, compared to 1,371 last February and in March 676 as opposed to 2,186 last March.
SA's isolation has ended says Botha

THE European Community's decision to lift the last of the 1986 sanctions that ended South Africa's international isolation, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

But Europe would not invest in the country unless ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President FW de Klerk got together to end the violence.

Botha said he expected de Klerk to make a statement about the violence "sooner or later".

Western diplomats said they had been told de Klerk would make major announcements on the violence this week before leaving for a visit to Britain, Ireland and Denmark.

Now that the 1986 European sanctions were gone, the main theme of de Klerk's European visit would be the need for Europe to participate in the reconstruction of the new South Africa and to reward de Klerk for his reform efforts, Botha said.

He did not think the ANC's April 5 ultimatum to pull out of negotiations if the Government did not meet certain conditions would sour de Klerk's tour.

De Klerk had a "record" and a "case" to put. In fact the ultimatum could strengthen his case because it had been a tactical mistake by the ANC.

There were definite indications that Europe wished to invest in South Africa and inquiries at South African trade missions had quadrupled in recent months.

"But people will not easily invest in a climate where people are killing each other in such a blood-thirsty way." - Sowetan Correspondent.
to oppose soft
PAC, ANC unite
Joint forces

from year
Authoritarian legacy left to us by apartheid

Authoritarianism is an inconvenient reality for the ANC, which has enjoyed widespread support from black South Africans. In its recent history, the ANC has been accused of maintaining practices that resemble those of apartheid-era regimes. While the ANC has made significant strides towards democracy, the legacy of authoritarianism continues to shape the country's political landscape.

Political tolerance

The ANC is striving to achieve an open society where political tolerance prevails and the organs of government are representative. However, the breakdown of the ANC's internal structures and the emergence of regional and local leaders have led to a decline in political tolerance. The ANC has been accused of suppressing opposition and stifling dissent, which has led to a decline in political freedom.

Police retraining

The ANC has been criticized for failing to retrain the police force, which has a history of human rights abuses. The police force has been implicated in acts of violence and corruption, which has eroded public trust. The ANC has promised to retrain the police force and to ensure that they are accountable for their actions.

The ANC viewpoint

By Gill Marcus

The African National Congress has put before the government seven reasonable demands. In summary, these are that before March 15 the carrying of "traditional" and other weapons be banned from public places, that ministers Malema, Thabo, and Thabo be dismissed, that units such as the CCB be sub- dito disbanded, that SAP and SADF officers involved in the massacre be suspended pending independent investigation, that civilised methods of crowd control be used, that the bastion of the security forces be an independent commission of inquiry be established to look into complaints of misconduct by the security forces.

One month after the death toll mounts, it is clear that the ANC has not made any impact on the government, that the ANC's demands that lie behind this situation and that the ANC will be left in the cold, that the ANC's demands have caused the present impasse. But it is the opposite. The ANC has responded to the national interest to the extreme serious crisis resulting from the growing violence. It was the lack of recognition and action to resolve the crisis that forced the ANC to take the steps it did. The demand for action is made precisely to save the negotiation process. Nongco- lous cannot take place while the violence continues.

Mandatory cheek

A mandatory check has focused on the "bloody cheek" the ANC has in calling for the resignation of ministers Vilona and Malema. It is therefore regarded as legitimate that newspaper editors, political parties across the spectrum, and white South Africans call for such resignations. When the ANC does so, all those who demanded the demand for resignation threaten that Doekler dare not concede and that the ANC's call has in fact secured both ministers their jobs.

Politeness

The ANC is striving to achieve an open society where political tolerance prevails and the organs of government are representative. To promote the dem- ortisation of our society, the ANC has, despite all obstacles, put forward for debate proposals on a Bill of Rights and a future constitution. Such discussion is vital to ensure that the constitution that emerges from an assembly empowered to draw it up is based on the will of the people.

The ANC's attitude towards the constitution has been marked by a lack of commitment to the principles of a new society. The ANC has been accused of failing to address the needs of the majority of South Africans, who have been left behind in the process of transition. The ANC's failure to address the needs of the majority has led to a lack of political tolerance and a failure to address the needs of the majority.

What is required is a systematic dismantling of all segments of society, including disarming white South Africa, including disarming all segments of society, including disarming all segments of society. The ANC has promised to do this, but it has not been able to do so. The ANC's failure to address the needs of the majority has led to a lack of political tolerance and a failure to address the needs of the majority.

Endnotes

1. Gill Marcus is the head of the ANC in Johannesburg.

The culture of violence has been endemic in our society. The ANC has specifically appealed for the prohibition of carrying weapons, including those that have been termed "cultural weapons". The ANC has called for a ban on weapons that are carried in public, including those that are carried in public, including those that are carried in public.

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Self-defence units:
ANC reacts to row

JOHANNESBURG. — Community organisations, and not the ANC, will be primarily responsible for preventing ANC-proposed self-defence units from becoming private armies, ANC Youth League spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana said yesterday.

He was reacting to a growing row around the issue of ANC self-defence units, as called for by Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend and detailed in a 29-page confidential ANC manual on self-defence units.

Rejecting any form of state accommodation of self-defence units, which the ANC says are necessary to stop township violence, law and order ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday:

“Private political armies from all sectors of the political spectrum will not be tolerated in any way.

“If implemented these plans for so-called township self-defence units will almost certainly lead to an even more bloody conflict in black communities, or even conflict on a wider scale.

“These proposed measures look more like plans for building an army for offensive operations rather than the supposed equivalent of neighbourhood watches.” — Sapa
Self-defence still open for discussion

THE ANC’s draft proposals for the formation of township self-defence units have already been widely distributed among members of the ANC and its allies, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi said yesterday.

The proposals are contained in a draft booklet made public for the first time in Business Day yesterday.

Mafumadi, chairman of the ANC-Cosatu-SA Communist Party tripartite alliance’s working committee on violence, said the committee had commissioned the booklet and that it had been produced by the ANC.

The committee consists of leading members of the alliance, among them Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini, trade unionist and civic leader Moses Mayekiso and ANC national executive committee (NEC) members Matthew Phosa and Aziz Pahad.

It was formed late last year to monitor township violence and formulate possible solutions to the crisis.

The booklet, entitled For the Sake of Our Lives — Guidelines for the Formation of People’s Self-Defence Units, envisages paramilitary township defence structures operating under the guidance of the ANC’s armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC said yesterday the document was produced in November last year.

Mafumadi said the document had reached all parts of SA where the alliance had an organised presence.

“It is intended to facilitate discussion around the issue of self-defence. On the basis of the feedback we receive, the draft might have to be reworked.”

He said it was still being examined by the NEC and by tripartite alliance leadership structures.

It had been a valuable contribution to the discussion on self-defence units, although it was not an official document.

He said government’s double agenda — negotiation and disruption of its opponents — made self-defence units necessary.

“The thrust of the booklet was aimed at giving people ideas on how to defend themselves.”

Suggestions in the booklet would have to be adapted to local conditions.

“There is no call for the indiscriminate arming of people in the townships. The document argues that defence committees should be led by reliable and decisive people who have the ability to organise and command without being dictatorial.”
Man necklaced near Soweto hostel

JOHANNESBURG. — An unidentified man was found necklaced in an open area of veld near Soweto's Nancefield Hostel yesterday afternoon, police said.

No other incidents were reported from the simmering area.

The body of a man who had been stabbed to death was found in Alexandra.

Two members of an armed gang were arrested and two AK-47 assault rifles seized by police after a shootout on the Westrandia-Randfontein road on Monday.

One of the suspects, who allegedly opened fire on police, was shot and wounded, police said.

Police acting on a tip-off raided a hostel in Katleho township on the East Rand yesterday and seized an AK-47, ammunition and magazines.

At Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, three men were arrested after a police vehicle was stoned.

At Galeshewe township near Kimberley, a truck was set alight. — Sapa
25 policemen die in unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — Altogether 25 policemen had been killed in unrest-related incidents countrywide since the beginning of the year to the middle of last month. He could not give the number injured over the same period.

The SA Institute of Race Relations has estimated that between 550 and 600 people have died in political violence so far this year.
Dispute over self-defence units grows

COMMUNITY organisations - not the ANC - will be primarily responsible for preventing self-defence units proposed by the ANC from becoming private armies, a spokesman for the organisation said yesterday.

ANC Youth League spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana was reacting to a growing controversy following the call for defence units by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend.

A 29-page confidential ANC manual details the organisation’s concept of the units.

"One must realise that these self-defence units are community structures. They are not peer organs of the ANC," said ANC Sharpeville chairman Mr Siza Rani.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, rejecting any form of State accommodation over the defence units, said yesterday:

Tolerated

"Private political armies from all sectors of the political spectrum will not be tolerated in any way."

Details of the confidential ANC booklet, entitled For the Sake of Our Lives - Guidelines for the Creation of People’s Self-Defence Units, were revealed in Business Day yesterday.

The document details how para-military self-defence units could be formed and deployed countrywide under the guidance of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Fears

Self-defence units already exist in five Vaal townships, said Rani last week.

As a result of fears of an attack, the ANC last Wednesday night set up defence units in Eboton, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophelong and Sebokeng, Rani said.

They operated mainly at night, patrolling streets and searching "suspicious-looking cars" at township entrances.

Sapa.
Lethal weapons ban unlikely

A BAN on the carrying of dangerous weapons under the Dangerous Weapons Act would be unreasonable and unwarranted, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said yesterday.

He said the answer to the problem lay in the change of attitude among people.

Vlok was replying to an interpellation from Mr Janie Momberg in Parliament on whether he intended to ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public.

"Although I personally prefer dangerous weapons not to be carried, I must emphasise that the answer to the problem lies mainly in a change of attitude among people," Vlok said.
ANC stands firm on ultimatum

The ANC yesterday stepped up its recent hardline approach on talks with the Government on the issue of violence.

In Harare, the organisation's chief spokesman, Dr. Palle Graven, made it clear that if demands made in the ANC's open letter to the Government were not met by May 9, all discussions would be broken off.

He said unless the Government removed the obstacles to negotiation by April 30, the ANC would have to reconsider its position.

That is one thing. The second thing the ANC has said is that it shall not proceed with any other discussions with the Government until if certain demands are not complied with by May 9.

In Johannesburg, Nelson Mandela told a press conference that the ANC rejected the Government's plan for a multiparty conference on violence, as a propaganda ploy.

The ANC leader was reacting to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's announcement that the Government planned to call a multiparty conference in an effort to end the violence.

Mr. Mandela added: “There is nothing in it because the Government knows exactly what to do in order to put an end to the violence.

And we are not going to be engaged in any discussions which in our view are not intended to address the matter seriously.”

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotle yesterday said Mr. Vlok would arrange a conference as soon as possible.
Politics Prevails Over Peace

The partial ban on weapons may have made matters worse, argues Shann Johnson
ANC urges halt to schools stayaway

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC's PWV branch has reiterated its call for students and teachers to return to school following stayaways during the first two days of the second term.

"While the ANC appreciates conditions in African community schools are not conducive to learning, it is our belief these problems are not problems of a particular education sector, but of the community as a whole," ANC media officer Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said in a statement.

He blamed the government for not normalising the situation and said responsibility lay with the government to bring about a climate conducive for learning.

However "our communities are not without blame," he said.

Schools in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soshanguve and Moutse are back to normal, Department of Education and Training (DET) spokesman Mr Job Schoeman said yesterday. — Sapa
Vlok calls indaba to solve violence

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok is to call a meeting of all affected parties to address the violence. The plan has been rejected by the ANC and the PAC. The Inkhatha Freedom Party (IFP) has welcomed it.

The ANC's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has dismissed it as a "propaganda ploy" on the eve of President F.W. de Klerk's trip to Europe and says the ANC will not take part. "There's nothing in it because the government knows exactly what to do ... to put an end to the violence," he said.

Mr Benny Alexander said the PAC, of which he is general-secretary, would not discuss the violence with Mr Vlok as it had "identified the state as the main perpetrator".

Dr Gavin Woods, a spokesman for the IFP and director of the Inkhatha Institute, said the IFP believed attendance at the conference extend beyond political parties as there were numerous contributory factors, including unemployment and overcrowding.

Dr Louw Alberts, co-chairman of the National Conference of Churches, said after meeting members of the ANC national executive yesterday Jesus' blood had been shed to solve the problems among men. "There's no need to shed human blood in addition."

The IFP has welcomed the banning of axes and pangas at marches and meetings, but says 75% of the people killed in the fighting have been shot.
Three bodies with gunshot wounds have been discovered by police at Edendale near here.

They were identified as Siphiwo Zondi, 18, Aaron Poswa, 17, and Dodo Shezi, also 17.

The motive for the killings is unknown.

Meanwhile, at Phatheni Reserve, near Richmond in Natal, an unknown number of people opened fire at a group believed to be Inkatha members, wounding three. Police have opened an attempted murder docket.

A man was injured when a group of youths stoned a delivery vehicle at Galeshewe near Kimberley.

At Mangaung near Bloemfontein, three men and a woman were arrested after stoning a police vehicle. — Sapa
Vloks partial prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons in "potential conflict situations" can be described as a half-step in an uncertain direction.

The Law and Order Minister has responded, after a fashion, to the ANC’s demand for measures to staunch the township bloodletting. But he has done so in a manner which seems likely to produce neither dramatic practical results nor a rebuilding of fractured confidence.

It was not a decisive intervention, and surely stands at least an even chance of compounding rather than easing the current deadlock with the ANC over violence.

Certainly, it was not the "clear positive signal" the ANC had in mind to persuade it to fudge the controversial May 9 “ultimatum”.

Vloks media briefing in Cape Town on Tuesday evening in itself was as equivocal as the state of the negotiations process itself.

He began by expressing sincere concern about the ongoing violence ("it is hurting South Africa and all its peoples at a time when our country is on the verge of a breakthrough").

He then launched into one of the most intransparent yet attacks on the ANC and concluded (apparently without irony) with a call for an end to “incitement and counter-accusations” which “will not bring an end to the bloodshed”.

Vloks appeal to all concerned to shed individual differences and seek a joint solution to the violence.

In practical terms he announced a new ban on the carrying of “axes, pangas, and bush knives … in potential conflict situations such as marches, meetings and et cetera.”

While falling well short of calls from the ANC and the Democratic Party for a wholesale ban on the bearing of dangerous weapons in public, this initiative could have served as an unmistakable, if unacknowledged, response to such sentiments.

Killings

However, its potentially positive effect was all but drowned in a deluge of vituperation and documentation aimed at the ANC.

“Nowhere — all the measures already taken by the Government and the SAP Police to curb the killings,” said Vloks, “the violence continues — apparently with the ANC in every case the catalyst.”

(When questioned, he qualified this assertion, saying “there are cases where they are not involved”, but the implication of his words was overwhelming.)

But this is a difficulty which is surmountable, if the necessary trust, goodwill and cooperation is established: publicly to rub the ANC’s nose in its limited efficiency (and further to imply basic bad faith) is surely precisely to ensure that the problem will burgeon.

Similarly, Vloks aggressive approach has been noted to it that some of the undeniable difficulties he faces in his task will not be tackled in a spirit of enthusiastic cooperation with the ANC, but in one of suspicious enmity — if, indeed, they can be tackled at all.

The Minister makes, for example, a valid point when he says a blanket ban on the ownership of dangerous weapons, would have to include licenced firearms and (no matter how desirable this is in theory), it could cause more upheaval than ever.

He — and his policemen on the ground — also have a real problem in drawing the line between bona fide “traditional” weapons, and ertzatools of thuggery.

I have a high regard for the tradition of other people, but I do believe if these traditions lead to the death of others, it should be stopped.

They are not many “original” assegais left in KwaZulu (the expensive “African artefacts” emporiums of white South Africa have seen to that), and who is to say whether the new cases have been fashioned out of respect for the ancient kingdom, or for baser purposes?

Further, as he himself remarked, it is no easy task to disarm several thousand armed warriors who insist they are on their way to a peace rally.

The judgmental tone he adopted this week appeared dramatically to undercut the positive, if limited, steps Vloks was announcing. It was markedly to the approach favoured — for example — by the DP MP for Simon’s Town, Mr Jennie Memberg. In a minute debate in Parliament on the subject earlier on Tuesday, he pressed for an impassioned call for the banning in public of “any weapon which can kill … from a so-called innocent stick to a gun”, with the assurance that it was now his intention to tackle any specific group or political party.

Slaughter

“It is a sincere attempt to try and stop the slaughter of thousands of our brothers and sisters in the townships,” he said.

“I have a high regard for the traditions of other people, but I do believe if these traditions lead to the death of others, it should be stopped.

“I also have a sympathy with the police, who must decide what is a dangerous weapon and what is a dangerous weapon … (but it is Parliament’s duty to stop people carrying dangerous weapons which can kill other people.)

“We must stop the violence before it destroys the negotiation process.”

There was important good news to be found in Vloks’s assessment of the current situation, for statistics show a dramatic decline in incident of violence this year as compared to 1990.

Carnage

The current violence, while unacceptable, was receiving so much attention because of the “shocking brutality” (involved) and the numbers of people killed”, he said.

But again, the effect of announcing a decline in unrest cases from 1 686 in March 1990 to 676 in March 1991, was diluted by the circumspect belief than “cooperative get” of its presentation.

Those who know Vloks believe, unlike the ANC, that he is genuinely committed to ending the township carnage.

They will be impressed to explain this week’s tub advances that called Sowetan Correspondent.
PAC rejects Vlok's peace conference

THE Pan Africanist Congress has rejected a proposal by Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok to call a conference of all affected parties in a bid to end violence.

"No, we are not going to talk to Mr Vlok about the violence at all," the organisation's general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said.

"He (Mr Vlok), as the representative of the State security operation, is the cause of the violence.

"The PAC has identified the State as the main perpetrator of the violence and therefore we are not likely to engage ourselves in any talks on the violence with them."

Asked whether the PAC had plans of trying to end the ongoing violence, Alexander said: "We are engaged in our own attempts to resolve the violence.

"We met with the African National Congress leadership on Monday and Tuesday this week in Harare and we will soon make announcements about meeting other organisations."

Alexander declined to divulge further details. - Sapa.
**FW calls multiparty summit to halt violence**

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk is to launch a multiparty two-day summit and a permanent commission of inquiry on violence, in the Government's most substantial political effort so far to tackle the endemic township unrest.

In an apparent response to the ANC's demands of April 5 for an independent commission on violence, Mr de Klerk said yesterday he would soon submit legislation to create a standing commission to investigate and combat political violence and intimidation and to identify those involved.

But Kaizer Nyatsumba of our Political Staff reports that President de Klerk's planned peace summit appears to be stillborn, with the official Opposition in Parliament and all but one extra-Parliamentary organisation having rejected the call.

The ANC said in a statement that Mr de Klerk's announcement did not address the question of violence as raised in the ANC's recent open letter.

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC rejected Mr de Klerk's plans and would not take part in the meetings set down for May 24 and 25.

However, the ANC's Gill Marcus told The Star this morning that a statement responding to the announcement would be issued later today.

The Conservative Party also rejected the initiative, but the Democratic Party and Labour Party supported it and urged all other parties to attend the summit.

In a clear attempt to win international favour, Mr de Klerk timed the announcement for Tuesday of his departure for state visits to Britain, Ireland and Denmark today.

In his statement, Mr de Klerk said the maximum capability of the security forces would be used when needed to combat violence situations.

But we want security...
Multi-party summit on violence

measures were not enough — unless extraordinary measures were used, which he was not prepared to do.

The main aim of the summit would be to call on political and other leaders to assume co-responsibility for ending the violence.

He said the new measures were needed because the "comprehensive" steps the Government had taken so far had decreased violence but had not ended it.

The security forces would use "all legal means at their disposal to apprehend criminals, warlords and instigators of violence and unrest".

These special measures would sometimes inconvenience the public, who would be warned about them.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr de Klerk's statement and promised full DP support, but CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht rejected the initiative as a panic reaction.

The proposed summit, he said, was intended for the leaders of those involved in violence.

President de Klerk said the summit would be held on May 24 and 25 and that he would soon submit legislation to create a standing commission to investigate and combat political violence and intimidation and to identify those involved.

Rejected

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Boerestaat Party (BP) have all rejected President de Klerk's initiatives and said they would not attend the planned summit.

PAC projects co-ordinator Mark Shinners said his organisation was not prepared to "discuss violence with the perpetrator".

"The idea (of the summit) really begs the question because the Government as the de facto authority has all the resources to stop the violence. It is therefore surprising that the Government seeks help to identify the source of the violence because if it is so much ignorant of this it would not be in power at all," Mr Shinners said.

Azapo general secretary Don Nkadimeng said although his organisation had not yet discussed the proposed summit, he was certain Azapo was unlikely to attend "because we believe that (President de Klerk) does not need us to address the question of violence and we don't enter into talks with the regime".

Robert van Tonger, leader of the Boerestaat Party, said it was Pretoria's intention to restructure the country and bring together "many different nations" that had caused the violence.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was the only party this morning to express willingness to attend the summit.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the IFP was "totally committed to the eradication of any violence" and would lend its wholehearted support to any attempt to stop the violence.
Big business warns on violence

By Michael Chester

Big business has renewed warnings to the ANC that the whole investment climate in South Africa has been badly damaged by the combination of its ultimatum to the Government and violence in black townships.

The warnings were delivered when the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) held top level talks with ANC leaders at a 90-minute meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

The business delegation was led by Sacob president John Hall and the ANC team by Walter Sisulu, chairman of its internal leadership corps.

Sacob said in a statement today it had expressed deep concern over the combined effect the ANC ultimatum and continued violence was having on business confidence.

It had stressed that if a favourable investment climate was to be created it was essential that violence should be eliminated and that the political negotiating process should continue.

"Certain active proposals emerged from the discussions aimed at promoting reconciliation and negotiation, which will be further considered by Sacob and the ANC," it added.

Details were not divulged.
Illegal weapons flood in and across border fences smuggling in trucks

AK-47S for sale

47S for only R20

Other illegal activities such as drug smuggling and prostitution are also on the rise.
ANC goes ahead with units plans

THE South African Police or elements within the police force have been involved in the formation of private armies to attack and terrorise township residents, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has alleged.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg this week after meeting church leaders, Mandela reiterated the ANC's determination to form self-defence units regardless of what the police or the Government said.

He alleged that the police had themselves been forming private armies of criminals to attack township residents.

"It is our firm opinion that either the SAP or certain elements of the police have themselves been forming private armies of criminals in order to attack the residents in the townships. "We are not prepared to fold our arms in that situation, and the defence units are going to be formed," he said.

Responding to the ANC leader's allegation yesterday, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said: "That is an absolutely untrue allegation."

The police, Kotze said, were still opposed to the formation of self-defence units and would not hesitate to act against those who took the law into their hands.

Police would enforce all the laws regarding the possession of weapons. Self-defence units, he said, would increase the violence instead of ending it.
NO FAREWELL TO ARMS

IS VLOK THE RIGHT MAN TO HANDLE SUCH A SENSITIVE PORTFOLIO?

Down here in the real world, we are all wondering what can really be done about the violence. It’s not putting it too strongly to say that resumption of economic growth depends greatly on the actions of the police and security forces — which is why Law & Order Minister Adrian Vlok, whose head the ANC wants, is very much the man of the moment.

For the time being he is certainly the most important man in the Cabinet, entrusted as he is with averting the kind of chaos Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stalis and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis believe we could face within a few short months unless growth creates the necessary jobs and security.

But do Vlok and the police have the political will, on the one hand, and the logistical capability on the other to do the job — and if so why are the killings continuing?

In other words, is he neglecting his duty and ought he to be fired? The ANC says Vlok doesn’t take the situation seriously enough — it argues he could end the violence if he used all the powers at his disposal and says its ultimatum earlier this month was aimed primarily at showing government how strongly it feels on the issue.

Clearly it’s not that simple. A rational view of the ultimatum — with its set of conditions, deadline and penalties — is also a tacit plea for help. It is an admission that the violence has developed its own momentum, is out of the hands of the ANC and Inkatha and requires unprecedented police action to be ended. At the same time scapegoats are being sought by all parties.

There are of course many reasons for the violence. Much of it can be traced back to decades of apartheid neglect that denied blacks proper education and opportunities, and condemned millions to degrading lives in township ghettos where crime and violence flourished. For its part, the ANC, through its encouragement of insurrection and a campaign to make the townships ungovernable, must also share responsibility.

But all players are culpable to some degree. the police, the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC, Azapo and other groups have all at some stage been accused of — or been involved — in violence.

The trouble is that while rapid economic growth will break the cycle of poverty which nourishes violence, it won’t happen until the violence is stopped.

Is Vlok doing enough? He insists that he and the SA Police are doing all they can to end the violence “It is shocking to me that people are being killed. One death is one too many.” Yet the situation appears to be getting worse — and this raises the question of why Vlok is failing despite all the resources at his disposal and the vast array of security laws that the SAP has enforced with such vigour in the past.

Vlok argues that the nature of the violence has changed in the past 18 months. No longer is the State the primary target. The conflict is now mainly between rival political organisations and individuals which makes it difficult to predict and combat. The minister argues that it would have been impossible for any government to prevent or deal with violence on the scale seen in SA over the past five years. “Most of the killings take place at night, and it is impossible to place a guard outside every door.”

Yet he appeared to manage fairly well before President F W de Klerk’s reforms changed the rules of the game. He used methods that certainly curbed unrest and reduced the number of deaths.

So: are the police being held back to placate foreign opinion?

Vlok says: “No. We enforced laws and detained thousands of people over a period of six years and it helped to calm the situation. In 1985 there were 17 000 unrest-related incidents, in 1986 there were 16 000. Then we declared the State of Emergency and the emergency regulations enabled detentions. We arrested many people responsible for violence, we couldn’t prove it in court, but we had enough information to know that they were responsible. I was able to remove thousands of people from the streets. “The emergency regulations also allowed me to restrict organisations that were inciting and mobilising in the townships. These actions calmed the situation. In 1987 there were fewer than 5 000 unrest-related incidents. In 1988 the figure started climbing and reached nearly 8 000. The following year it was nearly 9 000. Then we unbanned organisations and individuals. They were free to mobilise and organise and that’s when the violence started again. In 1990 there were more than 17 000 unrest incidents.”

Does this mean that only the reconstitution of a State of Emergency can halt the conflict? Vlok doesn’t believe so “I have the option to ask the president to declare a State of Emergency and ban organisations again — but under the present circumstances it’s unthinkable.”

He also feels the current situation does not warrant a new emergency — despite the level of violence.

Nevertheless, he regards the conflict as extremely grave and is taking the ANC’s ultimatum seriously though he believes it unfair to blame the police and government for the violence. He says he is prepared to resign if — based on facts — he is shown to stand in the way of a peaceful future.

Dealing with the violence is extremely difficult, he says. The situation is often chaotic — and even when arrests are made, witnesses are often unwilling to testify in court because of fear of further violence.

Vlok also rejects ANC claims that police use unnecessary force in quelling riots or dispersing gatherings. The use of live ammunition is a last resort, he says, and it’s not correct that water cannon and teargas are no longer being used in crowd control.

The violence is almost always unpredictable most killings occur at night and it’s almost impossible for the police to prevent them. Flooded an area with police and troops is an ineffective temporary method of curbing violence, but there are not enough men to cover all areas and the conflict often flares again when they are withdrawn. Even the declaration of unrest areas and imposition of curfews has only a limited effect.

Nevertheless, Vlok is confident that the SAP will be able to stop the killing and does not feel restricted by political considerations.

He will take whatever actions he deems necessary regardless of the political consequences.

“It is top priority to have law and order as soon as possible and as permanently as possible. We can have more policemen and government has already spent millions more on the SAP — but it won’t help us if we can’t get people to stop killing each other. This is why we favour negotiations.”

The ANC’s ultimatum puzzles him. “It
would have been far better for them to have
come to talk to us. My door is always open.
But I don’t think they want to talk, they want
to put the blame elsewhere I believe it’s
correct that they can’t control their supporter
ons on the ground. We are prepared to help
them, but in the past they have demanded
action and the moment we act they reject the
action.”

Vlok says every allegation by the ANC
against the SAP is investigated. He also
accuses the ANC of not meeting its obliga
tions — in terms of the Groote Schuur Mini
nue of May 4 the SAP and the ANC were to
have appointed representatives to serve on
peace forums around the country. Vlok says
the SAP appointed 96 officers within three
weeks but to date the ANC has put forward
only 29 names.

“From our side the system is working, we
are there and we have prevented violence on
many occasions, but because of the shortage
of ANC people it hasn’t been working prop
erly. We ask them regularly to appoint their
people but they don’t. This is why the open
ness is completely unsatisfactory.”

Vlok does support the ANC’s call for an
independent inquiry into the causes of the
violence — but not only into police action
which he says can be dealt with if necessary
through normal judicial process.

He also dismisses the possibility of a ban
on the carrying of all weapons, even as a
conciliatory gesture to the ANC. In what
borders on an excessively legalistic argument
he contends that the courts have ruled that
the mere carrying of a dangerous weapon is
not an offence, particularly if the person
holding it lives in an area where he may
need personal protection against attack.

But “traditional” weapons are not the
main problem. Far more lethal arms are
apparently flowing freely into Reef town-
ships along well-organised smuggling
routes from Mozam-
bique and Angola. Soviet-made AK-47 ri
fles are the main
trade. There are said
to be three main deal-
ers, in Soweto, Tho
kuza on the East Rand
and Sebokeng in the
Vaal Triangle.

Vlok confirms the
allegations and says
the SAP is investigat
ing.

One tactic, paying
bounties for turning in
dangerous weapons —
particularly AK-47s
— has also paid off and figures are due to be
disclosed shortly, says Vlok.

After the Nats came to power in 1948, they
expressed genuine political dissatisfaction
with the police by purging the SAP of Eng
lish-speakers. Isn’t a similar purge needed
now — given what seems to be a distrust so
widespread as to impede their efficiency?
Language would not today be the problem,
of course — but perhaps an unwillingness to
change could be.

Vlok says, “I am confident that the present
officer corps will be able to adapt to the
changes in SA. I speak to them and reason
with them and we are well on our way to
changing the SAP’s image and attitude. The
reason for our bad image was the application
of unpopular apartheid laws. We are scrap-
ing them and our job will then be the
enforcement of normal laws and crime com-
bating techniques.

“ ‘To change our image we are working
from the top and will get down to the
bottom as soon as possible. I know the people
I’m working with. They are loyal to the coun
try, the force and government of the day.”

Police are no longer allowed to belong to
political parties. The ban was part of a move
to make them more professional and ac
countable to government. “They will serve
the next government of SA,” Vlok says. “I’ve
no doubt about it.”

Changing partners

To this end, “we are improving relations at
government. We realise that the face of
government in SA will change and the SAP
must change accordingly. At this stage 60%
of the SAP is black, but only about 5% of
officers are black.

“We are busy changing this through train
ing to make the SAP more professional to
serve all the people of SA.”

As for violence, “We are committed to
ending it as speedily as possible, but we need
assistance from the people. We are looking to
the leaders to help us to control their suppor
ters and then to the supporters to say that
enough is enough. People must now stop
killing each other and the leaders must stop
fanning the flames of violence...”

Countering violence with yet more vio
lence merely pushes the country closer to
the abyss of irreversible chaos.

The three main political players — F W
de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangaluthu
Buthela — must agree on a plan of action
and seal it in a peace pact as soon as possible,
and then sell it to their supporters.

An impartial police force has to guarantee
the pact and crack down ruthlessly on those
who compromise it.

It is in the area of substantiating this
impartiality that Vlok has most to do. If the
situation drags on for very much longer he
must be deemed to have failed — a fact
which will be an obstacle to negotiations and,
as such, one which he should recognise and
act upon.
THE DAY OF THE SCORPION

Law & Order  Minister Adriaan Vlok is patently a decent man working hard in unusually trying circumstances — and with limited resources — to contain a level of violence in this country which, whatever its complex causes, now has a sinister momentum of its own.

Our cover story in this edition is based on a lengthy interview with him in which he set out his point of view lucidly and with sensitivity. Obviously he cares deeply about what is happening. There is about him nothing to suggest the dogma or authoritarianism that we have learnt is so characteristic of an SAP general — characteristics that previous police ministers seldom overcame.

Well-meaning he may be, and better suited to the task than any of his predecessors of whom we can think, but unless he is able to use the resources at his disposal to bring peace quickly to this country, not only will it suffer economic and social reverse, he will not survive in politics.

His dilemma is that if he uses Draconian emergency powers to curb the violence, as he did successfully in the late Eighties, he will run headlong into the political constraint of his government’s own reform initiative. He has neither the manpower nor the capability of disarming the country or otherwise preventing violence, which is sporadic and widely dispersed, unless black communities are prepared to cooperate. In addition, he has to convince the warring factions that the police force is capable of impartiality: a task made difficult by the police having been the most visible and, by its nature, most violent apparatus of oppression.

Only days after he spoke to us, and with great conviction explained that he believed he was winning and that turmoil would subside, Soweto was gripped by another weekend of horrible violence. He will have to forgive our scepticism. The proposed seizure of offensive weapons in conflict situations will assist if carried out impartially — but three observations need to be made.

First, the SAP might have been too much a part of oppression to be able to change its image while the present officer corps exists. It was not just the apartheid laws that caused the black community’s hatred of the police; it was the manner in which those laws were applied by some of the men who are still serving today.

If Vlok thinks that by simply talking to his officers, or using an expert from the Department of Information to do so, he can transform what the blacks see as a Gestapo mentality into one closer to that of a London bobby, he is not in touch with reality.

Of course, as President F W de Klerk has observed, without the SAP, what is there to maintain law and order? It is a sobering point. But in the past the Nats have been quite ruthless in removing public servants whose political views, language proficiency or general attitudes were inconvenient. Why not do the same now? There are plenty of youngish generals in the defence force well trained in combat, with little ideological baggage, some education and political sensitivity who could be drafted into the SAP.

Then there is the ANC’s Chris Hani himself. Nothing would be more sobering for him than a police division to command within the constraints of modern criminology and methods of maintaining public order. Offer him the job and see what happens.

The second observation is that in our view Vlok is mistaken if he believes that he can count on continuing Cabinet support, unless he begins to show progress very soon. Politically he won’t survive if he blames the lack of will among ordinary people and the absence of an accord between the warring factions and government for his failure.

Vlok, at least in the short term, is going to have to make the resources at his disposal work more efficiently without any help from the politicians. To do so, he needs to be more creative in his search for solutions and more responsive to broad public opinion. That suggests he should be surrounding himself with the type of policemen capable of helping him find and apply new ideas. New minds are badly needed.

It is probably safe to assume that no senior officers who have served the apartheid regime with the enthusiasm it demanded can now be turned into the benign guardians of the individual rights of black citizens that Vlok probably imagines. That is asking too much.

The bulldozing of shelters, the creation of concentration camps for those communities dispossessed of their homes to fit the bantustan concept, the constant raids for pass law offenders or arrests of those who tried to seek refuge illegally in the cities from rural poverty, the sheer brutality of police arrest — these memories won’t fade unless the faces of the physical perpetrators are seen to change.

Thirdly, whatever the proclivities of black communities towards violence, they have patently not been well served by the police in the past. Too often black violence has simply been isolated by a cordon sanitaire and left to subside of its own accord, which takes time.

Often pass offences — or other apartheid laws — appeared to be the focus of police attention instead of the investigation and prosecution of violent criminals. The ANC’s self-defence plans, which cannot be countenanced in an orderly society, are a manifestation of the absence of appropriate policing of black communities, and of despair.

We hope that Vlok rises to the challenges ahead with imagination and resolve. And that the black communities will be quick to respond positively to his achievements. But we’d count on neither.
THE VIOLENCE

THE BLOOD-DIMMED TIDE

Is the country heading for anarchy and civil war? Is the ANC starting something it will not be able to stop? Is government doing enough to restore law and order? These questions are on everyone's mind.

This week details emerged of a secret ANC discussion document on township self-defence units. On Sunday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, calling for township residents to form such units, said they would not be much more than the equivalent of neighbourhood watches in white areas.

However, the document, as reported in Business Day, paints a different picture. There are uncomfortable parallels with rightwing commandos, raising the spectre of private armies and a government impotent to prevent bloodshed borne of political and tribal rivalry, poverty and sheer criminality.

Compiled in conjunction with Cosatu, the ANC document suggests that at least 10% of township residents could be organised into such commandos.

Senior ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma, who had not seen the document when the FM spoke to him, said it did not mean the ANC was considering removing its suspension of armed action (agreed to in the Pretoria Minute in August). He said if this was discussed at all, it would have to come before the movement's National Consultative Conference in June.

"Isn't it obvious why there is such a document? People aren't getting protection from the police force and when we raise the issue we get abuse from the media," said Maco-

zoma.

Admitting that he did not know how the ANC could train or control the numbers of armed people envisioned in the document, Macozoma said his understanding of defence committees was the involvement of vigilant communities that patrol their areas. The question of arming people has not been central.

Macaozoma would not be drawn further on that point, other than to say the aim was defensive. But he admitted that the line between defensive and offensive could easily become blurred.

"People in our communities are dying all the time," he said. "It is terrible to see what is happening. They keep calling for arms and protection. The police force is not impartial and there are persistent allegations that they assist in attacks. We can't keep moralising to those people and telling them to live on government promises."

The ANC document recommends physical exercise, the wearing of uniforms, political education and the collection of money to buy weapons that do not require a licence, such as air rifles and crossbows. It gives advice on setting up communications systems, building roadblocks and barricades with fortified houses.

Whatever the motivation, it sounds like preparation for war.

Some rightwingers have claimed they are organising for war but the ANC appears to be moving into a dual game - negotiations on one hand, war talk on the other.

It is a dangerous game and will lead to speaking with forked tongue: ANC credibility will be affected and dissatisfaction in its ranks will rise if it keeps crying "Wolf!"

Government does not emerge blameless from the bitter escalation in violence (see Leaders) but it is somehow going to have to convince the ANC of its bona fides in trying to stem the anarchic tide. No state can allow private armies.

And still little attention is paid to simple but explosive socio-economic issues last week's fatal violence at Kathlehong, for instance, is said to have been sparked by a dispute over squatters' access to lavatories and taps.

TRYING HARD

A permanent judicial commission, to investigate aspects of the violence sweeping the country, was expected to be the main thrust of President PW de Klerk's response this week to recent ANC demands.

De Klerk, who is due to leave on a European tour at the weekend, was preparing the response as the FM went to press. His reaction will be coupled to the announcement in Cape Town on Tuesday by Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that so-called traditional weapons are to be outlawed at public gatherings.

Vlok told journalists that instructions have been issued that "vigos and pangas carried in conflict situations" such as marches and meetings are to be confiscated by police.

De Klerk's response and Vlok's action are seen as a serious attempt to go some way to convincing the ANC that it is taking the violence seriously and to head off the threatened collapse of negotiations.

Vlok says the current unrest must be seen in perspective. Though the number of deaths is horrifying, there have in fact been fewer unrest incidents in the first three months of this year than in the corresponding period last year; if the current trend for April continues, there will be fewer than a third of the number of unrest incidents this year than there were in April 1990.

But, he says government remains "extremely concerned" about the violence and is committed to ending it as quickly as possible. The use of AK-47 rifles in attacks is particularly worrying.
MBABANE - Behind the post office at Lomahasha on the Swaziland-Mozambique border, a man opened a plastic bag and showed me three AK-47 assault rifles. He said I could have all three for only R70.

I knew then that I had succeeded in tapping into the smuggling route along which the deadly Soviet-made military rifles are entering South Africa in growing numbers.

And in South Africa, they have gained notoriety for their use in faction fighting, political killings, bank robberies and other crimes.

Lomahasha, the main border post on Swaziland's boundary with Mozambique, is the main conduit through which the guns are coming into South Africa.

**Food**

I proved that almost anyone can buy one there for a few rand.

The little shop, whose name means "to sell", is described by local residents as "a bed of criminals and arms smugglers".

Arms smuggling from Mozambique to South Africa by way of Swaziland is big business for people who have been making money out of the killings in South African townships.

There are two types of smugglers: the small, occasional dealers who may be regarded as amateurs in the business and the big buyers, the professionals.

The former are usually people who cross the border illegally from Mozambique into Swaziland with AK-47s looking for someone who will buy them for as little as R20 a gun.

They then use the money to buy food before crossing back into Mozambique.

The big dealers normally travel into Mozambique to fetch arms which, if they can be smuggled past the Swazi police and army checkpoints, are sold in Natal and on the Witwatersrand for large sums - as much as R6 000, according to the South African Police.

The source of the AK-47s, as well as Makarov pistols and ammunition for both, is reportedly the Renamo guerrilla group fighting the Frelimo government in Mozambique.

The London newsletter, Africa Confidential, recently reported that Renamo had taken to selling its surplus weapons in South Africa to get funds.

However, my information is that Renamo as an organisation is not directly responsible for the smuggling.

**Renamo**

It is individual Renamo members who sell the weapons or exchange them for food, clothing, cigarettes and other goods.

I went to Swaziland to investigate reports that AK-47s can be bought for as little as R20 at Lomahasha.

The area near the border post was so congested with people and vehicles it resembled a beehive.

Many people were carrying big bags filled with goods bought on either side of the border.

Most of the people crossing the border are Mozambicans.

I was met with great suspicion when I began questioning people about AK-47s. People did not want to talk to me.

I approached a woman who had just bought bread from a store near the border post. I gave her two pieces of chicken remaining from some I had bought on my way to Lomahasha and I bought her a cold drink.

This started a conversation that led to my meeting the man who called himself Alfonso.

**Alfonso**

"Talk to those people there," the woman said, pointing to Alfonso. "You should be very careful, though, because the police are always here."

I approached Alfonso, a Mozambican who said he had three children and no job and had to find food for his family every day. I told him I was interested in buying an AK-47.

"Are you serious?" he asked. I said I was.

He took me and my Swazi guide to an area behind the post office. We stood there for some time. It was obvious that Alfonso was trying to make sure that nobody was watching us.

Then he opened the plastic bag he was carrying and asked me to look inside. I was shocked to see three AK-47s.

My mind was filled with thoughts of being arrested for arms smuggling.

"Give me R70 and take the lot," Alfonso said. "The police can come here any time."

I asked Alfonso where he got the guns and he said he usually gets them from Renamo soldiers in exchange for food.

"They come around to my place looking very tired and hungry," he said.

I told him about the roadblocks and asked how I could pass through them with the weapons.

"That is your problem," he said. "I need the money and the rest is for you to take care of."

I told him I was surprised to buy the guns. I apologised and gave him R10 for his trouble. He took the money and left, obviously angry with me.

In Mbabane I was told by Swaziland's CID chief, Inspector Azaria Ndizimanzi, that the police are aware that South Africans and Swazi can buy an AK-47 for as little as R20 and a Makarov pistol for only R5.

"We are aware that it is easy to get these guns, particularly with American dollars," he said. "We are also aware that Lomahasha seems to be the nerve centre of the arms smuggling."

**Arrests**

"We are obviously concerned about this and we are doing our best to crack the smuggling, but it is not easy. We make regular arrests but what worries us most is that people are able to pass through the roadblocks with these weapons."

Inspector Ndizimanzi said about 10 people were arrested each month with AK-47s and other smuggled arms as well as ammunition. He estimated that more than 500 weapons had been confiscated from smugglers so far this year.

"Obviously others got through," he said.

The smugglers use a variety of devices to get the weapons.
Sowetan editorial on unrest angers police

By LANGA SKOSANA

The police have taken issue with Sowetan over Monday's editorial comment which accused the SAP of a lack of action in cases involving blacks. The leading article said the police served whites better than blacks. What has been your experience? Let the nation hear your opinion. Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise today and talk to him live between 4.30 and 5pm. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 876 Khz.

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For S.A.S Peace Process

Stormy Weather Ahead

Phillip Van

Nonprofit's Report

There's a Big Storm Ahead

The Peace Process

Weather and Economics Would Be High...
One such network supplied machine guns. Makarov machine guns and submachine guns to the buyers. They were bought and sold for a small profit. The Week's Mail said that it would hand the weapon over to the police.
Announces three-pronged plan to curb violence
Gun-running networks smashed, claim police

Political Staff

THE police have broken up several weapons smuggling networks, seizing 382 AK-47 rifles and making several arrests since January, according to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Further arrests and seizures of weapons were expectedly shortly, but no further information can be divulged yet. Police are still trying to determine whether the suspects were linked to political organisations. They will be tried as soon as possible, at which stage all relevant information would be made public, Mr Vlok said.

Apart from the AK-47s, 37 other firearms, including Skorpion machine pistols and Tokarev and Makarov pistols, had been seized.

Mr Vlok said the availability of AK-47s was one of the most important factors contributing towards the unacceptably high rate of crime and unrest.
the support of the community. The commission has been
working with the community to address the needs of
certain neighborhoods, and it has been successful in
securing funds for various projects.

The commission has also been involved in
how to increase voter turnout, especially among
groups that have historically had low turnout.

One of the main goals of the commission is
to encourage more people to vote in local elections.

The commission has been working with
organizations such as the League of Women
Voters to develop voter education programs.

The commission is also working to
address the concerns of groups that have
historically been underrepresented in the
election process. This includes working with
minority groups and ensuring that their voices
are heard.

Overall, the commission is making
significant progress in its efforts to increase voter
turnout and ensure that everyone's voice is heard
in the election process.
From Page 6

Inside the AK route

Through the checkpoints, he said, and mentioned as an example a number of AK-47s found by police inside a false extension of the petrol tank of a van.

The inspector’s admission confirms the assertions by the South African Police that many of the AK-47s being used in robberies and political killings in South Africa come from Mozambique by way of Swaziland.

A few weeks ago Lieutenant Colonel R Reynolds, the head of SAF public relations in Natal, showed journalists some of the more than 1 800 AK-47s and pistols confiscated by police in Natal since the beginning of the year, together with more than 50 000 rounds of ammunition.

He said the weapons had come from Mozambique through Swaziland to Weenen. From there they would be distributed in Natal and on the Reef, selling for as much as R6 000 each.

Swaziland is paying a heavy price for the smuggling. There has been a big increase in armed robbery, often involving the use of AK-47s. Guns are easily available in Manzini, Swaziland’s second largest town, where it is now considered unsafe to walk the streets at night.

Lieutenant R Reynolds (right), head of the Natal police liaison division, shows members of the Press some of the 1 800 arms confiscated by police in Natal since the beginning of the year.
The Price of Violence: Three AKs for R70
President Khosa

Top-level probe into SA violence

By RO WINTER

The sad news of the weekend, that a 16-year-old boy was shot dead in the Johannesburg suburb of Lenasia, brings to mind the violence that has plagued South Africa for years. The boy was one of several who were killed in a gang-related shooting.

The incident highlights the need for a coordinated approach to tackling violence in South Africa. The government has announced a new plan to address the problem, but it remains to be seen whether it will be effective.

The National Development Plan (NDP) has set a target of reducing violent crime by 20% by 2020. However, progress has been slow, and violence continues to be a major problem in many areas of the country.

The NDP calls for a multi-sectoral approach, involving the police, the courts, and the community. However, the implementation of this plan has been hampered by a lack of resources and a lack of political will.

The government has also announced a new program to prevent gang violence, but it remains to be seen whether this will be effective. Gangs are a significant problem in many areas of the country, and they are often involved in drug trafficking and other criminal activities.

The country is facing a crisis in terms of violence, and it is up to all of us to do something about it. We must work together to create a safer and more peaceful society for all.

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Visual and contextual annotations:
- The image contains various textual elements, including a headline, subheadings, and paragraphs of text.
- The text discusses the issue of violence in South Africa and calls for a coordinated approach to address the problem.
- The NDP and its target for reducing violent crime by 2020 are mentioned.
- The text highlights the challenges faced in implementing the NDP, including a lack of resources and political will.
- The government's new program to prevent gang violence is also mentioned.
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MK cadres 'to take lead'

TRAINED Unbeknown to us, Soweto MK cadres will lead the controversial re-activated township defence units and that's official.

The ANC's Siphiwe Nyanda, a former "Operation Vula" accused, and now Secretary for the National Campaign Committee, vowed that he would be among scores of other MK members who would lead the defence units.

However, Mr Nyanda was also quick to point out that "the move should not be seen in a sinister way". The ANC should not be seen as forming a "private army", he said.

"It was the duty of the civic associations to form the units," he said. The ANC would participate through training schemes in self defence.

Sakkie Macozoma, an ANC spokesman, confirmed the defence units were the initiative of the civic associations throughout the country. The programme, he said, had the blessings of his movement.

Mr Nyanda stressed that the units would not be affiliated to any political organisation. They would protect the entire community, he said.

Members of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and those of the Azanian People's Organisation, would play a role.

TO PAGE 2.

MK cadres

FROM PAGE 1.

equal to that of MK members in the units, said Mr Nyanda.

He described self-defence as a "right that cannot be denied by any law in any country".

And in the case of the units in the townships, they would be answerable to no one but the community they served, he added.

Asked what weapons the defence units would use, he replied: "Anything." Residents had been urged to apply for fire-arm licences in large numbers. He would also not rule out the use of cross-bows.

He spoke of guns, spears or whatever residents had for retaliation against right-wingers in the police force and vigilantes in particular.

He was especially critical of the Inkhata Freedom Party, saying the police did nothing to stop it from killing township residents.

Training, he said, would be based on discipline. This would prevent the units from degenerating into "com-totum" - township slang for a "comrade" who is also a thug - or vigilantes.

Surveillance of the enemy would be a priority, said Mr Nyanda. It was a priority for black communities identified as these enemies. He could not say what type of uniform unit members would wear but promised "We are going to be able to identify one other."
Network ‘has been in place for 5 years’

EXCLUSIVE REPORT by ABBEY MAKOE

AN underground network of paramilitary township defence units has been in place countrywide, ready to be activated, for the past five years.

But as a result of former president P W Botha’s clampdown on political activity in the mid-1980s, the secret residents’ groups had remained “sleeper” units since 1986, Saturday Star learned in a series of exclusive interviews this week.

And only now — as the ANC and the Government prepare for a showdown over the issue — are they being activated.

This emerged at a secret meeting of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (CAsat) held in Johannesburg this week.

Among other things, the meeting was aimed at formalising the duties of the reactivated units.

See Speak Out on Page 2.

Defence units

FROM PAGE 1.

Among the duties of the defence units, it was said in interviews with Cast leaders, would be the barriading of streets during attacks on residents and the slowing down or delaying of “the enemy’s vehicles”.

Training of the defence units’ members would also include the “surveillance of red head-bandaged vigilantes”, with whom Cast said it would not cooperate.

Richard Mdkakane, also a Cast executive member, revealed plans for a “defence rally” to be held in Pretoria between May 6 and 9 — the expiry date of the ANC’s ultimatum to the Government.

ANC spokesman Sakkie Macozoma confirmed the defence units were the brainchild of Cast and, before that, the civic associations. Now, he said, the ANC was throwing its weight behind the programme.

He would neither confirm nor deny earlier reports that the ANC had about 50 defence units already in place. Cast admits to having more than 50.

ANC secretary of the National Campaigns Committee, Siphiwe Nyanda, said MK’s trained cadres, “including myself”, would not sit back while “our people suffer at the hands of red head-bandaged vigilantes and extremist members of the SAP”.

However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet yesterday issued a stern warning. “If any person is found in possession of any weapon that police believe will be used in an offensive manner, they will be detained,” he said.

PAC information chief Barney Desai said his organisation would be having an “in-depth discussion on violence”, which would include the defence units issue.

“It is a common-law right recognised throughout the world that if a person is attacked he has a right to self-defence.”

BVB chairman Professor Alkmaar Swart said his organisation had been forced to take the initiative “in making the volk ready for action by helping to develop a disciplined and united security network”.

BVB spokesman Jan Groenewald said the first step would be a volk security conference.
ANC rethinks
Summit on violence and amnesty

The ANC has appeared to backtrack on its stance on violence and standing committee for a summit on violence and amnesty. According to a spokesman for the ANC, the party had been reconsidering its position on sanctions.

The spokesman said, "We also believe there could be other ways to deal with the violence and amnesty issue. We will continue to discuss and listen to all parties involved."
Will F W’s plan be able to curb violence?

A MESSAGE which President De Klerk could not afford to ignore on the eve of his new European tour came from various quarters this week.

In essence the call to him was: Make the elimination of violence your number one priority. The violence is a national crisis which must be tackled at all levels of society and not by political leaders only.

The call came on a national campaign, involving all sections, to find ways of tackling effectively the country’s most urgent problem.

This message — or variations of it — may also be echoed by statesmen, diplomats and political leaders abroad when President De Klerk meets them on his three-nation tour.

It came as no surprise, therefore, when he headed the call by announcing a new plan to try to curb the wave of violence sweeping the country. It has been hailed by many as a wise move, even though there are doubts about whether his proposed national summit and permanent commission of inquiry will be effective and adequate to come to grips with the problem.

The big challenge now facing Mr De Klerk is to make his plan work. It must show convincing results and soon. Should it fail, he will be in trouble and will run the risk of losing the initiative in crucial peace moves.

ALREADY there are signs that the proposed Patriotic Front, to be launched by an ANC/PAC alliance in August, will seek a major role for itself in moves to curb violence. And the ANC was among the first critics this week to reject Mr De Klerk’s plan, saying through spokesman Mr Saki Maisesana it will refuse to participate in the proposed summit meetings, as called for by the president.

MR Egin emphasized what he regards as an important factor — that Mr De Klerk himself, as head of state, should launch such a campaign. This would underline the national urgency of the issue of violence. The campaign should be held on national and regional levels.

“The State President must be the man who puts himself on the line.”

As part of the campaign there could be a national summit conference of leaders. This is what Mr De Klerk is now setting up.

As for the permanent commission of inquiry into the prevention of politically-inspired violence and intimidation, Mr Egin did not ask for it in his proposals, but welcomes it as a constructive additional move.

“What is of crucial importance now is participation by extra-parliamentary groups,” he said.

For the processes of negotiation and reconciliation to succeed, they must take place not only at the level of national leaders, but at the level of community leaders and of the ordinary people of South Africa.

Because of this, Mr Egin believes Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Viljoen’s plan for a party talks to address the violence is not adequate. The plan is reported to have been rejected by the ANC and the PAC while the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) welcomed it.

“The irony is that while political leaders are talking, people are busy killing,” Mr Egin says.

DR Oscar Dlomo, executive chairman of the new Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, told Weekend Argus the main thrust of any peace initiative must be directed at the establishment of definite peace-keeping structures “on the ground” and among communities that were victims of the violence.

“I would be hesitant to support any summit of leaders to talk again about violence. This has happened twice with Mr Mandela and Dr Botha. Even a peace accord was produced, but the main problem appears to be that there has been no implementation plan on the ground.”

“In other words, all the positive clauses in a peace accord need someone who can begin to implement them on the ground. My fear is that another summit of leaders will be called, they will bold talks and issue statements, but people will still die on the ground.”

THE urgency of working out and implementing an effective peace plan was reflected by high-level unity moves between the PAC and the ANC this week.

One possibility emerging from these moves is this: if the government fails to get effective steps off the ground soon for curbing the violence, the proposed new patriarchic front to be formed in August could scuttle the initiative in move.

Such a prospect arises from decisions of the Harare conference this week, where the ANC and the PAC entered into an alliance on the formation of such a front. It is to be formed at a conference in Cape Town to be attended by all organisations supporting calls for a constitutional assembly.

The issue of violence and a proposed transfer of power are to be dealt with by joint structures to be set up at the “patriotic conference.” In a sense, this will be a multi-party summit — but indications are the government may not be included.

A significant change in the conference date has been made. Originally scheduled for March 21, it was postponed to an unspecified date in April or May. Now it is to be held in August — which is after the ANC’s crucial June congress where the organisation’s new leadership and possibly its future direction are to be decided.

On the role envisaged for the “patriotic front” in seeking to curb violence, the ANC’s Mr Mohammed Valls Moodz has said: “This front would also serve to combat one of the most serious threats to the emergence of a democratic South Africa — that is, the violence unleashed in the townships.”
US denounces ANC bid to set up defence units

WASHINGTON — The US government has condemned the ANC's intention to form defence units in black townships.

A US State Department spokesman said at the weekend that his department was opposed to the formation of any factional paramilitary forces in South Africa.

The spokesman said leaders of all political groups in SA should exercise maximum restraint on their followers in an attempt to stop the senseless violence.

It was the responsibility of the South African Government to protect all its citizens, the spokesman noted.

The State Department welcomed the State President's initiative in calling for an all-party conference to end the violence.

The American government also agreed with President F W de Klerk that it was important for a wide range of individuals, organisations and parties to meet to discuss ways to end the violence.

The US also supported the proposal for a standing commission of inquiry into violence.

The spokesman said he hoped all parties would seriously consider the proposal. — Sapa
Violence

From: PATRICK GULL

An issue

in VISIT

LONDON, Nov. 27 - President Krusk, today which will focus on the continuing violence and the need for investment and help in the creation of a new South Africa.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement, at a meeting with the opposition South African National Congress, has decided to stop all political prisoners and invite them for a meeting. The AAM will launch its campaign by presenting an open letter to Mr. De Klerk to stop the violence and to meet political prisoners.

Sanctions

If hard questions are going to be put to Mr. De Krusk, then Mr. Mandela is not going to meet it easily. Another source said that they would happen about the violence before they made a decision. There will be no differences between the President and Mr. Mandela about the violence and whether this would have a negative effect on the negotiating process.

The vote on the place against the ballot is that proposed by Mr. De Krusk's three-point plan.
WASHINGTON - The United States government has denounced the ANC's intention to form defence units in townships.

The SABC quoted a United States State Department spokesman on Saturday as saying the government was opposed to the formation of any factional para-military forces in South Africa.

The spokesman said leaders of all political groups in South Africa should exercise maximum restraint on their followers in an attempt to stop the violence.

The spokesman also noted that it was the responsibility of the South African Government to protect all its citizens.

The State Department welcomed the President's initiative in calling for an all-party conference to end the violence.

The US also supported the proposal for a standing commission of inquiry into violence. Sapa
JOHANNESBURG. — A special police team of detectives has been appointed to investigate the death of Diepmeadow mayor Mr Moses Khumalo who died in a hail of AK-47 bullets.

The team, headed by Colonel Chris Oosthuizen of the Soweto Murder and Robbery unit, will sift through all clues in the assassination of Mr Khumalo, police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said. “No arrests have been made,” Coloneal Halgryn said.

According to family members, Mr Khumalo was on his way to visit a fellow councillor in Meadowlands about 11pm when he was attacked by gunmen. His daughter Jacqueline said Mr Khumalo’s car had been “shot to pieces” and that 18 cartridge cases had been found at the scene.

Mr Khumalo was due to leave on Saturday night for a two-week educational and training tour of Germany at the invitation of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Two other greater Soweto mayors, Mr Oscar Maseko of Soweto and Mr MacFarlane Phene of Dobsonville, who were to have accompanied Mr Khumalo, left as scheduled.

 Six people were killed and six were wounded over the past 24 hours, according to the latest police unrest report.

In Newton, Wellington, a man who stoned a police patrol was killed when he tried to resist arrest by hitting policemen with a stick and then trying to throw a brick at them.

The bodies of two men and a woman were found with bullet wounds at Estephesini, Richmond, in Natal.

Two women were also injured during the attack.

At Kathlehong, Alberton, a group stoned a police vehicle and set a car alight, causing extensive damage.

In another incident in the same area a group of people threw stones and attacked police with iron pipes. Police fired a number of rounds injuring two men.

At City Deep hostel, Johannesburg, police found the body of a man with hack wounds.

At Vosloorus, Boksburg, a gunman fired a number of rounds at two men. One man was killed and the other seriously injured. The attacker was injured when police fired a shot at him. — The Argus Correspondent, Sapa.
ANC ‘still studying’ plan for summit on violence

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE African National Congress is to consider President De Klerk’s proposal for a standing commission of inquiry into violence and for a summit on violence.

Ms Gill Marcus, a spokesperson for the ANC, said today that the movement had not rejected the proposal outright but would study it when more details were available.

She said the ANC’s allies such as Cosatu and the SA Communist Party and the Mass Democratic Movement would have to be consulted.

Meanwhile the ANC’s ultimatum remained in place. It threatened to suspend all exchanges with the government on a future constitution if certain demands were not met by May 3.

Ms Marcus said the initial impression remained that Mr De Klerk’s proposal for a summit was the same idea which the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok had floated.

This had been rejected by the ANC as unnecessary and divisionary. The ANC had called for a commission of inquiry that would be independent and would have full powers to deal with the violence.

The latest offer could be considered when ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, returned from overseas at the weekend.

DRAFT BILL

Initial ANC reaction to Mr De Klerk’s announcement last week appeared to be outright rejection. It said the proposal did not address the question of violence as raised in the ANC’s open letter to the government but added that its national executive committee would respond in full in due course.

A draft Bill giving details of the proposed new commission will be published this week.

See page 11.
AAM tells FW to end violence

By Alan Robinson
Star Bureau

LONDON:...The Anti-Apartheid Movement has told President de Klerk to go home and stop township violence.

The AAM chairman, Labour MP Robert Hughes, issued a statement saying the peace process was at risk because of Mr de Klerk's "broken promises".

"With just days left before the April 30 deadline by which political prisoners should have been released and exiles free to return home, Mr de Klerk should be in South Africa to ensure that the agreements he reached with the ANC are honoured, instead of arrogantly strutting around Europe claiming the mantle of the undertaker of apartheid."

Alleging that only a handful of political prisoners had so far been released, Mr Hughes asked how the black majority could be expected to trust Mr de Klerk's claim that he wanted a new democratic South Africa when he broke his promises on a matter as simple as the release of political prisoners."
DURBAN — A Government call for people to form neighbourhood watches in their communities was in no way a call for them to arm themselves and form vigilante groups, Minister of Law and Order Adrian Vlok said last night.

"We want to impress on you the need for public participation in the fight to combat crime. The South African Police needs the support of our communities in this regard.

But the neighbourhood watch system is under no circumstances to arm people — it is just to become the ears and eyes of the police in your community," Mr Vlok said.

Addressing a public meeting at the Amamzintshi Civic Centre, Mr Vlok faced a barrage of angry questions about the country's escalating crime rate.

A heavy police presence at the meeting dampened rightwing attempts at disruption. Uniformed and plainclothes policemen were scattered throughout the 200-strong audience and around the centre.

Mr Vlok said the police were well aware of the dangers of neighbourhood watch systems degenerating into vigilante groups, and would watch the development of all such systems very carefully.

He said that considering the "difficult period" South Africa was going through, it was "quite acceptable" for people to arm themselves for self-defence purposes.

However, patrolling the streets in one's community and going out in groups to attack other communities was a "recipe for disaster" which would only lead to heightened conflict, he said.

A determined group of rightwingers in the hall heckled Mr Vlok throughout, but no incidents occurred and the Minister responded to the jeers with humour.

When a well-known rightwinger raised his hand to ask a question, he said: "I see there is a man over there with his hand up. Would you like to leave the room?"
Khumalo was assassinated: says IFP man

Diepmeadow mayor Moses Khumalo was "one of a long list" of Inkatha leaders who had been assassinated, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) central committee member Senzo Mfayela said last night.

Mr Mfayela said in a statement that over 150 IFP leaders had been assassinated in the last few years.

"We believe there is a systematic attempt to eliminate any leader who calls for peaceful change in this country. Moses Khumalo died for his beliefs. Even though he was an Inkatha leader, he believed in the democratic right of all to choose their own political associations and the way in which they wanted to work," he said.
Anger of black youths is misdirected

By MOKGADI PELA

THE anger of black youth is misdirected and that is why townships are gripped with senseless violence, a caller told the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback show yesterday.

Mphiri, of Tsakane, told host Tim Modise youngsters must be taught who their enemy was, how to fight it, where it is to be found about the struggle for liberation.

Tebogo of Welkom said the topic on violence deserved to be discussed over a longer period because blacks were "tired of the ongoing carnage in the townships".

Moepe of Spruitview condemned the violence and blamed it on apartheid.

He said it had destroyed the social structures and the community. He added that black people should be taught the value of human lives.

Lions

Kebane of Duduzane said black political organisations had to be disciplined.

"I have attended several civic meetings where the so-called young lions were taught nothing except to harass other people. Parents have also abdicated their responsibility to correct the wrongs committed by their children."

He was also critical of the ANC's "defence units", saying they would escalate the violence which black people were tired of witnessing daily.
Proposals for ending violence

Last week announced peace initiatives, including a peace summit and a standing commission of inquiry on violence and intimidation.

Political and other leaders have been invited to the summit in Pretoria on May 24 and 25, but the Conservative Party has rejected the invitation and the ANC is still considering it.

The Government has also decided to promulgate legislation providing for a standing commission of inquiry into the prevention and ending of violence and intimidation.

Proposals for the creation of a four-member standing commission into violence and intimidation will be introduced in Parliament only after the May peace summit. Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee has announced.

The draft Commission of Inquiry regarding the Combating of Public Violence and Intimidation Act was published in yesterday's Government Gazette for comment — to reach the Department of Justice's Private Bag, Pretoria, before May 17.
Violence probe details spelt out

Political Staff
LEGISLATION creating a four-member Standing Commission into Violence and Intimidation will be introduced in parliament only after the May peace summit, Minister of Justice Mr Robie Coetsee has announced.

The draft Commission of Inquiry regarding the Combating of Public Violence and Intimidation Act was published in yesterday's Government Gazette for comment, which should reach the Department of Justice not later than May 17.

President De Klerk last week announced peace initiatives which included a peace summit and the Standing Commission.

'WITCH-HUNT'
All political and other leaders have been invited to the summit, to be held in Pretoria on May 24 and May 25, but the Conservative Party has already rejected the invitation and the ANC is still considering the proposal.

In addition to the summit, the government decided to promulgate legislation which provided for a Standing Commission of Inquiry into the prevention and ending of politically-inspired violence and intimidation.

The proposed commission, headed by a judge or senior advocate and operating in public, would investigate politically-inspired violence and intimidation, identify those involved in violence and intimidation as well as appropriate steps to prevent and combat crime and intimidation.

The four-man commission will be appointed by the State President.

Announcing the initiatives, Mr De Klerk said: "The purpose is not to make wild allegations or to launch a witch-hunt about the past or to replace legal processes, but rather to establish facts on the balance of probabilities."

"The establishment of the truth and an objective and scientific evaluation can make a significant contribution to the prevention and the ending of political violence and the promotion of reconciliation."

The commission will be able to form committees - to be chaired by a member of the commission - and to enlist the help of institutions and research organisations.

Anyone will be able to report complaints in connection with violence and intimidation and detainees will be able to make sealed representation. People appearing before the commission could receive witness fees such as those he or she would be given as witnesses in the Supreme Court.

Witnesses may not be represented by attorneys unless approved by the commission. The Gazette warned people whose behaviour included:
- Refusing to take the oath or giving false answers to questions.
- Insulting, disparaging or belittling the commission.
- Wilfully hindering the commission in its powers or performance of its duties.
- Wilfully interrupting the commission. Offenders face a fine of R4 000 and/or one year's jail.

Although the commission will not interfere with existing legal processes and official investigations, it could take cognisance of them.

After an inquiry the commission will report to the State President.

Comment should be lodged in writing with the Director-General of Justice, Private Bag X81, Pretoria 0001 before May 17.
THATCHER TALKS

Yesterday after the two heal talks in Mr de Klerk's hotel

Thatcher talks with President FW de Klerk as he greets the Magistrate Thatcher

By Thatcher

ANC Warned

Mr. Hein Jordan

Etienne Dorchling

Mr. Dorchling faces
SACP unveils plan for units to defend local communities

By Brendan Templeton

An outline for community defence units in which Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres would play a leading role has been unveiled by the SA Communist Party.

In a paper presented by SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, a call was made for voluntary, community-based defence units.

Mr Cronin argued that, in the light of township violence, a highly organised and disciplined force was needed to protect the communities and ensure law and order.

“Failure will inevitably lead to a loss of confidence in the ANC and liberation movements. There is also the danger of widespread demoralisation among the masses if no solution is found,” he said.

Once the defence units had been established, he foresaw the possibility of their being organised on a regional and even national level.

“Such a people’s militia could in time merge with Umkhonto we Sizwe to form the basis for a people’s army and police force in the liberated, democratic, nonracial South Africa we are struggling for,” he said.

Although the defence units should not be affiliated to any specific political party or movement, he suggested that “Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, particularly ex-prisoners and those due to return from exile, must play a leading and active role in the establishment of the defence structures”.

Because the Government allowed Inkatha members to carry ‘traditional weapons’ and the AWB to organise military training camps, it could not prevent the establishment of township defence committees (TDCs), Mr Cronin said.

His paper — a guideline, not a blueprint — outlined detailed suggestions on how TDCs should be structured and operate.

Membership should be voluntary and TDC leadership accountable to community organisations.

Physical and weapons training, drilling and political instruction should take place regularly, Mr Cronin said.

No effort should be spared in winning over “misguided individuals to the people’s side”.

They were often forced against their will to attack communities or often take up arms out of ignorance.

“By neutralising them, we will be taking one of the most potent weapons from the enemy’s arsenal.”

Black soldiers and police also had to be won over, nor should any effort be spared in influencing their white counterparts.

Strong barricades and fortifications should be built and auxiliary forces trained.

First aid stations should be set up with the co-operation of doctors and nurses.

Tactical plans had to be worked out beforehand so that communities could arm and effectively defend themselves within minutes of an attack, Mr Cronin said.
Proposed powers of violence probe listed

dent could appoint a further two people.
The commission would be able to sum-
mons people to testify before it under oath,
or to supply documents. The Bill provides
for a maximum R4000 fine and/or a year
in prison for anyone not complying, or for
anyone committing acts equivalent to con-
tempt of court.

A notice accompanying the Bill invites
public comment by May 17.
Second victim of train attack dies

PRETORIA. — The death toll in the attack by armed men on Soweto train passengers on Tuesday afternoon has climbed to two.

A Soweto SAP spokesman said yesterday that one of the injured men had died in Baragwanath Hospital.

One woman died and 12 people were injured during the attack. Two of the victims are still in a serious condition.

In other unrest incidents over the past 24 hours, an unidentified man was critically injured at a squatter camp in East London when an attempt was made to burn him to death.

At Isipingo, near Durban, a man was killed when he was attacked by a group of men.
Bill on violence

The Combating of Public Violence and Intimidation Bill would be introduced in Parliament after a commission of inquiry into violence had been established, the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services, Mr Kobie Coetzee, has said.

Earlier this month, President FW de Klerk announced initiatives to combat violence, including the establishment of a commission of inquiry.

The Bill was published in the Government Gazette on Tuesday.

Sapa.
US concern about self-defence units

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States government has told the African National Congress's Mr Chris Hani it is concerned that plans to create self-defence units in townships may turn South Africa into another Lebanon.

He said the US also indicated it intended lifting at least some sanctions regardless of appeals by the ANC and other liberation organisations not to do so until an interim government was in place.

Mr Hani, who is the chief of the ANC's military wing, said at a news conference at the Washington Press Club yesterday that senior officials from the State Department and the White House had expressed these views earlier this week.

Mr Hani who is also a member of the political bureau of the South African Communist Party, met Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Geoff Davidow and also talked to a member of President Bush's National Security Council, Mr Bob Frasure, on Tuesday.

Mr Hani said he had explained the basic reasons behind the ANC's open letter to President De Klerk in which demands were made to end the violence if the ANC was to continue negotiations.

He had also urged the US government not to consider lifting sanctions until negotiations for a new constitution started.

Within a month or two

Mr Hani said he had the impression that the Bush Administration planned to lift at least some sanctions within the next month or two, and showed no flexibility for the ANC point of view.

Mr Hani said the US officials had asked him about the ANC's proposed self-defence units and their possible negative effect on violence.

He said the proposal to form self-defence units was a consequence of the perception that the police could not protect black communities.

The ANC did not want the self-defence units accountable only to itself, which was why it was discussing them with other organisations.

The victims of the violence had demanded that the ANC do something to protect them.

To people who were concerned that the self-defence units could degenerate into forces involved in a Lebanon-type civil war, he said, the ANC had drawn up guidelines as to how they should operate.

The units would not attack police stations or the security forces.

"We will take strong action to ensure the self-defence units do not degenerate and we are ready to discuss them with the government," he said.

Mr Hani said whites did not understand the violence; Whites had organised their own civil defence units and neighbourhood watches to protect themselves, so the black community was entitled to establish defence units.

"We would like the government to have the same sensitivity about this which it displays towards the civil defence units," Mr Hani said.
NATION SUMMING UP FOR DISASTER

Armed to the Teeth, We're a

SOUTH AMERICA IS QUICKLY BECOMING A

THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE

RAW TEXT END
When rough justice is a way of life

What's the township view of the causes of the violence sweeping South Africa?

Eddie Koch and Tshokolo wa Molekeng investigate.

Consensus is hard to come by in South Africa's black townships these days. But when the Weekly Mail conducted an impromptu survey of people's feelings about the violence that envelops their lives, and the implications this has for the new nation in the making, it found a remarkable unity of opinion.

The wellspring of sectarian strife is an absence of credible institutions of law. The existing institutions are seen as extensions of apartheid with no moral authority. People resort to private justice, vengeance and the law of the jungle to survive. These are the common themes that came out of our interviews.

In other countries, during times of political upheaval and social stress, ordinary people turn to a party of law and order or a strong authoritarian leader to redress the problem. But this pattern is absent in South Africa. There is no social movement capable of meeting this need. Instead people have a fatalistic sense that they are left with only one mechanism with which to regulate their lives: violence.

"People turn to kangaroo courts, armed gangs, vigilantes and private hitmen to exact their own brand of justice," says an insurance broker from Mamelodi, who asked not to be named.

"They use rough methods. There are many who have died or have been injured by the punishment meted out by people's courts. For instance, these are grieving parents, ordinary working class people, and they often want to exact vengeance for what has happened to their child or their relative. So they turn to some other groups who can retaliate. We get a spiral of resentment, vengeance and counter vengeance.

"This is one of the legacies of apartheid," says Graeme Simpson, researcher at Wits University's Project for the Study of Violence.

"Policing and the system of law and order has been seen to be serving a political function. This has led to a breakdown in faith that the police can operate as a normal crime prevention and law enforcement agency. So in every situation, criminal, political and personal, people tend to use private justice and vengeance to achieve their objectives."

The dominant view from the townships is that the police are to blame for this state of affairs. "Everyone knows the police have failed to do their job and this is why our lives have become so cheap," says Alexandra resident Sam Molepo.

"The government has failed to combat lawlessness. People have to protect themselves against crime and they have to organise themselves to do this."

Even though many of the activists who operate peoples' courts are seen to be operating under the banner of the ANC, there are only sporadic indications that their movement is leading to a backlash against the movement in favour of more conservative groups.

"Inkatha is not yet popular here in Mamelodi," says the insurance broker. "But when the youth are wild and uncontrollable the issue of protection comes in. What if one finds one's child has been savagely beaten. What if one is frustrated because you cannot go to the police to report this? Then you can call on the people who have the means to come and take vengeance for you. Inkatha has sent some people here and they may get some support."
The smuggling of arms and ammunition which feeds SA’s mounting township — and criminal — violence has led to accusations by many that the police are doing little to curb it. This is because a wealth of allegations about gun-runners and arms smuggling routes has been documented — some of it by the FM.

On December 14 we focused on arms smuggling, often by taxi operators, from Mozambique to major arms dealers in Sebokeng and Soweto. And, in an interview with Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok a fortnight ago, we asked whether police were aware of major arms dealers in Thokoza, Sebokeng and Soweto (Leader April 19).

Vlok said that he was and that police were investigating.

The accessibility of arms has been highlighted in other newspapers — the Weekly Mail, for example, managed to buy an AK-47 from a Thokoza arms dealer; and The Star has published details of alleged arms smuggling from Mozambique through Swaziland.

Arms from Mozambique are a fact. Last Sunday night police were reported to have shot dead four men near Komatipoort and seized a number of arms including 16 AK-47s and a grenade launcher. But the scale of the arms smuggling has been a matter of public speculation for some time and what has been seized so far is obviously only the tip of a huge iceberg.

In November the ANC submitted detailed information to government about alleged major township arms dealers and arms smuggling routes. That information appears never to have borne fruit to the organisation’s satisfaction. In its recent ultimatum on violence the ANC said that “not a single arrest has been made and not a single arms cache uncovered, nor has the supply line been interrupted. The apparent incapacity of the SA authorities in this regard beggars description.”

Even allowing for exaggeration, the overall picture of what is occurring suggests that the police have much to do.

Arms apparently come from a number of sources. There is trade from Mozambique, not only from Renamo bandits selling to people in Natal, but starting Frelimo soldiers who sometimes go without pay for lengthy periods and are selling arms across the supposedly heavily guarded SA border. In addition there appears to be a mysterious major arms seller based in Maputo who sells arms and ammunition at rock-bottom rates.

AK-47s are selling in the townships from as little as R150; and some newspapers have reported that in Swaziland an AK can be bought for as little as R20 — but that has not been confirmed.

The Scorpion and Makarov machine pistols are extremely popular for their versatility and comparative smallness.

Arms and ammunition are often transported separately and usually in specially converted vehicles, generally taxis. They are sometimes conveyed in coffins in the back of minibuses or other vehicles. A major ammunition route cuts through the eastern Transvaal and Nelspruit while arms also appear to come down through the less populous areas of KwaZulu to either Durban or Johannesburg, with a major arms storage area reported in the Nongonza district.

Arms are also filtering down — though to a far lesser extent — from the Angolan border, reportedly from Unita rebels.

Fanyana Shibert, of the SA Black Taxi Owners’ Association, says they have heard rumours of taxis being involved in arms smuggling and are investigating the allegations.

Hostels have become major arms storage and sorting houses in many areas around Johannesburg. FM investigations at hostels have not only found prolific arms manufacturing centres — pangas and spears are being honed from pipes and even car parts — but residents claim that firearms are being stored and relocated from these sites. The FM has also seen firearms ranging from rifles to AK-47s being displayed at some hostels, some of which are now being run along military lines, with “captains” heading military wings of some organisations.

Major Reg Crewe of the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria was able to give little information on police progress into the illegal arms trade, other than to repeat figures given by Vlok last week of arms seized by police this year — 362 AK-47s and 37 weapons of “communist” origin. He could give no information on the seizure of ammunition or how many people had been charged.

Crewe dismissed rumours that there were corrupt elements in the police and the SADF involved in illegal arms smuggling and selling — though this is a common township claim.

Chadork Smith
Violence keeps Japanese at bay

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

VIOLENCE and unrest are the only reasons Japanese industrialists have not yet invested in SA on a large scale, says Clem Sunter, chairman of the gold and uranium division of Anglo American Corporation.

On a visit to Cape Town yesterday he said he had found, when he went to Japan in September, that they were "desperately keen to invest in SA" and use this country as a base for exports to the rest of Africa.

They wanted to manufacture light electrical goods, such as transistor radios, here for export.

"The only thing that has kept them from doing it is the violence. One leading industrialist told me 'violence has made us put our hands back in our pockets'.

"If we can obtain a degree of tranquillity I think the Japanese will invest here. They have already done incredible things in SA — the Toyota plant in Durban is one of the most highly productive in the country."

Sunter forecast two years ago, at a seminar in Bellville, that the Japanese would become big buyers of real estate along the Atlantic coast.

Yesterday he cautioned: "I don't know what laws will govern foreign ownership of new businesses and property in the future SA."

"But, talking to Japanese businessmen, my belief that they want to invest here has been supported by their comments."

There would be a tricky balance between the need for everyone in SA to have access to land and resources and for the creation of new jobs.

"My balancing mechanism is very much in favour of attracting foreign investment."

"We have got to have a growth rate of between 5% and 10% for 10 years to eliminate poverty."

David Bridgman, executive director of Wesgro, commented "Potential investors are definitely worried about the unrest position."

But "we are getting an enormous number of people starting to take an interest in SA."

"Whether these inquiries will turn into actual investment I don't know. Such investment is not a short-term thing."

"We are worried about violence, not only in case it frightens investors away but for the whole future of SA."

"But the more we can be seen taking action to get on top of our problems, such as starting negotiations, the more attractive SA will seem as a place to invest."
Call from supporters for protection
ANC's self-defence units will be armed

By DENNIS GRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE ANC's controversial self-defence units, some of which have already been formed, will be armed with rudimentary weapons and automatic rifles — and trained by black policemen, soldiers and Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

The structure and rationale behind the units was sketched this week in an interview with senior ANC member Mr Jeremy Cronin.

Before December's consultative conference, the ANC leadership had called for supporters for protection against the violence ripping across the Reef.

Emasculated

But the ANC — or at least its military wing — had been emasculated by the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

As one senior MK member said: "In the past people knew we would retaliate if they were attacked. In a sense we have been grounded by the suspension of the armed struggle."

The response from the consultative conference was a well-supported initiative that the ANC should start a well-supported national self-defence structure, Mr Cronin said.

This was a month after the ANC, South African Communist Party and Cosatu alliance had produced a 35-page document called Por The Sake Of Our Lives, a publication which has since been sent to townships.

"It is not a set of orders or a blueprint; it offers advice for people on the ground on how to set up self-defence units."

According to the document, a township of some 20,000 residents should have a command structure of eight people, elected or selected by organisations on the ground.

This command would comprise a commander, deputy commander, first aid and communications specialists, company commanders and platoon and section leaders.

Times of crisis

In times of crisis, according to the document, the command structure would assume control.

"But only then. At all other times the command is answerable to the community. It is not a military elite," Mr Cronin said.

A company would be 500-strong and could be sub-divided into five platoons of 100 each which could be further broken down into sections of 20.

Mr Cronin said uniforms had not been mooted because "we are talking of a civilian structure."

However, it was likely that units would wear uniforms to boost morale, bolster discipline and make members visible.

All residents, irrespective of sex or political affiliation, could serve in a self-defence unit if they so wished.

"These units must not become the private armies of the ANC, SAPC or whoever. They must be structures answerable to the community and their objective must be to defend residents and the community."

If self-defence units were to be effective and serious, they had to be organised on para-military lines, he said.

"Some people may balk, but the answer is simply that the fire-brigade and ambulance service operate on para-military lines. When there is a crisis, such as a township being invaded by some 5,000 men under escort from people in uniform, no domestic civic organisation, ANC or SAPC branch can defend them."

"They must have a command structure, people who have been drilled, trained and equipped to defend them." He said the greatest victory for any unit would be forcing an advancing party to retreat without a single shot fired or anyone being injured or killed.

"Some people may reap short term gains from the violence, but in the end all South Africans will be losers. We want to stop the violence."

The ANC and SAPC had not given up on negotiations, he said.

Professor Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for South African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, said having all kinds of militiamen around would create a danger of conflict.

There was an added danger of the "emergence of a warlord situation where armed bandits become the propelling force in society."

However, this had to be offset against the fact that the SANDF, police and "morally" people, who have not been called to heel are protecting, whether overtly or covertly, a political system and an ancient regime.

The response of whites was to hire security firms which were militias or armed men riding around. "They, too, are unaccountable."

His own response, he said, was to put a food cooks' name on a list and to tie a cape around your neck. If you were killed, they would say you did not belong to that group. 

"We have to ask the people in the township: 'Who would be the heart of this military unit?'"

In his personal capacity, Mr Henry Ellinwood, of the University of Cape Town, said, "in the ANC's perspective, self-defence units was a radical approach to solving the crisis."

"Where the fear of the community, the fear of retaliation by some, is the biggest reason we're seeing this," he said.

"The problem is, if you're a part of the government, you can't go to the police and say, 'I'm going to arm myself.'" But if you go to the people in the township, he said, you would probably be killed. "It would be illegalised. If you are a white person, you can't form a unit. If you are a black person, you can arm yourself, but if you're a black person, you can't arm yourself legally."

The ANC had called for people to be trained to be part of a peacekeeping force that would arm itself. "We have to train people to arm themselves."

The lack of agreement was with the government, he said. "We should have an agreement: if you're going to be part of a group, you must have a licence that says you're part of this legitimate part of the community."

"What we are saying is that we need a policy to train people to arm themselves so that they can arm themselves."

"We want to train people to arm themselves, but we don't want to have an illegalised security force that is going to be a part of the community but not a part of the community."

The security force would be an extension of the community, he said. "It's a question of whether we want a police force that is part of the community."
PLAN TO Wipe out ANC men

THE ANC yesterday released details of what it called an elaborate plan to cripple the organisation between April 30 and May 9 — the deadline it has set for the government to deal with the internecine violence or face a suspension of constitutional negotiations.

Part of this strategy, according to a statement read by the organisation's secretary-general Alfred Nzo, was the assassination of key regional and branch officials.

"Information gathered indicates there are massive plans to attack communities and assassinate prominent ANC members, especially in the PWV region. The offensive is planned for the period leading up to May 9. Among others, this is aimed at scuttling the January 29 ANC/IFP peace accord and undermining the ANC's open letter to the government," Nzo told a media conference at the Mandela home in Soweto.

By late afternoon yesterday police announced that immediate arrangements have been made for a senior police officer to contact the ANC about the alleged plan.

Captain Craig Kotze, speaking on behalf of Law and Order Minister

From Page

and undermining the ANC's open letter to the government," Nzo told a media conference at the Mandela home in Soweto.

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Captain Craig Kotze, speaking on behalf of Law and Order Minister

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Adrian Vlok, urged the ANC to provide police with all relevant information at their disposal so they could investigate and, if necessary, take preventive steps.

Nzo earlier said his organisation, after lengthy investigations, had discovered that Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives had been specifically deployed in Reef townships since the ANC's public ultimatum to the government:

"This occurs after completion of military training in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal. These bases are manned and the training done by members of Koevoet, 101 Battalion and other arms of the SADF.

"The hosts are divided into regiments, with trained IFP Youth Brigade members allocated to the various hostel keep control and lead attacks. Both in the PWV area and Natal, a campaign of eliminating ANC members has been set in motion," Nzo alleged.

"He also said the ANC was aware of a massive delivery of weapons to various places in the Witwatersrand.

"To prevent the carnage before May 9, the ANC had alerted the government about the planned attacks and was in the process of briefing its structures. It had also contacted the IFP." — Sapa

Political comment and possible by

Editors, headlines and sub-editing

by S Keene, both of 2 Herb Street,

Johannesburg.
‘Assassination plot to scuttle peace process’

THE ANC claimed yesterday that destructive plans were afoot to scuttle the peace process in South Africa.

In a startling claim, the organisation said these included the assassination of its key officials and large-scale distribution of arms.

And ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo was adamant that his organisation would not attend the government's May 24-25 summit on violence.

The organisation also reiterated its controversial demands made in an open letter to the government two weeks ago. It repeated that if the government failed to respond to these demands by May 9 it would pull out of all peace negotiations.

Mr Nzo said the ANC had information of an offensive by perpetrators of violence aimed at halting the peace process. These perpetrators, among them “state agencies”, were out to scotch the peace accord between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and were also out to undermine the ANC.

These plans included:

- The assassination of prominent ANC members.
- Increased attacks in factories, towns and on trains targeting weekends and May Day rallies by the National Union of Mineworkers.

Opposed

- Increased vigilante mobilisation. This included a terror campaign forcing hostel dwellers to pay levies to buy weapons and training of Inkatha Youth Brigade operatives by the SADF in camps in Natal and the Eastern Transvaal.

The ANC said it had information that most inkundwas (leaders) in hostels opposed the ANC-Inkatha peace accord and were actively attempting to sabotage it.

The ANC accused a “third force” of being responsible for the recent assassination of Maritzburg Inkatha leader David Ntombela.
FW set to tackle violence in budget vote

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk returns to Parliament today after his successful European tour to begin his budget vote, which is likely to focus on the violence blocking much of the new foreign investment he sought in Europe.

It is expected that a review of security legislation, particularly changes to the Internal Security Act of 1982, will be placed before Parliament this week.

A senior source said De Klerk might announce these changes in an attempt to take the sting out of opposition attacks that government had been dragging its heels over the prisoner release programme, his continued support of Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan and the SAP's inability to contain the violence.

Opposition political parties in Parliament, especially the DP, have indicated they would be "going all out" during the President's vote to attack him on his stance towards Malan.

The DP would again call on De Klerk to institute a judicial commission of inquiry into the CCB, giving all who testify immunity from prosecution "so that we can get to the bottom of what actually happened", MP Tian van der Merwe said.

Diplomatic and other sources said the ANC's negative response to De Klerk's pre-European tour announcement of the summit on violence, despite the fact it might attend, was a blow to the President's initiative. A lot more would be required to be done to reduce the violence.

De Klerk could also expand on the indications he gave in London and Copenhagen last week that negotiating partners could be allowed to have a say in policy formulation at Cabinet level. He said the various negotiating partners could be given a voice in important policy decisions at both legislative and executive levels.

Comment: Page 6
SAP 'hobbled by unrest, protests'

PRETORIA — Unrest and mass action took up so much of the police's time and manpower last year that crime prevention was greatly hindered, Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe said in his annual report released at the weekend.

Van der Merwe said large-scale urbanisation, squatting, unemployment and deteriorating economic conditions had contributed to higher crime levels, particularly murder, robbery, vehicle theft and housebreaking.

Police efforts to protect hostel residents and squatter communities had also interfered with normal police duties.

During the year, 68 policemen died in unrest-related incidents and another 13 were killed in terror attacks.

Van der Merwe said growing right-wing violence and the creation of self-defence units in white and black communities had contributed to destabilising the security situation.

There were 264 terrorist attacks last year, of which 87 were aimed at the SAP. Van der Merwe said the current "radical fermentation" process would continue in the short and medium term, which would raise the level of tension and violence.

The situation was complicated further by a lack of control by opposing groups over their followers and supporters.

Last year 1 599 090 general offences were reported to police — an increase of 8.5% over 1998, the largest annual increase in 10 years. Of these cases, 58.11% were solved.

Public violence cases increased by 49.8% to 4 786. A total of 20 321 rape cases were reported.

Burglary on business premises increased by 27% to 65 725 cases, and on white homes by 23.4% to 108 628 cases.

Van der Merwe said the incidence of unprovoked murder was causing particular concern.

He added the target of increasing the police force by 10 000 members could be achieved by June.

Improvements in police salaries and benefits had resulted in an increase of 7 119 members since July last year.
At least nine dead in unrest around nation

PRETORIA. — Nine people died, including a town councillor from Umsizakie near Graaff-Reinet, and four policemen injured in unrest incidents around the country at the weekend, police said.

Umzizakie town-councillor Ms Regina Allam and a friend, Mr Jimmy January, were stabbed to death by four unidentified men on Friday night while on their way home, the police duty officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutentant Elizabeth Botha, said.

The body of a man with bullet wounds was found by police on Saturday at Matomio Location near Table Mountain in Natal, the official police unrest report said yesterday.

A man was shot and killed by an unknown gunman on Friday at Mountain Rise near Maritzburg; Saturday's unrest report said.

Police also reported on Saturday that a man was killed and two men were slightly injured when two groups attacked each other at a bus stop at Verulam near Durban.

A man was shot and killed and a woman injured at Greytown industrial area, Natal, when gunmen fired at them. The stabbed body of a man was found in the same area.

The body of a man with stab and hack wounds was found at Gamalakhe near Port Shepstone.

The body of a woman with bullet wounds was found at Soweto's Merafe station after a police patrol heard shots. A man was injured at Merafe when a group of men fired shots at him.

At Khayelitsha, a policeman was injured on Friday when a group of unknown gunmen fired a number of rounds at a police vehicle.

Two policemen were shot and slightly injured while on patrol at Mpanura near Maritzburg.

At Kgosino, near Krugersdorp, a group of people on Friday attacked and looted a brewery truck, causing extensive damage. When police arrived, the group started throwing stones at their vehicles, injuring a policeman. — Sapa.
ANC claims hit squads are to
Torrent of Protest Looms

By RUSSEL ROBERTS

The real issue is the Government's failure to act on its promises. The people are demanding change and the Government is not responding. It is time for the Government to act.

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From Page 3
Oil cash will finance bid to halt violence

As much as R2 billion freed by the reduction of South Africa's strategic stockpiles of oil is to be used for development programmes, including projects aimed at ending township violence, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the debate on his budget vote, he also announced that legislation would be introduced to create an emergency fund for victims of violence.

Mr de Klerk said sanctions and threats of sanctions had forced South Africa to invest a part of its savings in strategic supplies. This was an unproductive form of investment which had contributed to the unfavourable economic growth and job creation.

South Africa's relations had, however, improved so much that it had been decided to reduce the strategic stockpiles of oil.

Taking into account the funds which were still needed to finance energy-related projects, about R1 billion could be made available for other uses in the coming year.

"As the country's economic relations with the rest of the world are normalised, and strategic supplies are further cut to internationally accepted levels, this amount can be raised to a maximum of R2 billion."

"This is the amount that will be available when the energy projects that the Government has committed itself to have been financed."

Because of the lack of stability and the high unrest in many communities, part of the money would be used to fund projects that would contribute to furthering social stability and order.

Some of the matters that could be considered were the erection of clinics, sport and recreation facilities, schools, and providing land for informal settlement.

The projects would be coordinated with manpower training programmes to ensure as much job creation as possible.

Mr de Klerk said representations had been made from time to time from many quarters on aid for victims of violence.

He said the Government was most sympathetic. "I am of the opinion that the Government should consider measures by which violence-ridden communities may be assisted in the provision of basic, short-term necessities such as food, clothing and blankets."

"Consequently, I have asked the Minister of National Health (Dr Rina Venter) to prepare legislation of which the main aim will be the establishment of a social emergency aid fund through which financial support may be given to welfare organisations and other approved institutions to render emergency aid in violence-ridden communities."

He hoped the law would be finalised this session.

The Government was prepared to make a substantial contribution to the fund, and he was convinced that the public would contribute generously as well. He expected it would be possible for the international community to support the fund. — Sapa.
We can’t go on like this, says FW

Violence on the Left and threats of counter-reac-
tion had led to polarisation which could end in
civil war, President de
Klerk said in Parliament
yesterday.

“We are picking the
bitter fruit of the past.
What has happened, has
happened, but what is
happening now is a
blemish on us and we
can do something about
it,” he said, introducing
debate on the State Pres-
ident’s vote.

“We can’t go on like
this. Violence and intimi-
dation must end as it is
undermining the pros-
tspects of South Africa.”

Mr de Klerk said he
had made his opening
speech to Parliament in
February with a positive
attitude and he still had
as much trust in South
Africa and its people.

All positive steps
were, however, being de-
layed and even threat-
tened by mindless vio-
ence and intimidation
which had developed into
a culture of violence.

There was a percep-
tion inside South Africa
and in some overseas
countries that violence
was justified.

Violence had come to
the fore in many aspects,
with young children
burning down schools,
black communities being
torn apart and almost
destroyed, “not to even
talk about necklaces”.

“The reforms of the
Government are not the
cause of the violence —
it was established during
the era of separate de-
velopment. Any at-
tempts, during this de-
bate, to blame the vio-
ence on reform would
be misleading.”

Stone-throwing and
burning tyres had be-
come a symbol of how
deeply violence had been
established in everyday
life.

Mr de Klerk renewed
an invitation to ANC
leader Nelson Mandela
and Inkatha Freedom
Party leader Mangos-
uthu Buthelezi to join
him in elevating the
question of violence
above party-political
manipulation. “I’m sure
neither of them doubt
my sincerity.”

He invited them to join
him in “allowing discus-
sions we began in March
to take place now —
such a discussion could
also serve in preparation
for the meeting (summit
on violence) on May 24
and 25.”

To break the spiral of
violence, “we need a
massive effort by all the
various leaders in our so-
ociety — the time has
come for them to speak
up in public”.

To stop violence, the
culture of violence in
South African society
had to be cured. In that
spirit, there were ele-
ments in the latest ANC
statements that could
have negative effects.

Inasmuch as these
statements were an ex-
pression of a “cry for
peace”, however, as had
been spelt out in news-
paper advertisements, "I
welcome them — then
they are an echo of the
cry in the hearts of all
peace-loving South Afri-
cans. To that I will lis-
ten. It is also a cry from
my heart. Therefore, I
renew my invitation to
the ANC to discussions
with the Government.”

The Government had
made itself available for
a solution-oriented dis-
cussion on the problem
of violence with all lead-
ers on May 24 and 25.

“We must bring an end
to violence and accept
co-responsibility,” Mr de
klerk said. — Sapa.
PRESIDENT De Klerk's call for all-party talks on violence has been accepted by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — but the ANC and its allies have rejected it.

Dr Buthelezi said last night the Inkatha had constantly held out a hand of friendship to the ANC, but an end to the multi-strategy approach to end apartheid and black-on-black confrontation. "We are unreservedly committed to pursuing political objectives through peaceful means."

"Wherever possible I have brought the ANC into joint peace initiatives. We reached an accord with the ANC on January 30 to banish violence. "We have established a 12-a-side ANC/IPF peace committee to pursue this objective."

I value the State President's call for himself, ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela and me to meet. I agree that we should talk about peace.

Summit call
"I support Mr De Klerk's call for a summit committee on violence. I have pledged to be there and to do what I can to make the summit successful." He urged Mr Mandela to abandon confrontation.

"This can only escalate violence and lead to further bloodshed."

"I call on him now to cease making impossible demands on the government under the threat of withdraw from negotiations."

In a joint statement today the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu said Mr De Klerk had not shown any willingness to end the violence.

His proposals for a Mandela-De Klerk-Buthelezi meeting and for a multi-party conference on the violence were a "diversion" from the issues raised in the ANC's open letter to the government on the issue.

"Mr De Klerk is increasing the violence in his own reluctance or inability to take immediate, effective action. We therefore reject his proposals.

"Similarly we do not accept the standing commission proposed by Mr De Klerk because such a commission will not have the necessary credibility and effectiveness as it is entirely state-appointed."

The three organisations had consistently demanded that an independent commission of inquiry be established to investigate all aspects of the violence.

"We call for an independent international judicial committee to be established immediately to monitor and report on the violence.

Attack plan
"On Saturday the ANC had disclosed the existence of a systematic plan to attack townships, to disrupt May Day rallies and to assassinate all levels of leadership of the democratic movement."

But the government had failed to take these warnings seriously.

"It has failed to prevent the public carrying and displaying of dangerous weapons and in several cases the police have actively connived in the violence."

The wave of violence was the greatest obstacle to the negotiation process. See page 7.
FW calls on leaders to end violence

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has called for a massive effort by all the leaders in society in order to break the spiral of violence.

In the first speech in the debate on his budget vote in parliament, he renewed his invitation to the ANC to have discussions with the government. He believes that it is possible to resolve the difficulties between the two sides.

He also invited Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to meet him and join him in declaring war on violence and intimidation, to co-operate with him in bringing violence to an end and to elevate violence above party political manipulation.

VIOLENT PSYCHOSIS

He warned that the violent psychosis was in danger of plunging the country into civil war.

Speaking at the start of the debate, he said he continued to feel confident about the future but the worrying question of continuing violence remained.

The dynamics of the reform and development process were being delayed and even threatened by the senseless political and criminal violence.

Mr De Klerk said that a culture of violence had developed in South Africa.

A perception had developed in the South African society, and also among certain groups overseas, that violence was justifiable in South Africa's present situation.

A reactive culture of violence had also developed and at present there was a psychosis of violence on both sides of the political spectrum.

The leaders of those who were involved in violence had a special responsibility to discipline their followers.

Those who had a tradition of carrying cultural weapons should make doubly sure that the symbols they carried remained symbols of their true culture.

Those who were not prepared to allow their opposition to organize and oppose democratically should realize that the time for armed struggle was over.

Mr De Klerk said he was prepared to listen to ANC statements that had been described as "a cry for peace" because this was also a cry from his heart.

This was why he was renewing his invitation to the ANC to have discussions with the government.

The proposed standing commission on violence would allow everybody to make contributions to solving the problem.

DREAM OF NEW SA

Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said the dream of a new South Africa with simplistic slogans of one-man-one-vote was in reality a nightmare in which violence was rampant. If a government admitted that it could not control violence it was on the brink of chaos.

Dr Treurnicht expressed his disappointment at the government's involvement in talks with the ANC because the movement was making fraudulent claims.

Mr Mandela misled the government by saying he wanted peace while the ANC had a secret agenda.

The ANC was the cause of violence and the blame must be put at its door.
How can the killings be halted?

If the murder and my problem continue my thoughts about the future are bleak indeed.

By Margoiwhiz Business

Viewpoint on Violence

1991

The rape trial ended in 1991.
April 1994

"Fey Cash Plan"

By Anthony Johnson

Statistics show that 40% of the population have never been paid for "Fey Cash" since its inception in 1992. The government has been advised to establish a mechanism to provide relief to violence victims. The president of the republic has called for a national conference to address the issue. The conference is scheduled to take place in November.
Buthelezi: ANC out to kill my kids

ULUNDI.—Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he had been given an urgent warning at the weekend that the ANC planned to abduct and kill two of his children.

However the ANC last night dismissed the allegation as "preposterous".

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi also said he had information that the ANC branch in Natal had a hit list containing the names of prominent IFP officials, including its national chairman, Dr Frank Mdhlalose.

Chief Buthelezi said the warning was "urgently given": "I don’t know the truth of it. There are certain elements in the ANC quite capable of such a thing."

This was happening despite the fact that all South Africans wanted peace. In the light of calls for peace, he would attend President P W de Klerk’s peace summit on May 24 and 25.

"Every political party will go except, of course, the ANC, which refuses to come out for peace in the most august national forum that could be created."

Chief Buthulezi also lashed out at Mr Nelson Mandela, accusing him of making "petulant" midnight phone calls. — Sapa
Cosatu threatens a general strike

Victims of violence to get govt aid

IN THE aftermath of another weekend of township killings, President F W de Klerk announced the formation of a fund to assist victims of unrest while Cosatu and the ANC disclosed plans for mass protests over the violence — including a possible general strike and a sit-in at the Union Buildings today.

In Parliament De Klerk reiterated his appeal to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to form a "troika" with him to address the violence and support his "summit" on the matter.

National Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma would prepare legislation to establish a Social Emergency Aid Fund.

The department of health would contribute a substantial amount to the fund. Meanwhile, Cosatu threatened to call a general strike unless government acted effectively to stop the violence.

The labour federation said its central executive committee had decided that the call for a national strike was needed to put an end to the "senseless carnage".

It blamed the government for the violence and said employers shared responsibility because they had not pressured government to ensure workers were safe.

Called on its members to arm themselves and join township self-defence units, Cosatu said it rejected government's call for a summit as a "window dressing at a time when our country is burning". It said the state's failure to apprehend killers indicated it was itself "deeply implicated".

A meeting of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu executive committees yesterday endorsed the ANC's May 9 deadline on violence and rejected the summit as well as the proposed standing commission of inquiry.

The ANC Youth League announced yesterday it would "occupy" the Union Buildings and "target" Parliament, embarrass and government buildings today.

Strong dollar, rand to 19-month low

FOREIGN exchange markets were hit for a sixth day yesterday as the dollar bounced to recent highs against major currencies, dragging the rand to its weakest level in 19 months.

Late profit-taking saw the US currency come off its earlier highs but dollars believed the dollar was on the way to even higher levels in the medium term. The rand ended at R2.8053 from Friday's R2.7895 close.

The volatility followed a weekend meeting in Washington of the major Group of Seven nations which failed to take action against the dollar and heartened traders into heavy buying.

Reasonably heavy profit-taking late in European trade saw the dollar rise over a
De Klerk announces violence relief measure

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk urged ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday to join him in addressing violence.

He said government would set up an emergency fund to assist violence-ridden communities with short-term necessities such as food, clothing and blankets.

Introducing his budget vote, he criticized political leaders for misusing the violence for parti-political gain, and called on all leaders to join hands with him and declare war on violence.

He said people in stricken areas had few measures to safeguard their livelihoods during violent disruption. Communities' support systems had been destroyed in many cases, and because of this he had asked National Health Minister Rina Venter to prepare legislation to establish a Social Emergency Aid Fund, which would be submitted during this session of Parliament. Government would contribute to the fund and it was hoped it would gain international support.

The fund would distribute finance through welfare organisations and other institutions approved to render emergency aid in the communities.

He said all the positive developments so far and those to come through negotiations, including much-needed foreign investment, were being hampered by the senseless violence that had developed into a culture during the past few years. There was a violent psychosis at both ends of the political spectrum, and because of the polarisation, there was a real fear that a civil war could result.

**Co-operate**

To break the spiral of violence, all leaders needed to get together to find solutions.

De Klerk reiterated his call for a summit on violence on May 24 and 25 and called for political, church, educational and community leaders to co-operate with him on this and the Standing Commission of Inquiry into Violence.

It was counter-productive for leaders to apportion blame and issue ultimatums because confrontation among them would merely fan the flames of violence.

Government was determined to ensure that the security forces acted with "clean hands and meticulous impartiality", De Klerk said.

Referring to Buthelezi and Mandela, he said leaders of those continuously involved in violence had a special responsibility to discipline their followers.

Those who traditionally carried weapons had to make doubly sure these remained a symbol of their culture, and limit their use to cultural occasions. Those not prepared to allow their opposition to organise and oppose democratically should realise the time for armed struggle was over.

He called on Mandela and Buthelezi to allow discussions begun in March on the formation of a Troika to take place urgently.

The critical problem of violence could not be solved by public declarations, rhetoric or threatening ultimatums, and he was not going to enter the fray by issuing a counter ultimatum to the ANC on its role in intimidation and violence or its not adhering to undertakings in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan Summit.
Cosatu blames govt for township violence

Cosatu yesterday threatened to call a general strike unless government acted to stop township violence.

Thousands of workers would also strike if there were attacks at Workers' Day rallies or during the lead-up to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to government.

In a statement yesterday Cosatu's central executive committee said it was unanimous that "radical action was needed to put an end to this senseless carnage".

It laid blame for the violence squarely at government's feet and said employers shared the responsibility because they had failed to put pressure on government to stop the violence that was causing many of their workers injury and death.

The committee met at the weekend to consider reports from its own structures, the ANC and SACP, about the violence and about an offensive planned to coincide with Workers' Day rallies and the lead-up to the May 9 deadline.

The statement said information that elements of the security forces together with hotel warlords planned to attack people had been independently corroborated by the ANC and Cosatu.

The organisations believed the threatened offensive had three aims:
- To disrupt activities of the mass democratic movement such as Workers' Day rallies and the ANC signature campaign;
- To provide an answer to the ANC's May 9 deadline to government; and
- To sabotage the January 26 peace accord between the ANC and Inkatha.

Cosatu said it rejected government's call for a conference on violence as "window dressing at a time when our country is burning".

It had been presented with evidence directly linking elements of the state to the violence, it said.

The trade union federation supported the ANC's May 9 ultimatum to government to stop the violence.

It unanimously agreed that government had the capacity, if it wished to use its full investigative powers, to apprehend those responsible for orchestrating the killings.

"The state's failure to do so indicated that it lacked the political will and was itself deeply implicated."

Intensify

United mass action was the only way to force the state to stop the massacres.

Cosatu's executive committee resolved to intensify pressure on employers to demand action from government and to act against those fomenting violence in factories.

It called on members to arm themselves and actively participate in self-defence units in a disciplined and organised way.

They should also isolate perpetrators of the violence in hostels, trains and in the workplace.
ANC Youth League to stage protests in city, Tvl

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC Youth League will stage a nationwide programme of protest action today, including at Parliament in Cape Town and the Union Buildings in Pretoria, in support of an ANC deadline to the government, which expires at midnight tonight.

Releasing details of the programme at a media conference here yesterday, the ANCYL said that if the government did not meet the demands it would recommend to the ANC leadership that the negotiation process be suspended "with immediate effect".

Permission

The ANCYL said it would hand in petitions at Parliament, the Union Buildings, the Appellate building in Bloemfontein, other courts countrywide, and the British, US, Japanese, German and Hungarian embassies.

The ANCYL had not requested permission for the mass action programme and did not intend to apply for permission, the league said.

"The aim of the action is to express our revulsion at the failure of the government to honour undertakings that it entered into with the ANC," the ANCYL said in a statement read by its national chairman, Mr Peter Mokaba.

"It said the government should have allowed all exiles to return by the end of 1990 and released all political prisoners by April 30, 1991. — Sapa
Cosatu threatens general strike

Own Correspondent

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Triparty rejects commission

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between the ANC, South African Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday called for an independent international judicial committee to be established immediately to monitor and report on the current violence.

"We do not accept the standing commission proposed by Mr F.W.de Klerk, because such a commission will not have the necessary credibility as it is entirely state-appointed," a joint statement said.

"Since the outbreak of violence, our formations have consistently put forward the perspective of a Peace Conference to be convened by an independent body."

Resolutions were taken to strengthen relations between the three organisations. — Sapa
De Klerk cautions on use of weapons
The page contains text that is not fully visible due to the cropping of the image. The visible portion of the text seems to be discussing issues related to violence and conflict, possibly in the context of Africa. The text mentions terms like "President," "Policy Correspondent," and "Violent." However, without the full image, it is difficult to provide a complete understanding of the document's content. The text is in English.
Sisulu calls for unity, peace

Political Staff
SOUTH AFRICA was facing a grave period politically and economically but at the same time it was an important and challenging time, said ANC internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Speaking in Pretoria, at the launch of the ANC’s signature campaign for a constituent assembly and an interim government, Sisulu pleaded for peace.

He also called on South Africans to unite for a peaceful future.

At the Groote Schuur meeting between the ANC and the Government both sides had been confident about the future as well as the peace process developing speedily.

WALTER SISULU

Yet, in a short space of time, doubts began to emerge, Sisulu said.

The confidence created at the Groote Schuur Minute was now being undermined by violence.

The ANC understood that violence would undermine the possibility of negotiations and the organisation could never be part of violence which had destabilised the country.

Stressing the ANC’s concern about violence ravaging the country, Sisulu said the ANC’s open letter to President FW de Klerk demanding an end to the violence before May 9, was not a demonstration but an expression of a real desire for the creation of a new situation.

The demands were intended to create peace in the country.

Sisulu said the ANC had made several attempts to create peace, including a meeting with the Inkatha executive.

Some forces, including the Government, were exploiting the violence. The Government’s aim was to weaken the ANC, he said.

Violence had created a loss of confidence, especially in the Government. That was why the organisation had not responded favourably to the proposed peace summit.

Sisulu said he did not want to express any views on the peace summit as it was still being considered by the ANC.
RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1991

MAY.
The next eight days are crucial, says Mandela

VEREENIGING — The eight days before the ANC's May 9 deadline to government to end violence would determine whether hopes of moving quickly towards a democratic society were dashed before negotiations had begun, ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a Workers' Day rally in Soweto yesterday.

"Those who say they are sincere in their desire for peace must now prove this, by controlling and bringing an end to this violence or else admitting their complicity in it.

"Unless, of course, the government is saying to us that they are incapable of controlling their own police and army," Mandela said.

"And if this is what they are saying, then surely we must consider whether such a government is a credible negotiating party, and in a position to help bring an end to apartheid?"

"We continue to say that he (De Klerk) can stop the violence if he wishes to do so."

Our Political Staff in Cape Town reports Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer said the ANC was delaying negotiations because of its internal problems.

He told Parliament this week it was possible the uncertainty besetting the ANC would remain until after its congress in July.

It was possible the ANC did not want to be seen by its supporters to be reaching too many compromises with government, or there could be uncertainty in its own ranks about how to handle the complexities of normal politics.

DARIUS SANAI reports ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo yesterday blamed unnecessary bureaucratic delays for government's failure to release all political prisoners and indemnify exiles by Tuesday.

Addressing a rally in Soweto, Nzo warned that "nationwide campaigns will be unleashed" by the ANC on May 9 if government did not agree to its violence-related demands. He did not specify what the campaigns would entail.

PATRICK BULGER reports a Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) spokesman said 40 death row prisoners and 18 inmates of Pretoria Central Prison had embarked on a hunger strike yesterday, accusing government of reneging on its April 30 agreement to release political prisoners.

A Correctional Services Department spokesman said it was not policy to comment on hunger strikes.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that President FW de Klerk on Tuesday launched a stinging attack on the ANC's failure to meet its commitments on the release and indemnity procedures.

He said in Parliament government had met its commitments to release political prisoners — to date a total of 933 — but the ANC had been dragging its feet.

"However, I also rejected the release applications of 364 people because of the seriousness of their crimes."

He said government was on schedule in processing release and indemnity applications "Any allegation to the contrary is propaganda."
We need a massive effort by all the various leaders in our society.

Speculum
Six West Cape headmasters forced to quit
46 killed in two Renamo attacks

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 46 people were killed and scores injured in two guerrilla attacks in southern Mozambique and some 2,000 refugees poured into South Africa seeking sanctuary, it was reported yesterday.

Renamo anti-government forces attacked two settlements in Gaza Province, which adjoins South Africa, killing and wounding residents and sending hundreds of people fleeing for safety, said the reports.

South African officials said about 2,000 men, women and children crossed the border into South Africa after guerrillas attacked the town of Ressano Garcia in Mozambique, just across the frontier near Komatipoort, on Tuesday night.

Renamo attacked with mortars, heavy machineguns and rocket launchers, officials said. It was not clear if guerrillas or Mozambique government forces hold the town.

At least six people were killed and 60, mostly children, wounded in the attack. South African army and police units treated the wounded after they crossed into South Africa.

The SAP station commander at Komatipoort, Lieutenant Johan Combrink, speaking by telephone to Johannesburg, said the attack "was so loud, everyone in Komatipoort could hear it".

Forty people were killed and 13 wounded in a separate Renamo attack on the same night, on the "April 7" commune 150km to the north-west, AIM, the official Mozambique news agency, reported yesterday.

Guerrillas set fire to houses and looted the commune village before being driven off by government troops, AIM reported. Government forces claimed they killed two guerrillas, it said.

Last Friday 16 people died when a Renamo unit ambushed a convoy of traders' vehicles in the northern province of Cabo Delgado.

A sixth round of peace talks between the Mozambique government and Renamo is scheduled to begin today in Rome. — Sapa-Reuters, UPI

ANC to throw weight behind mass education

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is planning a massive focus on education, criticising school boycotts and calling for more classrooms and a new respect for learning.

In a policy document to be submitted to its July congress, the ANC also proposes a state-aided mass literacy programme with the help of newspapers, radio and TV.

The ANC says massive opposition to education over the past 15 years has resulted in a "gradual but definite erosion of the need to learn".

Scholars and students had stayed away from school for long periods of time and had fought pitched battles with the army and police. As a consequence "a whole generation of the youth of the country have grown up believing that education and learning are of no value".

"This attitude is understandable but it is wrong and it will take a long time to correct," the document says. This had highlighted the need for a new respect for learning and the institutions of learning "and for the discipline which these will demand".

In a section on education policy, the document calls for a mass literacy programme.

Major's popularity put to test

LONDON. — British local council elections today will test whether new premier Mr John Major's personal popularity can win votes for his battered Conservative Party with a general election perhaps only months away.

When Mr Major replaced Mrs Margaret Thatcher last November, the Labour Party's Mr Neil Kinnock was widely seen as losing his electoral trump card.

Mrs Thatcher's stringent style had helped boost Mr Kinnock in the opinion polls.

A recent survey showed 41% of voters believe that Mr Major is the right person to run the country. Only 27% opted for Mr Kinnock. — Sapa-Reuters
BY IE MOSAFI and KAML SINGH

Blacks shed
warned on
Whites are
"Summit still on — even without ANC"

CAPE TOWN — The summit on violence and talks leading up to the multiparty conference would go ahead with or without the ANC's participation, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"We regard the ANC as nothing more or less than an important potential negotiating party — as one of the many negotiators, albeit an important one," he said.

He said it seemed the ANC would not participate in the summit on violence. But, with the deterioration of the violence, government could not relinquish this initiative.

"The door for the ANC to participate would remain wide open and I would welcome it if their final decision was to partici-

Billy Paddock

Referring to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, he said the negotiation process must retain its momentum and the ANC should play a constructive role in this.

Notwithstanding its "fancy footwork" over negotiations, it was a central party to the process and could not escape from the circumstances it had helped create.

He understood the ANC's position and his impression was it would not be ready for negotiations or the multiparty conference before its July conference.

"Nobody can expect government to wait

To Page 2

Summit

for the ANC before the process of peace begins. Therefore this issue will enjoy the highest priority with or without the ANC before July 1991," De Klerk said.

He said a broad consensus regarding many issues affecting the multiparty conference had been established among majority parties in Parliament and the self-

governing states. Good progress was also being made in the ANC/government working group dealing with the subject.

De Klerk said provisions on intimidation were inadequate and steps were being taken to strengthen them, possibly by broadening definitions. He did not elaborate.

From Page 1

To Page 2
FW 'owes explanation on third force operations' by a former policeman, Mr Sipho Mhlala, about his involvement in the killing of Chief Mlalbenzima Maphumulo. De Beer said that the country was waiting for a confirmation or denial from Government.

"Of course, this is a police matter at this stage, but Mr Mhlala is reportedly asking for the State President's assurance that he will be safe if he comes out of hiding."

"Surely he is entitled to this?" De Beer said during his comment on State President FW de Klerk's Budget Debate speech in Parliament.

"This may be a matter of first-class national importance," De Beer said.

He requested a comment from De Klerk, and said that a comment would augur well for the unity the President was trying to forge in the country.
SA violence ‘like Mozambique’

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People’s Organisation yesterday expressed its concern over continued violence in the black community, and warned that the violence was gradually assuming proportions similar to Mozambique’s and Angola’s.

This was characteristic of the kind of violence initiated by counter-revolutionary forces immediately after the independence of many African countries, with the exception of Zimbabwe, where the able leadership of Zanu (PF) and Zanu was able to crush this phenomenon before it could destroy the gains of the Zimbabwean people”.

Azapo accused the government of using tactics which include:

- Destabilisation in the form of killings.
- Division of the liberation movement by encouraging individual talks.

— Sapa
Debate on Violence to Proceed
Hani statement ‘not ANC policy’

Johannesburg. — The ANC yesterday dissociated itself from reported comments by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani that the organisation would destabilise SA to discourage investment if the US lifted sanctions.

Mr Hani was reported to have said in an interview with National Public Radio in the US that “it is not in our interest to stabilise the country”.

ANC publicity chief Mr Pallo Jordan yesterday reiterated statements by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that blacks would feel “deported” if US sanctions were lifted and this would result in unrest.

Mr Jordan said he did not know whether Mr Hani had been incorrectly quoted or whether he had made the comments, but the ANC’s official position had been specified by Mr Mandela.

Sapa reports that Mr Michael Abraham (DP Tongaat) said yesterday that Mr Hani’s utterances were irresponsible.

Speaking in the State President’s Budget Vote, Mr Abraham said: “The problem with Mr Hani is that he wants to go forward in reverse gear.”
Big rush to buy guns

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — There has been a dramatic leap in the sale of firearms to South Africans confronted with a steady increase in serious crime, police statistics released yesterday showed.

A police spokesman said the issuing of gun licences jumped by 74% in 1990 when compared with about 123 000 licences granted the previous year.

Gunshop owners said many of the buyers were first-time buyers who were buying handguns for "self-protection".

Police attributed the increase in the number of applications to the increase in crime and the unrest in the country.

Statistics published in the SA Barometer in February this year showed a 28.59% increase in murders from 1989 to 1990, bringing the number of murders per thousand population to 39 — about six times the United States rate of eight or nine per thousand.

A Bill tightening control of firearms was introduced in Parliament in March.
Political Staff

President F W de Klerk is to go ahead with his plan for a summit on violence, with or without the ANC.

At the same time he outlined a 10-point plan to combat violence.

Addressing Parliament, Mr de Klerk said the government would not give up the initiative just because the ANC was not prepared to participate.

"We regard the ANC as nothing more or less than an important potential negotiating party - as one of the many negotiators, albeit an important one," he said.

"The door for the ANC to participate will remain wide open."

Referring to the ANC's May 9 ultimatum, he said the negotiation process must retain momentum and the ANC should play a constructive role.

He understood the ANC's position and the impression he gained was that the organisation would not be ready for negotiations or the multi-party conference before its July conference.

"While the ANC will be given this period before embarking on multi-party negotiations, the aim of the government remained that the momentum of the negotiation process and democratisation had to continue," Mr de Klerk said.

"Nobody can expect the government to wait for the ANC before the process of peace begins. Therefore this issue (talks and democratisation) will enjoy the highest, absolute priority with or without the ANC before July, 1991."

He said through bilateral and multilateral dialogue and negotiation, a broad consensus regarding a number of issues affecting the multi-party conference had been established among majority parties in Parliament and the self-governing states.

Good progress was also being made in the working group of the government and the ANC.

He said certain aspects of the "own affairs" concept which were possible to deal with administratively without constitutional amendments were receiving attention. The government is looking at rationalising wherever this was possible, without impinging on the principle of protecting minority rights.

Mr de Klerk said the current provisions on intimidation were inadequate and steps were being taken to..."
Thoughts on repression.

The construction of repression as a means of social control is often associated with the concept of the "Iron Curtain," a term used to describe the division between Eastern and Western Europe after World War II. This division was characterized by political repression, economic stagnation, and cultural homogenization.

The concept of repression is often associated with authoritarian regimes, where the government has complete control over the lives of its citizens. In such regimes, the government enforces strict laws and regulations, often through the use of violence and intimidation, to maintain control over the population.

In recent years, the concept of repression has been applied to various contexts, including the treatment of certain ethnic and religious groups, the use of torture and other forms of human rights violations, and the suppression of dissenting voices.

The use of repression as a means of social control is a complex issue, and its consequences can be far-reaching. It is important to understand the underlying causes of repression and to work towards creating societies where freedom and human rights are respected.

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Political Correspondent: Anthony Johnson.

The DP to propose...
Church Leaders bid to start peace talks

The East have agreed to participate in the peace process if the ANC is willing to engage in genuine negotiations. The ANC has yet to respond to the Church Leaders' initiative, but sources indicate that they are open to discussions on a non-violent resolution of the conflict.

The Church Leaders' initiative is seen as a constructive step towards resolving the conflict, which has been ongoing for decades. The Church Leaders have been working towards peace for years and have a strong track record in promoting reconciliation and healing.

The move comes as the government continues to negotiate with the various armed groups in the region. The Church Leaders hope that their involvement will help to bring a fresh perspective to the peace process and facilitate meaningful dialogue.

The Church Leaders have called on the government to respond to their invitation and engage in meaningful talks. They hope that the peace process will move forward quickly and that a lasting solution can be found.
Real hopes for peace emerge

Back from the brink

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

CHURCH leaders have launched a fresh peace initiative in a bid to break the political deadlock and draw South Africa back from the brink of civil war.

As intense violence continued to rage in Soweto and other Witwatersrand townships this week, the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, was engaged in shuttle diplomacy aimed at drawing all parties to the conflict to the peace table.

Church leaders were arranging to meet President FW de Klerk on Friday morning to discuss their proposals.

Chikane and Dr Beyers Naude met with African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela on Thursday. On the agenda were the ANC’s May 9 ultimatum, De Klerk’s proposal for a peace summit and for a troika meeting between De Klerk, Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is understood that the SACC has won the backing of the ANC for the notion that the churches should host a multi-party conference on violence — taking over this role from De Klerk.

Chikane met on April 23 with Buthelezi, who is pre-

Traditional weapon? Residents of ‘Chicken Farm’ squatter camp to defend their area, armed with a medieval-style axe
VIOLENCE

AN AIR OF CRISIS

Government's decision to sell part of the strategic oil stockpile to raise about $22bn for socio-economic upliftment among disadvantaged communities was part of a wider-ranging new strategy aimed at curbing political violence and restoring foreign investor confidence in the country.

The decision, announced in parliament this week by President F W de Klerk, follows repeated warnings from political and business leaders during his whirl-stop European tour last week that no foreign funds will flow into SA unless the spiral of violence is broken.

Confronted by twin ultimatums from the ANC to meet the goals of the Pretoria Minute and to create a climate conducive to constitutional negotiations before May 9, de Klerk said legislation would also be introduced in the present session to create an emergency fund for victims of violence. Whether this will save the day for negotiations remains to be seen.

Ultimately, the release of political prisoners and return of exiles — another stumbling block on the road to real negotiations — rests with de Klerk. As the FM went to press de Klerk told parliament he intended to address the question this week.

The US Congress, which is already involved in meetings on the scrapping of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, requires de Klerk to fulfil four of five measures for the lifting of sanctions: the release of political prisoners; the start of negotiations; the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts; and the ending of the State of Emergency.

But escalating violence is emerging as the real problem.

Last weekend 48 people died in violence in Natal and the Transvaal, 22 of them massacred after Inkatha impi attacked them in full view of a strong police contingent in Soweto, following warnings by the ANC two days previously to government that such an attack was imminent.

Colonel Jac de Vries, regional head of PR for police in Soweto, who was present during Sunday's massacre, told the FM: "It was not possible to prevent any deaths." Police fired "birdshot and teargas in one instance during the procession."

De Vries said there were "sufficient policemen who were properly armed" and who, after the killings, "escorted" the impi "back to Dubbe hostel. We didn't confiscate any traditional or other weapons or arrest anyone." He said he could not arrest anyone before investigations had been completed as "there were about 3 000 or 3 500 people; if I had arrested them it would have been illegal."

Yet in terms of new government legislation traditional weapons may not be displayed at public rallies nor during potential unrest situations, and the funeral clearly fell into both categories. De Vries' excuse was that "it would have created more problems if we confiscated the weapons."

Hundreds of political prisoners will be released this week and a revised new Bill to replace the Internal Security Act (a Harare Declaration and Pretoria Minute obstacle to negotiations) will be tabled. However, it is already clear that a core group of political prisoners, in particular, Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, will remain in jail while the ANC spirit, there were elements in the latest ANC statements that could have negative effects.

In as much as these statements were an expression of a "cry for peace," as had been spelt out in newspaper advertisements, said De Klerk, "I welcome them — they are an echo of the cry in the hearts of all peace-loving South Africans. To that I will listen."

He invited the two leaders to join him in "allowing discussions we began in March to take place now — such a discussion could also serve in preparation for the meeting (the summit on violence) on May 24 and 25."

To break the spiral of violence "we need a massive effort by all the various leaders in our society — the time has come for them to speak up in public." Violence on the Left and threats of counterreaction led to polarization which could end in civil war, said De Klerk.

To stop violence, the culture of violence in SA society had to be cured, said De Klerk.

"And in order to do so, we once again need the co-operation of every political leader, every church, educational and community leader. That is why I called for the special summit on peace ... the time has come for the men of peace to gather will."

Though some senior ANC officials believe the movement should respond positively to government's mooted summit on violence, few in the ANC, academia or political circles believe that yet another round table of talking heads can end the violence that has claimed the lives of an average seven people a day this year and about 10 000 lives since 1985.

In a sharply worded speech to the National Union of Mineworkers at the weekend, Mandela said: "If only 100 whites in this country had been killed through violence there would have been a revolt and government would have been overthrown. . . . "In any democratic country in the world where 13 people are killed in one massacre (a reference to last month's Alexandra killings,) the head of state would have come forward condemning it and expressing sympathy to the next of kin. De Klerk has not once done this."

All sides need to move urgently to end violence, meet the criteria called for in the Pretoria Minute and get negotiations back on track. Anything less will have the gravest consequences for SA's political and economic future.

EDUCATION

PENS DOWN

For the first time in the history of white education a strike by teachers looks a possibility. At this stage it seems only a meeting
Endorsers must campaign for peace

Overthrowing, Jack of Services at Root of Much of the Trouble.

The Area Reader May 31, 1991
Peace Summit Will Go Ahead, Says De Klerk
Tragedy ahead, warns Winnie

Johannesburg, ANC social welfare chief Mrs Winnie Mandela has warned that South Africa is heading for tragedy.

She issued the warning yesterday while touring neighbourhoods hit by faction fighting.

Looking strained, Mrs Mandela visited a home in Dube, Soweto, where a woman had been killed yesterday.

"Viewing a blood-splattered room, she said: "South Africa is facing a growing tragedy. This is the kind of violence that has gripped the country." - Sapa."
SA security laws to change,

The problem of individuals and organizations that have been arrested under the National Security Act would soon be a thing of the past. The Act would be amended to provide for the release of persons who have been arrested under the National Security Act. The amended Act would also provide for the release of persons who have been arrested under the National Security Act.
Is the Kiling part of a Govenment master plan?

The Politics of Violeace
A similar perspective emerges from the South African Communist Party (SACP) Umzebenzi. It concedes that "the Klerk has scrapped, or is in the process of scrapping, the major racial laws, but it adds that the dismantling of apartheid requires more than a repeat of 'racist laws'."

It defines apartheid as the political power of an "illigitimate minority," buttressed by its security forces and laws, and the economic power and privileges of the white minority, accumulated after the 'decades of National Party oppression'.

It lambasts President de Klerk, accusing him of "touting of the security forces - "which continue to harass, "pun and even kill black people" - and of keeping silent about disbanding the death squads."

These assertions raise the question whether Mr de Klerk, whose political line of succession goes back to his founding fathers of apartheid, can finally abandon apartheid or whether he has merely changed its form.

To rephrase the same question is to suggest that the ANC is more than a reaction to the struggle against apartheid: it is a genuine alternative to capitalism and white supremacy.

The ANC, dismissing vehement denials from Mr de Klerk, his Ministers of Law and Order and Defence and Chief Buthelezi, contends that they do. Mr de Klerk, the ANC says, has a double agenda: he wants to talk to it but he also wants to weaken it.

The ANC is less than fourteen years old, but it has already become a major political force in South Africa. It is not only the largest single party in the South African Parliament, it is also the most powerful in the country's thriving black community. It is also the only party that has succeeded in winning a majority of black votes, or even an absolute majority of black votes, in any election since the end of apartheid.

The ANC is a multi-racial party, with members of all races, including whites, blacks, and coloureds. It is also a non-corporatist party, which means that it does not have to be represented in parliament by a single member, but by a group of representatives from all the races.

The ANC is also a democratic party, which means that it has a formal structure, with elected officials, and it also has a strong commitment to human rights, including the right to freedom of expression and association.

The ANC is also a revolutionary party, which means that it is committed to the overthrow of the apartheid system and the establishment of a society based on democracy, equality, and justice for all.

The ANC is also a party of the people, which means that it is committed to the needs and aspirations of the people, rather than the interests of the ruling class. It is also a party of the poor, which means that it is committed to the struggle for basic human rights, including the right to housing, education, and healthcare.

The ANC is also a party of the future, which means that it is committed to the development of a modern and sustainable economy, based on social justice and sustainability.

The ANC is also a party of the oppressed, which means that it is committed to the struggle for freedom and justice for all, including women, children, and minorities.

The ANC is also a party of the international community, which means that it is committed to promoting international cooperation and understanding, and to working to build a better world for all.
Paramilitary units ‘add to violence’

FROM A WB commando to ANC defence units, new paramilitary forces are springing up all over assuring their claim to be protecting their communities from crime and violence.

To some observers, however, these organisations are a prescription for disaster rather than stopping the violence, they believe, they will only provoke further unrest.

Others have drawn parallels to the early failure of the klopmat system, noting the problems that befell the townships when large numbers of poorly trained, well-armed policemen abandoned their authority.

According to Derrick File, a researcher at the Legal Education Action Project of the University of Cape Town’s Institute of Criminology, in the past the klopmat systems repeatedly misused their power and as a result became part of the problem rather than a solution.

**Sub-culture**

In all, by 1990, more than 100 klopmate units have been brought against those special policemen, including theft, rape, assault and murder.

Describing the system as an extension of “black-on-black policing” that was first started by using black armies and police forces to keep control in the homelands, Mr File notes that the form of force he has helped generate is a subspecies of organised violence.

The latest such organisation to be mooted has been the Township Defence Unions proposed by Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (CAST) and endorsed by the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

According to CAST, secretary-general Sam Nkoli, over 30 such defence units are already in place, many of them reactivated “sleepers” from the township unrest of the mid-1980s.

A recent document by Black youths and police forces to keep control in the homelands, Mr File notes that this form of force he has helped generate is a subspecies of organised violence.

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Clerics ‘hopeful’ after talks with FW

BY MICHAEL MORRIS, Religion Correspondent

CHURCH leaders emerged from hitherto talks with President De Klerk yesterday hopeful that a damaging negotiations deadlock over the ANC’s May 1 ultimatum could be averted.

The clerics, who had also had discussions with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, said in a brief statement that although the situation remained delicate and complex they were “convinced there is a willingness on both sides to bring the threatened deadlock to an end.”

They said they had intervened because of the “tragic implications of the crisis.” They believed their role was to encourage the politicians to meet and resolve their differences.

Growing dissent

The clerical intervention follows growing dissent between the government and the ANC, mainly focused on violent and ways to end it.

One of seven church leaders, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Henry Frank Chikane, said: “We hope that after this particular stage there will be processes that will assist in ending the threat. We have seen a willingness on both sides. We are quite hopeful.”

De Klerk did not issue a statement after the meeting and, he said, would not be drawn on what processes they believed would be effective in resolving differences between the government, the ANC.

They declined to give details of the “sensitive nature of the discussions,” insisting they did not wish to “rock the boat.” But rejected speculation that an SACC-sponsored peace summit to replace Mr De Klerk’s proposed summit was on the agenda.

Not media-led.

Dr Khoza Mogojo, president of the SACC, said: “We have not yet said anything about that, that was not the subject of our discussion. Our concern is that if the threatened deadlock is not resolved, then other processes can be threatened.”

He said: “We do not pretend to be mediators. Our duty is to encourage the different parties to come together and talk so that we do not land up in a tragic situation.”

Mr Chikane said: “Once the threatened deadlock is resolved, then the politicians should meet to work on the details of how to go into the future. It is not our role to determine how they should do this.”

“We have come because of the crisis which we feel has serious implications for the country and all South Africans.”

Dr Johan Heyns, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, said that given the level of violence, there was a “great need for the leaders to get together.”

New attitudes

“We are here to see what we can do to encourage people to meet. It is not for the church to find new structures, economically or politically. The role of the church is to inculcate new attitudes.”

He added: “I have an idea that on the grounds of what the President said, he is willing to do what he can and it is clear from the ANC’s side that there is a will to find a peaceful solution.”

The full church delegation comprised Dr Mogojo, Mr Chikane, Bishop Reginald Orsmond, deputy president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop Laurence Henry of the Catholic Church, Dr Johan Heyns, Sheikh N Mohammed of the World Conference on Religion and Peace and president of the Muslim Judicial Council and Rabbi A Seltzer of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation.
Viewpoints on Violence, says peace, says Desai

By Barney Desai

Democrat United for South Africa

Pac seeks peace, says Desai

Barney Desai, Secretary for Publicity and Information of the Pan African Congress, who was invited to express his views on Violence, along with other political leaders as part of the series "Focus on Violence", recently said that peace is the key to resolving conflicts and promoting social harmony. He emphasized the need for a united approach in addressing the root causes of violence and called for the promotion of non-violent communication and dialogue as the only way forward.

Desai highlighted the importance of education and awareness campaigns to instill values of respect and understanding among the youth. He further stressed the role of parents and communities in nurturing a culture of peace and tolerance.

"Violence is not the answer to any problem," Desai said. "We must work towards building a society where everyone feels safe and respected, and where differences are celebrated, not exploited."

Desai's views were echoed by other political leaders who also called for a peaceful resolution to conflicts and the promotion of non-violent principles in society.

The event was organized by the Pan African Congress in collaboration with the "Focus on Violence" series, which aims to promote public discussion on the issue of violence and its impact on society.

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Note: The text above is a rough approximation of the content in the image. The details may not be accurate due to the nature of the image.
By BARRY STREEK

CHURCH leaders hope to break the deadlock between the government and the ANC over the ANC's ultimatum on violence.

A delegation of religious leaders met President F W de Klerk yesterday after having met ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela the day before.

The discussions concerned the violence, particularly in black townships — where 97 people have died this week, and the ANC's ultimatum which expires on Thursday.

Speaking after the meeting, the delegation said they feared an escalation of violence after that date.

The delegation, which met Mr De Klerk for 90 minutes, was led by the president of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Khoza Mgojo.

TRUCE ATTEMPT IN SOWETO FAILS
See PAGE 2

Afterwards, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said: “There is a willingness on both sides, so we are hopeful that we will achieve peace.”

The deputy moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns, who was part of the delegation, said: “On the basis of what the State President said, it is very clear that he at least is wanting to do what he can do, and it is also clear that on the side of the ANC, and particularly of Mr Mandela, there is a desire to resolve South Africa's problems peacefully.”

The delegation, which included the president of the Muslim Judicial Council, Sheik Nazeeem Mohammed, and Rabbi Arthur Seltzer of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, said in a statement: “We are convinced that there is a will on all sides we have met to bring this threatening deadlock to an end.

“Although the situation is delicate and complex we believe that there will be an effort to bring violence to an end.”

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Inside:

ANGLO'S PLAN FOR MODEL WINE ESTATE
See PAGE 15

JEWS, CAPE TIMES

TODAY'S PRIZE: R200
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There was one winner yesterday.

IF your share price total movement equals exactly R2.40 today, you are a winner. Call (271) 488 4760 between 9am and 2pm on Monday, to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 488 4760 for a form.

PEACE BROKERS... Church leaders Dr Khoza Mgojo, the Rev Frank Chikane and Professor Johan Heyns after meeting President F W de Klerk yesterday to broker peace between the government and the ANC.
So near, but so far apart.

With Kind Regards

My Way
LEGEND has it that a traveller found an old man sitting on the side of the road and asked:
"What became of the black people of Sumer?"
"The old man replied: "Ah, they lost their history, so they died . . ."

People learn from their past to avoid making mistakes which have already been made.

- In African mythology the living impart the knowledge they have learned from the dead to their offspring.
- For the people of Sumer the link between the dead and the living was broken and they lost their wisdom and died. The same is happening to the black people of South Africa.
- Hardly a day passes without people killing each other.
- Looking back, it seems this process started almost 15 years ago following the "Soweto Uprising".

It was after that period that the social fabric of our society started to unravel.
- The youth, by challenging Pretoria, assumed a role that had in the past been that of their parents.
- No mechanisms were provided to ensure the continuity of adult control and thus June 1976 marked the beginning of a process which ultimately robbed the youth of parental leadership in civic matters.
- The warning of what might happen in "the struggle," was made about three decades ago by Mangalisu Robert Sobukwe.
- He warned that as soon as violence breaks out, people "will be taken up with it and give vent to their pent-up emotions and feel that by throwing a stone or burning a particular building, they are small revolutionaries engaged in revolutionary warfare".

After 1976 it was the youth who threw stones and waged running battles with the police.

Education became less of a priority. Some people objected silently while waiting for "the true leaders" to return from prison and exile to sort out the mess.

After 1983 people could only be listened to if they had a "mandate". Thus when Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi warned against the "liberation before education" mentality, few listened as the advice came from the "wrong mouth" — even though it was good.

Today we have a "lost generation" of youth who are unemployed, unskilled, under-educated, and in some cases, "unemployable".

These are the people who have tasted power and now run the lives of residents through street committees, "people's courts" and through the enforcement of stayaways and boycotts.

Disaffection with how these things are run has given people with ulterior motives opportunities to take advantage of the situation. Today we hear about "third forces" being involved in the Reef fighting.

About a year ago when Nelson Mandela asked fighting groups to "throw their weapons into the sea", it was reported that some of the "youth" tore his picture from their T-shirts.

It is ironic that the crumbling of the "pillars of apartheid" may well contribute to a process of decay in black society.

The removal of the Group Areas Act may also bring about a form of brain drain, removing expertise and positive role models from black townships.

Not because some people want to live with white people, but because they prefer to live in peace with their families.

What will happen to the people who cannot escape the psychologically damaging effects of the ghetto?

A few years ago, a black American congressman commented that while desegregation in America was a positive thing, it removed positive black role models from the ghettos. The new role models became the materialistically successful people like pimps, prostitutes and drug dealers.

With unemployment so high in this country, we seem to be headed in the same direction.

Statistics show that environmental factors play a very important role in a child's psychological and mental development. A child from a disadvantaged background has a smaller chance of succeeding in life than a child from an advantaged background.

The problem we face in South Africa is that members of the "lost generation" constitute a large section of our society.

We are not yet close to being a society ruled by uneducated, unskilled and heavily armed youth similar to the Khmer Rouge rule in Cambodia, but we seem to be headed in that direction.

How long can we hope to survive when we continue like this?

Something has to be done urgently to help channel the energy and enthusiasm of the youth away from the back adult control. The time to put national interest above political ones and rebuild the broken structures of our society is now.
Save SA from Carnegie – Rockey
Open that fist

By Kamal Singh

Open that fist not out of anger—FW

Page 3
'Neutral' summit envisaged

Business may be drawn into violence talks

A MAJOR role for business in ending township violence is expected to be proposed by senior leaders of the alliance made up of the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party.

Alliance leaders were scheduled to meet yesterday at an undisclosed venue to begin developing further strategies on the violence and to consider a summit convened by "neutral" parties -- probably religious and business groups.

Their initiative comes at the start of the week marking the expiry of the ANC's May 3 deadline to government on steps to end the violence. It would provide the ANC with an alternative to government's proposed May 24 summit with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi which the ANC has criticised.

Church sources, who met President F W de Klerk last week for talks on the violence, said yesterday there were encouraging signs that the ANC and government were being increasingly flexible in an effort to overcome Thursday's deadline.

One source said it was expected that yesterday's alliance meeting and a meeting today of the ANC's national executive committee would seek ways to address the violence without calling off negotiations as threatened in the ANC ultimatum.

It also appeared virtually certain that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk would meet before Thursday to thrash out ways of overcoming the current impasse, the source said.

Aliance sources said they recognised the need for interaction between affected parties on the violence. However, the present mood in the townships and De Klerk's "failure" to act on previous communication from the ANC on violence meant attendance at a government-convened summit was likely to be rejected.

A summit convened by parties not directly linked to the violence was therefore seen by some ANC, SAPC and union officials as the solution to the deadlock.

The sources said the alliance welcomed the initiatives of the Rev Frank Chikane and other SA Council of Churches leaders. However, it also recognised that "certain parties" (presumably Inkatha and, possibly the NP) might perceive the SACCC as being too closely aligned to the ANC.

The inclusion of NGK and Catholic Church representatives and leaders of the Muslim and Jewish communities was therefore seen as necessary to the initiative. The further broadening of the initiative would probably aim at encompassing leading business groups like the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstenset and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa).

Violence

Significantly, in what was perhaps the first informal approach by the alliance to business on the issue, the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) asked Seifsa to state its views on the violence at the last round of metal industry wage negotiations.

The second prong of the alliance's plan would be one or more forms of mass action.

The rationale for this was the belief that government was still not adequately convinced of the urgency of the situation.

Meanwhile Sacob has called for nationwide support of the President's conference on violence and for all participants to put aside sectoral interests to achieve peace and stability.

In newspaper advertisements today, Sacob says the violence and its impact on the economy will undermine confidence in the prospects for peaceful change.

This will lead all inhabitants on a downward path to poverty and despair, the advertisement says.

Sacob says it has held discussions with government, the ANC and Inkatha and is convinced that each group perceives the others to be contributing to the problem.

Sacob's advertisement calls on all participants striving for a new SA to display the necessary leadership and statesmanship to achieve peace.

De Klerk's conference would be a "starting point" where the foundations for a new strategy against violence must be laid, it says.

Comment: Page 6
Dhloomo issues plea for talks on peace

ANC and Inkatha leaders must talk peace and avoid the temptation to use violence to entrench their political positions, Institute for Multiparty Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhloomo said on Saturday.

Addressing the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) annual meeting in Johannesburg, Dhloomo also urged the ANC and government to "pack up the broken pieces of reconciliation and engage in dialogue once more".

Dhloomo, a former general secretary of Inkatha, said: "Political power and influence obtained over the dead bodies of thousands of innocent people is not worth having.

"In this regard, ANC and Inkatha leaders must continue to talk about peace, difficult as this is at this time. There is no alternative to peace and reconciliation."

He said: "A grave responsibility rests with Messrs Mandela and De Klerk in this regard, and we pray that they accept this responsibility and reopen talks in a spirit of patriotism. For them, too, there is no alternative to peace."

Warning against following the path of conflict and revolution, Dhloomo said: "Mapping out what could be done to avoid a dark future, Dhloomo said astute political leaders encouraged their followers to prosecute the struggle simultaneously on all fronts - political, economic, cultural, spiritual and intellectual.

...it is only total struggle that can yield total liberation. Political power devoid of economic power frustrates; political power undermined by economic power liberates," he added.

Dhloomo encouraged Fabcos to accelerate its attempts to establish "a poor people's bank".

In the present situation, financial institutions expected a poor person to prove how rich (and not how poor) he was when he tried to raise a loan from them.

This anomaly would not be corrected by white financial institutions. It had to be corrected by Fabcos and other black business organisations, he said.

At the same meeting ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki called on all leaders in the SA political arena to address urgently the question of violence. He said the ANC recognised that some violence emanated from its members.

Soldiers

"There is some violence by people saying they are acting on behalf of the ANC. But we have agreements with Inkatha, and the Natal committee's work on this violence is still going on," Mbeki said.

Recently, unknown people entered Dobsonville Hostel, drove out legal residents and attacked people, he said.

"Who are these people, and why are the security forces not dealing with them?" Mbeki said he told government to advise police from the streets of Soweto to the hostels where the violence came from.

There were no soldiers at hostel gates to prevent people coming in and going out with dangerous weapons.

Mbeki said government's inability to address the question was part of the reason for the ANC's feeling that it could not continue talking with government.
Future ‘lies in the hands of business’

A POOR return on investment rather than the current violence was the only factor that would jeopardize international investment in SA, and as such, the business community controlled the future of SA, Jatta International Investment president Ophelia Jeppa has said.

Speaking at the national convention of the Institute of Life and Pension Advisers on Friday, Jeppa said businesses had to be proactive and create the opportunities for the future.

She said companies had to go into the townships and “see how trade is transacted. There is a lot of business opportunity in black townships — blacks are the ones with the disposable incomes”.

Businesses also had to take note of what the international investment community was doing. She said although there had been a lot of “paper pullouts”, there was no real disinvestment.

“The debt moratorium was an excellent way for companies to be seen to disinvest without having to move their investment out of SA.”

Similarly, businesses had to look at the movements of the major companies in SA, which were still putting money into property and investments.

However, Tax Advisory Committee chairman Michael Katz argued that a stable SA was essential for economic growth and increased foreign investment.

He said increasing investment in fixed plant and machinery was the most important objective of economic policy.

The dilemma in the 1991 Budget was to attempt to reconcile the requirements of immediate assistance to the Third World section of population and creating more economic opportunities for all. Government had tried to tackle the issue through commitment to stability, reducing the surcharge on imported goods, reducing the corporate rate from 50% to 48% and allowing full credit for capital and intermediate goods under VAT.

Other major economic problems were the lack of discretionary savings and the fight against inflation, Katz said.

ANC challenges police with own unrest report

THE ANC plans to launch its own daily unrest report today to counter what it says is the SAP’s misinterpretation of events.

Spokesman Saki Macozoma said police failed to report accurately on the reality people experienced and often created an incorrect picture favouring themselves.

Monitoring mechanisms were already in place in some townships and being established in others, so the ANC could ensure information received was reliable and verifiable.

Macozoma said the ANC report’s success would rest on its reliability. The ANC would use its monitoring structures to test the veracity of information before it was utilised.

The organisation hoped other monitoring structures such as Lawyers for Human Rights would also provide information. Police often reported township deaths without outlining their circumstances, making it impossible for people to gain an understanding of violence and how it manifested itself, Macozoma said.

They would be able to read the ANC and police reports and determine what they wanted to believe.

Macozoma said an example of how police distorted events was their attribution of practically all incidents to tribal fighting.

“They’re tarred with their own brush.”

The ANC felt it would be allowing wrong information to go unchallenged if it did not make its own information available.

Macozoma expected police to dismiss the report as propaganda and said the ANC feared police might harass township sources.
Peace Force: Need for a Neutral

Violence: Need for a Neutral
Mandela reneged on peace troika, says Buthelezi

Staff Reporter and Sapa

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi revealed yesterday that it was Nelson Mandela who originally suggested the anti-violence "troika" which the ANC had now rejected.

Addressing an Inkatha Freedom Party peace rally at Bekkersdal in the West Rand, Chief Buthelezi told the crowd that Mr Mandela had suggested a meeting between the two black leaders and President de Klerk to deliberate on an end to township violence.

"Now the ANC does a strange somersault and is not going to allow Mr Mandela to do what he had undertaken to do with the State President and myself."

At a meeting in Johannesburg last week, Mr Mandela rejected the idea of an anti-violence meeting between the three, claiming the Government's suggestion had merely been a "smokescreen".

Chief Buthelezi was also surprised by Mr Mandela's call for an International Commission to monitor violence in South Africa as the African National Congress leader had strongly rejected this idea during his March 20 meeting with him.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi sharply criticised the ANC for going back on a joint commitment to end violence in Natal and on the Reef.

He said that the ANC's Open Letter to the State President was an about-turn on the agreement, which was made in Durban on January 29, in which Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi and other top delegates from the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) resolved to undertake bilateral measures to eliminate the violence.

He expressed IFP resolve to call a top level meeting between IFP and the ANC to discuss the "crisis situation" of South African politics.

Chief Buthelezi said that his party was "appalled and devastated" by the way the ANC had blamed the IFP for the violence in the Open Letter.

The letter, said Chief Buthelezi, accused the IFP of having no real support in the Transvaal and of asserting its presence by importing militant "impos" into the hostels.

He said that the IFP, unlike the ANC, had neither the establishments for military training nor access to sophisticated weapons.

Vulnerable

Chief Buthelezi said he did not blame Mr Mandela personally for the ANC's changed stance.

He said that Mr Mandela was in a vulnerable position, having to please hard-liners within the organisation.

He said that it was well known that the ANC was in the midst of a power struggle.

Chief Buthelezi also said the IFP was "astounded" by ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo's accusation last Saturday that the IFP was planning further violence to weaken the ANC before the May 9 deadline ultimatum on violence set in the Open Letter.

"In one way or another we must ensure that Mr Mandela stands up to be counted with Mr F.W.de Klerk and myself as fighting for peace."
Don’t score points through violence – Dlhom

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Oscar Dlhom, the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, this weekend warned political leaders against winning political power and influence over the dead bodies of thousands of innocent people.

Addressing the first day of the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services' (Fabcos) annual general meeting at Nasrec on Saturday, Mr Dlhom said leaders should resist the temptation to use the violence to score political points and entrench their political positions.

"In this regard, ANC and Inkatha leaders must continue to talk about peace, difficult as this is at this time."

He similarly urged the Government and the ANC to "pick up the broken pieces of reconciliation" and to engage in debate once more.

Addressing the same meeting the deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Dlagung Moseneke, reaffirmed the PAC's opposition to the Government's proposal of a multiparty conference as a forum for the creation of a new constitution.

The PAC would instead convene a united Patriotic Front conference in August, for attendance by all forces, groups and organisations which supported the creation of a constituent assembly, he said.

Azanian Peoples Organisation publicity secretary Strini Moodley, addressing a cultural day function at the Fabcos meeting, called on black South Africans to recreate their culture which had been destroyed by the "conqueror" Jan van Riebeeck, when he arrived at the Cape in 1652.
Buthelezi may boycott talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened to pull out of the government-convened conference on violence, scheduled for May 24 and 25, in protest against “government collusion” with the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi told an IFP rally in Bekkersdal in the western Transvaal that the government colluded with the ANC by conducting searches at hostels last Friday night.

He called on the police also to raid ANC offices and the homes of that organisation’s senior officials in search of arms caches, which he alleged were used by the ANC to perpetrate violence.

In his address, Chief Buthelezi alleged that ANC lawyers and their military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, accompanied police during the search of hostels.

“This action (search) by the police gives political credibility to the ANC’s hideous and false accusations against the IFP and calls for redress,” he said.

“The ANC attacks were not only against the IFP, but against Zulus — just because they are Zulus. I will not be held responsible for the ire of the Zulus if they continue to be abused in this way,” said Chief Buthelezi.

Answering the criticism that police were disarming hostel dwellers at the ANC’s behest, a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriam Viok said the police welcomed any assistance in maintaining law and order.

The criticism demonstrated that police were in fact acting in an impartial manner, said the spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze.

Four people were killed after the Inkatha rally in Bekkersdal.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed that two people were killed at the Mandela squatter camp when police, forming a human shield separating two groups, opened fire after the factions hurled stones and petrol bombs at each other.

Another body, with bullet wounds, was found near the squatter camp and a taxi driver was killed in a scuffle with IFP supporters. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

RALLY DEATH . . . The body of an ANC supporter, one of four people killed at Bekkersdal on the West Rand, after an Inkatha rally there. Police formed a human shield to keep the two groups apart. Three people were killed near the Mandela squatter camp and a taxi driver died in a scuffle at the township’s exit.

— Picture AP
CHEERS AS FW PLEASES FOR PEACE

ZUURBEKOM — President F.W. de Klerk, addressing one of South Africa's biggest black churches yesterday condemned groups that were trying to make the country ungovernable.

"They want to keep a struggle alive while there is no need for a struggle," he told a congregation of about 20,000 people who cheered and waved flags.

Mr De Klerk, four days from an ANC deadline to end bloodshed in the townships, urged church members to work for peace.

"Go forth and spread the message that the clenched fists have to open to become praying hands and working hands," he said.

"The fist clenched in anger, arrogance and cruelty cannot bring a future of hope and peace," he said.

Mr De Klerk was guest of honour at the inauguration of a hangar-like church built outside Soweto by the International Pentecostal Church.

The church, founded by the Rev. Frederick Motsepe in 1962, says it has three million members throughout southern Africa. — Sapa
ANC picture on unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC plans to launch its own daily unrest report today to counter what it says is the SAP's misinterpretation of events.

Spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said police failed to report accurately on the reality people experienced and often created an incorrect picture favouring themselves.

Police often reported township deaths without outlining their circumstances, making it impossible for people to gain an understanding of violence and how it manifested itself, Mr Macozoma said. — Sapa
ANC decides to issue own unrest report

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has indicated that it will issue an unrest report from today.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said at the weekend that police had failed to report accurately on the reality of the unrest people experienced and created an incorrect picture favourable to themselves.

He said monitoring mechanisms were already set up in some townships to ensure information given was reliable and verifiable.

The spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Capt. Craig Kotze, said a report by the ANC would be of no use to the public. He said the police did not support any political party and kept an impartial policy.

The aim of the police report was to inform the public of events as quickly as possible, Capt. Kotze said.
in danger of bursting
1943

In a danger of bursting

John C. Aeppli

The De Kork Bubble

Analysis, attacks bring about change in 5 A attitudes.
End of Violence Key

Political Shift

By ERNIE CUNWAGAN

The drought, the floods, the wars, the poverty, the violence, the hunger, the disease, the despair. It all adds up to something more than the sum of its parts. It is a crisis that tests the very fabric of society. It is a crisis that demands a new approach, a new strategy, a new vision.

The government needs to act now to prevent the situation from deteriorating further. It needs to provide aid to those in need, it needs to invest in education and health, it needs to address the root causes of the problems.

We cannot afford to wait any longer. The stakes are too high. The lives of too many people are at risk. We need to act now, we need to act decisively, we need to act with compassion and humanity.

The end of violence is within our reach. It is a journey, not a destination. It is a path that we must all walk together. It is a path that we must all work to make.

Together, we can build a better future. Together, we can make a difference. Together, we can end the violence.
The light that real now here

see back page

away for wp
draw tough

Last-ditch bids for peace as deadline looms

COUNTDOWN

Otseh

The ANC's national executive is due to meet today to consider the issue. The weekend process continued at the ANC's national conference in the province of the Eastern Cape. The conference is due to conclude tomorrow. The ANC's national executive is expected to make a decision on the future of the ANC.
ANC with an alternative to the government’s proposed May 24 summit, with Chief Buthelezi, which the ANC has criticised.

Church sources, who met President De Klerk last week for talks on the violence, said yesterday that there were encouraging signs that the ANC and the government were being increasingly flexible in an effort to find a solution before Thursday’s deadline.

One source said it was expected that yesterday’s alliance meeting and the ANC’s NEC meeting today would seek ways to address the violence without calling off negotiations as threatened in the ANC ultimatum.

However, the present mood in the townships and Mr De Klerk’s “failure” to act on previous communications from the ANC on violence meant that attendance at a government-convened summit was likely to be rejected.

A summit convened by parties not directly linked to the violence was therefore seen by some ANC, SACP and union officials as the solution to the deadlock.

The sources said the alliance welcomed the initiatives of the Rev Frank Chikane and other SA Council of Churches leaders.

However, it also recognised that “certain parties” (presumably Inkatha and possibly the NP) might perceive the SACC as being too closely aligned to the ANC.

The inclusion of NGK and Roman Catholic Church representatives and leaders of the Muslim and Jewish communities was therefore seen as necessary to the initiative.

The further broadening of the initiative would probably aim at encompassing leading business groups like the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Selco).

Meanwhile, Sacob has called for nationwide support of the President’s conference on violence and for all participants to put aside sectional interests to achieve peace and stability.

In newspaper advertisements yesterday, Sacob said they believe they are not in the economy’s interest but would undermine confidence in the prospects for peaceful change.
Give peace a chance - Dhlomo

BLACK liberation movements and businessmen must come together and stop the escalating violence in the townships.

Speaking at the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services' general meeting at the weekend, the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said all leaders would have to co-operate to end the violence.

The conference took place at Nasrec near Soweto where there have been violent clashes between Inkatha and ANC supporters.

Dhlomo said: "Leaders must avoid the temptation to use violence to score political points and entrench their political positions."

"Political power and influence obtained over the dead bodies of thousands of innocent people is not worth having."

He said ANC and Inkatha leaders must continue to talk about peace. "There is no alternative to peace and reconciliation," he said.

Dhlomo said the Government and the ANC must accept that the route to a new South Africa could never be smooth. Whatever turbulence was encountered on that route could be addressed through dialogue and not through accusations and counter-accusations, he said.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said: "The State, which suppressed our people for more than 300 years, cannot be heard to say they cannot stop this carnage. "It suits the State not to stop the violence. Our people reserve the right to defend themselves."

The ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said businessmen must help to stop violence for the sake of black economic empowerment.
Violence ‘has sobered UK enthusiasm’

VIOLENCE in SA has had a sobering effect on UK companies that were once enthusiastic about changes taking place in the country, London Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) mission delegates said yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg, mission secretary Tracey Dorrell said once stability in SA could be demonstrated — and reported in the British media — UK companies would come back to SA quickly, because it was considered an important market.

The delegation, which is in SA for two weeks, will promote a variety of products and services.

It followed a successful mission to SA last year and Dorrell said the LCCI was now planning to visit SA annually.

The mission will also visit Cape Town and Durban.

Export Market Development director Paul Hayball said there were niches in the SA market for many UK companies that had not exported to SA before.

Lloyds of London Business Press CE Alfred Rolington said that, in the longer term, SA would not be neglected as a market in favour of Eastern Europe.

Sapa reports that the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) said yesterday the continuing violence and unrest was discouraging local and international investors.

AHI director Prof J Poolman said in a statement: “SA needs political stability more than ever to restore business confidence so that the economy can grow, and prosperity and job creation can be realised.”
Govt takes peace appeal to business

GOVERNMENT has distributed 40,000 "Let's put peace first" posters around the country.

Constitutional Development Service liaison and media director Maruis Kleynhans said posters had been sent to businesses, factories, cafes and shebeens with a letter asking that they be displayed to promote peace.

The massive advertising campaign, which includes regular TV spots, follows government's decision last year that it had a task to perform to create a democratic culture, he said.

The first phase of the campaign, by Cape-based Pierre de Villiers (P de V) advertising, introduced the logo, jingle and main theme of "the new SA", and linked them to the essential message of peace.

The campaign was created in seven different languages.

Government launched the second phase of its campaign at the beginning of this month, with the slogan "Let's talk justice for all."

Kleynhans said the second phase concentrated on the "talking and negotiating side" of the move towards the new SA.

The copy says it is time for all South Africans to have their say, and for the people's leaders to negotiate a just future, equal opportunity and full participation in the future.

Encouraging

While all media categories would be used, the campaign would be strong on TV, radio and outdoor advertising, Kleynhans said.

The first phase had seen a "good reaction across the board", and a survey on how the campaign was accepted had been very encouraging.

Preliminary tests on the second phase indicated that "the message seems to get through", he said.
Fabcos calls on business to help end the violence

THEO RAWS

FOUNDATION for African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) president T J Ngcoya yesterday called on business to support efforts to end violence.

Addressing the Fabcos AGM in Johannesburg yesterday, Ngcoya also urged leaders of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, the PAC and Azapo to meet to try and resolve the violence.

Inviting all organisations to launch a fund-raising campaign to provide relief for victims of violence, Ngcoya added that business organisations should consider a strategy to address the violence and warn of its economic consequences.

Ngcoya's appeal came on the day the SA Chamber of Business placed newspaper advertisements urging support for President F W de Klerk's summit on violence.

Ngcoya said Fabcos was distressed at "political point scoring, personality clashes, organisational posturing and vigorous struggle for political gains ... while the flame of violence continues to consume the country."

"We believe the preservation of human lives and saving the country are ideals which are far bigger and more important than any party-political consideration."
UK trade mission not put off by violence

By Frank Jeans

Township violence, while disappointing to British businessmen generally, is no deterrent to their drive to renew profitable two-way links with South Africa.

This is the message from the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry trade mission which is in this country until May 18.

At a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, mission leaders were unanimous that they were in South Africa to "see for themselves" rather than accept as fact, the often unfavourable reports in the UK about the situation here.

While township unrest had, to some extent, nullified the recent initiative by State President F W de Klerk during his visit to Britain, Ireland and Denmark, mission members were emphatic that the violence "has not put us off".

They said they were hopeful of taking back a more balanced view.

Alfred Rolington, chief executive of Lloyd's of London Business Press, who is due to meet an ANC delegation, said: "I hope to get some assurance from ANC representatives that they are prepared to go to the negotiating table."

Mission members were unanimous that the potential of the South African marketplace was much greater than that of Eastern Europe.

Paul Hayball, director of Export Market Development of Hampshire, who is marketing new environmental pollution technology for the oil and chemical industries, said: "The long-term business prospects are infinitely better in South Africa."

"British businessmen know the SA market has to be looked at and they are excited about prospects."
GoR seeks permanent solution to violence

The government has to date only the police force as the primary body to tackle the violence, but it has overlooked the involvement of other stakeholders, including the community. The police's role is crucial, but they cannot address the root causes of violence alone.

The government's approach has been reactive, focusing on law enforcement rather than preventive measures. This has led to a cycle of violence that continues to escalate. The government needs to adopt a holistic approach that involves community participation and addressing the underlying social and economic issues.

The permanent solution to violence must address the following:

1. Education and awareness programs to promote peaceful coexistence and understanding among communities.
2. Economic development initiatives to create employment opportunities and improve living standards.
3. Conflict resolution mechanisms that allow communities to address disputes in a peaceful manner.
4. Strengthening the role of local leaders and community representatives in addressing local issues.

The government's failure to implement these measures has led to a situation where violence has reached an unmanageable level. Action is needed now to prevent further escalation.
Ethnic thread in diversified fabric

Patrick Laurence looks at the tribal sector in township violence
Cosas plea to govt to make schools safe

JOHANNESBURG: The Congress of South African Students has called on the government to use security forces to protect pupils caught up in the township violence at schools.

Cosas president Mr Thami Rabusane said at a press conference yesterday that the government and security forces should guarantee the safety of pupils, but not interfere with educational matters.

"The wave of violence has severely limited attempts to make schooling as effective as possible," Mr Rabusane said. — Sapa
ANC call for mass action

JOHANNESBURG.—Two powerful organisations within the ANC—the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League—have declared tomorrow a day of mass action to demand that the government take responsibility for ending the violence in the country.

There will also be a day of prayer on Thursday—the deadline for the ANC's ultimatum to the government.

ANC women will hold marches, demonstrations, pickets and sit-ins, while youths are to march to police stations and protest at the British embassy in Cape Town. — Sapa.
Violence stymies capital inflow

Johannesburg. — The unrest in which 1,500 people have died since August, and soaring crime that has claimed dozens more lives, are the main factors frightening foreign investors away from SA, Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) officials say.

"We have recently seen a lot more interest in investment in this country, as (State President F W) de Klerk's latest European trip showed," JSE chairman Peter Redman said in an interview. "But we are still seeing a net outflow of investment from the JSE by non-residents."

The outflow was as high as R6m in one week last month.

"A lot of the positive factors associated with reform, including acceptance of SA into overseas financial markets, are being hampered by concern by non-residents about the level of violence."

"Everything is in place for new investment but this is being hampered by the violence."

Mike Thompson, the exchange's chief operating officer, said: "Until we sort the violence out in this country we are not going to have a healthy market."

The South African Chamber of Business said in newpaper advertisements yesterday it was deeply concerned that political reform talks between whites and blacks were in serious jeopardy.

But a casual observer would never guess SA's political turmoil from the performance of the JSE indices.

The exchange was one of the world's top five performers in 1990.

Since February 1 when more reforms were announced, the overall index has risen 18% — a sharper rise in the period than any other major exchange apart from Taipei.

The rise results from limited buying by SA institutions pleased by the latest reforms, but trading volumes have been low.

Thompson said the thin trading was partly due to concern about violence and partly to the tightly held market.

JSE equities are jealously held because of a combination of exchange controls and SA's complex company holding structure.

"The market's feature is price rises as opposed to volume increases," said Thompson.

"We would like to tell foreign investors SA shares offer good value, particularly because the financial rand gives them enormous gearing (advantage)," he said.

"But now that gearing has to take into account the political risk in this country and, at this point, bearing in mind they are not sellers, they're not convinced on that argument." — Business Staff and Reuter

Trading listless on gloomy JSE

Johannesburg. — Trading continued listless on a gloomy Johannesburg stock market yesterday as investor interest, particularly from abroad, continued to be stymied by worries about spreading violence in SA's black townships, dealers said.

Prices on most leading shares eased, they said, with rally in the financial rand aiding the trend. The JSE all-share index eased to a preliminary close of 1,041 from Friday's 1,050 finish, while the industrial index retreated to 3,496 from 3,532.

The all-share index fell to 3,004 from Friday's 3,026 close.

Dealers described volumes as thin, and noted that a holiday in the UK put an added damper on activity.

Among gold shares, heavyweight Vaal Reefs ended R1,50 lower at R182,50 and Freegold 2c lower at R19,25.

Among leading industrials, Barlows lost R1 to R41,50, Safren B4 to R38 and Richemont 35c to R24,90. — Sapa
STUDENT PROTEST. About 100 members of the SA National Students Congress protested outside the Peninsula Technikon yesterday in support of the ANC's threat to call off negotiations.

At least 102 killed in May unrest

At least 102 people have been killed — 66 of them in Soweto — and many hundreds injured in township violence since May 1, latest police figures show.

Five bodies were found in Soweto yesterday, but police reported that relative calm was returning to most areas.

Six people were killed in Natal yesterday, three of them in a bus ambush.

The bus, carrying workers to Maritzburg, was shot at and petrol-bombed about 8 a.m. About 27 people were hurt — Sapa and Own Correspondent

'Unrest deaths higher this year'

MORE people died violently in the first quarter of this year than during the same period in 1989, although the number of unrest incidents dropped dramatically, figures revealed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriann Vlok showed yesterday.

Mr Vlok, speaking in his budget vote debate, said 771 people had died in violence up to April 30 this year in only 2,601 unrest incidents.

The figures showed that 754 died in a massive 5,586 incidents during the same period last year.

Mr Vlok said the violence in the country fell into two main groups, that associated with crime and political violence.

Political violence could not be resolved by the police alone. Political, church and community leaders would have to contribute to finding a solution.

Mr Vlok also addressed what he called the "curse of the AK-47" rifle, describing it as a "detestable communist weapon".
Violence 'scaring off investors'!

PRETORIA. — The continuing violence and unrest in South Africa was discouraging both local and international investors, the Afrikaanse Handelsinst.-tituut (AHI) said yesterday.

"This is especially disconcerting if the high level of unemployment and accompanying economic and social decline is taken into account," AHI director Professor J Poolman said.

The AHI appealed to all groups and individuals to promote dialogue and negotiation.

Mr T.J. Ngcoya, president of the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (FABCO), yesterday also called on business to support efforts to end violence.
Leave police alone - Vlok
Alliance blamed for violence

PARLIAMENT — The current violence was a direct result of attempts by the ANC/SA Communist Party (SACP) alliance to force the masses to accept them as the only representatives of the people, Mr Kenneth Lategan (LP Hanover Park) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Police Budget vote, he said the peace conference called by President F W de Klerk for May was supported by the Labour Party, but if organisations did not examine themselves the violence would continue.

If the ANC was sincere about bringing about peace it would attend the scheduled peace conference, he said.

Mr Mooiman Mentz (CP Ermeio) said the policy of power-sharing adopted by the government was the cause of the violence. There was a full-scale power struggle going on in South Africa as a result of this policy. — Sapa

August '90 riots cost battered Uitenhage R3m

NEARLY R3 million of damage was done to property in Uitenhage during the August riots last year, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

He was replying to a written question from the MP for Schauderville, Mr Michael Hendriks.

Mr Vlok said the task of the police had been made more difficult because "radical elements" were active in the region and "struck uncontrollably" at targets.

Incidents of arson and looting and damage occurred for which no arrests had been made because the accused could not be identified, he said.

Today's business

House of Assembly: Questions and interpellations.

House of Representatives: Questions and interpellations.

House of Delegates: Questions and interpellations.

Chamber of the House of Assembly: Extended Public Committee: Debate on the Foreign Affairs Budget vote.

Chamber of Parliament: Extended Public Committee: Debate on the Law and Order Budget vote.
Azapo meetings to focus on violence
Peace hopes

THE Government will come down heavily on the use of dangerous weapons and so-called "traditional weapons" could be restricted.

This emerged after a four-hour meeting in Cape Town last night between President FW de Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Buthlezi.

It was speculated last night that if this move to clamp down on weapons could succeed, it would go a long way towards ending the violence in black townships.

Clashes between Inkatha

Today is D-Day for the negotiations process so far. Are the negotiations worth saving or should something else be tried?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Madise between 4.30 and 5pm today and tell the nation what you think.

The hotline number is 714-8063.

Listen to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback programme on mediumwave 576 KHz.

TO Page 2.
supporters and non-Inkatha residents have claimed tens of thousands of lives countrywide.

The meeting was convened at short notice and on the eve of the date on which the African National Congress, the Government's chief negotiating partner, had said it would break off all talks about a negotiated settlement in the country.

One of the demands made by the ANC - failing which it would sever talks - is that the Government should ban or restrict the display and use of so-called traditional weapons.

Inkatha members have been implicated in many incidents where township residents were killed with assegais, axes and sticks.

Buthelezi, looking tense and shaken, said last night he had "warned Inkatha Freedom Party members that they would weaken their case" if they used these weapons for violent attacks on other people.

A composed De Klerk said: "We will definitely take steps with regard to the problem of dangerous weapons."

De Klerk was guarded over the much-heralded and imminent meeting with ANC deputy-president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said, however, that he "will meet the ANC leader but will not disclose the time and venue".

The present phase of negotiations is in danger of collapsing within the next 24 hours and it has been said only a meeting between the two leaders could rescue the process.

However, the ANC has said it will not budge over demands it presented to the Government in an open letter on April 5.

High among the demands is that Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan should be dismissed.

The ANC's other major demand is that "traditional" or "cultural weapons" should be banned.

The ANC's view is that Inkatha has been allowed to run amok in the townships, turning the Reef into a bloody battleground similar to Natal in the late 1980s.

At the same time, many ANC members believe the issue has been used in an eminently campaign to discredit the organisation.
Mandela's case will not help the ANC win elections. (John Matshong)

De Kock is wrong to think the ANC will allow its reputation to be destroyed, writes John Matshong.
ANC pledges to work for peace

Buthelezi and FW in bid to save talks

President F W de Klerk and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi met last night in what was believed to be an effort to resolve the one outstanding issue -- concerning "traditional" weapons -- that would satisfy the ANC's ultimatum and put negotiations back on track.

Last night's meeting in Cape Town followed several days of talks between government and ANC officials during which ANC members indicated that if agreement was reached on the ANC's demand that government outlaw traditional weapons and other issues, the ANC would not act on its threat to pull out of negotiations.

Shortly after the start of the meeting, De Klerk and Buthelezi, the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance released an apparently conciliatory statement, promising to work for peace. The statement "solemnly" pledged that alliance members would do all in their power to achieve peace. It called on South Africans to "forge an overwhelming national consensus for peace" and promote a climate of political tolerance.

The pledge also restated several of the demands in the ANC's ultimatum, saying individuals must not be allowed to carry traditional or other weapons in public, that security forces should employ acceptable methods of crowd control, and that single sex hostels should be phased out.

These three issues were being focused on by the ANC in its negotiations with government.

De Klerk is believed to have satisfied one demand by announcing that funds had been budgeted for hostels' conversion and upgrading.

It is also believed that the demand that security forces should use "civilised methods" can be achieved.

Yesterday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would not comment on the state of negotiations ahead of tomorrow's deadline, but said he was confident any impasse could be averted.

He would not comment on a possible meeting with De Klerk today, but did not rule out such a meeting.

ANC sources pointed out that the organisation was flexible on the ultimatum from the outset and it would probably not risk the deadlock that would arise if it continued to demand the resignation of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

Our Durban correspondent reports that senior ANC member Joel Netshituzhe said yesterday the ANC would withdraw from negotiations and the all-party congress tomorrow unless significant last-minute action was taken.

Netshituzhe told an Idasa breakfast the national violence and not the ANC's ultimatum had precipitated the current crisis. However, Netshituzhe said the ANC would not hold government to the full letter of its demands and indicated that a meaningful indication of intent to address most of the demands would be sufficient.

Peace talks

A policy of "inaction" would be adopted from tomorrow, he said. The ANC would "announce its non-participation in the all-party congress and constitutional negotiations."

The ANC would continue with this policy until the demands were met, he said.

The ANC was not being difficult by laying down deadlines for demands to be met, but it was attempting to ensure that "negotiations do not drag on indefinitely", he said. "The ANC is also concerned at the long-term effects of violence on the economy."
ULUNDI — Possible solutions to the escalating violence in South Africa were presented to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi by business leaders yesterday. The delegation from the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) — a voluntary group of business leaders from more than 30 member corporations — met Chief Buthelezi and senior colleagues in Ulundi, said a CBM statement.

The organisation stressed the need for restraint, lest the atmosphere of threat and counter-threat plunge the country into a state of civil war, the CBM said.

The meeting was in line with the movement's commitment to consultation, it said. — Sapa
Weapons controls agreed

Key meeting may unlock door to talks

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk is engaged in crisis consultations with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkhata leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on new measures to control township violence, probably including stricter curbs on Zulu "traditional" weapons.

In a last-ditch attempt to prevent the ANC pulling out of negotiations tomorrow, Mr de Klerk is to meet Mr Mandela soon — possibly even today — to follow up a 3½-hour meeting yesterday, with Chief Buthelezi at Tuynhuis.

It seems that Mr de Klerk persuaded Chief Buthelezi to accept the new measures, which will probably include curbs on the carrying of the controversial weapons like spears and assagais — a key demand of the ANC.

The measures may involve strict supervision to ensure traditional weapons are not carried at political rallies.

Mr de Klerk's package could avert the ANC's threat to withdraw from the negotiation process if the Government does not take serious steps to curb the violence by May 9 — tomorrow.

At a press conference after last night's meeting, Mr de Klerk said the Government did not wish to make inroads on anyone's culture, but would "definitely" take new steps with regard to dangerous weapons.

He did not wish to disclose the steps as he was still consulting. He would be meeting Mr Mandela to discuss the proposals.

The speculation in parliamentary circles is that the meeting could take place as early as today as Mr de Klerk will be coming to the Reef anyway for other appointments.

Ultimate

Mr de Klerk denied that the new measures were a response to the ANC's ultimatum which he described as "more of a hindrance than a help" to negotiations as everyone would now be "looking for winners and losers".

The Government was acting because it bore the ultimate responsibility to end the violence.

The upgrading and conversion of township hostels, Government plans to form a standing commission on violence and intimidation and the agenda of the proposed summit on violence, were also discussed, he said.

Chief Buthelezi called off his threat to pull out of the Government's summit on violence on May 24 and 25.

He said at the press conference that he had cleared up disagreements with the Government about "certain actions prompted by the ANC" including the weekend search of Soweto hostels by police.

On April 5 the ANC threatened to pull out of constitutional talks with the Government tomorrow if seven basic steps were taken to curb township violence, including some — sacking two Cabinet Ministers — which Government will definitely not meet.

However, at an ANC national executive committee meeting on Monday it was apparently decided to concentrate on three core demands — legislation to ban people carrying traditional weapons on political occasions, definite action to phase out single-quarter hostels and specific commitments that police would act impartially.

Government sources suggest that they have already announced plans to upgrade hostels and are continually trying to improve police even-handedness.

The new action on dangerous weapons may swing the balance in favour of continued ANC participation in talks.
Dear on violence

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A COMPROMISE deal on traditional weapons and a meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela could save the tottering negotiation process with just hours left before the expiry of the ANC's deadline on violence.

This emerged last night following a marathon four-hour crisis meeting at Tuynhuys between Mr De Klerk and an Inkatha delegation led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Following persistent speculation that a deadlock-breaking meeting would take place between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela yesterday, Mr De Klerk indicated last night that the two leaders would meet soon — but he declined to say when or where.

Inkatha's insistence that its supporters be allowed to continue brandishing so-called "cultural weapons" — and the ANC demand that the practice be banned outright — was one of the key points threatening to derail the negotiations.

But last night President De Klerk told a joint press conference that the government would "definitely be taking steps to deal with the problem of dangerous weapons".

While he declined to spell out what action the government planned to take, he said: "I believe our meeting (today) has taken us a step forward in dealing with the problem of violence and has succeeded in clearing up some misunderstandings."

Chief Buthelezi told the press conference that the "very comprehensive" talks had been very useful and had cleared up a number of problems that had been troubling Inkatha.

He said he had warned Inkatha followers that they were in danger of jeopardising their arguments for carrying "cultural" weapons if they did not distinguish between these and other weapons which were now being brandished by Zulus.

He also stated that despite earlier threats to pull out of the proposed violence summit in Pretoria later this month, Inkatha would now be attending the meeting.

The Tuynhuys meeting came amid growing signs that the ongoing shuttle diplomacy could place the peace process back on track ahead of tomorrow's ANC deadline on its ultimatum to the government on controlling violence.

In another positive signal that a last-minute compromise could still be reached between the "big three" parties, the ANC yesterday issued a more conciliatory pledge which called on all parties to work for peace and a negotiated settlement.

And in Parliament yesterday Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok said it was time people laid down their arms and their leaders committed themselves to peace.

Mr Vlok's deputy, Mr Johan Scheepers, said the police, political leaders and communities needed to work together to do away with the need for weapons. The police, he added, needed to act with fairness and justice towards all political groupings.

Chief Buthelezi's entourage slipped into Tuynhuys via an underground passage from the parliamentary Stapleyn garages late yesterday, avoiding a large contingent of waiting reporters who had got wind of a possible meeting.

A joint press statement issued four hours later said "broad consensus" had been reached on all issues raised at the meeting.

The upgrading and conversion of hostels — another key ANC demand — had also received attention during the meeting.

In another positive development, the
ANC — along with its alliance partners the SACP and Cosatu — last night issued what appeared to be a conciliatory statement entitled "We pledge to work for peace."

In the statement, the three parties returned to the theme of cultural weapons, saying the carrying of all weapons — cultural or otherwise — in public should be outlawed.

The statement also called for a joint effort from business, community organisations and political parties to begin phasing out single sex hostels and replacing them with family units.

It further called for the security forces "to relate to the people in a civilised manner," employ "acceptable" methods of crowd control and stop using live ammunition.

The statement, which adopted a considerably more conciliatory tone than the demands contained in the ANC seven-point ultimatum, described the scourge of violence as a national problem, saying that if all parties did not act to end it, all would lose.

"Let us forge an overwhelming national consensus for peace," the general secretaries of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu said in conclusion.

Following speculative reports that Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela would meet at Tuynhuys yesterday, a get-together between the two leaders now appears more likely when Mr De Klerk travels to Pretoria after today's cabinet meeting to receive an award from the Pretoria Press Club.

ANC spokesmen sent out contradictory signals for much of the day. Some said the meeting was on, while others denied any such plan.

But Mr De Klerk gave a clear indication last night that a meeting with Mr Mandela was imminent.
Women protest violence

By SUSAN MILLER

The ANC Women's League has declared today and tomorrow days of mass action to protest against township violence.

Marking the ANC's May 9 deadline to the Government to end the violence, the league is to send a memorandum to

PHONE: 474-2510
or after hours:

President FW de Klerk, stating its concern about the situation, said league president Mrs Gertrude Shope, League national organiser Ms Nosiviwe Mapisa, said permission would be sought for the marches.

Shope said the league did not blame the ANC or Inkatha for the violence but the Government.

"We know who is responsible for the carnage and that's where we'll be aiming our fire," she said.
TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has started a round of crisis consultations with black leaders which will soon lead to a meeting with ANC deputy leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The consultations are meant to plan steps against violence and especially dangerous weapons.

According to top government sources traditional weapons such as spears and assegais may be classified as dangerous rather than cultural weapons.

Ban on display of weapons

There will then, at least for a time, be a ban on the display of such weapons in public, especially at political rallies.

The ANC has been demanding this while Inkatha is resisting the idea.

The subject was raised when Mr De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu met at Tumutumia yesterday.

There appeared to have been some tough talking at the meeting where serious misunderstandings were said to have been cleared up.

While Chief Buthelezi complained about police raids on hostels on the Reef, Mr De Klerk had misgivings about the use of traditional weapons and the killing of people. He issued a warning about the display of traditional weapons in parliament last week.

Mr De Klerk said afterwards that he could not give details as he was busy with a round of consultations.

He confirmed that he would meet ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela but he declined to say where or when this would be.

A feature of government consultations recently has been the air of secrecy. Mr De Klerk has told officials to maintain a meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela which was widely expected to take place yesterday did not in the end come off.

The first opportunity for such a meeting is today. Mr De Klerk is going from Cape Town to Pretoria for a function there tonight and will be staying in the Transvaal for a few days.

According to ANC sources, Mr Mandela is willing to meet Mr De Klerk if this could save the contact process between government and the ANC.

The ANC's recent ultimatum to the government expires tomorrow. The sources said that Mr Mandela maintained that, if the deadline passed without a satisfactory explanation from the government, the ANC would have no further contact with the government on anything.

Breakdown in SA talks would be 'cataclysmic'

LONDON. — Commonwealth Secretary-General Mr Emeka Anyaoku said the threatened rupture between the South African government and the African National Congress would be cataclysmic for hopes of a peaceful end to apartheid.

"The extent of violence gripping South Africa becomes every day more tragic," Mr Anyaoku said.

He urged Pretoria to take firm steps to stop factional violence in townships and suggested restricting the use of weapons of all types and "dealing with individuals implicated in the violence".

"The ANC and rival Inkatha movement could not escape responsibility and should take action to stop supporters sustaining the violence, he said.

"But if there is a breakdown in the prospect of negotiations leading to a non-racial democracy, the consequences would be cataclysmic," Mr Anyaoku added. — Sapa-Reuters.
Island hunger strikers angry over treatment

Hunger-striking prisoners on Robben Island are deeply angry that they have been treated as difficult cases by the government in spite of being eligible to be freed in terms of the Pretoria Minute, says lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

Releasing the names of the 32 prisoners refusing food, he said the only thing they had in common generally was that their actions had caused injuries.

"However, this does not apply to all of them. "Their continued imprisonment is unacceptable. Even if they are so-called difficult cases, they should have been released by April 20."

The hunger strike committee on Robben Island said in a statement: "Quite a sizeable number of our comrades are beginning to show the signs of physical weariness as we continue to dig in our positions in the battle for the release of all political prisoners."

A service to show solidarity with the hunger strikers will be held in the Central Methodist Church at 12.45pm today.

The hunger-striking prisoners are:

- Johannes Manda Shabangu, 31, of Johannesburg and David Motshwane Mosi, 35, of Kroonstad, both serving life sentences for high treason arising from taking part in ANC attacks on Beysens police station, a policeman's house and the West Rand Administration offices, placing explosives on a railway line in Soweto and an attack on a Sasol 2 installation. There were no civilian casualties. Their death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment in 1985 after they had spent three years on Death Row.

- Rufiyo Rohan, 37, of Durban, serving 15 years. He was the news editor of the Port Natal when he was arrested. He was convicted of terrorism for a bomb blast at the Natal Command SADF base in which 17 people - military personnel and some workers attending a function - were slightly injured. It was not proved that he knew about the function and he was acquitted of attempted murder. He was also found to have been responsible for a bomb blast at CR Swart police headquarters in which a policeman's girlfriend was slightly injured and a blast at a police radio headquarters.

- Naphali Manane, 34, Petros Tshopo Mashigo, 30, and Johnson Saul O'Lebsi, 29, of Johannesburg who are serving life sentences for high treason. Their death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment after an international solidarity campaign in 1982. They were convicted of taking part in an attack on Sockmekaan police station in Pretoria, assault with intent to murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances arising out of the theft of a car to use in the attack.

- Mxolisi Potane of Cape Town, who is serving 17 years for terrorism, attempted murder and membership of the ANC. He was convicted of planting a bomb outside a shopping centre, throwing a hand grenade and shooting at police attempting to arrest him.

- Mndia Acol Maseko, 30, of Johannesburg, serving a 23-year sentence for planting a land mine on Moolpark, Breiten and injuring two people, planting a land mine on Vlaaktion, Breiten and injuring three people, planting a land mine on Boshoek, Volksrus and injuring one person and planting a land mine on Bloomfield, Volksrus, injuring two people.

- Gordon Webster, 27, of Durban, serving 25 years for murder with extenuating circumstances, attempted murder and terrorism, having military training, possessing arms and explosives, recruiting for the ANC and several bomb blasts on transformers in which one policeman died.

- Antonio du Freez, 27, of Durban, serving 15 and a-half years for assisting in Gordon Webster's escape, a land grenade attack on the home of an SAP rearseeve in which he and his wife were injured, a blast at an oil tank at Jacobs, a blast on an oil pipeline in Wentworth, a blast at a shop owned by a police informer, four common purpose attempted murders and one common purpose murder with extenuating circumstances arising out of Webster's escape.

- Johannes Africo Hlapho, 37, serving 20 years, Vusumuzi Peter Mzuvukile Khube, 33, serving 18 years and Raymond Richard Bongani Mpondo, 28, serving 20 years, who were convicted of terrorism and murder in the Oscar Mptetha trial, for stoning cars and the resultant deaths of two people in Guguletu in 1980.

- Thosu Paulos Taliku, 27, of Durban, serving 15 years for terrorism for possession of arms and explosives, receiving and giving military training, membership of the ANC, a bomb blast at a post office in which two policemen were slightly injured, a bomb blast at Ox Bazaars during a consumer boycott in which no one was injured, a bomb blast in Durban in retaliation for the SADF raid into Lesotho in 1985 in which six people were slightly injured and an attack on Osiziwene police station in which one policeman was slightly injured.

- Aron Thabo Memela, 21, of Sebokeng, serving 14 years for malicious damage to property, arson, attempted murder and public violence for attacks on police during uprisings in Sebokeng and stoning and petrol bombing a policeman's house.

- Andrew Paul Mathabathe and Saxi Ronnie Nellou, of Johannesburg, both serving 12 years for an armed robbery to raise funds for the ANC in which one person was injured.

- Joseph Makhura, convicted of two bomb blasts outside military targets in which no one was seriously injured.

- Tulani Isaac Mabaso, 28, of Johannesburg, serving 18 years for an explosion at a SADF medical centre in which no one was seriously injured.

- Mafi Pericahl Ngobozon, 23, of Durban, serving 12 years for attacking Ekishaweni police station, a common goal was a home-made bomb blast at Empangeni post office in which people were injured and a common purpose home made bomb blast at Sanlam centre in which no one was injured. All his co-accused have been released.

- Kaleb Mgashoa of Johannesburg, serving 12 years.

- Musa Nkowa of Johannesburg.

- Patrick Khoza, 26, of Witbank, serving 18 years for terrorism for promoting the aims of the ANC and for the common purpose murder of a policeman.

- Johannes Mahliangu, 32, of Bronkhorstspruit, serving 18 years for terrorism, armed robbery, attempted murder, leaving the country illegally, membership of the ANC, possessing illegal documents, attempting to rob a bottle store to raise funds for ANC, firing shots at a person there during a confrontation and shooting a policeman.

- Rufus Nzo, 32, serving 20 years, and Moidisile Douglas Tsutu, 56, serving 25 years. Both from Port Elizabeth, they were convicted of treason, terrorism, possession of arms, ammunition and explosives, attempted murder, fraud and exploding a bomb on the Swartkops railway line.

- Bofana Charles Thlapane, serving 20 years, Atty Atlaaaxes Pari, serving 23 years and Christo Mofokeng, 34, serving 20 years, for murdering two police informers.
Call to join units

ANC defence units, established last month, were operating successfully despite a death toll of more than 70 in Soweto since May 1, a spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Tokyo Sexwale, a member of the organisation's violence-monitoring group, said: "Most of the people who die are members of the ANC, PAC or Azapo. Don't die while fighting Inkatha, but are bystanders who go out of their yards when there is the threat of an attack."

Whenever there was a threat of an attack, defence unit members assembled at a central meeting point to decide on what defensive action to take.

However, residents failed to join the group and stood outside their homes, making themselves vulnerable to attack.

He called on residents to join the units, which operated like neighbourhood watch patrols in white suburbs.

The units were not a military wing but were controlled by residents with the aim of defending themselves. - Sowetan Correspondent.
Women of the nation flex their muscles

Picture: An organizer of the Women of the nation's executive, a woman wearing a headscarf, is seen at the demonstration.

Several thousand women from the ANC's Women's League, including the national president, and other women's groups, took to the streets in a protest against violence and discrimination.

The Women's League called on women to stand together and demand an end to violence against women. They called for an end to femicide and for the government to take action to protect women's rights.

The protest was organized in support of the Women's National Convention's call for a national day of action against violence.

The Women's League also called for the government to provide more resources to help women who have experienced violence.

The protest was peaceful, with no incidents reported.

The Women's League has called on all women to join the protests and to demand an end to violence and discrimination.
LUSAKA — President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria and PLO chief Yasser Arafat will join the ANC's Nelson Mandela and representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress at a meeting of Frontline heads of state in Lusaka tomorrow to discuss violence in South Africa.

Diplomatic sources in Lusaka said the purpose of the meeting was to impress on South African leaders the need to maintain the momentum of peaceful constitutional negotiations.

This follows on from a meeting of the Frontline states Foreign Ministers in Gaborone in April to prepare for a summit meeting on sanctions.

All the Frontline heads of state except President dos Santos of Angola will attend to morrow's meeting, which will be chaired by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Deploiring the continuing violence in South Africa, President Kaunda said: "This must stop if we are to attain our goals. Why should black kill black?"

South Africa's black leaders were mature politicians who should get together to iron out their differences if the country was to see real peace, he said.
Police swoop as death toll rises

POLICE backed by SADF troops yesterday launched a massive operation in Reef townships aimed at curbing violence, while yesterday's unrest death toll reached 19. And violence reached the Western Cape, with a number of stone-throwing incidents at Khayelitsha.

Operation Stabilise saw security forces out in force in Soweto, while East Rand hostels and a squatter camp were searched for weapons.

Police mounted a three-hour search for weapons in the mostly ANC-supporting Mandela Park squatter camp near Daveyton, Springs. No firearms were found, but police confiscated pangas and sharpened iron rods, recovered a stolen car, seized a bag of dagga and arrested four men.

Home-made weapons had also been seized in raids on Inkatha-supporting hostels in Thokoza, Kottehong and other East Rand townships, a spokesman said.

Yesterday's death toll of 19 in unrest incidents countrywide has raised the total since the beginning of May to 152.

In Tembisa, six people died in a single gun battle, while three others - including the son of a Tembisa councillor - were killed in separate incidents.

A spokesman said the Tembisa councillor's son was killed at his father's home by a municipal policeman who had been standing guard. Mr Johannes Kheswa was shot dead after failing to identify himself and reaching into his jacket when challenged by the guard.

Police said a group of men on Wednesday shot and killed a man and a woman with AK-47 rifles and wounded five men.

Two people were killed and 31 injured when two handgrenades exploded during a street clash at Eikeni, a township near Hartbeesfontein. Two people died in continuing unrest at Port Shepstone, and in Soweto police discovered the body of a man who had been stabbed to death.

Four people died at Soweto's Chicken Farm squatter camp.

The body of a man with lacerated wounds was found at Vosloorus.

Violence flared in Khayelitsha early yesterday, with at least three private vehicles being burnt out and many others being damaged by stone-throwers.

Running gun battles between supporters of the ANC and Inkatha erupted at Malukazi near Labanpo on the Natal South Coast yesterday, but serious bloodshed was averted after the organisations convened a peace meeting.

- Owned Correspondents, Staff Reporter and Sapa
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— Own Correspondents, Staff Reporter and Sapa
Church leaders plan peace talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The secretary-general of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, confirmed yesterday that church leaders are planning a national peace conference if all parties did not attend President P.W. de Klerk's peace summit later this month.

Mr. Chikane said church leaders will travel to Ulundi on May 20 to persuade Inkatha Leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in what he called a "peace conference of affected communities."

The ANC has indicated that it will not attend Mr. de Klerk's May 23 and 24 summit because it wants a summit to be convened by an independent party.

Earlier this week, Chief Buthelezi said he would reconsider participating if the government was seen to be accepting the ANC accusation that Inkatha was responsible for fomenting township violence.

Mr. Chikane said the churches did not want to compete with the government in setting up a peace conference. He said a conference of "affected communities" would not include the government.

Mr. added that Chief Buthelezi had expressed differences with the church leaders, and that the conference had been delayed until he agreed to take part.
Businessmen aim to tackle the violence

VIOLENCE, unity among black organisations and the role business must play in post-apartheid South Africa, came under focus during the three-day annual meeting of the Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) this week.

The meeting, whose theme was "Black Business in the Face of Political Change: Fabcos as a Catalyst for Black Economic Empowerment", condemned soaring township violence.

It was agreed that steps to end violence should seek ways to address the bloodbath without calling off further negotiations between the State President FW de Klerk and deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela.

**Violence**

In his keynote address Fabcos president Mr James Ngcoya said the Government must use all its might to resolve the issue of violence without further loss to human life and limb.

Fabcos urged the withdrawal of live ammunition by the police as a measure to assist in rebuilding the tarnished image of police, and taking strong action against irresponsible police elements.

**Firearms**

"The Government is urged to disarm all other members of the community and to suspend all existing firearm licences. No new licences should be issued. Government should make the possession of any lethal weapons illegal and punishable," he said.

Ngcoya called for an urgent and unconditional meeting between Mandela, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, PAC president Mlambo Malwethu and Azapo president Phandelani Nofolohlavwe.

The meeting was attended by delegates from ANC, PAC, Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and Azapo.

**Carnage**

PAC's deputy president Advocate Dingang Motene said: "The State, which suppressed our people for over 300 years, cannot be heard to say they cannot stop this carnage. It suits the State not to stop the violence.

"Our people, in this regard, reserve the right to defend themselves."

**Plea**

Dr Oscar Dlamini, chairman of the Multi-Party Democracy, called on the ANC and Inkatha leaders to continue talks about peace, difficult as it might be at this time.

"There is no alternative to peace and reconciliation," he said.

ANC's director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki called for an end to violence, including in the taxi industry.

He urged that Fabcos play a leading role in advancement of black business.
WEATHERING THE STORM

President F W de Klerk was keeping his cool this week as the deadline for the ANC’s ultimatum to end the violence approached. A senior government source said the President viewed the crisis as one of the many difficulties he had expected in the prenegotiation phase.

De Klerk was apparently confident that the planned summit on violence would go ahead on May 24-25 and insisted that he — rather than someone outside government — would convene it.

The President’s approach in the face of what is widely seen as the most serious threat so far to the reform process follows a week of parliamentary debate in which he repeatedly said for an end to violence and for participation by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in peace talks.

It is clear that ending the violence has become De Klerk’s priority but attaining it still seems elusive.

In parliament this week Law & Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen said the police were doing all they could under difficult circumstances to contain the conflict.

Without naming specific organisations, he accused “political opportunists” of making scapegoats of the SAP, which undermined police morale to the detriment of the whole country.

He warned that the SAP was SA’s only police force and would be the “new South Africa’s” only force. “We need every policeman and woman — today, tomorrow and in the future,” said Viljoen.

Despite perceptions to the contrary, Viljoen told parliament that the number of unrest incidents in the first four months of this year were down by an average of 50% compared with the corresponding period last year. However, the number of unrest deaths was up from 754 in the first four months of last year to 771 this year.

But Viljoen had no new ideas on how to stop the killing and merely pledged SAP support for De Klerk’s calls for an end to the violence.

During the debate on his budget vote in parliament last week, De Klerk himself gave the impression of a man with his head down plodding on resolutely in the face of a bitter storm. He seemed determined not to be put off by the crisis.

As one of his Cabinet colleagues said this week: “Now is not the time to lose one’s nerve.”

Suggestions that De Klerk was ready to offer Mandela and other leaders Cabinet seats in an effort to defuse the tension have been dismissed by senior government officials as incorrect interpretations. Both De Klerk and Constitutional Development Min-

ister Gerrit Viljoen have previously indicated a willingness to consider a joint executive body — or super Cabinet — but flowing out of a multiparty conference rather than proceeding it.

However, there is growing feeling in parliament and in church and business circles that a new initiative is needed to break what is seen as a serious logjam in the process. It is possible De Klerk will heed some of their calls.

Church leaders who met De Klerk in Cape Town last week were outwardly optimistic about an early end to the crisis (possibly reflecting De Klerk’s own optimism), and some of them are in contact with Mandela in an attempt to reconcile the two leaders.

There are indications that the churches see an important role for themselves to break the political stalemate by moving towards ending the township conflict.

In newspaper advertisements this week the SA Chamber of Business expressed the business community’s “deep concern” at the level of violence and its consequent threat to the negotiations process. It described the situation as critical and called for a “total strategy” to tackle the many causes of violence.

The chamber called for “narrow sectoral interests” to be put aside to achieve peace and stability. “We believe a starting point would be nationwide support for the State President’s conference on violence to be held on May 24 and 25 at which the foundations for a new strategy against violence must be laid.”

But some opposition parliamentarians believe efforts to get the peace and negotiations processes back on track require fundamental change of both attitude and action at executive level.

The DP’s Colin Eglin called on government to consider seriously a wide-ranging package aimed at creating the right atmosphere for reform. His proposals, put to De Klerk in parliament last week, included adapting the current administration to provide “bridging mechanisms” sufficiently flexible to absorb the pressures of the transitional phase.

“The question is whether we want to use the period of transition to broaden participation in decision-making, to remove mistrust by creating opportunities for joint responsibility, to promote confidence and to promote nation-building.”

“Or is the exclusion inherent in the tripartite constitution and the apartheid that is inherent in ‘own affairs’ going to continue right up to the day the Constitution is scrapped and replaced by a new one? Or is there going to be a transition mechanism?”

Eglin called for a government undertaking not to pass new legislation without first consulting extra-parliamentary leaders.

He also argued for a constitutional change to scrap “own affairs” and suggested that government could contribute to national reconciliation by moving immediately towards the recruitment and training of a public service more representative of SA’s national make up. He accused the State of failing again behind the private sector in the recruitment and training of blacks.

Other actions could include the appointment of more blacks to statutory boards such as that of the SABC and the Economic Advisory Council to give them a “true national character.”
"Lift sanctions and help stop violence"

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The international community could play a positive role towards ending the violence in South Africa and getting constitutional negotiations on track by lifting sanctions immediately, says Inkatha Freedom Party representative to the United States, the Rev Sipo Mzimela.

He made the comment on CNN's International Hour yesterday.

Mr Mzimela was interviewed after South African Ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz and the African National Congress representative in the United States, Ms Lindiwe Mabuza.

She had insisted Mr Mzimela did not appear at the same time as her because, she said, she did want the ANC and IFP to be forced into a public confrontation at such a sensitive time when the two organisations were discussing ways to end the violence.

Mr Mzimela said the only way the violence could be ended would be for all parties involved to sit down and talk.
MOST people would agree that the real issue in South Africa at the moment is that of violence. The nature of the violence, the causes of the violence and the way that all the major game-players are implicated in it.

The second most important issue is the way in which the violence is being represented in the media. From the alternative press through the mainstream press to the SABC in some ways this is an even more important than the violence itself because this is the route through which the violence is understood, legitimised and even propagated.

This was brought to mind on Monday evening when the first five minutes of the eight o'clock news were appropriated by the Minister of Police and the way that the police saw the violence. We had Vlok in Parliament, blustering about the efficiency of the police and quoting statistics that reflected a minimal improvement in the death rate over the past year.

Renamo

Then we had a long piece by Chris Ockers, the crime reporter, about the success that the police had had in recovering weapons and in closing down the main weapon routes from Mozambique. He did not mention the possibility that many of the weapons that are now being re-imported from Mozambique might have been supplied by the SADF to Renamo in the first place. talk about reap what you sowed.

The effect of the footage of weapons that had been recovered intercut with footage of township violence suggested a very important political point. Namely, that blacks were violent, that they possessed vast quantities of weapons and that the police were fighting a valiant and successful battle to try to disarm the threatening hordes.

In other words the feeling was created that violence occurs between blacks and in townships and the police are acting on behalf of whites to eradicate violence "out there".

Imagine what the reaction of the viewers would have been to seventeen people killed in Parktown North or Linden.

The political point is that while violence is "thought of as occurring "out there" it will not be taken seriously and the average white viewer is going to be very surprised (to put it mildly) when the violence actually comes to Parktown North and Linden.

SABC-TV is a prime culprit in creating this impression. But all the media are playing an old journalistic game that takes on very sinister overtones when played in South Africa. The game suggests that any society is naturally stable and orderly and whatever happens to disturb this is momentary and will pass by sooner or later.

But that is not what is happening in South Africa. Violence has been with us so long that whites now accept it as a part of their orderly society. Places like Sharpeville, Cato Manor, Uitenhage, Sebokeng and Langa have become normalised as violence that occurred "out there" to them.

In the cataclysmic upheaval that is part of the creation of new South Africa the myth is slowly being unmasked. The fact is that violence has become part of both the black and the white way of life. But the media still go on reflecting the myth. Do not adjust your mindset, we are simply experiencing technical problems!

The Monday evening television news cast was a further indication that SABC-TV news is rapidly degenerating to 1989 standards. What was suppressed in the news was the role of the police in the violence, whether perceived as actively encouraging it or not heeding warnings of impending violence (as many have alleged).

What was even more remarkable, however, was the language Vlok used in threatening the perpetrators of violence, the sort of Afrikaans that schoolteachers use to warn smokers that they will catch and severely deal with. It simply will not do. It seems that nature of broadcasting during this interim negotiating period needs to be monitored by an international agency if the SABC cannot put its house in order and act neutrally.
Goxt likely to heed ‘ban spears’ plea

The Government appears likely to meet the ANC’s demand for a ban within seven days on the carrying of “traditional” spears at political meetings.

This will ensure that the ANC continues constitutional talks with the Government — and will represent a substantial victory for the ANC’s controversial tactic of presenting the Government with an ultimatum of seven demands for action against the township violence.

Together with other concessions made by the Government, it will enable the ANC to argue that the Government has at last moved seriously to rein in the Inkatha Impis — even though some demands, such as the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, have not been met.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is believed to have put the new deadline to Mr de Klerk when they met in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Another intense round of shuttle diplomacy will probably take place over the next few days as the

PETER FABRICIUS: Political Correspondent

Government tries to persuade Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the ban on spears, and then finalises the deal with the ANC.

The Government’s agreement at this week’s talks to impose an immediate ban on the carrying in public of a long list of dangerous weapons — excluding spears — in the Reef unrest areas, helped to temporarily avert the ANC’s threat to call off negotiations on May 9.

Agreed

It is understood that the ANC also accepted Mr de Klerk’s promises to upgrade and convert township hostels and his assurances that police would act impartially in township violence.

There are suggestions that the Government also agreed that police should not use live ammunition against township demonstrators — in response to a specific demand in the ANC’s ultimatum.

But despite these concessions, Mr Mandela in... To Page 2.

Spears

effect extended the deadline, threatening to pull out of talks unless the Government took action on the carrying of spears on political occasions within seven days, sources say. He believes the ANC has no objection to “cultural” weapons such as spears and sticks being carried on truly cultural occasions such as Shaka Day.

Sapa reports that Zulu chiefs, in a strong statement issued by Inkatha yesterday in reaction to the proposed ban on cultural weapons, vowed they would never compromise on the issue. The statement came after a meeting of Zulu chiefs and “leading dignitaries” in Ulundi.
These are banned weapons

A GOVERNMENT Gazette was published yesterday banning the carrying of a long list of dangerous weapons in the unrest areas of the Roef.

The ban was discussed at Wednesday's meeting between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The list of weapons excludes spears and "ceremonial" axes, two weapons which are considered "cultural" and which the Government still tolerates.

The ANC believes that these two should be declared dangerous and forbidden — and this is likely to be the subject of urgent discussion between them and the Government.

A fine of R20 000 or a prison term of up to 10 years will be the penalty for breaking the ban.

Among the weapons declared dangerous are tools such as garden forks, spades and sickles and objects such as tubes or tyres, bricks and stones.

However, strict conditions have been laid down for genuine workers to be exempt from carrying these "weapons."

Written proof by the employer must be furnished. A member of security forces may request the person to show this proof of genuine employment and may arrest and detain for up to 12 hours anyone who fails to provide it.

The full list of dangerous weapons includes:

- firearm, including machine gun;
- panga; dagger; sword; knife — excluding pocket knife; axe — excluding ceremonial axe; stick shod with iron; metal rod; metal pipe; club; petrol bomb; stone; brick; crossbow; bow and arrow; pick; pick handle; garden fork; pitchfork; spade; sickle; scythe; hoe; gaff; hammer; spanner; screwdriver; chain and tube or tyre.

The ban will only apply in the proclaimed unrest areas — Tokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Tembisa, Alexandra and Dobsonville.
Spears, crux of peace talks
ANC should score from Spears ban

By PETER FABRIICUS
Political Staff

DEMANDS by the ANC for a ban, within seven days, on the carrying of “traditional” spears at political meetings seems likely to be met.

This will ensure that the ANC continues constitutional talks with the government — and will represent a substantial victory for the ANC’s controversial tactic of presenting the government with an ultimatum of seven demands for action against the township violence.

Together with other concessions made by the government, it will enable the ANC to argue that the government has at last moved seriously to rein in the Inkatha impli — even though some demands such as the sacking of Law and Order Minister Anderin Vilks and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, have not been met.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is believed to have put the new deadline to Mr De Klerk when they met in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Another intense round of shuttle diplomacy will probably take place over the next few days as the government tries to persuade Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the ban on spears, and then finalises the deal with the ANC.

An all-day meeting of the extended National Executive Committee of the ANC will be held on Monday to consider this week’s discussions between Mr Mandela and President De Klerk. The meeting will as well be attended by all regional chairpersons and delegations from the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The government’s agreement at this week’s talks to impose an immediate ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons — excluding spears — in the Reef unrest areas, helped temporarily to avert the ANC’s threat to call off negotiations on May 9.

It is understood that the ANC also accepted Mr De Klerk’s promises to upgrade and convert township hostels and his assurances that police would act impartially in township violence.

There are suggestions that the government also agreed that police should not use live ammunition against township demonstrators — in response to a specific demand in the ANC’s ultimatum.

But despite these concessions, Mr Mandela in effect extended the deadline, threatening to pull out of talks unless the government took action on the carrying of spears on political occasions within seven days, according to ANC sources.

His view is that the ANC has no objection to “cultural” weapons such as spears and fighting sticks being carried on truly cultural occasions such as Shaka Day but that political meetings are not such occasions.

Government and police sources acknowledge that they will probably have to meet this demand, although it will be difficult to persuade Chief Buthelezi. Mr De Klerk failed to do so when he met the Inkatha leader in Cape Town early this week.

See page 16
Tutu calls for UN solution to SA v

By DALE KNEEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has called for the formation of an "impartial, para-military force" to end the violence which threatened negotiations between the ANC and government this week.

Foreign police and military instructors could train the force's members, who would be recruited from all sections of the community, he said in an exclusive interview.

"The ideal situation would be something like Umtata in Namibia. There would be no doubt about the impartiality of a force like that."

However, a force of South Africans, monitored by an international group could also satisfy the government's demand for sovereignty and the public's demand for impartiality.

Even if the police, Defence Force and armed wings of the ANC, PAC and Inkatha joined forces there would still be too much suspicion for the force to work.

He said that unless the public gave the force its approval there would always be "claims and counter-claims".

Also, there would be no solution to the violence unless there was a force that was "professional and apolitical".

The fact that different groups claim that the police act in favour of another group is an indication that they (the police) do not enjoy the confidence of the people they serve.

The public was suspicious of the police because they had enforced "vicious and immoral" laws for many years and "seemed to enjoy" doing so.

"They showed extraordinary zeal in carrying out their duties. There were detentions, torture and mysterious deaths of people in detention."

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok had said most policemen were "good" and only a few were "bad" but most black people believed "most policemen are bad".

He said he believed President De Klerk was not doing enough to end the violence.

"Nothing he does will ever be enough while the violence continues."

Mr Vlok defended the police with "knee-jerk responses" every time they were criticised, even though the criticisms were made with good intentions.

Archbishop Tutu said the violence could be attributed to instability in times of transition, a history of black deprivation and political rivalry.

Groups who thought they would be excluded from a significant place in the negotiation process were "likely to do a great deal to be noticed."

It was important that every effort be made to include every group in talks about the new South Africa.
War talk scares off the money

After recent promising signs that foreign investors are again prepared to commit funds to South Africa, investment perceptions seem to have taken a turn for the worse.

Speculative reports that South Africa seems to be heading for an ungovernable Lebanon-type situation are beginning to appear in newspapers.

Overseas investors, as usual, do not consider whether or not these reports are correct. The pull-out from South Africa continues.

According to Johannesburg Stock Exchange chairman Peter Redman, there is still a net outflow from the JSE by non-residents. Up to R60-million has been flowing out of the market in one week.

"A lot of the positive actors associated with reform, including acceptance of South Africa into overseas financial markets, are being hampered by concern by non-residents about the level of violence. Everything is in place for new investment, but this is being hampered by violence," he says.

But are we really in such dire straits as these reports make out?

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela continually makes it clear he is still determined to ensure peace and progress in South Africa through negotiation. Yet it was his widely reported ultimatum statement which appears to have created consternation in certain influential business circles.

Yet Mandela sees the statement, containing conditions for continued negotiations, as a major effort to keep these talks on track.

One wonders whether political leaders of all persuasions should not get together and at least try, as far as possible, to take the politics out of our struggle, he says.

Investments that can create thousands of jobs are leaving a home somewhere else in the world.

At the same time, those local businessmen who are taking their money out of the country through every means at their disposal (mostly illegal) should show a change of heart.

How can one expect foreigners to invest in South Africa if so many of our own businessmen have lost confidence?
To Carry Spears
Over Zulu Right

Talks Founder

Souscription de Klerk, London-based lobbyist, according to the Constitution of South Africa, counts to 138 for an instrument. The document is an instrument of the Constitution of South Africa, which was adopted in 1994. The instrument is a legal document that outlines the rules and regulations for the operation of the government. The instrument is also known as the Constitution of South Africa.

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The violence that sets our worlds apart

IT IS the weariness in the eyes more than the voice that reveals the personal cost to Nelson Mandela of leading the ANC.

"When the top leaders return to their homes you will find crowds waiting at their gates, you will find people inside your house waiting. Before you go to bed you have to address their problems," he says.

He was at the modestly furnished office at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg's Roberts street. Only minutes before he had been at another ANC office discussing with police officers the shooting of a whitelander by an ANC security guard the night before.

As Mr Mandela talks he displays characteristic gestures: he presses his hands together as if in prayer.

"When people have relatives who have been killed you can't say please go to your local ANC branch in your region. You have to try to help.

"When you see people dying every day, people who are bereaved and people who are suffering from shock, then you discuss the question of the banning of dangerous weapons, ammunitions in particular, and the government says 'No, we are not going to ban these because they are cultural weapons,' your attitude, of course, becomes one of outrage, one of revolution.

This is the frustration, he says, which led to his organization issuing its May 9 ultimatum which this week brought negotiations to the brink of collapse before six hours of talks with President De Klerk revived them.

The deputy president has survived the most difficult weeks of his life since his release from prison last year. On his flanks he is confronted by a rampant National Party and an embittered Inkatha. Within, battalions of his followers are impatient with what they see as his "softness" with the De Klerk administration.

Failed

Mr Mandela believes part of the problem is that Mr De Klerk and his colleagues, living in areas untouched by the violence, do not understand the atmosphere that exists in the townships, the deaths of relatives among the hands of gangsters.

"They are looking at the matter academically. That is why we have difficulty in convincing them that you can't allow the carrying of weapons of death which have been responsible for the killing of so many innocent people." Last week, two of Mr Mandela's relatives were killed in the fighting. He does not mention it in the interview.

It was not just the government that had failed to get a sense of the terrible toll violence was exacting in black communities, charges Mr Mandela, the media and the white public at large were also unaware.

"You must understand that we live under different conditions. The whites live far away from the black areas. They live in areas which are not all the modern facilities which guarantee security and safety. The places are sufficiently patrolled by the police.

"The attitude of the police is very positive towards white residents. But there are also many bad policemen who are actively engaged in weakening the ANC. Areas are being attacked and people are being killed and injured... the perception is that the police are doing nothing about it.

"It is only when members of Inkatha, when people from the hostels are being attacked that the police immediately open fire.

Despite his frustration over the government's failure to act to end violence, he does not question the integrity of Mr De Klerk. "Why would I question the integrity of a person if I did not believe in his integrity," he asks. Then there is the good personal chemistry between himself and Mr De Klerk. It helped a great deal this week.

"But one must understand that Mr De Klerk and myself are not the only players, even in regard to the National Party and the ANC. There are many players who are important and who are contributing positively and decisively to the progress that we are making.

Support

He warns, however, that if "the government does not address the demands there can be no doubt that the peace process will be derailed. You have to take the situation seriously, because whether we are going to negotiate or not is going to depend on whether the government is able to address all these demands, not just part of them." But he has a message for the country.

"We would like all South Africans to support the process of negotiations and to make it difficult for those who want to destabilize us. We appeal to all South Africans to make it difficult for people to revel in the spilling of blood of innocent people of this country.

"It is not true to present the issue as black-on-black violence. It is something totally different. And it is even less true to present it as a clash between the ANC and Inkatha. It is an attack by some members of Inkatha on innocent residents.

"I am not going to suggest that what is going on and the people of South Africa must resist with actions and make sure that the atmosphere is created for meaningful negotiations."

MIKE ROBERTSON face to face with Nelson Mandela in the week that negotiations came closest to collapse

NELSON MANDELA . . . 'It is not true to present the issue as black-on-black violence'

Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN
Assegai issue ‘may be resolved soon’

CAPE TOWN — Government was confident of resolving the impasse over the carrying of assegais at political rallies and other “non-cultural” events.

A senior source said the May 9 ultimatum had come and gone and government had managed to find a way through.

And despite ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela having put the negotiations on hold until Thursday — by when government is called upon to ban the public brandishing of spears — negotiators believed they would find ways to keep the talks on track.

Negotiators were also confident they would be able to overcome the ANC’s reluctance to participate in the summit on violence which is two weeks away.

One source said while President F W de Klerk may not have consulted Mandela about holding the summit, he had not set the agenda or prescribed a programme.

The programme and agenda still had to be planned by the parties involved.

De Klerk’s job of finding a way to persuade Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the ban on assegais has been made that much more difficult by the weekend decision by Zulu chiefs that they would never compromise on the carrying of traditional weapons and the ANC Youth League’s statement that it gave “unqualified support” to the ANC’s initial seven-point ultimatum.

Last week Buthelezi warned government that any ban on spears would not be tolerated by Zulus and could spark even greater violence.

It is understood De Klerk would be involved in a fresh round of consultations with Mandela and Buthelezi this week.

Government negotiators started a fresh round of shuttle diplomacy at the weekend, trying to arrive at a deal whereby spears would only be allowed at strictly cultural events such as KwaZulu’s Shaka Day celebrations.

What was really required was that Buthelezi and Mandela meet each other and thrash something out, a source said.

What government needed was for the two leaders, or their representatives, to meet.

Negotiators were keeping close contact with Mandela and Buthelezi in order to resolve the impasse.

One source said the Summit on Violence would also enable the two parties to thrash out a joint approach on peace.

He said while there was an urgency for government to resolve the assegai issue they did not understand why they were given an absolute deadline of seven days.

Govt defends VAT on medical services

VAT was imposed on medical services after the Medical Association of SA objected to government’s initial proposal that these services be exempt, deputy minister of Finance and National Education Theo Alant said in a statement at the weekend.

The imposition of VAT on medical services has been criticised, with the Representative Association of Medical Schemes estimating that it would add R410m a year to SA’s private health care bill.

The average medical scheme member would have to pay an extra R180 a year, over and above annual increases.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz
Re: Anglo-Indo project

The Minister of Defence, in his recent statement on the Anglo-Indo project, has made it clear that the project is a cornerstone of our defence strategy. However, there are concerns about the cost and the potential impact on the local economy. The project is estimated to cost £150 million and is expected to create 2,000 jobs.

The opposition has raised questions about the project's feasibility and the government's ability to manage such a large project. They argue that the government should focus on other pressing issues and that the funding could be better used elsewhere.

The government, on the other hand, maintains that the project is essential for our defence needs and that it will bring long-term benefits to the country. They also argue that the project is being managed carefully and that the potential risks are being addressed.

In conclusion, while there are valid concerns about the project, it is important to consider the broader strategic implications. The government should continue to work with the opposition to ensure that the project is managed effectively and that the interests of all stakeholders are considered.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Minister of Defence

[Date]

[Government Letterhead]
ANC-IFP meeting in Natal raises hopes

DURBAN — Hopes for an end to political violence in the Umgeni area on Natal's South Coast were raised yesterday after a successful joint ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party peace rally in the area.

ANC: southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdhlalose—both expressed optimism after the rally that the joint peace initiative would help to end violence in the area.

About 300 Inkatha and ANC supporters packed Umgeni's tribal court yesterday morning to hear their leaders plead for an end to violence and call for political tolerance.

"There is no doubt this is the beginning of peace in the area. Everyone here conveyed the message of peace and there's no reason to believe peace will not come," Dr Mdhlalose said after the rally.

"We hope it will raise the spirit of hope for peace," Mr Zuma said. "We hope... this kind of meeting will have an impact on everyone."

Both leaders emphasised that people in the area wanted peace and expressed optimism that their message would filter through the community.

Sapa.
ULUNDI — South Africans were reaching the stage where they were killing each other in fights about who should lead and not about what policies should be introduced or what direction South Africa should take, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe- lezi said yesterday.

Addressing an annual prayer-day meeting at Ulun- di, the KwaZulu Chief Minis- ter and president of the In- katha Freedom Party said: “This we have never seen. This is evil and this must now end.” He said the more he looked around him at political South Africa, the more he realised the extent to which the politi- cal strife and the killing of peo- ple did not flow from irreconcilable ideological differences.

Strife

“It is totally unnecessary from an ideological point of view for South Africans to kill each other.

“Quite often those who kill each other are actually pro- fessing the same basic political values.”

Chief Buthelezi said much of the strife today was deter- mined by greed for power and the insistence on being the per- son, the leader or the political party which wielded the power.

He apologised publicly to anyone who had been hurt or had suffered directly or indi- rectly for any reasons relating to his leadership.

And he called on fellow blacks to forgive their oppres- sors for “the generations of suf- fering that white racism and greed” had created.

This forgiveness had, how- ever, to be counter-balanced by repentance on the part of whites and the repentance had to be associated with restitution.” — Sapa.
November’s men censored

Cape Times, Monday, May 13 1991

Men’s gloves planned for Thatcher tour

Hopeful about SA

ANC denies plan for Thatcher tour
SOUTH Africans were reaching the stage where they were killing each other in fights about who should lead and not about what direction South Africa should take, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing an annual prayer day meeting in Ulundi, he said: “This we have never seen. This is evil and must end now.”

The more he looked around him the more he realised that political strife and the killings did not flow from irreconcilable ideological differences.

Buthelezi said so much of the strife was determined by greed for power.

In a solemn pledge “before Almighty God,” Buthelezi undertook never to be tempted into becoming an active participant in the use of political violence because it was being used against him.

He apologised publicly to anyone who had suffered directly or indirectly for any reasons relating to his leadership.

He called on fellow blacks to forgive their oppressors for “the generations of suffering that white racism and greed” had created.

This forgiveness had, however, to be counter-balanced by repentance on the part of whites and by a real desire for blacks and whites to move into the future together.

**Repentance**

Repentance had to be associated with restitution. Blacks who had had their land grabbed must be helped to regain the rights they had lost.

Taking away title land from whites and giving it to blacks would cripple the agricultural economy and destroy the whole process of capital formation and the productive capacity of mining, banking and industry.

**Restitution**

Restitution had to consist of working with blacks to produce wealth and in spreading it to uplift black society from destitution.

“We as blacks should not be looking for restitution as handouts from whites,” he said. “We do not want that superior benevolence ... We want a fair and just society.” - Sapa.
More talks this week to seek ways of peace

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

GOVERNMENT negotiators will meet the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week to try to curb the violence.

The ANC has given the government until Thursday to ban dangerous and traditional weapons, including spears.

Inkatha leaders object to the banning of Zulu "traditional" weapons.

The government has prohibited the carrying of dangerous weapons in unrest areas with the exclusion of spears.

A meeting of the ANC’s national executive scheduled for today has been postponed until Friday.

An ANC spokesman said some members were not available. Some have been at a meeting in Lusaka.

Today’s meeting would mainly have been a report-back by Mr Nelson Mandela on his meeting with President De Klerk last week when ANC demands were discussed on issues such as the display of dangerous weapons in public, police behaviour and workers’ hostels.

A meeting of the NEC on Friday will consider whether there has been a satisfactory response from the government, especially on the question of spears which the ANC wants banned.

The movement also opposes the ban on open-air meetings in some areas.

The ultimatum to the government, which expired on Thursday has in effect been suspended for a week.

Mr Mandela's attitude is that if Mr De Klerk gives a satisfactory response the two of them can meet again.

It seems unlikely that the ANC will attend the summit on violence on May 24 and 25.

The ANC leadership feels that Mr De Klerk took a unilateral decision to hold the summit without consulting it. There is now the possibility of a similar meeting organised by churches.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the problem of violence had to be solved between the conflicting parties. Leaders had to get together and this had to work through to ground level.
A township night, full of nothing but terror

I WAS never as scared as I was last weekend, yet I thought I already experienced the worst of the violence that has relentlessly gnawed away at our social fabric.

I had lived to tell the tale on the last Sunday of October 1976 when police shot at mourners inside Soweto’s Constitution during the funeral of university student Mr Jackie Mashabane, who died in the hands of the security police at John Vorster Square.

Talking and walking next to me was my friend, computer-programmer Mr Sipho Mbothu. Suddenly he slackened his pace, groaning through a contorted face and slumped down.

How the shots missed me I will never know, but two smashed into his hip and Sipho was one of 14 people to die that afternoon.

Two weeks ago, I encountered three men inside the yard of Kroonstad police station and lived to tell the tale.

In March 1985, in the Eastern Cape town of Uitenhage, I escaped the worst horror imaginable - death by “necklacing”.

Residents of Langa and KwaNomathembu townships, incensed by the March 21 police shootings which killed 22 people, took to the streets.

They attacked all “collaborators” and in particular looked for businessman Mr Jimmy Klaasen who, they claimed, had amass his vast wealth by taking from the poor.

I had entered Langa township by stealth for after the shootings the authorities had banned all non-residents from the area. Only six trusted contacts knew me and my purpose for being there.

My physical features, apparently, closely resembled the wanted Klaasen’s and I was fingered as the fugitive trader.

The irony was that only the night before I had been one of many unwilling men pressed-ganged into a search party hunting Klaasen down.

The crowd came just after dusk, about 200-strong. They carried the traditional instruments of mob justice: axes, shovels, pitchforks, jerry cans of petrol, sticks and the like.

They invaded the home in KwaNomathembu section where I lodged in a backyard shack with a former detainee and a former Robben Island prisoner.

They declared their intention to kill “the dog”, then those who gave it succour, then burn down the home.

It was a scene straight out of hell.

A number of things saved me: the older members of the search party, having walked slower than the more zealous youths, arrived and promptly declared I was not Klaasen; I produced the return portion of an air ticket, my host’s credentials and, finally, my South African identity card with my name and photograph on it.

(Production of the official South African press card, which is “issued by the Newspapers Press Union in terms of its agreement with the SAP”, had almost worked on things. What, the mob wished to know, was my “agreement” with the police?)

Around midnight a second search party had arrived, a kind of back-up service just in case the first lot botched the mission. But a few trusted elders of the community from the first party had been left with me to vouch for my innocence.

My anonymity was blown, but at least I lived another day to tell the tale.

I have survived many other close encounters with death, including an incident in December 1976 when Mr Khulu Sibiya, now editor of City Press, and I were attacked by inmates of the nearby hostel.

They smashed the windows of our car with pangas and battle-axes (the violent use of “traditional” weapons has a rather longish history in our townships) and in our panic we drove into them and fled.

Later that same year in Meadowlands, covering unrest with the same Sibiya, we were missed by a hail of bullets fired without warning by the police. Six unfortunate died.

Yet last Saturday night was my scariest. Not because anything happened, but because of fear I would and hope it didn’t.

Perhaps that is what the townships are all about these days, an odd mixture of emotions: fear, anxiety, hope, suspicion and downright hatred.

In a way that is nearly impossible to describe, Soweto has almost receded into itself, despite appearances on the surface that all is well and we are manfully coping with our daily share of life’s trials and tribulations.

At some periods - it could be deep at night, it could be rush-hour in the trains, it could be any time and anywhere - mention of the “Zulus” evokes deep terror. Those mentioned as “the Zulus” are distinct from the Zulus.

Crazy. But just about everything these days in our townships in crazy.

Yet there is absolutely nothing evil about the Zulu hostel dwellers, many of whom are decent men with fears and hopes like the rest of us.

Saturday night was thick with whispers about head-banded terrorists from the hostels approaching in waves. Equally thick was the determination of residents in my township: “The Zulus and the police are the same thing, and we are going to defend ourselves from them.”

Where boulders and thick concrete slabs suddenly come from at such moments has never really been researched. But they make good barricades.

Houses switched their lights off. I have never used a weapon before in my life, but in the dark I searched for the axe I last saw many years ago when the government made it in a hurry to electrify our townships and we chopped wood every evening to feed the squad old Welcome Dovers long since rendered obsolete by the white touch-button magic.

The barricades and self-arming were the panic actions of a terrified neighbourhood, never mind the bravado about “defending ourselves”.

Scores of frightened women and children inside darkened homes watched every movement, in the streets through carefully parted curtains.

Finally dawn broke to provide a 12-hour respite before Sunday night began and the previous night replayed itself.

A man’s home is his castle? Perhaps. In our townships, though, as event after tragic event has sadly shown, a man’s home is also often his end.

Soweto’s cartoonist Len Sak is on leave. His work will reappear when he returns.

Soweto 13/5/77
De Klerk urges all to bury their differences

SOUTH Africans - black and white - should bury their inter-party differences and embark on a communication campaign to help build a new democratic country, President FW de Klerk said in Pretoria yesterday. (27/11)

De Klerk appealed to South Africans to extend hands of friendship and communicate with each other to help build a better country.

He was speaking at a function organised by the Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa to award him a gold medal. (27/11)

"We need to rise above inter-party differences and strive towards a common goal of making South Africa a democratic, safe and secure place for all of us," De Klerk said. - Sowetan Reporter.
A Simple but Grave Dilemma

Patrick Laurence analyses the critical dispute concerning the curing of spears.
"Ban those weapons!"

THE carrying of dangerous weapons in urban areas bore no relevance to the promotion of the Zulu culture, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa said yesterday.

Contralesa said the carrying of axes, spears, assegais and shields at rallies was "a gross distortion of our people's customs and traditions."

"It is an undisputed fact that the brandishing of dangerous weapons by Inkatha-supporting hands inevitably results in conflict with people they view as their opponents."

Contralesa said the rejection by the Zulu chiefs of a ban on traditional weapons was unjustifiable. - Sapa.
ANC sends peace message to security forces.

The message said that the ANC believed in the democratic principles of non-racialism and non-sexism. It called for a united, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa. The ANC believed that the people of South Africa should have a say in their own future. The ANC also called for an end to the violence and insecurity that had plagued the country.

The ANC believed that the security forces should be involved in peace talks and should be part of the solution to the violence. The ANC called for a united South Africa, where all people could live together in peace and prosperity. The ANC also called for an end to the violence and for the security forces to be involved in peace talks.
ANC’s plan to end township carnage

SOUTH Africa today stands on the brink of disaster. Only a supreme effort of will by the entire nation, acting with firm unity of purpose across the racial and ideological divide, can avert the tragedy.

In the long term, there can be no victors from the spiral of violence that has been set in motion. It is hoped that organisations representing millions of people, and South Africans who represent the highest ideals of humanity, will lend their weight to the proposals outlined below.

The Government must:

ACCEPT the overwhelming demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly as the only legitimate forms of effectively moving forward and away from apartheid and white minority rule.

AGREE to the establishment of a fully independent commission of inquiry to investigate all aspects of the violence throughout the country, including effective powers to thoroughly investigate the security forces, State apparatus and civil service. Such a commission should comprise men and women who have the confidence and respect of the nation.

MAKE adequate funds available for the displaced, the homeless and the injured. This fund should be administered through a neutral body, such as a specifically-formed inter-denominational trust.

Recipients should be victims of violence, irrespective of political affiliation. The violence has wiped out whole families, breadwinners and families have lost all their possessions.

Urgent assistance should be provided for transport, funerals and coffins to bereaved families. Particular attention should be paid to the needs of children made orphans due to violence.

GOVERNMENT officials must be held responsible for the actions of their departments.

PUBLICLY disband death squad units such as the CCB, Ascard and the operations that these units carried out, past and present, must be made public.

CONFINE foreign mercenary and paramilitary units such as Koovoo and 32 Battalion, whose notorious crimes are an indictment to the so-called Christian Western civilisation. In both Namibia and Angola, to clearly identified bases pending arrangements being made with governments of their respective countries for repatriation.

GIVE information as to where and why these foreign mercenary and paramilitary units have been deployed within South Africa.

ENACT legislation to ban the carrying of all weapons, traditional or otherwise, at any public rally, gathering or event.

ENACT legislation to disarm society as a whole.

The present police force has been trained to regard the ANC as the enemy that must be wiped out. Training manuals are still based on “total onslaught” and “terrorist” concepts. This training creates the framework within which the police force operates, and results in the kind of hostility generated towards the vast majority of our people.

To address this situation the following needs to urgently take place:

IMMEDIATE retraining of all police officers in a new police force with a different orientation be embarked upon, with emphasis on the role of the police as servants of the people.

This should have target objectives within the short, medium and long term.

promotion of officers, even within the existing force, who regard such a new orientation should be rapid, while those who are identified as unable to adapt to the new conditions should be dismissed.

POLICEMEN, who have become notorious for their brutality or callousness, let alone actively participating in massacres or individual killings, should be publicly identified and summarily dismissed.

POLICE should use standard methods of detection to uncover the perpetrators of violence.

It is inexplicable that with all the resources at its disposal, the security forces appear unable to find out what is common knowledge within broad-cross sections of our communities.

This can only be ascribed to a lack of will, rather than lack of ability.

POLICE should ensure that no armed groups are allowed to enter or leave any place of residence, public assembly or worship. Any group so doing should be immediately disarmed.

TRAIN commuters, in true Renamo tradition, have been a particular target of attack.

Police and railway police should ensure adequate protection at railway stations and main taxi and bus ranks. Communication systems should be established on the trains themselves to alert security services.

A PUBLICLY agreed code of conduct should be elaborated.

This should learn lessons from codes common in democratic countries, and be a result of consultation and contributions from the oppressed population.

POLICE should live among the communities they serve. If violence flares, it is they who should be deployed, as they know the community and the community knows them.

They are in a far better position to mediate and restore calm than riot squad units brought in from outside who have no knowledge of local issues or the leaders of the people.

POLICE must desist from the use of live ammunition, and employ only civilised methods of crowd control. Heavy weapons and live ammunition should not be used.

President FW de Klerk should publicly issue a specific order to the police force to act impartially and not use live ammunition.

ACT against those elements in the police force who are using criminal gangs to exacerbate violence, such as the Three Million Gang, or who, by omission and commission, allow violence to take place without taking the necessary steps to prevent or stop it.

SECURITY forces should act without political bias, and receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force.

All political parties, and we do not refer simply to the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party, should:

PUBLICLY call for an end to the present violence throughout the country. Each organisation should appeal to all its members.

To opposite page

Sowetan’s cartoonist Len Sak is on leave. His work will reappear when he returns.

Political comment In this issue by Aggrey Klaarat and Deon du Plessis. Newsbits by Sydney Mathubu. Sub-editing and headlines by Iwan Fynn.

All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Apartheid by other means

The South African Government has been accused, in an article published in the New York Times of substituting a new form of violence — the use of surrogate killers — to save white rule.

The attack came from Matthew Phosa, legal adviser to the ANC, who said that though the ANC was loath to make the “shocking claim” that the South African Government had instigated or condoned the black-on-black violence in South Africa, it had no alternative.

The article, which contained detailed criticism of President de Klerk’s handling of the township violence, was illustrated by a dismembered black hand, holding a dagger, being grasped by a white hand above the wrist, the dagger being driven downwards as in a death blow.

The article was published under the headline “Apartheid by other means: how Pretoria incites violence among blacks”.

Mr Phosa said the violence was being depicted by the white regime as an uncontrollable, spontaneous conflict between “tribes”, or between the ANC and Inkatha, with an implication that blacks are not fit to rule their country.

But the ANC, he said, had evidence that “paints a more sinister picture of the so-called black-on-black violence”.

The Government’s overnight transformation was accepted by the ANC, its violent past forgotten. But it may have simply substituted a new form of violence to save white rule, “turning to surrogates to avoid blatant displays of repression”.

The surrogates, Mr Phosa said, included gangs such as the Black Cats and Three Million Gang, mercenary troops such as the Koevoet of Namibia, hit squads and some Inkatha members.

“We have testimony from the groups’ members detailing police contacts. We gave this information to the Government, but nothing has been done.”

More evidence of police collusion intended to create or worsen the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha came from confessions by Sipho Madlala, a former South African Defence Force agent, who told how his unit had assassinated Chief Maphumulo. His charges had not so far been investigated.

Assassinations of ANC activists, he said, had risen dramatically and youths recruited by the security forces had told the ANC that other leaders were targets.

Mr Phosa concluded “We believe the Government’s actions last week are not nearly enough. Hit squads must be dissolved, and the police and defence Ministers fired.”

“We want an independent investigation of the murder of Chief Maphumulo and other atrocities.”

He added “A lack of action would be further evidence that the white State sanctions — and instigates — violence.”
The government could not be appeased. The conference was to be held in the presence of the President, but the President refused to attend. The President was seen in the corridors of power, with a cold expression on his face. The conference was called off.

After the conference, the government held a press conference to announce their refusal to compromise. The press conference was broadcast live on television. The President was seen staring blankly at the camera, with his hands clasped together in front of him.

In conclusion, the government was not willing to compromise on the issue of violence. The conference was a failure, and the government refused to negotiate.

[Image of a hand holding a gun]
Vlok and Buthelezi discuss traditional weapons controversy

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha leader has already indicated to the Government that even he dare not try to disarm Zulu men of their traditional weapons.

A gathering of Zulu chiefs at Ulundi increased the pressure on the Government by vowing not to give up their spears at any cost.

Compromise

It is not known whether Mr Vlok attempted, in Monday's conversation, to persuade Chief Buthelezi to order his men to lay down their spears.

A spokesman from Mr Vlok's office would only confirm, on inquiry, that the conversation took place.

But it is understood that the Government may be seeking a compromise by banning the carrying of spears in the officially proclaimed unrest areas of the Bophuthatswana.

Last week Mr Vlok announced a ban on the carrying of a long list of dangerous weapons in the unrest areas - but spears and ceremonial axes were specifically excluded.

It is highly likely that the Government and the ANC will also talk over the next few days about the issue.
Swanieville
Residents plan protest strike

Johannesburg. Krugersdorp's black community will hold a stayaway tomorrow to protest against Sunday's massacre of 27 people by an 'impl' in Swanieville squatter camp.

Krugersdorp Residents' Organisation (KRO) publicity secretary Ms Nomvula Mokonyane condemned the massacre yesterday, adding: "The involvement of the police in the murder is an outstanding fact.

"The slaughter strengthens our demand for the dissolution of the present government and the creation of a new one," Ms Mokonyane said.

Police have categorically denied involvement in the massacre.

- At Khayelitsha, a shack and two cars were set alight and other vehicles were stoned in the past two days, according to police.
- Police yesterday reported two people killed in the latest political violence, including a man hacked to death at Swanieville squatter camp, site of Sunday's massacre.

The second victim, a youth, was stabbed and hacked to death at Bonela in Port Shepstone, police said.

In other incidents reported by police yesterday:
- At Ndaleni, near Richards: a group of people fired at an SAPS vehicle. Police returned fire, slightly injuring a black man.
- At Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, police vehicles were stoned on a number of occasions, and
- At Schoenkop, near Vanderbijlpark, two private dwellings were damaged in petrol-bomb attacks. — Sapa
Leaders ‘to plan summit’

Political Staff

THOSE invited to the summit on violence had been asked to take part in planning the agenda and programme, President F W de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday.

However, important role players were using the violence for political mileage and prevaricating about attending. Mr De Klerk said during an interpellation by Mr Tony Leon, DP, Houghton.

Mr Leon asked if the summit would go ahead despite important role players indicating they would not attend.

He said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had been quoted as saying he would not attend because Mr De Klerk had called the meeting unilaterally.

"That is not a good reason - because if the final responsibility is upon us — if I am blamed every time anything goes wrong with regard to violence — then it is I as spokesman for this government and this government who must take the initiative," Mr De Klerk said.

"To shoot it down now is playing politics with the issue of violence.

"We are going out of our way to have maximum attendance at the summit."

"I would like to see Mr Mandela and the ANC there. I would also like to see the Conservative Party there. But you can’t force them to be there."

It was fundamental that as many leaders as possible should meet.

The government would go ahead with the summit — but "not in the sense of confrontation, not with any arrogance."

Mr De Klerk repeated his plea that those who had not yet decided or were on the point of refusing to attend, should reconsider.

All parties had an obligation to discuss the best way to solve "the single biggest problem in the country."

The Democratic Party’s caucus chairman, Mr Colin Eglas, pleaded for Mr Mandela, "who is so important in the process of national reconciliation," to attend.

"Equally we ask the government to do everything possible to enable this to happen."
Strike follows AWB attack

JOHANNESBURG. — The Western Transvaal town of Venterdorp was yesterday reported to have been deserted on the second day of a work stayaway by residents of Tshing township.

At the weekend, Tshing and the nearby Goedgedwenden farm were attacked by armed right-wingers seeking to evict squatters from the farm.

Operation Masakhane for the Homeless spokesman Mr Basheer Lorgat said the stayaway was "100% successful".

This was largely confirmed by traders interviewed in the town. One trader, who did not wish to be identified, said Venterdorp looked like a ghost town. He added that his business had dropped off by 90%.

Another store manager said there were no black buyers in the town.

A Venterdorp local government official, however, denied that a stayaway was in progress, and claimed that black employees had turned up for work.

Mr Lorgat said Tshing residents had decided that emergency services workers would be exempt from the stayaway, and they had reported for duty.

A local ANC leader alleged that Khaki-clad AWB members were patrolling the entrance to Tshing township yesterday, although police denied the claim.

Tshing residents would decide today over the stayaway and a possible consumer boycott, Mr Lorgat said, warning of a "long-term consumer boycott if the situation doesn't change dramatically". — Sapa
Buthelezi, FW
in crisis impasse

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi held another round of crisis talks at Tuynhuys yesterday with just one day remaining before the expiry of the ANC's deadline for a ban on cultural weapons.

The 11th-hour talks, which were also attended by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Viljoen, were set up amid great secrecy in a bid to break the deadlock on the row surrounding the public brandishing of spears.

However, a brief joint statement issued last night after a marathon negotiation session indicated that a way round the impasse had not yet been reached.

The statement, issued after the Cape Times had got wind of the meeting, said: "We had a constructive and friendly meeting today. The discussions mainly focused on the need to combat violence and intimidation as well as the issue of firearms and other dangerous weapons."

"It was decided that further discussion will take place."

Government sources declined to say when the next round of talks would take place but it appeared from the terse statement that Chief Buthelezi had raised objections about the ANC's access to firearms at a time when it was insisting that Inkatha supporters be disarmed of traditional weapons.

Defiance vow

The ANC has threatened to break off all talks with the government tomorrow if its demand for a ban on carrying spears and ceremonial axes — except on strictly cultural occasions — is not met by the government.

For their part, traditional Zulu chiefs have vowed to defy any government instruction for their followers to forgo carrying traditional weapons like spears.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told journalists yesterday that Mr De Klerk had not contacted him since their marathon meeting in Pretoria last week to find a way round the impasse.

However, a full meeting of the ANC national executive committee will meet on Friday to consider the government's response to the postponement of its ultimatum on violence.

Mr Viljoen, who spoke to Chief Buthelezi by telephone earlier this week about the vexed issue, had to break away from yesterday's crunch Tuynhuys talks to participate in debates in Parliament on clashes between right-wing farmers and squatters.

It is not clear when the major players in the controversy — the government, Inkatha and the ANC — will resume talks on the weapons issue.

Today Mr De Klerk has to chair a cabinet meeting and host former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher...
From previous page

supporters, to cease attacks with immediate effect.

TAKE effective steps to prevent acts of violence between their members or being carried out by their members.

RECOGNISE the right of both political organisations to exist with their own policies and programmes, and to create a climate of forced recruitment, vilification and intimidation.

ENSURE that all public facilities are accessible and available to all people, irrespective of their political affiliation.

TAKE the necessary steps to ensure that the security forces act with due respect for the sensitive community situations that exist.

UNDERTAKE extensive education and communication programmes within their constituencies and supporters to establish principles of democracy and political tolerance.

ENSURE that appropriate peace and communication mechanisms are established at local and regional level between different organisations.

Every effort should be made to have rapid and effective lines of communication between different levels of leadership so as to prevent rumour being used to foment attacks.

PUBLICLY appeal to members and supporters to calmly evaluate each situation, and not allow themselves to be blinded into attacks on unsubstantiated basis.

TRADITIONAL leaders from all parts of our country, at the level of Kings or Paramount Chiefs, should, jointly and individually, address all affected areas.

SUCH visits should have the support of, and be accompanied by, the appropriate level of representation from political parties, particularly the IFP and the ANC.

TRADITIONAL leaders and homeland governments should make every effort to prevent the recruitment and busling of people to trouble spots to engage in fighting.

This should be publicised, and where possible to ensure peace be restored and continued, and those involved in such recruitment disciplined by the appropriate authorities.

RELIGIOUS BODIES

Religious bodies have a vital role to play to bring an end to the violence. Inter-denominational action is urgently required.

A TRUST should be set up to administer the national fund created to assist the victims of violence. They should also ensure co-ordination regarding immediate relief for affected areas and communities.

Local religious institutions should assist where possible to ensure peace committees or communication mechanisms exist within communities.

There is an urgent imperative for events leading up to or during violence to be publicly monitored. To ensure this:

An independent Joint National Monitoring Committee should be established with immediate effect.

Those serving on this body should have the confidence of the widest cross-section of the population.

It should have sufficient resources at its disposal to ensure that effective monitoring, investigation, documentation and publicity are possible.

It should have the full backing of all political parties, including the National Party, trade unions, religious bodies, civic organisations, sports and cultural organisations.

The Government should undertake to assist such an independent monitoring body, especially where it concerns investigation of security forces and other civil service institutions.

An independent national commission of inquiry should be established. Its composition and terms of reference should be such that it is impartial and has the power, authority and respect to investigate without hindrance.

An independent judicial commission, comprising respected international figures, should be urgently convened to investigate all aspects of the revenge attacks.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IS VITAL

Time should be allocated on television and radio to all leaders to call for peace and political tolerance.

Facilities should be provided through newspapers and magazines for peace messages to be conveyed in all languages.

The media, particularly television, should do whatever possible to contain rumour. Reports should be as calm as possible and considered as possible.

Without affecting factual reporting, the media should consciously avoid reports which will create potential victims and potential attacks.
a blanket of tear
Wounds tester under
White supremacy dies as black bloodletting goes on
Business acts to kick-start peace summit

BUSINESS and church groupings have begun urgent efforts to ensure maximum participation in a proposed peace summit, ANC, church and business sources said yesterday.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed yesterday behind-the-scenes discussions were taking place with a view to a peace conference convened by an independent party.

However Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday called on leaders to commit themselves and make a success of the summit and not to indulge in petty politicking.

Religious and business organisations yesterday stressed their facilitative role was a low-key one, as they did not wish to be seen to be trying to take away the political initiative from the key players.

The ANC, which has refused to participate in government's proposed conference later this month, would "seriously consider" participating in a conference if it were convened by business and church groupings, Marcus said.

Business sources said yesterday that business and the churches were anxious not to "grab the initiative" but were prepared to play a facilitative role in future.

A number of business organisations were actively working to ensure discussions on violence take place, one senior business source said yesterday, but had no intention of convening an alternate conference.

SABC chairman Raymond Parsons said in a speech in Welkom last night "the role of facilitators — such as the churches and

Peace summit

[From Page 1]

Viljoen said De Klerk had felt compelled to call the summit on violence because he and government bore the final responsibility for law and order.

Referring to the ANC, he said it was the very critics of the summit who were foremost in criticising and challenging President F W de Klerk to take action about the violence.

Viljoen paid special tribute to Inkatha for "its long record in rejecting violence" and reaffirmed the party's position as a major role player in negotiations in a conciliatory stance following "the strong words" that were used by President F W de Klerk last week when he met Inkatha leader Cissie Mqgosuthu Buthelezi.

Reuters reports the ANC yesterday called for a people's police force, with the respect of the entire community, to stop the faction fighting.

See Pages 3 and 14
Townships need consensus policing

A MOUNTING death toll from continuing township violence highlights more than ever the desperate need for consensus policing in SA and begs the question: Is the SAP guilty of complicity or incompetence?

Consensus policing would entail consultation by police with the public at political and community levels and broad agreement on their responsibilities and actions.

Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Melford said at the weekend police could not stop the killing and violence. They could only control it.

This admission notwithstanding, how did a battalion of armed hostel dwellers creep undetected for 9am through an unrest area to slaughter 27 sleeping squatters, hacking and stabbing scores more and burning and destroying more than 100 shacks?

The police have gone to great effort to absolve themselves of blame for Swanieville. The attack took them completely by surprise, they say.

Inability

The attackers must have moved in small groups around Kigiso and across open veld towards Swanieville. The killing happened during a change of shifts, they explain.

An officer commanding the riot unit in the area denied the police's inability to prevent the killing was a source of professional embarrassment.

Swanieville and Kigiso were declared unrest areas on Saturday on the basis of police information that a "big fight" was imminent. A curfew was declared. Residents say they were warned by police to stay indoors, but not told why.

Hours later an impi of red-bearded hostel dwellers swept through the camp on a killing spree, unchallenged by a force specifically deployed to stop the killing.

Two senior police officers seek a committee meeting next day to inform refugees of their homes and lives were now safe and under 24-hour police surveillance. They were, hardly surprisingly, greeted with derision, disbelief and scorn.

Melford said it was not fair to SAP to stop the violence, but for the people involved.

The ANC claims the squatter camp was in the process of establishing defence units, a protection mechanism condemned by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen.

The SAP is desperately understaffed for the duty it is expected to perform, says a senior police officer.

Just over 100 000 policemen have to police 35-million people. Allowing for routine shifts, sick leave, and time off from a gruelling and dangerous job, only 24 000 personnel are available at a time.

This figure includes detectives and forensic units, administrative and logistical staff, and routine crime prevention units. More than 700 police stations need to be staffed.

SA has an estimated 2 policemen per thousand people. Britain, comparatively politically and non-violent, has four.

Melford said police in the world had the manpower to stop violence on the scale experienced in SA. But all the

SAP. "The people are killing each other. They are the only ones who can stop it. We can only do so much. When people kill, they kill."

He said people took advantage of the SAP being thin on the ground.

Hostels and squatter camps have long been key points of conflict. Even accepting that police can only try to control the killing, why was there no guard or monitoring unit at the Kigiso hostels on Sunday morning?

In declaring unrest in areas in terms of the Public Safety Act, Viljoen prohibited all dangerous weapons with the glaring exception of assgais, knobkerries and ceremonial battleaxes. Of the 27 people killed on Sunday, two were shot and the rest hacked and stabbed to death.

The Wit Project for the Study of Violence (PSV) sees consensus policing, at a political and community level, as a crucial element in restoring faith in the SAP.

At the same time, it would assist police work.

The PSV says there needs to be a broad agreement within communities on police priorities and actions — what they are doing and how.

This relies on the police establishing good relationships with communities within which they work. With confidence in the ability of the police to perform their function, people would willingly provide information critical to pre-empt crime and violence and, when it does occur, arrest the perpetrators of such acts.

The legacy of politically motivated policing runs deep, and has jeopardised the SAP's chances of being accepted as a credible, or legitimate, force for the maintenance of law and order, it says.

PSV acting director Graeme Simpson says problems plaguing the SAP now will continue to plague a future police force.

A future force will still face the perception that violence was historically sanctioned by both the state and its enemies as a legitimate means of either maintaining power or pressuring for change.

The SAP will be crucial in the development and building of a new police force, Simpson says. It will, however, have to prove itself capable of co-operation and to demonstrate it is reliable and accountable.

Breakdown

The SAP can no longer afford to be a fiercely defensive, self-regulating bureaucracy. Accountability and proven ability must be established at a national level. Community-police relations based on racial stereotypes need to be renegotiated.

In the face of a deep-seated mistrust and total breakdown in confidence in the police, now, more than ever, the SAP must build new community relations.

The starting point, perhaps, is to communicate a genuine commitment to the township residents, squatters and hostel dwellers to end the violence through consultation and negotiation as a first step towards consensus policing.
Police action ‘not the key to peace’

PRÉTORIA — Police action could deal with only the symptoms of the “violence disease” and keep warring factions apart, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

Addressing a Security ’81 conference organised by Pretoria University’s Institute for Strategic Studies, Scheepers said only a major effort by leaders, their organisations, communities and the affected institutions could bring about a change in attitude and replace the culture of violence with acceptable norms and values.

“This places an enormous responsibility on black leaders and stresses the need for a political solution to politically motivated violence.

“As part of the political transition process, certain organisations are involved in an intense power struggle — a main reason for the violence,” Scheepers said.

The police would have to continue talking to all leaders and their communities and make use of preventative methods such as keeping opposing parties apart, disarming them and acting as mediators.

Referring to the weekend’s shootings at Goedewonden, where police opened fire on farmers trying to remove a squatter community, Scheepers said such action would never be tolerated by government.

The blatant contempt farmers had shown towards the legal process now under way over the Goedewonden squatters represented a serious threat, Scheepers said.

Political intolerance was one of SA’s biggest problems, and South Africans should learn to exercise restraint and be more tolerant of one another, Scheepers said.

“People cannot take the law into their own hands, as has happened at Goedewonden,” he said.

It remained the aim of government to end politically motivated unrest and violence as rapidly as possible so that the police could perform their main task of fighting crime.

“Until this is done, criminal elements will continue concentrating on more vulnerable areas.

“In terms of human behaviour some scientists argue that slogans such as ‘the redistribution of wealth’ definitely contribute towards the increase in crime,’ said Scheepers.

He said incidents of politically motivated violence had decreased in the first four months of this year compared with last year. Scheepers said unrest incidents in the first four months of this year amounted to 2 601, less than half the 5 583 reported last year.
Violence helps drive builders from townships

VIOLENCE, political uncertainty and high unemployment were driving building companies from strife-torn townships, Time Housing regional director Kobus le Roux said this week.

Le Roux said in a statement Klerksdorp and surrounding areas had been hit hard by riots, faction-fighting and consumer boycotts.

"Spiralling violence, political uncertainty and high unemployment have combined to force an exodus from the mining areas of the western Transvaal by companies which were building houses for black families."

"All the big contractors are gone, but we are going to stay and keep on selling houses."

He added that the continuing violence had also made some building societies reluctant to provide mortgage bonds on properties.

FHA Homes CE John Weaver said it was becoming increasingly difficult to find contractors who were prepared to build in the townships.

"When we launched our housing project in Dobsonville (Soweto), one major building company did not tender for it," he said.

The reluctance of financial institutions to provide mortgage bonds was not making things easier.

NBS assistant GM Trevor Olivier agreed that township violence had led to fewer houses being built.

"Two years ago thousands of houses were built, but that has been reduced to a trickle by the violence. Builders cannot build and building societies cannot lend money to people who want to build houses because of the violence."

Beal Reed Homes MD Pat Culligan said the reluctance of builders to build in the townships was due to the enormous losses they were incurring through vandalism and theft.

"Equipment and other materials associated with building a house are being stolen and that has made building in certain areas non-viable. There is also the responsibility to one's employees. It is morally wrong to send people to work in violence-ridden areas where their lives will be in danger," Culligan said.

Building Industries Federation of SA (BIfsa) executive director Neil Frazer said at least six contractors had pulled out of the townships because of the violence.
Plea to put peace first

The Government called on the leaders of South Africa to co-operate in making a success of the coming summit on violence, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing debate on his department's budget vote, he said President de Klerk had felt compelled to call the summit because he and the Government bore the responsibility for maintaining law and order.

"It is the very critics of the summit who were foremost in challenging the State, President (on violence) and saying he must take action. "Therefore we call on them to commit themselves and lend their cooperation," he said.

He appealed to those who had been invited not to indulge in petty politicking, cavilling and carping when they considered the invitation.

They should act in a spirit of "let's put peace first." — Sapa.

The society described above is that of a century ago. We are no longer living in pre-Shakan or Shakan times. We are proud of our heritage and traditions, which have developed in accordance with society as it exists today, and a present-day understanding of personal safety and security. When one goes through the streets of KwaNongoma, Empangeni and Durban, one is not met by hordes of Zulu men carrying shields and spears, ready to spring to war or to their own defence.

Instead one sees ordinary people going about their lives in peace and without violence. Today we live in a society where personal safety and defence is the primary responsibility of the governing authority.

Shattered Communities

Every democrat who loves our country will surely agree that the democratisation process that has begun must be carried forward without any waste of time. But a necessary condition is the demilitarisation of the whole of our society and the curbing of violence.

Calls for the right to carry traditional or other weapons are inconsistent with this striving to restore peace and rebuild our shattered communities.

The scenes we witness daily, where young and old, women and children, are massacred, have no part of our cultural heritage.

* Inala is a regiment of the present Zulu King, King Zwelithini ka Cyprian.

Vusi Khanyile is head of the ANC's financial department and a former special assistant to the vice-chancellor of UCT.
IFP is the main source of peace: says Viljoen

The government has come under heavy fire from the United Party (UP) for its policies and the way it is handling the economy. The union has called for a national conference to discuss the country's economic problems. The UP has labelled the government as being out of touch with the needs of the people.

By Ismail Lakanlai

Speaking in his capacity as the leader of the United Party (UP), the main opposition party in South Africa, Mr. Viljoen said that the government was facing a crisis of confidence and that it was time for a national conference to be held. He added that the UP was ready to participate in such a conference.

In a remarkable move...
Violence used to ‘weaken ANC’

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck told an ANC public meeting in the constituency last night that township violence was playing into the hands of a “Fifth Column” in President de Klerk’s government.

He said this Fifth Column was opposed to reconciliation and already saw itself engaged in an election battle against the ANC “and is quite willing to use dirty tricks” to weaken the ANC.

Mr Van Eck told the audience of about 200 that although there was “no evidence that this Fifth Column is overtly or covertly involved in the township slaughter, there is no doubt that the resultant destabilisation is actively undermining the ANC’s ability to organise and mobilise”.

Mr Van Eck said the ANC was the only organisation being “negatively affected” by the wave of violence.

He said it was clear the violence was not spontaneous but had been initiated and was being sustained by faceless people who “can for all practical purposes be called a Third Force”.

Mr Van Eck said that such a force was not distinct and comprised conservative and reactionary elements “left over from the security forces, conservative black groupings such as vigilantes and warlords and elements within the national security establishment, with their actions to a larger or lesser extent co-ordinated”.

peace plea

children can still support cigarette

innocent...
Violence

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said the statement by Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen that Inkatha was a source of peace was cruel and shameful.

The best thing to be said about Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok was that he had failed miserably in his job.

Slovo said there must be no compromise on the ANC demand for a total banning of traditional weapons, and added security force members "with blood on their hands" must be brought to justice.

"Why do they only bring the Winnie Mandela to court for kidnapping and not the hundreds of police...?"

Until hostels were transformed they must be treated as military barracks, with nobody allowed to leave with a dangerous weapon, Slovo said.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said Inkatha was being used by government in the same way Unita and Rehano were used for destabilisation in Angola and Mozambique. He said township defence units would go ahead.

Hani later toured Soweto where scores of Xhosas with pangas, knobkerries and spears had arrived by minibus from Kagiso. Thousands of Kagiso residents streamed down the hill, past troops on horses and watching police, to see him.
ANC briefing disappoints businessmen

BUSINESS leaders indicated they would prefer President F W de Klerk's summit on violence to go ahead without the ANC after they emerged disappointed and sceptical from a high-level briefing by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on violence yesterday.

The briefing, the biggest meeting between business and the ANC since last year's Carlton conference, was at the ANC's request and was held under the auspices of the Consultative Business Movement.

It was attended by 157 top businessmen at Premier Group's Killarney, Johannesburg headquarters. Its main purpose was to allow Mandela to explain his organisation's April 30 ultimatum.

Prominent business sources said Mandela, by portraying the ANC as the innocent victim of the violence, 'gave' his opportunity to win some understanding and sympathy from business.

"You cannot treat businessmen like fools. Many present... had put a lot of energy into the violence issues. They are well-informed and know the explanation for the violence is not that simple.

"They will not accept pious exculpations of innocence."

Among those present were Neil Chapman (Southern Life), Kevin de Villiers (Alimed), Murray Hofmeyr (retired JCI chairman), Mervyn King (Frame), Gavin Belly and Michael Spicer (Anglo), Leon Cohen (PG Bison) and Peter Wrighton (Premier).

Mandela's delegation included ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, Umkhonto commander Joe Modise and national executive committee member Stanley Mabizela.

Business sources at the meeting told Business Day that Mandela, admitted the ANC had erred by imposing an ultimatum on government before briefing the SA business community.

Sources said Mandela had reiterated that government was to blame for not quelling the violence and for not being firm with Inkatha.

Mandela was adamant that the ANC would not attend a government-initiated peace conference as it should have been consulted beforehand on the conference.

One informant said Mandela said he did not see how he could be blamed for the violence because he had warned about it while he was still in prison.

Mandela, however, sounded a conciliatory note towards Law and Order Minister...
Viljoen condemns ‘nit-picking’ over talks

CAPE TOWN — Government was definitely proceeding with its summit on violence next Friday, with or without the ANC, Constitutional Development Minister Ger-rit Viljoen said last night.

Viljoen told a news conference there were enough important representatives from a wide spectrum of political organisations to make the summit succeed.

Yesterday, chances of government and the ANC agreeing on the controversial summit appeared small, as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela reiterated his organisation would not attend a government-convened conference.

Taking a hard line, Viljoen said the ANC was “nit-picking” about President F W de Klerk having publicly initiated the summit without prior consultation with the ANC. However, the chairmanship and the agenda were open for discussion.

ANC sources present at last week’s meeting between De Klerk and Mandela have said they could not sell this compromise to their national executive committee (NEC) without a ban on cultural weapons, particularly spears.

Viljoen also indicated government would attend a conference on violence organised by the churches at some future date after next week’s summit.

He said he had attended De Klerk’s meeting with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Tuesday where progress on banning assegais had been made. But De Klerk would not respond to ultimatums and had stated he needed to enter full consultations prior to taking any steps on the assegai issue.

Meanwhile, Buthelezi said last night weapons of the kind the ANC held both inside and outside SA, particularly AK-47s, were the principal killing weapons in SA townships.

From Page 1

Speaking at the SA Institute of Mechanical Engineers’ general meeting last night, Buthelezi said reliable research showed that over 80% of all deaths in the current violence resulted from AK-47s, pistols and other weaponry.

Of the remaining 20%, spears played a negligible role.

“One does not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted with serious drug abuse problems. One does not call for the banning of matches when you are campaigning against smoking.

“The ANC’s call for the banning of cultural weapons is of this order,” Buthelezi said.

In another development, an extended ANC NEC, which will include representatives from alliance partners, takes form today to discuss government’s response to the ANC’s ultimatum on violence.

The ultimatum was unofficially extended by a week after the meeting between De Klerk and Mandela.

The issue of cultural weapons will also feature high on the agenda at the 140-strong Inkatha central committee meeting, which is due to take place in Umlazi tomorrow.
A few people sneaked out and went to work, but when they come back they'll just have to accept their punishment,” says Sefako. “We've got to set an example so we'll be very strict,” says another youth.

What does this mean, I ask? “Oh, we’ve got many ideas.” "Like what?"

“Like more than 20 lashes each.”

We return to the AWB office, at which point Eugene TerreBlanche and four henchmen drive up.

“Do you people always park on the wrong side of the road?” he asks, and

"We’re going to respond to your response, Mr. TerreBlanche. If you take this now or when you get home tonight, you will not be arrested. If you don’t, you will be arrested and charged with murder."
Angry Mandela warns the state

Addressing the issue of the ANC’s ultimatum for the banning of spear, Mandela said the ANC was "putting tremendous pressure on the government", adding that there was "no question of negotiations in this country" unless De Klerk conceded.

He repeated this point several times, but noted that "I was not able to move Mr De Klerk because like all average whites he has no regard for the black man's life".

He said De Klerk told him that if the government found that there was abuse of spear and sticks he would take action.

"I told him that over 8,000 blacks died in the violence since 1984, and that these spears are being abused."

They want to rise to power on the corpses of dead people.

He added that Inkatha had a habit of bringing people to rallies in areas where they didn't have a "single member".

Dismissing police claims that they had been unaware of Inkhata plans for Sunday's massacre, he said the police had spies in every hostel, and if hostel dwellers "decide to attack tomorrow, the police will know immediately."

"It is therefore not true when they say that they were not aware of what was happening when the hostel attacked."

Mandela said these massacres were happening because "it has become the policy of the government to allow this in order to weaken the liberation movement.

He warned that when people realised "the government is working with the black organisation which is killing our people", they would move into the white areas and kill innocent people.

"The liberation movements will not support it because there are many innocent people who have nothing to do with the violence. There are many whites who value the lives of our people, and in any attack both innocent and guilty will be killed... We don't want you to do that."

He added the government was making a mistake because one effect of its support for violence was to help forge unity between the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation. He firmly embraced these organisations, referring to the unity which had been forged between them on Robben Island.

"By killing so many innocent people, they have succeeded in bringing us together."
Yesterday's service was attended by the three organisations and addressed by Dikgang Moseneke of the PAC and Panderami Nefolovhode of Azapo, as well as by SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and Umkhonto weSizwe's Chris Hani.

Outside the hall about 15 000 people gathered, many toyi toyi, and some armed with "traditional weapons".

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday night accused the ANC of "moving in for the kill" by calling for the banning of cultural weapons by Zulus.

"One does not call for the banning of lollipops when you are confronted by serious drug abuse amongst teenagers."

Buthelezi said the ANC cynically knew that it was putting tremendous pressure on De Klerk to decide whether to placate the ANC by banning traditional weapons. He said if De Klerk did not do this, he would have to decide between confronting the ANC or confronting the IRA.

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NELSON Mandela yesterday delivered his toughest speech since his release from prison 15 months ago, warning the government that violence would spill over to the white areas unless drastic moves were made to stop the carnage.

Mandela was speaking on the eve of a crucial African National Congress National Executive Committee meeting to consider the government's response to the ANC's ultimatum on violence, with talks between the two groups balanced on a knife edge.

In an angry off-the-cuff speech at a commemorative service in Kagiso, the scene of a massacre of 28 people on Sunday by Inkatha-supporting hostel-dwellers, Mandela warned there would be no negotiations unless the government banned the carrying of spears and sticks — and said he had been unable to move President FW de Klerk on this issue.

The ANC deputy president accused De Klerk of racism, said Inkatha wanted to "rise to power on the corpses of dead people" and blamed the government and security forces for actively promoting anti-ANC violence.

Addressing a commemorative service in the Kagiso Hall for the 28 people murdered at the Soweto hostel camp, Mandela warned the government that the violence would spill into the white areas, and that white civilians would be hit, unless drastic moves were made to stop the carnage.

He warned the community against taking such
Violence ‘could spill into white areas’

By Mosa Mapsa and Philip Zulu

There was a danger of township violence spilling over into white areas if the Government did not stop it immediately, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned yesterday.

Speaking at a commemoration service in Kagiso for the victims of the Swanville massacre on Sunday, Mr Mandela also warned that the ANC would break off negotiations if the Government did not ban the carrying of sticks and spears in public.

He said there existed an organisation which wished to rise to power on the corpses of black people.

"If black people found out that the Government was working with this organisation, they would arm themselves and take the violence into white areas," he said.

However, Mr Mandela called on the ANC and other liberation organisations not to attack white areas because most whites shared their aspirations.

Addressing about 4000 people, Mr Mandela criticised President de Klerk for his unwillingness to stop Inkatha supporters from carrying "traditional" weapons at political meetings.

He accused Mr de Klerk of regarding the lives of black people as "cheap".

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke called for unity among political parties and said that by allowing the present violence to continue, the Government was conducting a war against the oppressed in the country.

Azapo leader Pandelani Nefolokhodwe accused the Government of destabilising black communities by killing people, dividing liberation movements and exploiting political intolerance.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani announced that township defence units, promised earlier by the ANC, would definitely be established.

"Whether the regime likes it or not, we will deploy defence units in communities all over the country," Mr Hani said.
A tradition that must be broken

MAGINE this thousands of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres return home from exile. No housing is readily available for them. The government takes over all the hotels in whites-designated suburbs to house them. The cadres carry AK-47s, grenades and bombs. When white-classified local residents see this, they complain bitterly. The cadres say their weapons were to have been used against apartheid’s military targets, but would now be for self-defence only. Since MK’s formation 30 years ago, they maintain, these have become “traditional weapons.”

Local residents occasionally fire a pot-shot at them, attack them or throw stones when they walk past their homes. The cadres retaliate. They shoot a whole lot of residents at random, and bomb neighbours’ houses.

The ANC says it is committed to peace, but the actions of the MK cadres have to be seen in context: they are committed in self-defence. Security forces watch from a distance as cadres go on the rampage. Sometimes, they step in to separate the warring factions. This, they say, is a “friction fight between the cadres, who are Xhosas, and the residents, who are Afrikaners.”

Residents accuse them of doing little. Some even claim that security forces joined the cadres to attack them: the minister of law and order denies any police involvement or collusion with the cadres. “We are impartial,” he reiterates. Residents don’t believe him and demand that he resign. At the very least, they demand that he ban the carrying of all “traditional weapons” of MK in public.

The minister bans the carrying of grenades, bombs, Luger, Colt, and so on in what he deems “unrest areas.” But the AK-47, he says, is a “traditional” or “cultural” weapon, for it is part of MK’s culture. “If I had my way, of course I’d ban it. But it’s not so simple. It’s a very sensitive issue. We can’t outlaw the AK-47 unilaterally. We’ll discuss the matter with MK.” MK leaders warn: “The AK-47 is our cultural weapon. Anyone who tries to confiscate it will do so only over our dead bodies.”

Residents are outraged. They demand that the state president sack the minister within 30 days. They also demand that the cadres be given proper houses, and the hotels be used again for their original purpose. If the state president refuses, they’ll demand that he call an immediate election when they can vote him out of office. They will also refuse to pay their taxes unless he calls an election.

At the residents’ request, police raided the hotels late one night, searched the cadres and their rooms, and confiscated a whole lot of weapons. SABC-TV dutifully followed the police and screens footage of the weapons.

Outside one hotel, however, the cadres tell the police flatly: “You’re not welcome here. Go away.”

The police, citing respect for the rule of law and the cadres’ privacy, withdraw. MK accuses the police of being one-sided and pandering to the residents. Later, the cadres hold a mass meeting in another white-designated suburb. Afterwards, they are involved in bloody clashes with local residents. An MK leader announces that thousands of cadres would be sent to an area.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela distances himself from the MK leader’s warning, but insists that the man was pleading for help.

Then the cadres, armed with AK-47s, go on the rampage in one white-designated suburb, killing nearly 30 people, injurings many and bombing 80 houses. The minister goes on television to express his sincere regret about the carnage.

Mandela says the cadres reacted after one of their comrades had been kidnapped. A police representative dismisses as “propaganda” residents’ allegations that police did little to thwart the cadres.

Meanwhile, the state president says: “Nobody expected the road to negotiations to be easy.”

But then the residents demand that the minister be sacked because his forces have not succeeded in making the roads, littered with corpses, any easier. After all, in any democracy, when law and order breaks down and violence continues to escalate, wouldn’t the minister be relieved of his post?

Unfortunately, cry residents, we’re promised elections only when we have a democracy. But we’re told we’ll first have to negotiate about the kind of democracy we want. And there’s no guarantee the state president will give all of us an equal vote.

That at the very least, they demand, let’s elect a constituent assembly that will negotiate. The state president rejects the idea. And so do the cadres.

NEXT WEEK: Steven Price’s Woman’s Eye.
Summit to go on regardless

Political Staff
THE government will go ahead with its summit on violence next week — whether the ANC and Inkatha attend or not.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said last night that there were enough important players who would attend to ensure that the conference would make a contribution to addressing violence.

The response received by the government to date had indicated a "wide interest" from across the political spectrum, Dr Viljoen told a press conference.

However, asked if the government would, in an effort to draw in the ANC, consider allowing a "non-government person" to convene the conference, he said: "In the planning so far the approach has been not to impose conditions on the conference, but rather to invite initiatives or suggestions from the conference about the way things should be set out."

He said the government had invited a number of church leaders — acceptable to Mr Nelson Mandela — and asked them to formulate suggestions and make contributions.

Mr Mandela has indicated that the ANC would not attend the meeting because it had not been consulted — merely told it would be taking place.

The summit will take place at the CSIR conference centre in Pretoria on May 24 and 25.

There are, however, increasing indications that, in the absence of the ANC or Inkatha, it may be used as a "pilot" for a later conference hosted by church leaders with a neutral chairman.

The ANC would attend such a conference and Dr Viljoen last night did not rule out the government being there.

He added, however, that the government "has a fundamental responsibility to take initiatives".

A major issue hanging over the participation of either the ANC or Inkatha is the carrying of spears in public. This has become a major obstacle to negotiations and on Tuesday this week President F W de Klerk met Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the issue.

Dr Viljoen's comments on Inkatha last night might indicate it is resisting attending the summit while the issue is unresolved.

He attacked the ANC's position on the conference, saying a variety of spokesmen had given contradictory responses. He pointed out that Mr Mandela had initially sounded positive about the talks.
Mandela warns of violence in white suburbs

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg. — The present township violence could spill over into white areas, Mr. Nelson Mandela warned yesterday.

He also accused the government of siding with Inkatha in spiralling township violence.

"When township residents realise that the government is working with a black organisation that is killing our people, people are going to arm themselves and go to the white areas, and kill the innocent people there," he said.

He quickly added that the ANC, the PAC and Azapo would not support the introduction of township violence into white areas as "there were many whites who value, who respect, our people".

Speaking at a memorial service for the 27 victims of Sunday's pre-dawn massacre at the Soweto squatter camp near Krugersdorp, Mr. Mandela described President P.W. de Klerk as an average white who "regards the life of a black man as cheap".

"We have lost 10,000 (black) people since 1984. If only 50 whites in this country had, been killed (President de Klerk would have banned all weapons immediately)," he said.

• Mandela "blew his chance" — Page 2
"Give us chaos!" That was Gandhi's mad demand for India after World War 2. The British tried at first to avoid partition and ensure orderly transition to independence. Patience turned to despair. In 1946 the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, wrote of the endless talks with Indian leaders: "Continual hard work, and almost continual failure. No rest, no success." Eventually, the British simply set a random date and pulled out. Gandhi got his chaos and half-a-million people died.

Wavell's remark calls to mind the predicament of President FW de Klerk. De Klerk has made it clear that he is prepared to negotiate the end of white minority rule. He has refused to make apartheid a bargaining chip and is determined to abolish it completely. He has even said he would be prepared to serve in a Cabinet under ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela -- the gesture of a statesman rather than a mere party hack.

De Klerk's commitment is shared by his Cabinet. His NP caucus has not suffered one defection since he started on radical reform. Ministers like Barend du Plessis and Gerrit Viljoen are visibly eager to get negotiations off the ground.

But De Klerk and his team ("bristling with car phones and fax machines," as a UK newspaper put it) are all dressed up with no one to talk to. "No rest, no success," indeed.

This is the latest twist in a weird political history that when white men finally announce that they are prepared to give up exclusive power, black men are too busy carving one another up to respond appropriately.

Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the two most important black leaders, have not been so stupid as to emulate Gandhi's call for chaos (though ANC strongman Chris Hani has come close to it.) But they might as well have, when you consider the violence that flares continually and which, if not stopped, will scorch off investment and eventually make SA a wasteland.

There are vital social and economic aspects to violence. Poverty, unemployment, lack of access to basic resources, appalling conditions in some hostels and squatter camps. But when one group attacks another, there is almost always a political split. A tacit acknowledgment that one side is ANC and the other Inkatha. Revenge is exacted along these lines, and so the spiral continues. Both sides have shown utter contempt for the rule of law.

Buthelezi and Mandela have shown a personal willingness to make peace with each other -- which suggests that, as leaders of stature, they should be able to stop the killing.

One theory is that, simply, their supporters are out of control, pursuing their own agendas and reacting purely to local conditions. Neither leader can afford to admit this, of course. The implication is that the police will have to stop violence on their own.

The situation is complicated by common criminals who take advantage of general lawlessness, tribal rivalry between Xhosas and Zulus can be an inflammatory factor.

The second theory is more sinister, that it is in the interests of both the ANC and Inkatha to be divided, and that each is trying to fill the enormous black political vacuum left by decades of apartheid. For both, the stakes are high.

The ANC is generally regarded -- probably by the Nats as well -- as the major black party in negotiations, and it wants to retain that indefinable but powerful mandate. Inkatha, in turn, resents this perception: Buthelezi claims support from beyond the Zulu millions, and wants equal status at the talks table.

This is why each takes every opportunity to weaken the other, and intimidate the township residents into support Divisions and prejudices in the townships -- between squatters and hostel dwellers, for instance -- are exploited accordingly.

The third theory, even more sinister, is often aired by the ANC that agents of the State are deliberately favouring Inkatha in the violence, to weaken the ANC and enable whites -- even after the vote has been granted to all --- to keep effective control over divided black factions.

The more charitable version of this theory is that the NP leadership and SAP generals may well be trying to ensure that the police act impartially -- but commanders on the ground see matters differently.

It is, of course, possible that all of these theories have elements of truth; but what matters more is that people believe they are true. Politics is as much about perception as reality. For instance, those who refuse to see nasty motives on the part of any of the players will prefer the first view; many worried whites go for the second; and the ANC certainly believes the third version.

We guess there is some truth in the first two views -- but with enormous variations according to local conditions. But while there may be maverick policemen who for some reason are not executing stated policy, we have difficulty accepting that De Klerk deliberately intends by the use of clandestine agents and a deliberately biased force to weaken the ANC. We have no proof. It is our judgment of the man from his actions since he has been in office.

What is abundantly clear, however, is that De Klerk needs a strong ANC to make a negotiated settlement stick. He knows that it would serve no purpose to Balkansise the country, depriving Mandela of popular support. Simply put, despite the fears of leftwing conspiracy theorists, it is not in whites' interest to weaken the ANC. (Cynics would say that the ANC is show-
The grandstanding and rhetoric should not obscure the fact that De Klerk and Mandella need each other badly. This is why the regular "crises" that arise over deadlines, broken promises and so on are only part of the greater game. Neither the ANC nor the NP can afford to let talks break down, because neither has any alternative. The Nats cannot revert to white supremacy; the ANC knows very well that if it were somehow to turn "armed struggle" and "mass action" into reality, it would not have a country to inherit.

There has been a perceptible pattern in the past few months. Ultimatums are issued; the political temperature rises as the deadline looms; a way out is found; each side is pretty decent about not exploiting the other's loss of face; and things carry on as before. In short, politics—a very healthy sign, were it not for the killing going on during the dalliance.

The wild card is Inkatha. It is not in Buthelezi's interests that the other two major players should steadily move towards an accommodation, all the time effectively eroding the position of Inkatha and its allies (apparently including some whites).

If De Klerk had to choose one black leader to deal with, it could only be Mandela. But Buthelezi cannot be ditched: he is too important a player. He leads the largest minority group.

However much dispute there is over his following, it is undoubtedly significant. He must be given credit for his impeccable anti-apartheid stance over the years and his adherence to principles of democratic capitalism. Buthelezi has never been a sell-out.

In our view, in these circumstances, whatever else De Klerk does, he must stop the violence and accommodate Buthelezi.

Another State of Emergency is not the answer. It would prejudice reform and perpetuate the progressive political atmosphere, as well as negate the enormous moral support won by De Klerk abroad. Government has sufficient powers of arrest and detention under present legislation. It has in the security forces a potent peace-keeping resource.

Policy is often a matter of tone as much as content. De Klerk has shown himself to be accommodating: now he must get tough. There is no doubt that Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is a decent man doing his best. But the forces under his control too often fail to keep the peace and protect the citizenry.

In politics generally and in the current circumstances in particular, loyalty and decency are not the virtues that count. Machiavellian though that may be, if De Klerk thinks otherwise, he is not as shrewd as we thought.

The pattern of the violence suggests that it tends to flare in conditions of social dislocation and deprivation—which makes it less than random, and possibly open to a rational solution. So while government obviously has to put out the fires it must also seek ways of removing the fuel.

Last year, De Klerk made a much-publicised visit to one of the Reef hostels. At the time the FM pointed out in detail how conditions in the hostels were contributing to the violence. Yet almost nothing perceptible has been done to replace them. Plans to deal with squatter camps, and with land which was taken away from communities under the Group Areas Act, are still in draft form.

De Klerk has moved with lightning speed on legislative reform. He has done nothing yet to improve conditions on the ground. To retain credibility he has to move significantly on both fronts.

Both Mandela and De Klerk must find a way of according Buthelezi the kind of status to which he aspires—and which his support, even if it be exaggerated, suggests he deserves. If the test for De Klerk is effective policing, for Mandela it is to persuade enough of his followers to accept that Inkatha is a political force with which to be reckoned. If Buthelezi indeed has minimal support, as the ANC claims, this will be revealed in due course when elections are held. Until then he and Inkatha must be taken at face value.

The all-party conference, scheduled for early August, will be another opportunity to level the negotiations playing field.

De Klerk wants desperately to get negotiations going. He has made that abundantly plain. But he must be ruthless in creating the right conditions for them, relentless in his demands on his own Ministers, uncompromising with turbulent rightwing terrorists and vigorous in his approach to redressing the damage done by apartheid.

He could do worse than emulate Jan Smuts, the only other Afrikaner leader with claims to being a statesman, and display the cold steel in his character. Otherwise his legacy will be precisely what some ANC and PAC hardliners want: not peace and prosperity for every citizen of this country, but the totalitarian power that would inevitably follow chaos and civil war.
Unity can solve carnage - Azapo

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday warned that the continued violence in the black townships was gradually assuming proportions similar to the civil wars in Mozambique and Angola.

Azapo said this was characteristic of the kind of violence initiated by counter-revolutionary forces immediately after the independence of many African countries, with the exception of Zimbabwe where "the able leadership of Zanu (PF) and Zapu was able to crush this phenomenon."

In a statement, Azapo's president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said the current violence was a result of an orchestrated campaign by the South African government and its collaborators, using the following tactics:
- stabilisation in the form of killings;
- division of the liberation movement by encouraging individual talks;
- harassment of followers of various movements by using its agents;
- encouragement of mistrust among the various liberation forces; and
- use of its resources to boost images of other liberation movements.

**Struggle**

"We should leave political point scoring and concentrate on ending one single thing: Violence. No one organisation, party or individual can do it alone. "This is a national issue affecting various black communities, which should be involved in the resolution of the conflict.

"President PW, de Klerk's security forces cannot stop the violence. The people themselves will have to enhance black solidarity and unity at all cost," the Azapo official said.
'Violence could spill over into white areas'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — There was a danger of township violence spilling over into white areas if the government did not stop it immediately, African National Congress deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela has warned.

Speaking yesterday at a commemoration service in Kagiso for the victims of the Swaneville massacre on Sunday, Mr. Mandela also warned that the ANC would break off negotiations if the government did not ban the carrying of sticks and spears in public.

Mr. Mandela said there existed an organisation which wished to rise to power on the corpses of black people.

"If black people found out the government was working with this organisation they would arm themselves and take the violence into white areas," Mr. Mandela said.

However, he called on the ANC and other liberation organisations not to attack white areas because most whites shared their aspirations and many "valued the lives of black people".

Addressing about 4,000 people, Mr. Mandela criticized President De Klerk for his unwillingness to ban Inkatha supporters from carrying "traditional" weapons at political meetings and accused Mr. De Klerk of regarding as "cheap" the lives of black people.

In the wake of the Kagiso massacres Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief-of-staff Chris Hani announced yesterday that the defence units promised earlier by the ANC would "definitely" be established.
Not just up to the Government to end SA violence, says Thatcher
On the other side of an ANC demonstration

By political staffer MARTIN CHALENOR who was at Caledon Square police station yesterday.

SOUNDS of a demonstration could be heard from outside. The captain got as far as "Name?" when a lieutenant colonel rushed into the office to say: "Kom, die swartes storm die-polisie stasie. Kom."

I had been asked by the captain to go to his office yesterday afternoon to make a statement about the alleged fight in the corridors of Parliament between Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Leader of the House of Delegates, and a nominated member Mr Farouk Cassim.

Now, the captain grabbed three teargas canisters from a box and was off. I followed, and ended up in the front charge office. The time was about 2.25pm.

A crowd of several hundred demonstrators chanting ANC slogans and singing had gathered in front of the police station. They carried placards protesting against Mrs Margaret Thatcher's visit and supporting the hunger strike of political prisoners. Several dozen policemen were outside.

The handful of policemen inside the charge office seemed remarkably calm. Some smoked. A few women staff members peering through a window were very scared. "If they get in here, we are all dead," one lamented.

A plain-clothes policeman came in and demanded to know: "Where are those two women who were arrested?" Later it emerged that the police had arrested two women for criminal injury and the crowd of demonstrators had come to the police station to free them.

One sergeant mimicked the chanting demonstrators outside by chanting "once "AWB" with his knees bent and arms outstretched. The police took this as a joke, some smiled, but few laughed. "One policeman quipped: "Get the guns. But the guns stayed in their holsters. It must also be said that there were no racist remarks, and certainly no go at the pending fight."

Word swept through the charge office that the demonstrators had cut down the two official flags outside and replaced them with an ANC flag.

A few minutes later a message was flashed over the bleeper: "About 1000 youths are at Caledon Square. Situation quite tense."

Just on 2.45pm, the lieutenant colonel — businesslike and very commanding — came back into the charge office and ordered the male charge-office staff out on to the pavement.

At that moment fighting broke out in the street between the demonstrators and the police. People ran away. Several skirmishes took place, with the police using their fists and batons. Some demonstrators fought back.

Two protesters went down. A civilian working in the police station shouted from inside "Donner bullet" as the whirl of teargas drifted back into the charge office.

Those who ran left a pavement full of shoes. In their wake a special constable gathered them against the wall of the police station.

Several demonstrators were bundled into one of the large police vehicles. The last one had to be beaten into the vehicle with a baton.

At that point the captain told a policeman to escort me back to his office. "You'll be a minute," he said.

On the way the policeman said: "That is the language they understand. Be rough with them."

It was several minutes before the captain returned to his office as a woman running away was knocked over by a police vehicle and this needed his attention.

Seated again, the captain called for water to take a headache pill. He related the insult one of the demonstrators had made against his mother, and how some had threatened to spit at him.

He was most concerned because his child was waiting at his school to be picked up. It was back to Rajbansi-Cassim business. But at that moment the siren went off, calling all men to assemble. A woman sergeant showed me out of the building.

50 arrested after tussles outside city police station

POLICE arrested about 50 people after firing teargas and charging a chanting and singing crowd outside Caledon Square police station in Cape Town.

Three senior regional African National Congress officials were taken into custody outside Caledon Square, attorney Mr Willie Hofmeyr said.

The action came after several hundred people demanded that two people allegedly arrested at an earlier ANC march be released.

Fademojum erupted in Buitenkant Street when a phalanx of policemen edged around the back of the crowd and charged as teargas wafted into the crowd.

Part of the stampeding crowd slipped past police vehicles and ran away down Barrack Street.

Tussles broke out at the doors of the trucks, with policemen struggling to push people into the trucks.

ANC official Mrs Hilda Ndube had a large bump on her forehead when manhandled during her arrest.

Policemen, clustered around the entrance to the police station, had to intervene on a few occasions to stop people in the crowd from trying to pull down a South African flag outside the building.

Mr Hofmeyr said 48 people had been arrested for attending an alleged illegal gathering.

Captain Louwboor initially issued a tentative figure of 100, but later said about 50 people had been taken into custody.

Mr Hofmeyr said the ANC's regional secretary, Mr Amos Lengisi, had been arrested, as well as a regional executive member, the Reverend Chris Nissen, and Mrs Ndube, the regional chairman.

The people in custody were being released on summons to appear in court on charges of attending an illegal gathering, Mr Hofmeyr said.

He also named the two people whose arrest sparked the demonstration at the police station.

Mr Nazeem Pathar was arrested and charged with criminal injury and resisting arrest, and Mr Peter Maarmann was charged with using foul language in public, he said.

Both men were being held at Caledon Square — Sapa
Paso calls for meeting with all black student movements

THE Pan Africanist Student Organisation has called on all black student and youth movements - including the Inkatha Youth League - to join it in addressing violence.

Deputy president of Paso, Mr Junior Talive, told a media conference yesterday Paso's national executive committee had noted at a recent meeting at Fort Hare University that the violence "is among the oppressed masses".

He said the NEC recognised the "undoubted involvement" of the regime and believed this was aimed at proving to the outside world that the "oppressed...are barbaric, killing each other so they have the right to rule our country because we cannot rule ourselves".

They also noted the Government had perfected its method of dividing and rule by "throwing crumbs on the floor". Unfortunately other organisations had decided to use violent means in order to gain control of the crumbs.

"Today Paso wishes to warn you to stop fighting for these crumbs and to fight for the return of the whole loaf," Talive said.

He said the situation was directly affecting the education of African children.

Children and teachers were afraid to go to school and children would fail exams and become homeless orphans as a result of the violence.

Asked who the "other organisations" were, he replied those who sat around the table with the "settler regime".

"This is not tribal violence but a war between organisations of the oppressed in pursuit of opportunities of power, to be the sole representatives of the oppressed.

"Democracy demands that every individual has the right of choice, to belong to the party of his choice. Therefore we reject the use of violence to intimidate people."

"Political differences must be vanquished with facts and we as the youth must come together and resolve this monster of violence."

It was the youth that was most militant and was being used to kill and perpetrate violence. - Saga
Mandela warns on traditional weapons

THE ANC would halt negotiations if the Government did not immediately ban the carrying of traditional weapons, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Kagiso yesterday.

Addressing thousands of Kagiso residents at a commemoration service, Mandela and SACP chief Mr Joe Slovo repeatedly said there would be no negotiations if the government did not immediately ban the "weapons of death".

Kagiso residents turned out in their thousands to hear Mandela, Slovo, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke address a memorial service at Kagiso Community Hall for the 28 Swatiniillei squatter camp residents massacred last weekend.

Police and soldiers, some on horseback, kept a close watch but there were no incidents. After the three-hour service hundreds of the residents marched to Swatiniille where Mr Chris Hanl addressed the squatters.

Mandela said President De Klerk had indicated last week that he was prepared to take action if people abused traditional weapons at meetings.

He said: "However about 10,000 people have died since 1984. How many more must die before the carrying of dangerous weapons must be stopped?"

Like average whites, he said (the President) regards black lives as cheap. If only 50 whites were killed then there would have been a revolution. He would have banned weapons immediately."

Mandela said if the violence in black areas was not stopped it could spill into white areas. Many innocent whites would be killed in the process.

"The ANC, PAC and Azapo would not support the transport of violence into white areas because many innocent whites who value the lives of Blacks would be killed. But in attacks the lives of the innocent and guilty could be taken."

"
GLIMMER OF HOPE

Coming at the same time as the brutal Swaneville massacre and a new low point in relations between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in the Transvaal, last Sunday's joint peace rally at Umngababa on the Natal South Coast was the only glimmer of hope in an otherwise bleak week. It was the first rally ever attended by both sides.

That the meeting took place at all was something of a feat, coming after the ANC based its threat to pull out of talks on the issue of so-called traditional weapons. Inkatha and Zulu chiefs refused to stop carrying spears at what they called cultural functions.

But on Sunday local Inkatha leaders did compromise — no spears were seen among the crowd, estimated at about 350. It was an important gesture, noted by both the ANC and police officers who attended.

And while the pact was made to stop regional violence on the South Coast — where a number of clashes and deaths have occurred over the past two months — both Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma said they believed the renewed peace commitment would have an impact on national violence.

The Umngababa rally reaffirmed the peace agreement reached between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban in January.

By the middle of the week the pact was still holding, despite renewed tensions between the ANC and Inkatha on the West Rand. Follow-up meetings between the organisations have also been arranged for next week.

The fact that two such senior members of the respective organisations were involved in the joint peace meeting might set an example for their counterparts in the Transvaal.
The violence continues with increasing signs that the police are unable, or unwilling, to stop it (see Leaders).

As the FM went to press only three arrests had been made in connection with the raid by 2 000 rightwing whites on the small black farming community at Goedgenhoven, near Venterdorp. Twenty-eight people were injured and their homes destroyed.

No one has been arrested in connection with the attack by what were apparently about 800 Inkatha members on the squatter community of Swaniesville near Krugersdorp. The attack left 27 dead, at least 24 in hospital and hundreds homeless.

In a raid afterwards of a nearby hostel (from which the Inkatha attack was apparently launched) police, however, arrested six people in connection with the illegal possession of firearms. According to Colonel Steve van Rooyen, they included two machine pistols, an AK-47, handguns and ammunition. Police say they do not know if any of these were used in the attack. No pangas, sticks, axes or sharpened metal rods — all used during the attack — were confiscated.

Major Ray Harrald of the Police PR Directorate in Pretoria refused to comment on a number of inconsistencies in police statements about the Swaniesville attack. The FM asked, for example, how he could say "there was no proof that the attack was planned," when Brigadier Leon Mellett, press officer of Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, said Swaniesville had been made an unrest area the previous day because police had heard rumours of a "big fight looming."

Harrald said there had in fact been conflict "with killings and abductions" in the area the previous week, but could give no reason why this was not included in unrest reports.

He refused to give further information on the killings and abductions he said had taken place.

Inkatha has not denied that the attack was planned. media spokesman Suzanne Von said it was in retaliation for the alleged abduction of two members of the previous week.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi held a prayer meeting in Natal hours after the Swaniesville attack and pledged not to become an active participant in the use of political violence. He and government have come under fire from the Congress of Traditional Leaders (contralesa), the largest grouping of chiefswide, which says the carrying of axes, spears, assegais and shields at rallies and in urban areas is "a gross distortion of our people's customs and traditions."

Police have also made no arrests in connection with the massacre in Soweto on April 28 of 22 people. Inkatha supporters, under full view of a large police and press contingent, ran into Meadowlands and slaughtered residents as they sat eating Sunday lunch. In the week that followed almost 100 people died in large-scale violence in Soweto; police told the FM that they had arrested no one for public violence and only eight people for murder.

In the past four months 334 people have been killed in the Witwatersrand and 392 in Natal. In May more than 200 people have already died in the PWV region. According to figures supplied by the Department of Law & Order, 1 675 people died in political violence between January 1 and May 9, compared to a total of 2 674 during the whole of 1990. Soweto has the highest death toll at 157 — nearly all during the past two weeks.

It may be significant that the western Cape, which has almost no Inkatha support, saw only 18 deaths in political unrest during that same period.

Employers and unions are reporting increasing conflict at shopfloor level as workers with different political inclinations lash out at each other.

Employers have also begun noting that conflict often results in workers being away from work for days at a time: they flee their areas or stay at home to defend their families. Business is becoming increasingly concerned about the social and economic costs of the conflict.
The Bombers

Return of
Police comb the area around the shopping centre using sniffer dogs to check for more bombs.

Police liaison officer, Captain Eugene Opperman, said it was a rumour, but police had found a second limpet mine outside the Tony Factor Centre.

Thursday night's blast at Garbo's, a Hillbrow restaurant, injured seven people who were taken to the Johannesburg Hospital.

Police investigated a bomb threat at the offices of the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday morning, but no explosives were found.

Captain Opperman said nobody had claimed responsibility for the blasts or the limpet mines which had been disarmed.

"Clearly they were aimed at civilians, even the one near John Vorster Square which had been placed where ordinary people walk and work."

The African National Congress condemned the Hillbrow explosion.

The organisation's Mr Carl Niehaus said the use of violence was contrary to its policy of reconciliation, adding the ANC had renounced violence.

Intelligence sources suspect that undisciplined ANC cadres are responsible.

But they do not suspect the ANC leadership.

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Mr Tian van der Merwe probably summed up the general feeling in political circles by saying: "These bombs could be coming from just about any source, from any of those people who are angry, embittered or deliberately trying to undermine the negotiations."

"It used to be fashionable to say if the explosives were Russian it must be the ANC."

"But we are long past the time when the fact that the weapons are Russian tells you anything about who is responsible."

Among the suspects — apart from ANC radicals — are the PAC, "dirty tricks" squads inside the security forces, rightwingers in the security forces and even ex-Rhodians.

But the intelligence sources believe that any one of a recent series of "emotionally provocative" events might have pushed ANC radical elements to resume the tactics of the past.

These include the conviction and sentencing of Winnie Mandela, the rightwing attack on squatters at Goedgevonden this week, the visit of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, next week's government-sponsored summit on violence, violence directed against ANC by Inkatha and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's warning on Thursday that if the violence continued blacks might export violence into white areas.

They believe ANC radicals might have planted the bombs to remind Mr Mandela and the country that the armed struggle was still a force to be reckoned with.

But the intelligence sources also point out that some PAC cadres have in the past been trained in ANC military camps in Angola and might also have had access to ANC arms caches inside South Africa.

The sources concede however that rightwing sympathisers within the ranks of the security forces, police or military, would have had access to Russian limpet mines and could have planted the mines to disrupt negotiations.

They also point out that police have recently intercepted Russian-made limpet mines among consignments of AK47 automatic rifles smuggled in from Mozambique and that these could be available to just about anyone.

PAC spokesman Mr Benny Alexander pointed out that the PAC had never suspended the armed struggle. Regarding the Johannesburg bombs, Mr Alexander said it would be appropriate for the organisation's military wing in Harare to comment. But they could not be contacted.

South African Communist Party spokesman, Mr Jeremy Cronin, said the party was appalled at the spate of bomb blasts and it condemned the widespread violence. He added that the bombs were obviously being placed by those opposed to a democratic process.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche did not feel qualified to comment on the bombs saying he did not know enough about them.

Boerestuarts party leader Robert van Tonder said the blasts were "definitely not a rightwing thing".
'Consider use of ANC units'

PRETORIA: The police should consider using the ANC's defence units and marshals to help curb the violence in South Africa, says the head of the criminology and police science department at Unisa, Professor Ben Smit.

However, Prof Smit questioned whether the police would be able to control these units, and the practicality of such a move. He also expressed concern at the 'ethnic character of recent violence.' — Sapa
Tough action needed to break spiral of violence

As South Africa grapples with dangerous wasp, this study reveals the central question: how can the violence be stopped? Weekend Nongxa Police station correspondence FRANS ESTERHUYSE, ISYPE

In the wake of violence and political instability, are there viable solutions? The estimated 47,000 persons killed and 8,000 injured in the past year highlight the urgent need for immediate action. The police force, already overstretched, is overwhelmed by escalating violence.

The situation is exacerbated by the economic downturn and social unrest, leading to a perfect storm of violence. The recent increase in gang violence, particularly in the informal settlements, is a matter of grave concern.

The current response by law enforcement agencies is inadequate. The police are under-resourced and under-trained, making it difficult to effectively respond to the escalating violence.

It is imperative that the government takes decisive action to address this crisis. This includes increasing police numbers, providing them with adequate resources, and investing in community-based crime prevention programs.

The role of the South African National Human Rights Commission is crucial in monitoring the situation closely and ensuring accountability.

It is time for a comprehensive approach that involves not only the police but also educators, social workers, and community leaders. Together, we can break the spiral of violence and create a safer society for all.
Viljoen slams, praises Mandela

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday mixed severe criticism of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela — for warning that black violence could spill over into white areas — with praise for his “reasonableness” on constitutional issues.

He said Mr Mandela’s statement that township residents might go into white areas and kill people was “disconcerting” and “irresponsible”.

In spite of Mr Mandela’s “protestation” that the ANC, PAC and Azapo would not indulge in such activity, it was a “highly suggestive” comment.

He said he regarded Mr Mandela as a “very serious leader” and such a statement from him did not contribute to solving problems.

But he felt Mr Mandela’s statements at the University of Stellenbosch this week were encouraging.

Mr Mandela had said that “structural guarantees” should be written into any future constitution, to prevent whites being dominated by blacks.

Such statements pointed to common ground from which negotiations could develop, said the minister.

He added that Mr Mandela’s comments on group rights at this meeting and elsewhere indicated that there could be an “accommodation of diversities” in future. This was what the government had been arguing for, he said.
Blasts: ANC Cadres

May be responsible

Peter Fabulous

2 Weekend Argus. May 18 1991
Talks off, demos planned

By LEN KALANE

THE ANC has unveiled plans for massive countrywide stayaways, consumer boycotts and other mass demonstrations to force the government to agree to its demands, including the total ban on traditional weapons.

It has also conditionally suspended "constitutional talks" with the government until the demands contained in its open letter to President F.W. de Klerk have been met.

However, discussions will continue between delegations of the ANC and the government in an attempt to secure "firm commitments" from the government on ANC demands on violence.

At a press conference called by the extended National Executive Committee yesterday, the ANC also announced it would not take part in the All-Party Congress on violence of May 24 and 25, called by de Klerk.

Instead, the ANC said it supported the current initiative by religious leaders who are planning to convene a similar conference involving all parties and organisations.

The ANC's press conference followed Friday's marathon meeting of members of its extended NEC, which comprised representatives of the ANC's Youth League, Women's League, SACP and Cosatu - to discuss the deadlines of April 30 and May 9 and actions in support of the demands.

"Obliged"

In a document read out by general secretary Alfred Nzo, the ANC said a peace conference convened by the clerics - unlike the one called by De Klerk - would reach multilateral, binding agreements with all parties obliged to act in accordance with the agreement.

"No single individual or party can resolve the conflict that exists in South Africa," said the ANC statement.

There are strong feelings within ANC ranks that de Klerk's government, as one of the players in the present strife, would not be an appropriate convenor for a conference of such magnitude. This would make the government both player and referee.

The ANC said: "To ensure a workable and serious peace conference, the religious leaders could facilitate the convening of a preparatory committee that comprises all the key actors - employers, labour, unions, political parties, the government and religious bodies."

It was felt such a preparatory committee should be responsible for organizing a peace conference.

"Reconstruction"

The ANC said agreements with enforcement mechanisms needed to be reached in the following areas:

- a code of conduct for all political parties;
- a code of conduct for the security forces;
- elaboration on the powers and functions of any Standing Commission on Violence, which should offer speedy and effective relief to victims of violence; and
- a comprehensive approach to reconstruction.

Backing demands "which are all centred in bringing about a rapid end to violence" and contained in its open letter to the government, a series of mass actions being planned was also unveiled.

These included nationwide consumer boycotts - the timing and duration of which would be determined according to regional conditions.

The ANC also plans mass demonstrations on June 15 and a national stayaway on a date to be determined within the next few days.

The organisation said it was outraged at the cruelty with which some of the political prisoners on hunger strike had been treated, and to this effect, was calling on the community to observe Wednesday May 22 as a day of fasting in solidarity with these political prisoners.

The ANC also dissociated itself from a series of bombings in central Johannesburg recently, saying "the perpetrators are clearly those opposed to the negotiation process for a democratic South Africa".
FOREIGN CAPITAL SHUNS SA AS TOO MUCH OF A RISK

THEMONEY TALK

The violence and apparent inability of political negotiators to find a solution are beginning to seriously damage South Africa's economy.

Foreign visitors are warning that a perspective of an unworkable South Africa is beginning to take root internationally, and this could cause irreparable harm to the sub-continent.

Executive Director of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa, Wayne Mitchell, says not even the local subsidiaries of US companies are prepared to make new investments until they are certain the nation will be able to evolve a viable and stable democracy.

Potential new US investors are even less inclined to consider South Africa given the intense international competition among the world's underdeveloped states for new investments.

EFFORTS

It is against the above background that the latest efforts by business and church groupings to drum up support for a proposed peace summit must be seen.

The ANC may play an important role in the summit. According to spokeswoman Gill Marcus, behind-the-scenes discussions are taking place. The ANC, which has refused to participate in government's proposed conference on Friday, is seriously considering supporting the summit.

South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev. Frank Chikane, has expressed hope that the government and the ANC will find a way of handling or redefining the conference so that all interested parties can participate.

The efforts of Chikane and others are closely watched by businessmen in South Africa and overseas.

After all, when the talk has died down the basic fact remains that without investment the numbers of the jobless and the hungry will simply grow on increasing.

WELCOMED

Potential US investors like what they see in South Africa. The infrastructure, the way the economy is managed and the banking and legal systems are welcomed. But when they look at the violence they say the risk is too high. It will therefore make little difference if sanctions are lifted. New investors will not invest in South Africa until the violence is brought under control.

Mitchell adds that if South Africa continues along its present road it could become another basket case pestering a reluctant West for handouts.

His comments were echoed by a team of visiting German MPs who said South Africans would have to find each other if they were to succeed in competing for scarce foreign investment capital.

Germany was keen to expand its business ties with South Africa, but its businessmen were hard-nosed and would not invest in South Africa unless they had a clear idea whether or not the violence could be stopped. They also demanded clarity on nationalisation.
AT least a third of adult black urban residents have been forced against their will to take part in stayaways or boycotts at some stage, a survey by the South African Institute of Race Relations has revealed.

Two-thirds of people supporting Azapo, Inkatha or even the National Party claimed to have been threatened in some way to force them to stop paying rent, service or electricity fees.

Four out of every five people who supported Azapo or Inkatha claimed to have been forced to take part in boycotts or stayaways.

The details were revealed that guns and explosives comprised 50 percent of the weapons used in political violence in South Africa while knives and pangas and other sharp objects accounted for 10 percent.

Firearms were more frequently used than even home-made weapons like petrol bombs, he said.

While it was difficult to ascertain information about the type of firearms most often used, the largest single category that could be identified comprised AK-47s, followed by shotguns.

Mr Kane-Berman said his institute's statistics showed that, on average, 10 people were killed every day last year and that this year's fatality rate was edging towards that figure.

Political violence had claimed more than 10,000 lives between September 1984 and April this year, he said.

Necklacing and other burning methods accounted for nearly all deaths since the violence began 6½ years ago.

Asked what short-term action could halt the violence, Mr Kane-Berman said the first step was disarmament. People should not be allowed to carry lethal weapons — such as pangas, knives and axes — to political meetings.

He added that, in order to lower the political temperature, the toyi-toyi be banned and the use of inflammatory jargon by people at all ends of the political spectrum stopped.

Another step would be to create a visibly independent tribunal to investigate complaints against the police, to separate propaganda from fact and to take severe disciplinary action against policemen where appropriate.

He added that strategies leading to violence needed to be abandoned — including the campaign against black local authorities and the intimidation of township residents.
Clamp on cultural weapons likely

Plans laid for independent peace summit

CAPE TOWN — Plans for an independently convened summit on violence, which will be attended by government, the ANC and its allies, are well advanced despite the ANC’s decision to boycott this weekend’s conference called by President F W de Klerk.

Official sources say government is hoping that two high-level meetings this week — one involving former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher — will secure Inkatha and Zulu support for a ban on carrying spears, except at strictly cultural events.

ANC involvement in any government-convened peace initiative would be aided if De Klerk banned the carrying of spears, except on genuine cultural occasions.

Government officials indicated that a clampdown on cultural weapons was expected to be announced within days, but that De Klerk wanted to try to secure Inkatha and Zulu agreement first.

De Klerk will meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini either today or tomorrow in a bid to reach agreement on what constitutes a cultural event.

And in another significant meeting tomorrow, Thatcher is expected to tell Inkatha président Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a broad-based agreement will be in the best interests of his party.

Government officials were involved in desperate behind-the-scenes talks with the ANC and other parties, including religious leaders, last week to get a follow-up peace conference going that would be attended by all political parties and organisations.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said it was not government’s intention that the summit be a one-off meeting. It was a first step in a series of meetings, involving all concerned.

He also indicated at a news conference last week that government would be prepared to attend a peace conference initiated or convened by religious leaders.

Reacting to the ANC’s announcement that it would not attend De Klerk’s summit and would suspend talks on negotiations and the proposed multiparty convention, Viljoen said anyone not attending the conference would not be excluded from activities that might follow.

An extended ANC national executive committee meeting at the weekend strongly supported a peace conference involving all parties and organisations.

The committee said the peace conference “needs to be a conference that reaches multinational, binding agreements with obligations on all parties to act in accordance with these agreements”.

No single party could resolve the conflict and the ANC preferred to support the initiative of religious leaders to ensure a broad-based peace conference was convened. It wanted religious leaders to convene a preparatory committee made up of all key actors — employers, labour unions, political parties, government and religious bodies.

Meanwhile, an emergency meeting of church leaders, called by the SA Council of Churches, will take place tomorrow to discuss the political stalemate and to decide what role churches should play. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu is likely to be among those attending the meeting.

Peace summit

SACC senior vice-president Sheena Duncan said yesterday the “important” meeting would consider the ANC’s support for a “broad-based peace conference” and its suggestion that religious leaders facilitate the convening of a preparatory committee.

The conference should reach agreement on codes of conduct for all political parties and the security forces, and elaborate on the powers and functions of any standing commission on violence.

The SA Chamber of Business (Sacoh) said in a statement at the weekend that many businessmen would “deeply regret” the ANC’s decision to suspend political negotiations. It also noted the damage consumer boycotts did to the SA economy.

SHARON WOOD reports Sacoh labour relations manager Gerrie Reinzenbusch said the chamber estimated the ANC’s threatened two-day work stayaway would cost the economy at least R1bn.
Political boycotts

forced on blacks

EAST LONDON — A third of black adults in urban areas had in the past year been forced to take part in a consumer boycott or stayaway — a high figure given the repeated claim that people participated voluntarily.

This was said by the executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman, in his address at the graduation ceremony of the East London division of Rhodes University on Saturday.

Research by the institute revealed that two thirds of urban black people claiming to support Azapo or Inkatha or even the National Party said threats had been used against them, their families or property, to stop them paying rent or service charges or for electricity.

Four out of every five who supported Azapo or Inkatha claimed to have been forced to take part in boycotts and stayaways.

Coercion

Mr Kane-Berman said: “I suspect that a large part of the explanation for the violence in many areas is that it is a backlash against this type of coercion.”

The so-called third force widely blamed for township violence was, he suspected, the backlash by ordinary people against the use of coercion to enforce consumer and rent boycotts or stayaways.

“No end to the coercion, no end to the backlash, no end to the violence,” he said.

Coercion to enforce boycotts and stayaways was only the tip of the iceberg, he said. The iceberg was a reign of terror.

Mr Kane-Berman said his original speech had focused on economic issues, but he had changed his topic to address violence, as everyone had an "urgent responsibility to reflect deeply about violence and to help find ways of ridding the country of this terrible scourge".

Between September 1984 and the end of April, political violence had claimed more than 10,000 lives.

Mr Kane-Berman said one of the underlying causes of the violence was the growing education/employment/health gap. Just as the state had started spending more money on black secondary schooling, the rate of GDP growth had dropped dramatically and the tragic situation had occurred where the education system was churning out more and more matriculants but the economy needed fewer and fewer of them.

Mr Kane-Berman said one of the things keeping growth down and unemployment up was international financial sanctions. He suggested that an immediate call by leaders of all political persuasions for an end to sanctions was one of the things that would help bring an end to violence.

He said short-term action to alleviate the situation could include:

• Disarmament. People should not be allowed to carry lethal weapons such as pangas, knives and axes to political meetings.

• However, weapons of this type accounted for only 18 percent of those used in attacks, while firearms and explosives accounted for 50 percent.

While it was difficult to identify the type of firearms most frequently used in attacks, the institute’s analysis of violent incidents had shown AK-47s, followed by shotguns, were used most often.

Necklacing and burning accounted for nearly 10 percent of all deaths since the violence had begun 6½ years ago. This year, the institute had counted 24 necklace murders.

• The problem of police credibility would have to be addressed. The past had yielded too many incidents of shootings in the back, deaths in detention and allegations of collusion or incitement for these to be dismissed.

• Strategies that led to violence must be abandoned. As long as organisations remained committed to bringing about the collapse of black local authorities and homeland administrations, so long would the violence continue in South Africa.

Mr Kane-Berman said the political temperature of the country would have to be lowered to bring an end to violence.

Tolerance

He said part of the tragedy of the violence was that it was taking place in a society which had demonstrated its capacity to change without violence.

He cited examples such as the pass laws being repealed and home ownership rights being conceded to black people.

The tradition of English-speaking universities being a haven of tolerance in an intolerant society should be re-awakened.

It would be a great day in South Africa when political speakers of different persuasions were given a platform at both English and Afrikaans-speaking universities, he said.

Addressing the graduates, Mr Kane-Berman said: “International experience shows that education ultimately benefits an economy more than rich natural resources, so the addition of a campus to the educational resources of this city is an important milestone in the history not only of the Eastern Cape, but also of South Africa.” — Sapa.
Top-level steps to restart talks

Political Staff

A hurried series of top-level meetings between the main figures in South Africa’s latest political crisis are scheduled for this week.

The twin aims of the meetings are reaching agreements aimed at curbing township violence, and getting the negotiating process back on the rails after the ANC’s withdrawal at the weekend.

At the centre of the dispute which has led to the breakdown in constitutional talks between the Government and the ANC is the carrying of “cultural” spears and axes by Inkatha supporters.

Talks scheduled for this week include:

• President F W de Klerk is expected to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini within the next two days, following the President’s meeting last week with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The President, faced with the main ANC demand that weapons be banned at political rallies, is expected to announce a ban this week.

His meeting with the King is seen as a bid to gain some compromise, possibly that “cultural” weapons would be carried on cultural occasions only — excluding political meetings.

• The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to meet Chief Buthelezi in a bid to boost the stalled peace process.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Mr Chikane would meet Chief Buthelezi later today.

Mr Chikane would seek the Inkatha leader’s support for a church-sponsored peace conference aimed at stopping township violence.

“All the church leaders will be going to Johannesburg tomorrow for an emergency meeting about ways we might be able to help to get things going again,” Archbishop Tutu said.

Alternative

The proposed church peace conference is strongly regarded as an alternative to the Government peace talks scheduled for Friday and Saturday in Pretoria.

Major extra-parliamentary parties, apart from Inkatha, have said they will boycott the Government talks, while there are indications a meeting of the main players under the auspices of the churches is possible.

However, the ANC is to arrange a two-day general strike, mass protests on June 15, consumer boycotts and a day of fasting on Wednesday to support political prisoners on hunger strike.

Top ANC sources said yesterday that the ANC decision to suspend constitutional talks would probably be reversed immediately if the Government imposed a ban on “cultural” spears and axes at political meetings.

The Government believes the ANC, in its statement after Friday’s meeting of the extended NEC, “left the door open” for a return to constitutional talks if the Government made progress towards meeting the ANC’s demands for action against violence in its original ultimatum of April 5.

“It is significant that the ANC’s statement talks of progress towards meeting the conditions and not complete satisfaction of the conditions,” a senior Government source said.

• Margaret Thatcher held a 40-minute telephone conversation with Nelson Mandela yesterday, Sapa reports.

She is expected to meet Chief Buthelezi before returning home this week.
Summit on SA violence still on

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

The government is to press ahead with its summit on violence despite the ANC's decision to boycott the talks — but a second, church-initiated, conference involving all parties could still take place.

And the government is hoping that two high-level meetings this week — one involving President F W de Klerk and the other former British prime minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher — will secure Inkatha and Zulu support for a ban on carrying spears, except at strictly cultural events.

The religious leaders are continuing their efforts to get all parties involved in a conference on violence and are to hold talks today on the issue with the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This will be followed by an emergency meeting of church leaders in Johannesburg tomorrow.

ANC inclusion in a peace initiative involving the government would be aided if the government banned the carrying of spears, except on genuine cultural occasions.

Government officials indicated yesterday that a clampdown on cultural weapons was expected to be announced within days, but that Mr de Klerk wanted to try to secure Inkatha and Zulu agreement first.

Mr de Klerk is expected to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini today or tomorrow.

Mrs Thatcher, who will also meet Chief Buthelezi today, is expected to tell him that a ban on spears would be in the best interests of his party.

The ANC decision to suspend negotiation talks "temporarily", including the multi-party constitutional conference, and to step up the heat with mass action, including week-long protests in Cape Town this week over the position of hunger-striking political prisoners, has brought relations between the government and the ANC to a low ebb.

Government sources yesterday regretted these developments, but pointed out that the National Executive Committee, which was criticised at the ANC's consultative conference in December last year, is under internal pressure and can be expected to continue taking a tough stance to ensure it is re-elected at the ANC's conference in Durban early in July.

The problem facing the government is that the summit on violence will now emphasise division, even on such a central issue as the creation of a culture of peace, including agreement on a political code of conduct.

The Democratic Party and Inkatha will be represented at the Pretoria summit on violence, but unless the efforts by church leaders to thrash out some compromise succeeds it is highly unlikely that any of the so-called "struggle" organisations will be represented.

However, the chances of a second conference, convened by religious leaders and attended by both the government and the ANC, are improving.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has not ruled out the possibility of the government attending such a conference.

The president of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Khoza Ngqopo, the SACC's general-secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, and Bishop Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, will travel to Ulundi for today's talks with Chief Buthelezi.

The NEC announced on Saturday that its planned "mass actions" included nationwide consumer boycotts, a national general stayaway and mass demonstrations on June 15.

It also called on South Africans and the international community to observe May 22 as a "day of fasting" in solidarity with its political prisoners.

The organisation returned to the seven demands made in its open letter to Mr de Klerk in April.

"Until such time as progress is made in regard to these demands, the ANC will not involve itself in constitutional discussions with the government, or in any all-party congress to discuss the mechanisms for drawing up a new democratic constitution," it said.

ANC officials said they would not be attending the summit on violence called by Mr de Klerk, but repeated their commitment to a conference convened by church leaders.

The NEC added that it "strongly condemns and dissociates itself from the series of bombings in Johannesburg on Thursday and Friday last week.

Dr Viljoen said at the weekend that the ANC's decisions were "unjustifiable and irresponsible" and that the summit on violence would be continuing.
Weapons the key to talks, says ANC

Political Staff

The breakdown in constitutional talks between the government and the ANC could be patched up within days by the imposition of controls on "cultural" spears and axes.

However, there is little chance that anything can be done to reverse the ANC's decision not to attend the government's summit on violence which starts on Friday.

But top ANC sources said that last Friday's decision by the National Executive Committee to suspend constitutional talks would probably be reversed immediately if the government imposed a ban on cultural spears and axes at political meetings.

The government's failure to ban these weapons was the reason for the talks breakdown.

The decision should be seen largely as a measure to increase pressure on the government to impose a ban, an ANC source said.

Although the ANC is officially sticking to its seven April 5 ultimatum demands — including the sacking of ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan — it is clear it will be satisfied by a ban on spears and axes at political meetings.

Senior government sources said measures to curb these weapons could be announced within days.

This would probably be done by declaring that cultural weapons could be carried only on cultural occasions — and that political meetings were not such events.

The government is encouraged because it believes the ANC "left the door open" for a return to constitutional talks if the conditions of the ANC's ultimatum are met.

"It is significant that the ANC's statement talks of progress towards meeting the conditions and not complete satisfaction of the conditions," a senior government source said.
South Africa and the ANC armed struggle.

Recently, an arms shipment to South Africa was stopped in the Free World by the CIA and other elements of the U.S. government. The amateur group, the ANC, is known for its association with the CIA and other anti-communist groups. The ANC has attempted to overthrow the government by armed struggle. The government has responded with a policy of containment, but its effectiveness is questionable.

In an attempt to contain the ANC, the government has increased its security forces and imposed travel restrictions. The ANC has responded with armed attacks on government installations and military facilities.

The government has announced a national emergency and has imposed a state of emergency. The ANC has responded with increased terrorist activities.

Despite these efforts, the ANC has continued to grow in strength and influence. The government has been forced to consider alternative strategies, including negotiations and political reforms.

The Truce on Weepsens

By Anthony Johnson
Zulus agree to lay down arms

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday agreed in talks with President FW de Klerk to support the Government in efforts to improve the control of dangerous weapons in unrest areas.

A joint statement by both groups said discussions between De Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelithini 'kabathukulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and members of the KwaZulu government centered on the question of the carrying of cultural weapons in unrest areas'.

Cultural

The possession of certain dangerous instruments in a public place has been prohibited in these areas.

"The Zulu leaders made a clear stand in favor of their cultural heritage but were prepared to support the South African Government in efforts to improve control of dangerous instruments in unrest areas. The Government is now drafting amending regulations along the lines agreed upon. Those will be published soon," the statement said.

Meanwhile, the Natal region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa said yesterday justifying the carrying of cultural weapons as traditional was an attempt to undermine the values of the Zulu people.

Regional secretary, Chief ZM Mphaka, said spears were used only in performing traditional ceremonies and certainly not by "small boys in impis or faction fights". They noted with concern that some traditional leaders had aligned themselves with the IFP and supported the idea that its members in the Transvaal had the right to carry "traditional weapons".

"We appeal to the KwaZulu government and the leadership of the IFP not to use our traditional leaders by calling upon them to support this," the traditional leaders were also alarmed that King Goodwill Zwelithini would lead a march in Johannesburg on May 26 in support of IFP members carrying "cultural weapons". - Sapa.
Royal nod for spear ban in unrest areas

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday achieved a significant breakthrough during a meeting in Ulundi with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, gaining approval for proposed measures to restrict spear-carrying in unrest areas.

The issue of cultural weapons has recently become the main stumbling block to negotiations between government and the ANC.

The ANC this weekend suspended talks with government until the question of carrying spears was satisfactorily addressed. Inkinga president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and De Klerk said in a statement yesterday that the meeting had agreed to support government in efforts to improve control of dangerous instruments in unrest areas.

The statement said those present discussed the question of carrying cultural weapons in unrest areas where the possession of certain dangerous instruments in public places had been banned.

Government was drafting — and would soon publish — amending regulations along the lines agreed upon.

De Klerk, indicated at a press conference after the meeting that this applied to unrest areas specifically designated as such by government.

The statement said the Zulu leaders present, including Zwelithini, tribal chiefs and Buthelezi, made a clear stand in favour of their cultural heritage.

"The meeting took place... in realisation of the seriousness of the continuing violence in our country. There will be ongoing contact in joint efforts to bring this to an end," the statement said.

It was not immediately clear last night whether the ANC would accept the proposed steps. Spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC would welcome all measures that meaningfully reduced tension and violence and would comment after it had studied the proposed legislation.

Meanwhile, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher called on political leaders not to bog down in "procedural arguments" which would stall the negotiations process — an apparent criticism of the ANC’s suspension of negotiations.

Departing from her prepared speech delivered at RAU, Thatcher encouraged SA leaders to get rid of violence and to get on with the job of finding a negotiated solution to SA’s problems.

"People’s dreams must not be frustrated by procedural arguments now. They are far too valuable for that," she said to applause from RAU students and staff.

Thatcher is due to meet Buthelezi today and it is understood she will encourage him to agree that Inkatha members be prevented from carrying cultural weapons, including spears, at political events.

Spear ban

In her address Thatcher said South Africans had embarked upon nothing less than the building of a new nation.

Different loyalties and traditions would remain but this variety could be a strength, not a weakness, she said.

She said she had fought to give South Africans a chance to solve their problems without "being brought low" by outside threats and pressures.

Our political staff reports that Buthelezi earlier met SA Council of Churches leaders to discuss the violence. A joint working committee consisting of SACC and Inkatha members was established at the meeting.

SACC president Kheza Mpiojo said after the meeting that the organisation realized that without improved relationships with Inkatha, it would be hard for both parties to make a contribution to ensuring peace.

Buthelezi said Inkatha leadership appreciated the concerns of the church leaders. He said it was important for the joint working group to start work soon.

Comment: Page 10
I, M. L. it appears to the minister of finance...

The government, on the other hand, recognize the importance of the question of food prices and its impact on the economy. Our recent investigation has revealed that the current levels of inflation are not only unsustainable but also detrimental to the well-being of the country. The ministry of finance is committed to working towards stabilizing the economy and ensuring that the prices of essential goods are kept in check.

The minister of finance has therefore announced a series of measures aimed at controlling inflation and improving the purchasing power of the population. These include:

1. Implementing a new tax on luxury goods to reduce their demand and lower prices.
2. Increasing the minimum wage to help workers cope with rising costs of living.
3. Encouraging domestic production to reduce the dependence on imported goods.
4. Strengthening the financial sector to prevent speculation and stabilize the exchange rate.

We believe that these measures, combined with our ongoing efforts to promote economic growth, will help to bring down inflation and improve the standard of living for all Canadians.

We look forward to working closely with all stakeholders to ensure the success of these initiatives and to building a stronger, more resilient economy for the future.
Spears ban but ANC resists talks

The government in Pretoria has secretly decided to lift the ban on all political parties except the ANC. The Cabinet of ministers late last night was informed of the decision by President de Klerk.

The decision was taken after the leaders of the Nationalist, the IFP, and the Progressive Party indicated that they were prepared to continue talks with the ANC. The leaders of the IFP and the Progressive Party, who met with President de Klerk yesterday, also indicated that they were prepared to discuss the lifting of the ban on political parties other than the ANC.

President de Klerk said that the lifting of the ban would be a significant step towards the creation of a democratic South Africa. He added that the government was also willing to consider the release of political prisoners and the establishment of a constitutional assembly.

The leaders of the IFP and the Progressive Party have agreed to meet with the ANC leadership to discuss the possibility of extending the talks. The ANC has been willing to participate in talks with the government, but has demanded the lifting of the ban on all political parties.

The government has also agreed to consider the ANC's demands for the release of political prisoners and the establishment of a constitutional assembly. The ANC has been calling for the release of all political prisoners, including those who have been detained under the state of emergency.

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Spears made in Natal factory — claim

OWN Correspondent

DURBAN: Police will not investigate claims made by the African National Congress that Zulu spears are being manufactured at a factory in Natal.

The claim by ANC director of publicity and information Mr Pallo Jordaan followed police reports of a haul of spears last week which appeared to be headed for the Reef.

A police spokesman, Captain Hamilton Nqidi, said there was no information to link the police haul to Mr Jordan's claims that spears were being manufactured and distributed by a Natal factory.

Captain Nqidi said 60 spears were confiscated at a police roadblock at the Ingogo district near Newcastle on May 16.

He denied that police had made earlier statements that they had confiscated 400 spears or that the spears appeared to be factory-made.

"How are you going to distinguish between a home-made spear and one that is made by a tradesman? At this point we have no information. The spears that were found in the bus could not be linked to anyone," he said.

Captain Nqidi said Mr Jordan should make a statement to the police if he had any information about a factory manufacturing spears.

"We will only act if there is information to go on," he said.

An executive member of the ANC Natal Midlands region, Mr Blades Nqinane, said today that the ANC in the Midlands was "waiting with keen interest to see how police act after seizing the spears".

"The haul shows us that the violence is being orchestrated and that the government's refusal to ban traditional weapons is encouraging the use of spears as a weapon of violence against members of the ANC," he said.

Inkatha central committee member Senzo Mfyaela said his organisation had no knowledge of a factory manufacturing spears.

Mr Mfyaela said that should there be such a factory the IFP had no part in it.
Professor Van Hoopen said that the issue of freedom of the press was a fundamental one. He was of the opinion that the press must be free to publish and broadcast without censorship. This was a democratic right and a necessity for the well-being of the country. He was of the opinion that the press must be free to publish and broadcast without censorship. This was a democratic right and a necessity for the well-being of the country.

The feature of the new SA Press Summit was a force for peace.
FW wins concession on unrest areas

Zulus agree to ban on spears

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

In an unprecedented visit to Ulundi, President de Klerk has persuaded Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept a ban on "cultural" spears and axes in unrest areas.

Official sources said yesterday the ban would be announced within days and would probably prohibit the carrying of these weapons at political meetings in the proclaimed unrest areas on the Reef which are at the epicentre of the violence.

The ban represents a substantial victory for the ANC — which presented it as one of the key demands in its ultimatum of April 5.

But it is far from certain that the ban will persuade the organisation to rescind its decision last Friday to pull out of constitutional talks.

Progress

Some ANC sources suggest a ban would be enough to do this, but the majority view seems to be that the Government will have to go further and show concrete progress in implementing its measures to curb violence — such as the announcement to upgrade hostels.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night the ANC would probably react officially when the new measures had been promulgated.

Mr de Klerk, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer flew on an unannounced mission to the KwaZulu capital Ulundi yesterday to meet King Zwelithini, Chief Buthelezi, other members of the KwaZulu Cabinet and Zulu "amakhosi" leaders.

In a joint statement Mr de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi said: "We have consulted on the question of the carrying of cultural weapons in unrest areas where a prohibition on the possession of certain dangerous instruments in a public place has been imposed.

"The Zulu leaders made a clear stand in favour of their cultural heritage, but were prepared to support the South African Government in efforts to improve control on dangerous instruments in unrest areas.

Rallies

"The Government is now drafting amending regulations along lines agreed upon. These will be published soon."

Although the statement did not specify what the regulations would contain, Government sources said they would probably ban the carrying of spears and axes at political meetings and rallies in unrest areas.

This would allow Zulus to continue carrying these "cultural" weapons at Zulu cultural occasions such as Shaka Day.

The prohibition on cultural spears and axes would probably not be as strict as the existing ban on other dangerous weapons which may not be carried at all in public in the unrest areas.

Police sources said a ban on spears and weapons in the unrest areas would not end the violence but would make their job easier.

They were confident that the combined authority of the Zulu king and the Inkatha leader would be enough to persuade Zulus to submit to the ban.
Thatcher speaks out on violence
Conflict essential in new SA

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN: The new South Africa was headed for a high conflict potential in all spheres of life, but conflict was essential because something new was always born from it, said Professor Nic Wiidhahn of Unisa yesterday.

He was speaking on "Labour Relations in the New South Africa" at the Public Servants' Union annual meeting here.

He said those who believed conflict could be avoided were naive because it was a reality of life.

He said the imbalance between blacks and whites in senior positions would have to be addressed soon.
Bombing: IFP blames ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — An Inkatha Freedom Party official has claimed that ANC supporters threw petrol bombs at a hostel in Kagiso on the West Rand yesterday.

"We blame the ANC for this attack," said Mr. Humphrey Ndlovu. He said four petrol bombs had been thrown into a Kagiso hostel yesterday morning.

There were no injuries and police were called to investigate. Mr. Ndlovu said the attack was probably in retaliation for the Swanieville squatter camp massacre in which hostel dwellers killed 27 residents.

When approached for comment, police liaison officer Captain Henriette Bester confirmed that three petrol bombs had been thrown at a Kagiso hostel, but she said the incident took place around 8pm on Sunday. — Sapa
to wit and justice

The words committed

Oversaid acceptance

Violence must not go on

[Image of a glass with a banner]
Church, business leaders meet FW

Bid for govt support for new summit

CHURCH and business leaders met President F W de Klerk last night in a last-ditch attempt to revive the peace process and to persuade De Klerk to join a multiparty effort to convene a second summit on violence.

The Sacob and SA Council of Churches debaters proposed a meeting of political parties where a peace conference convened by churches would be discussed, church sources said.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said after the two-hour meeting it was called to "maximise the participation of all the main political players in the peace process" and said a fruitful exchange of ideas took place.

The ANC remained firm yesterday that it would not attend De Klerk's conference on violence, due to start on Friday, despite government's new commitment to acting against cultural weapons in unrest areas.

Twenty-five church leaders met for three hours in Johannesburg yesterday to draw up confidential proposals aimed at salvaging the peace process.

The proposals were then put to De Klerk at his Tuynhuys residence last night by SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane and SACB president Khoza Mgojo. The church leaders were accompanied by Parsons and Sacob president John Hall.

The churchmen issued a terse statement after their morning meeting, saying they had drawn up proposals on how churches should act in the present situation.

It is reliably understood that the proposals were aimed at persuading De Klerk to join a multiparty attempt to plan another conference after his summit.

The churchmen proposed that a preparatory committee be formed representing all political parties, government, business, trade unions and churches. The committee would then arrange another peace conference and would draw up a code of conduct for the security forces.

In the meantime political parties should draw up broad guidelines for a conference. Church sources said the ANC would not attend De Klerk's summit.

ANC information director Pallo Jordan told SABC TV news last night the ANC would participate in talks convened by an independent party like the churches.

ANC sources said yesterday the organisation would not attend De Klerk's summit because it was seen as a symbolic conference which would achieve little to halt the violence. Government could not convene a conference on its own initiative.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, briefing foreign correspondents yesterday, again ruled out an ANC presence at Friday's conference.

Mandela said the expected ban on spears in unrest areas would not persuade the ANC to go to the conference. Wider issues were at stake like the banning of weapons under all circumstances nationwide.

On Monday Chikane met Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi, "No details of the meeting were released. The meeting was, however, aimed at gaining support for a multiparty peace initiative."

The church leaders said in their statement yesterday that Chikane had met Mandela, de Klerk and Buthelezi sepa-

FW meeting

rately to discuss peace proposals. Talks between Sacob and the ANC have also been taking place, business sources said.

They hinted that a broad-based initiative might be in the pipeline but that government was resisting attempts to persuade it to scrap Friday's conference.

Instead they favour the idea of a broad-based initiative emerging from all political parties and interest groups.

Business leaders had previously said the

De Klerk's summit should go ahead, but they did not rule out a second summit.

Meanwhile, the SA Institute of Race Relations yesterday welcomed the proposed ban on the carrying of spears in unrest areas, but said government should urgently seek agreements with other organisations on other weapons.

Political violence would not end if such agreements were not obtained across the political spectrum, executive director John Kane-Berman said in a statement.
Business ‘led the break-up of apartheid’

TIM COHEN

BUSINESS had led the way in breaking down apartheid and it was the free market which had helped make apartheid unworkable, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher said yesterday.

Thatcher told a joint meeting of Sacob, the SA Foundation, the Institute of Directors and the Urban Foundation at Barlow Park in Johannesburg that SA’s divisions could be healed and its difficulties overcome only under a free enterprise system.

She warned that township violence was threatening the whole future of SA. It was possible to argue about the responsibilities of government for keeping order, but government could not do so without the whole-hearted co-operation of all black leaders. It was now essential that investment flowed into SA, whose economy could be an increasingly powerful engine of African recovery, she said.

Throughout Africa and elsewhere, misgovernment and misguided economic policies had had the same historical root — a socialist view of the state, Thatcher said. Thatcher criticised one-party states, the lack of free criticism and the lack of respect for the rule of law in most African countries.

“Without a real determination to alter their political and economic systems, most Africans will remain poor and indeed grow poorer,” she said.

But there were two reasons for optimism that the Soviet Union had ceased to export Marxist revolution to Africa and increasing signs that Africans themselves recognised that free enterprise and multiparty democracy were the way to go.

SA’s particular challenge was to achieve a democratic political system while keeping the benefits which flowed from a free economic system and sound finance.

Earlier yesterday Thatcher visited Pret--

Thatcher

mat. College which has benefited from British aid, and the CSIR.

She arrived at Ulundi later to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Several thousand Zulus gave her an enthusiastic welcome, Sapa reports.

In his welcoming address, Buthelezi lavishly praised her for her role in opposing sanctions.

In response, Thatcher said Zulus and Britons had shared a history which “began in conflict, proceeded to reconciliation and ended in true friendship. In that experience, there’s surely a lesson for the whole of SA on how to go from conflict to friendship — as we have shown.”

At a banquet in Ulundi last night Thatcher said there was no precedent for violence on the scale presently experienced in SA. The violence was a discredit to SA’s black society.

- Picture: Page 6
- Comment: Page 8
PORT ELIZABETH — Communities in SA must look ahead and work towards the elimination of poverty and misery, President F W de Klerk said in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

"Violence, intimidation and protest must not be allowed to hold us back," De Klerk told the annual congress of the Institute of Town Clerks of Southern Africa.

He was convinced that "our greatest risk is to fail to adapt courageously and fundamentally to the claims of our times".

Reform was "not a fearful and looming spectre". The government had accepted the challenge of constitutional reform "not only in respect of first- and second-tier government but also on the third tier".

The goal should be balanced development, equal opportunity for everybody, no favouritism, and no discrimination.

"These goals are equally applicable to local government. And as we are striving for one united SA we are, also faced with the challenge in local government 'b'bring together those who naturally, geographically and economically, should be together.'"

He said the country's town clerks would stand at the centre of reform on the level of local authorities.

On metropolitan government De Klerk said the government was in favour of a democratic dispensation based on power-sharing. Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban were areas possibly suited to the establishment of metropolitan government.

"The ideal is that a metropolitan government would be the result of extensive negotiations between interested parties in the metropolis."

Simultaneously, serious thought would have to be given to the effect of the metropolitan concept on the Regional Services Councils. "I believe that we must make sure in this process that bureaucracy is not multiplied, that the good work of the RSCs will not be disadvantaged and that the sources of income are shared fairly." — Saps.
Another blow to FW's summit

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk's summit on violence, scheduled to start on Friday, faced another grave blow last night as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) apparently decided to withdraw its support.

An SACC delegation met Mr de Klerk at Tuynhuys in Cape Town for two hours last night - with the aim, according to sources, of persuading him to call off the summit.

It is understood the SACC - representing all the mainstream churches except the Dutch Reformed Church - decided yesterday to pull out if Mr de Klerk did not cancel it.

SACC secretary-general Frank Chikane and president Khoozoo Mgoqo were expected to ask Mr de Klerk to attend a proposed church-sponsored summit on violence instead. However, Mr de Klerk made it quite clear that he would go ahead with his own summit as scheduled, according to informed sources.

Mr Chikane said the SACC's position would be announced at a press conference in Johannesburg today.

If the SACC decides not to support the summit, this will be the second serious setback for the Government's initiative to end violence.

The DRC, Charismatics, Pentecostals and other conservative churches are likely to back Mr de Klerk.

The Government tried to put a brave face on the threatened SACC boycott last night and sources pointed out that only individual church leaders had been invited.

It is obvious, though, that many of the SACC's prominent members would have been invited.

But the Government and some church sources also warned that if the SACC took the ANC line and boycotted the Government summit, it would run the risk of being branded "the ANC at prayer" - just as the DRC used to be dubbed "the National Party at prayer".

The SACC delegation to Tuynhuys last night was accompanied by South African Chamber of Business director-general Raymond Parsons and president John Hall, who have been trying for 10 days to mend the widening political rift between the Government and the ANC over the peace summit proposals.

The SACC delegation went to Tuynhuys apparently armed with a tough mandate to tell Mr de Klerk that a church-organised peace conference would bring together more parties than the Government summit.

It is not clear whether the Government would also attend a church summit on violence if it went ahead after Friday's conference.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen appeared to leave the door open for this possibility on Saturday in his reaction to the ANC's decision.

He said the summit was not intended to be the last conference on the violence and other meetings could be held.
THE ANC has rejected the agreement struck between President F W de Klerk and Zulu leaders on the carrying of spears in public in unrest areas.

Spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus said the fact that it was limited to unrest areas meant it would not be effective in curbing violence.

It had been expected that Monday's agreement could lead to an easing of the ANC's refusal to attend further talks.

"What is to prevent people moving to other areas and using the weapons there? Serious incidents of violence have taken place in areas that have not been declared unrest areas," said Mr Niehaus.

The government has yet to table the legislation, but it is believed it will be gazetted tomorrow.
ANC reluctant to attend violence summit
Church defines its role

Soweto 22/11

SENIOR clerics from different religions yesterday drew up proposals defining the Church's role in facilitating peace and negotiations.

The meeting was hosted by the South African Council of Churches.

The proposals have not been made public. They are expected to be released after today's consultations.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane and other senior religious leaders briefed the meeting on separate consultations they held with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Urgent

According to a statement issued after the five-hour meeting, the clerics paid particular attention to the urgent need for a peace conference involving all the main players in the country's politics.

Prominent clerics to attend the meeting included SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris of the Orthodox Synagogues, Shaik Nazeem Mohammed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council and representatives of other independent churches. - Sapa.
Groups to defuse unrest to be proposed at summit

Political Staff

RAPID-RESPONSE task groups to defuse and probe spates of unrest will be proposed at the violence summit in Pretoria on Friday.

The proposal will come from the Democratic Party, which will also recommend a massive beefing up of the police force, and doing away with the need for permission to hold marches and rallies.

This strategy, and the accommodation of returning combatants in the Defence Force bases, was unveiled at a news conference today. It has been given to President de Klerk and will be presented to participants at the conference.

It also proposes a formal "code of conduct" to which political parties and organisations should subscribe.

"Currently South Africa is in a state of near-anarchy, particularly in townships," the document says.

Indications were that police were not coping because of inadequate manpower, training and discipline, among other factors.

"In some cases police motivation is unsatisfactory and there is evidence of partisanship. As a result, police credibility is low and public confidence shaky," it says.

Complicating that, black leaders and police were, in many instances, mutually suspicious and regarded one another as "the enemy"; and the sudden political turnabout since February last year had placed a question mark over the loyalty the government could expect from the security establishment arising from the "total onslaught" dogma of the 1980s.

Broad public involvement in containing the violence would best be achieved by creating national, regional and community anti-violence task groups including representatives nominated by all significant political movements.
Religious leaders draw up peace summit plan

Photo: The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh arrive at the Church of Ireland premises in Dublin for a meeting of the Council of Irish Catholic Bishops.

The leaders of the Protestant and Catholic churches have met to discuss the possibility of holding a peace summit in Ireland. The meeting was held in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh.

The leaders have agreed to hold a peace summit in Dublin in the coming months, with the aim of bringing together leaders from all communities to discuss the peace process.

The leaders have also agreed to work closely with the government and other organizations to ensure that the peace process is successful.
Church, business leaders meet FW

Political Staff

A JOINT delegation from the South African Council of Churches and the South African Chamber of Business met President De Klerk in Pretoria on Tuesday to ask him to rethink his summit on violence in Pretoria this weekend.

With the ANC, PAC and Azapo deliberately staying away, only Inkatha of the extra-parliamentary parties is likely to attend.

The SACC is likely to announce today that they will not be present, although they may send observers.

Dr Khoza Mgobo, president of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, and Mr John Hall and Mr Raymond Parsons of Sroad met President De Klerk last night.

President De Klerk did not say anything after the meeting. A spokesman for the State President said today that the Pretoria summit on violence would continue.

Speaking outside Tuynhuys last night, Mr Parsons said church and business had gone to see President De Klerk and his colleagues "because of a shared concern about the threat of violence and potential violence on peace and prosperity in South Africa".

"We have tried in our discussion to look at the peace process in a way which hopefully will maximise the participation of all the main political players in that process, as well as the State President's conference in Pretoria," Mr Parsons said.

"We have had an exchange of ideas and views on the process and how to make it a more successful form of mechanism." Mr Chikane said the delegation was consulting all the parties involved.

Mr Chikane is to address a Press conference today when he will say if he and the SACC will attend President De Klerk's summit or not.
Mandela, Chikane in vital talks

By DON SEOKANE
and Sapa

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela met South African Council of Churches leader the Rev Frank Chikane yesterday to try to break a deadlock over township violence.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reaffirmed its decision not to participate in the summit on violence and urged the Government to recuse itself from convening the summit.

PAC deputy president Mr Dimagang Moseneke told a Press briefing in Johannesburg that the PAC instead favoured a church-sponsored conference.

He said his organisation had been in consultation with the SACCC about the matter.

Mandela and Chikane talked about religious leaders' efforts to secure maximum participation in the peace process, a council spokeswoman said.

Chikane has been shuttling between the main political figures to try to convene multiparty talks to halt battles that some researchers say have taken 1 800 lives in nine months.

Mandela said the Government's involvement in the ongoing violence disqualified it from convening any conference.

He said the PAC was questioning whether the Government was convening the summit only to "soothe its conscience or was the invitation sincere".
Assegai ban in unrest areas

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk last night announced a ban on assegais in unrest areas where curfews had been imposed, except where an official exemption had been granted to carry them at genuine cultural gatherings.

However, all ceremonial battle axes, knobkerries and sticks may still be carried in public.

Failing short of the ANC's demand that spears be banned outright throughout the country, a special Government Gazette, issued yesterday by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, stated that no person in the 13 declared unrest areas, all on the Witwatersrand, could be in possession of a spear in a public place "except where the person is on his way to, or during or after the conclusion of a traditional cultural gathering which he attends or did attend".

The Gazette said this exemption would apply only when an organiser of the gathering had given the appropriate SAP District Commissioner 48 hours' written notice.

In all areas where a curfew had not been imposed, people could carry any licensed weapon or any traditional weapon, including pangas, daggers, knives and axes.

In the initial ban on dangerous weapons announced two weeks ago, it was envisaged that only chiefs or people of special stature would be allowed to carry ceremonial battle axes.

However, last night a Law and Order source said that without an outright ban on ceremonial battle axes, it would be almost impossible to police the carrying of these effectively.

He said there was no way policemen could identify a chief or person of special status in a crowd.
Further talks to follow summit

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night he envisaged follow-up meetings after this weekend’s summit on violence which is expected to be boycotted by most extra-parliamentary groups.

De Klerk said in a statement the summit was never intended to be “a final discussion during which final solutions had to be found”.

His statement confirmed expectations that government would be willing to become involved in meetings after the summit.

“It is and remains an important step in the process of consultation. The road ahead will be discussed in depth and the contributions of all involved are needed,” De Klerk said.

“If there are political groupings that have decided against attending the conference on political grounds or because of the question of traditional weapons, they will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation in a peace meeting intended to deal with the problem of violence in a solution-oriented manner,” De Klerk said.

PATRICK BULGER reports that Afrikaner Weerstandsbewegung (AWB) leader Eugene Terre’Blanche said on Tuesday he would attend De Klerk’s summit.

Right-wing sources yesterday expressed amazement at Terre’Blanche’s decision to attend which, they said, was out of step with the refusal by other conservative groups, including the CP, to attend.

The Civic Association of Southern Transvaal now was “promising”, encouraging the PAC confirmed the ANC in not attending.

Meanwhile the SA Council of Churches (SACC) yesterday formally pulled out of the summit but remained optimistic that behind-the-scenes moves to get political parties involved in a peace process would succeed, SACC general secretary Frank Chikane said.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, Chikane said religious leaders who met on Tuesday to draw up proposals for getting peace talks back on track had found that they could not attend the summit.

“Religious leaders are convinced that the problems of violence are of such magnitude that they cannot be resolved without the participation of all the parties and organisations involved,” Chikane said.

He said it was now too late for De Klerk’s summit to be redrafted so as to attract wider participation.

BILLY PADDOCK reports the DP yesterday unveiled short-term proposals to be submitted to the summit.

These included setting up a national network of township peace task groups representing all political movements.

Standard Chartered boss on ‘return to SA’

HARARE — After enjoying complete independence since 1986, Standard Bank SA might not want to resume ties with its former UK parent, Standard Chartered, when the political situation was resolved, Standard Chartered chairman Rodney Galpin said yesterday.

The Standard Chartered board is having a monthly meeting in Zimbabwe, only the second time the bank’s board session has been held outside London. It met in Hong Kong last year, reports Sapa-Reuters.

Thatcher optimistic as she returns to the UK

DURBAN — Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, at the end of her SA visit, called on world leaders to respond vigorously and positively to changes and to welcome SA back into the international community.

Speaking as a guest of the local branch of the SA Institute of International Affairs yesterday, Thatcher strongly promoted SA reform to the international community.

She also called for massive overseas investment in the SA economy; the renewal of sporting ties, and the encouragement of progress in reform.

"This year, for the first time since Smuts, and with the abolition of the apartheid laws, SA is truly rejoining the international community. South Africans now have good reason to be optimistic about the future," Thatcher said.

She issued three challenges to the international community:

1. Unstable countries run by dictators and extremists must be deprived of advanced military hardware and weaponry;
2. True international free trade must be established by the abolition of protectionist policies which prevent the flow of commodities and raw materials from less developed countries to the West; and
3. Large amounts of capital must be set aside to combat abuse of the environment on an international scale.

Sapa reports that at a news conference before flying to the UK, Thatcher said violence could not be reduced by the government alone. Leaders of political parties had to fully support an end to violence.

Asked about SA's possible readmission to the Commonwealth, Thatcher said this issue was far too premature.

 Asked why she had not met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on her visit, Thatcher said they had met in London two weeks ago and had had a long telephone conversation a few days ago.

Unrest claims six lives in 24 hours

SIX people were killed in incidents of unrest in SA in the 24 hours ending at midnight on Tuesday, bringing the countrywide death toll since May 1 to 223.

The bullet-riddled bodies of four men were found in two houses in Klipspruit, Soweto, police said on Tuesday. B[10/12/15]

Soweto police spokesman Col Tienie Haigrynn said the bodies of three Mozambican men were found at one address, and that of a fourth man, a tailor, was found at another house.

The motive for the killings was believed to be revenge, he said.

The stabbed and hacked body of a man was found at Mpololweni, outside Port Shepstone. At Malagazi near Durban, the body of a man with bullet wounds was found. Two men were arrested in connection with the killing.

Also in Natal, a man was seriously injured when a group of unknown gunmen attacked a private house in Wembieni, near Esdras. And at Zebba, in Umkomaas, a man was attacked in his car by seven men. He fired at his attackers, injuring one man slightly.

Unknown men, carrying firearms and a hand-grenade, attacked a private house at Ndlovu in Richmond. No injuries were reported.

Our Durban Correspondent reports that a police vehicle was totally destroyed after it was ambushed by armed attackers while on patrol in Inanda at midday on Tuesday.

Five policemen were travelling in the vehicle when it was caught in a hail of gunfire, said police spokesman Capt Hamilton Ngidi.

After the police jumped out of the vehicle to find shelter, it was set on fire and gutted. The attackers fled when police returned fire. — Sapa.
Mandela spells out ANC stand on peace summit

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress was not attending President De Klerk's peace conference because it was not proper that the meeting should be convened by one of the belligerents, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has said on US television.

Interviewed in South Africa for NBC yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC was not merely engaged in negative action by boycotting the De Klerk conference. It was putting forward positive proposals as to how a peace conference should be called and by whom.

He said: "We are not going to attend a conference which is called by one of the belligerents. The proper thing to do is to ensure the conference is called by an entirely impartial body or individual, which is not the case with this conference, called by the government."

Asked what the ANC would like the government to do to quell the violence in South Africa, in addition to banning the use of cultural weapons in unrest areas, Mr Mandela said the government could not be dictated to as to what it should do."

"They have got experts in the art of maintaining law and order and dealing with violence, and it is them who should put that skill and knowledge into practice."
'Neutral' chairman at peace talks on cards

Political Staff

DELEGATES to the two-day peace summit in Pretoria tomorrow will decide the procedures and agenda of the conference which will debate ways to end the violence.

The government has also not closed the door on the issue of a "neutral" chairman, mooted by Democratic Party MP Mr Colin Eglin. But Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said earlier this week it would be up to the conference to decide on the issue.

Dr Viljoen said President De Klerk, who is hosting the conference, will play an "initiating" role and would therefore probably make the opening remarks.

It is expected the summit will also decide on someone to assist the president.

While the summit, which will take place at the CSIR, was an initiative of President De Klerk's, the government is not aiming to impose or to be prescriptive.

A list of delegates are not yet available but are expected to be released later today. All parliamentary parties are expected to attend the conference.

The DP will be represented by the party's leader, Dr Zac de Beer, and Dr Denis Worrall.

The Freedom Front will be represented by its leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, its chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior officials of the central committee.

The Conservative Party has refused its invitation to the summit on the grounds that President De Klerk had called the summit for those involved in the violence.

Breaking ranks with other right-wing groups the Afrikanerweerstands beweging said it would attend the summit to place on record its views on the violence "so that we could not be blamed afterwards".

The movement will be represented by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre' Blanche and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

At a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said a group of prominent South African church leaders had decided against attending the May 24-25 peace summit.

The ANC has refused its invitation because the conference was unilaterally called by the government without consultation.

The PAC would also not attend the summit on the grounds that it believed the security forces were covertly involved in the violence.
Spears added to list of banned weapons

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A BAN on the carrying of spears in public places has been added to a previous ban on dangerous weapons in unrest areas.

President De Klerk announced the ban after overcoming objections from Zulu leaders.

Exceptions may be made for traditional cultural occasions, subject to notice in advance. Permission for the carrying of weapons may also be granted for certain employees if satisfactory proof of the need for this is provided by employers.

In the case of cultural gatherings, 48 hours notice must be given to the police.

This move will not meet the demands of the African National Congress, which has asked for a blanket ban on dangerous weapons.

Referring to a number of meetings with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and one with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr De Klerk said yesterday that these had led to "co-operation being obtained".

He said this once again demonstrated the value of discussion when the conflict situation had to be addressed.

The peace summit tomorrow and on Saturday was never intended to be a final discussion during which final solutions had to be found, Mr De Klerk said.

It was and remained an important step in the process of consultation.

"The road ahead will be discussed and the contributions of all involved are needed. If there are political groupings that have decided against attending the conference on political grounds, or because of the question of traditional weapons, they will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation in a peace meeting intended to deal with the problem of violence in a solution-oriented way."

Mr De Klerk said it was never too late to make a contribution and some might still reconsider and take part.

He foresaw follow-up actions and initiatives from the conference. The government would continue to promote participation in such processes.

The continuing violence caused human suffering, threatened the peaceful political process, sapped the country's capabilities and destabilised community life and the economy.

For the government, combating this violence was a matter of the highest priority. The situation had to be reviewed constantly to decide on what more should be done to contain the violence and bring it to an end, Mr De Klerk said.
Unrest areas

ban on spears
is gazetted

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The ban on carrying spears or assegais in unrest areas was announced by President de Klerk last night after the Cabinet’s weekly meeting.

A ban in public in the unrest areas of the Reef — except in “traditional cultural gatherings” — was gazetted by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Mr de Klerk expressed the hope that the ban might persuade parties which are boycotting his peace summit to reconsider. Even if these groups did not take part, the Government would try to ensure maximum participation in follow-up actions after the conference.

There was no immediate reaction from the ANC, but it is likely it will say the ban does not go far enough.

The new regulations allow spears to be carried for traditional cultural gatherings if the organiser of the event has given written notice to the district commissioner of police at least 48 hours before the event.
DP suggests ways to contain the violence

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has formulated proposals for containing violence.

It will involve action from the Cabinet, various Ministries and the SAP which will be presented for discussion at the State President's summit on violence at the weekend.

The DP's contention is that the Government was ultimately responsible for maintaining peace and good order. Improved and appropriate management of the security forces and of the transition phase was essential.

The document says all South Africans should enjoy the right to peaceful assembly.

On the subject of the return of combatants connected to movements such as the ANC and PAC, they should be offered the opportunity of being accommodated in SADF bases, under their own commanders.

The idea is that they would eventually be absorbed by either the SADF or SAP, or return to civilian life.

Other proposals are:
- The SAP's role must be clearly defined, the force should undergo extensive training, orientation and management and it should be issued with equipment to ensure maximum safety of personnel.
- Potential conflict situations, including public gatherings, should be defined and the bearing of arms must be prohibited. — Sapa.
Summit set to fail

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The South African Council of Churches will not attend President de Klerk's peace summit in Pretoria tomorrow because it feels it is "unlikely to achieve its purpose", SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane announced yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Chikane said a group of prominent SA church leaders — who held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg on Tuesday and met Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela separately — had decided against attending the summit.

Their decision, Mr Chikane explained, was not a rejection of Mr de Klerk's conference, nor was it an attempt to side with any organisation or party against the Government.

Instead, it was motivated by the understanding that this week's meeting was not likely to achieve its purpose.

"Religious leaders who met yesterday felt that any conference on violence which does not involve the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC and the Government as the major parties could not address the violence effectively," said a joint statement read by Mr Chikane.

He said through their wide consultation with different political leaders and organisations, church leaders were confident a solution could be worked out to involve all groups in a peace conference.

"We believe that our efforts should be concentrated on mechanisms to involve all the parties in developing binding agreements which will be enforceable bilaterally and multilaterally."

Mr Chikane refused to answer any political questions or divulge details of proposals made by the church leaders on ways to deal with violence, saying the church leaders did not want to antagonise any of the organisations involved.

The ANC, the PAC, Azapo and many other extra-parliamentary organisations have refused to attend the summit.

The PAC yesterday formally rejected Mr de Klerk's invitation to the summit, saying the Government was responsible for the violence in the country.

In an open letter to Mr de Klerk read by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke at a press conference in Johannesburg, the PAC said the Government had "to excuse itself from the convening chair as it was a party to the conflict and had an interest of its own in the outcome of the deliberations."

"Others who have refused to attend include the leaders of Kalahari and Lebowa."

**DP suggests ways to contain violence** — Page 13
PRETORIA - The countrywide unrest toll since May 1 has jumped to 223 following the death of six people on Tuesday.

The six deaths are the first to be reported this week. Only injuries, arrests, and arson attacks were reported by police since Sunday.

The bodies of four of the six men, who had been shot, were found in two houses in Section 2 of Klipspoor in Soweto, outside Johannesburg.

A spokesman for the Soweto police, Colonel Tienie Hargrens, said three bodies of Mozambican men were found at one address, and the fourth, the body of a tailor, was found at another house about 7.30 pm.

At Mqolomeni outside Port Shepstone, the stabbed and hacked body of a man was found, while at Malugazi near Durban, the body of a man with bullet wounds was found. Two men were arrested.

Also in Natal, a man was seriously injured when a group of unknown gunmen attacked a house in Wembesi near Estcourt, and at Izuba in Umkomaans, a man was attacked in his car by seven men.

Unrest incidents were also reported in Ndaleni in Richmond, Phillipsville in Griekwastad and in Bloemfontein.

— Sapa
FW plea to ANC on peace summit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night issued an impassioned 11th-hour plea to the ANC to rethink its boycott of his Pretoria peace summit as a spate of withdrawals threatened to relegate the event to a sideshow.

In a last-minute bid to boost attendance of “struggle” organisations at the conference, Mr De Klerk announced the banning of the carrying of spears and assegais in 13 Reef unrest areas where curfew are in force. The summit starts tomorrow and ends on Saturday.

However, he stopped short of fulfilling ANC demands of a blanket ban on all dangerous weapons throughout the country.

This will allow Inkatha supporters responding to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini’s call to assemble in full traditional regalia in central Johannesburg this weekend to do so with impunity — even if they are carrying spears.

The ANC said the fact that the ban on the carrying of spears was limited to unrest areas meant that it would not be effective in curbing violence, as serious incidents of violence were also occurring outside these areas.

Yesterday the SAC, the South African Council of Churches (SACC), the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal (Cast), the Teachers Association of Southern Africa (TASA) and the Lebowa government joined the ANC in boycotting the two-day summit.

Azapo, the Transkei and KwaNkwa governments, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the SACP have already given the thumbs-down to the summit.

In his statement, Mr De Klerk warned that if there were political groupings which were boycotting the conference on political grounds or because of the controversy on traditional weapons, “they will have to bear the responsibility for their non-participation”.

But he then added: “However, it is never too late to make a contribution. They may still reconsider and participate.”
The case for carrying ‘traditional weapons’

By PETER DER HEYDE

F EW issues have dominated the media headlines as regularly over the past few weeks as the carrying of traditional or cultural weapons.

Yet there remains great confusion as to what constitutes a cultural weapon. This article looks at the controversy surrounding the carrying of these weapons.

The need to a new South Africa remains rocky and one of the major stumbling blocks seems to be the issue of traditional or cultural weapons.

The ANC has threatened to break off negotiations unless the Government extends its recent ban on domestic weapons to include spears, while the white majority of Zulu tribal chiefs and dignitaries declared, after a month of public discussion, that they would defy any ban the Government may introduce to control the carrying of traditional weapons.

Demands

Some political observers have speculated that the ANC’s ultimate aim is to carve a wedge between the National Party and the IFP to the advantage of the ANC, and to be given to the ANC demands of banning traditional weapons.

Such an action would be the same as an afterthought, collected by the IFP and could seriously damage relations between the two parties, whom many see as the only possible alternative to the radical ANC.

The controversy surrounding traditional weapons erupted a few months ago after a series of violent attacks in Reef sowetoshis. Many more people were killed and pictures of heavily armed men splashed across television screens and front pages of local newspapers, calls for a ban on cultural weapons increased.

Surprise

To many, the IFP’s reaction to such calls came as a surprise, as the party had for so long preached non-violence and had been willing to attempt anything to bring an end to the bloodshed.

One of the reasons for the surprise was the government’s continued call for a ban on cultural weapons which had been in Zulu customs and traditions.

A former chief director of the Pretoria Natal Administration Board, Mr SB Bourquin, widely regarded as an expert on Zulu customs, calls the argument in his traditional

Zulu use a number of different types of weapons. The knobkerre is one of them. The knob is often the root of the tree, which is a natural knob on top of the stick.

The other is the Iswana, which is a curved knobbed stick. The knob is carved as distinct from that of the Ilanga, which comes from the natural shape of the tree.

Important are also the assegai or spears, known as Isihlabanges. These may have different shapes and the wood on the blade which is attached can be of different lengths.

Spear

The Ilanga is a long bladed spear, while the Isithende the blade is fixed in an oblong fashion. The Ilanga is carried as a weapon, while the Isithende the blade is fixed in an oblong fashion.

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Spear

This is commonly known as the umqhebe, weapon known in English as a sword. These are carried by Zulu men, and as part of their traditional dress.

The smallest of the shields is used by Zulu men, and as part of their traditional dress. These are made of dry animal skin and vary in size.

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Shield

Photograph shows the past ANC president dressed fully in traditional Zulu clothes. One wonders if he would also be prepared to carry these if the ANC have their way.

He said Zulu had been carrying these traditional weapons in ceremonial occasions such as the new dance and the Shaka Day celebrations for years and they had not resulted in any violence.

"To now ban the carrying of these traditional weapons opens the door to further action to outlaw Zulu culture being carried anywhere.

Ban

"By culling a ban on all traditional weapons the ANC is once again trying to enforce the idea of a "clean", "white", "pure" and "white" South Africa. "We have seen the ANC on AK-47's and the other conspicuous weapons of warfare, they have been in their possession, said Mitola."
The issue of traditional weapons was also used in the '50s and '60s by police to harass blacks. Policemen stopped Zulus in the streets and told them to put their knobkerries into their mouths and if it did not fit, they would be arrested for carrying a dangerous weapon.
Main players on track for new summit

CHURCH sources said yesterday they had gained strong assurances from government, the ANC and Inkatha that they would attend a second peace summit due to be convened shortly. They expected the new initiative to emerge from the government-convened summit starting in Pretoria today. A date for the second summit still has to be set.

Sapa reports Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement yesterday government did not see its conference this weekend as "the last word on violence". "Continued initiatives will hopefully be broadened to all parties involved after the next two days."

About 200 delegates representing churches, trade unions and political groups will gather in Pretoria today for the start of the peace talks. Viljoen said organisers were pleased with the expected turnout.

While the ANC and SA Council of Churches (SACC) are boycotting the meeting, church sources are confident they will be represented at a follow-up meeting.

A church source said it was likely plans for a second summit would emerge at the end of proceedings tomorrow. It was possible an action committee charged with the task of getting all the major players together would be formed next week.

Church leaders, he said, met again yesterday and had elicited assurances from the major political players they would attend a second summit. The source said Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's attendance was still in the balance though.

Buthelezi was not entirely happy with a peace initiative dominated by the SACC.

Inkatha sources said, however, the movement viewed today's summit as the beginning of a process to be followed up. Government sources and business leaders are also viewing it as only the beginning of a process to find lasting peace.

Sabc director-general Raymon Parsons, who will attend, said yesterday: "The President's initiative forms an indispensable part of the ongoing process of finding answers to the endemic violence in SA... It is a unique opportunity to pool ideas and define future strategies."

The delegates meeting at the CSIR today include government, Buthelezi, the parliametary parties, Idass director Van Zyl Slabbert, churchmen Johan Heyns and Rustenburg Conference co-chairman Louw Alberts, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche, the Federation of Safariland Staff Associations of SA's Tom Ridge, Sabc president John Hill and Rheina church pastor Ray McCulley. Black local government leaders are also expected to attend.

Organisations that have refused to attend the summit include the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP, PAC, Azapo, the SACC and CP.

One delegate said he expected the summit would attempt to analyse factors playing a role in the violence which went beyond Inkatha-ANC rivalry and included alienated youth and mass unemployment.

BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that political sources expressed fears that today's summit could polarise the situation further because the majority of those attending were establishment or "system groups".

They cautioned that the conference would prove constructive only if delegates at the summit did not criticise those not attending.

However, following the release of proposals the DP is taking to the summit, there are clear indications that some constructive ideas could emerge.

President F W de Klerk, as initiator and convenor, is expected to open the meeting with a plea that party-political allegiances be set aside and all delegates concentrate on the common denominator of violence.
The bonfire of the memos

HUMAN rights lawyers could make a large bonfire out of the papers they have put before the police detailing abuse and lack of impartiality in situations of violence. The affidavits, statements, memoranda and appeals all stack up to an impressive height. Not so the results they have provoked.

"When we have presented detailed allegations we have never had a satisfactory response. At best we are pressed to prove that we had good reason to release the memorandum," says Fink Haysom, an associate professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand. "At worst there's no response at all."

Haysom's legal firm has been extensively involved — with trade unions, the United Democratic Front and others — in compiling memoranda detailing the role of police and of warlords in the violence.

"Lawyers are sent on a paper chase. The police won't see the witnesses. They ask for more statements. They ask you to bring your witnesses to an identity parade. Sometimes the suspect who is being ID'd isn't there, and even if he is, no one ever comes of it. One's client gives up hope of any satisfaction, particularly when raising a complaint jeopardises his life and the life of his family. No improvements in prosecution records has resulted from the memoranda we have compiled."

Another lawyer working in the field put it like this: "You end up becoming the policemen and the police turn into judicial officers investigating your claims. They say they will act when they have complaints. Compare that with the way they operated when investigating so-called security crimes."

"At first we attempted to make the fullest use of legal remedies," says Haysom. "We started off by pressurising and even assisting the police to prosecute the perpetrators of the violence, but we had so little success. There have been some 4,000 people killed in the Pietermaritzburg area alone, yet there have been about a dozen successful prosecutions for these crimes."

These are some of the major memoranda which have been put before the minister of law and order and others:

• March 8, 1989, a memorandum was faxed to Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok: This document detailed a number of instances of "police failing to do their duty or acting unlawfully". In one instance, an Inkatha member, Thulani Ngcobo, who had been seen in the company of policemen and assisting with interrogation — was charged with attempted murder. Ngcobo's firearm, for which he had no licence, was seized and then returned — and only recovered for ballistic tests seven months after the incident.

In another case, four men who had been granted an interim interdict in the supreme court protecting them from particular Inkatha members were attacked in separate incidents and two of them killed. Only one prosecution, however, arose from the killings. In a third instance, the memorandum documented the progress made in investigating two charges of murder, two of arson and one of kidnapping against a warlord named Sichizo Zuma. In the case of the murder of Rhee Ngubane, the document said, witnesses were sent to the police, but were not even questioned.

In the second murder case, of Mduduzu Mdlala, witnesses were called to see the investigating officer, but he was not there. They were told to leave their statements, which would be "sufficient". All the alleged crimes involving Zuma took place in late 1987. By March 1989 no progress had been made — prompting the writing of the memorandum.

Given the seriousness of the allegations presented to Vlok, the lawyers requested a response within seven days. They never received one. A response much later outlined what witnesses had been interviewed and to what effect. "This was information we already had," a lawyer involved in the case said.

• A memorandum handed personally to Vlok on 20 February 1989, entitled "Gosawu and UDF: Concerns and Complaints about Policing in Natal": The document stressed at the outset that the police were not viewed as responsible for the violence in Natal. "Certain policing practices", however, were a "barrier to the resolution of the violence, and in certain cases, exacerbated or inflated the situation."

The memorandum charged that crimes were not always being reported, even when the perpetrator was known.

"Ordinary residents therefore commit retaliatory criminal actions, believing that violence goes unpunished," it said. A number of cases were presented of a family alleged that they were assaulted after policemen and an Inkatha warlord entered their home. A criminal complaint was lodged, but "no attempt was made to trace the policemen involved and only the warlord was charged."

Three trial dates were set without the matter proceeding, once because the investigating officer failed to bring the case to court. On the date before the next trial date, a witness was murdered. The matter was eventually withdrawn.

"Vlok said he would discuss our concerns with De Klerk and come back to us," Haysom says. "He never did."

• September 1989, a memorandum was presented to Vlok, State President FW de Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee: The documents included details of cases involving armed attacks on South African police from assault rifle residents of a number of towns: including Mphophomphi, Mvumela and Shushu. It set out charges of police complicity or failure to act. It detailed a number of cases of failure to prosecute. In one, an inquest found "certain Inkatha members" responsible for the murder of three people in Mphophomphi. Another, an inquest in 1989 found "David Nkombela", a member of Inkatha's central committee, responsible for the death of Angelic Mchize and his young daughter. Nkombela has not been arrested or charged.

In November 1989, an inquiry magistrate found that certain police members, including a New Hanover station commander, had "possibly been involved" in the murder of a township resident. No arrests have been made.

The documents also complained that previous memoranda had not been dealt with adequately. A reply to this initiative has not yet been received.
Inkatha 'provokes' on weapons issue

By EDDIE KOCH
INKATHA is being "provocative" by urging thousands of Zulus to carry sticks, spears and shields to a mass rally at the First National Bank stadium near Soweto on Sunday despite a government ban on these weapons in unrest areas.

African National Congress representative Ronnie Mamoepa said Inkatha's move was a deliberate attempt to frustrate this week's official ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and warned that it could spread sectarian violence into peaceful areas.

The complaint comes along with research conducted by academics which shows that Inkatha members are reported in the press as making more extensive use of AK-47 rifles and other firearms than supporters of the ANC in the current violence.

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly secretary Robert Ntimela confirmed that people attending Sunday's meeting would be carrying spears and sticks as part of their "traditional attire". And Inkatha representative Suzanne Vos said this would not be a breach of the new ban because the stadium was not in an "unrest area".

"That is why we are calling for a countrywide ban on the carrying of all weapons on commemorative days," said Mamoepa. "There are many places that are not unrest areas and the quickest way to allow them to become places of bloodshed is to allow the carrying of weapons there."

Vos said the rally was not an Inkatha meeting but an "imbito" at which King Goodwill Zwelithini would deliver a special message to the Zulu people.

The carrying of spears and other dangerous weapons in places designated as unrest areas on the Witwatersrand was officially banned this week after President FW de Klerk and Zwelithini reached some agreement on the issue.

The South African Institute of Race Relations welcomed the decision to ban spears in proclaimed unrest areas but said the move needed to be supplemented with agreements from other organisations about weapons.

"There is no reason to believe that spears are used in more than a relatively small proportion of violent incidents," said SAIRR director John Kanneberg.

"Research by the Institute into political violence in the first four months of this year reveals that all sharp-edged weapons — including knives, pangas and axes — account for only 18 percent of weapons used in political conflict."

But the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) reported this week that research figures showed Inkatha members have been responsible for 66 percent of violent incidents over the last nine months.

Members of the ANC by contrast were attributed with six percent of the aggressive acts. The Case figures confirm the SAIRR assertion that spears account for a relatively small number of fatalities.

Inkatha representative Peter Auf der Heyde said cultural weapons were "a symbol of resistance against oppression" and a "necessary form of protection" against ANC campaigns against Inkatha supporters.
The churches and religious leaders have been playing an increasing role in trying to bring about some form of peace conference.

But despite appearances, since the National Conference of Churches in Rustenburg, that many churches from across the political spectrum have been working together, in fact those lines have been redrawn and it is back to square one. The SACC churches are being dubbed by some as the "ANC at prayer", with the white Afri-

The desire of the clergy was to act in some united way. At the beginning of the meeting there were several who believed it important that the De Klerk conference be attended. At the end they had all agreed it would serve no useful purpose and those who had been invited would not attend. They would also impale all of this to De Klerk through Chikane.

When it appeared to be impossible to get De Klerk to change his plans, support was sought for an alternative peace plan to be planned by a broad range of religious leaders.

But the early stumbling blocks re-

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But despite appearances, since the National Conference of Churches in Rustenburg, that many churches from across the political spectrum have been working together, in fact those lines have been redrawn and it is back to square one. The SACC churches are being dubbed by some as the "ANC at prayer", with the white Afri-

The desire of the clergy was to act in some united way. At the beginning of the meeting there were several who believed it important that the De Klerk conference be attended. At the end they had all agreed it would serve no useful purpose and those who had been invited would not attend. They would also impale all of this to De Klerk through Chikane.

When it appeared to be impossible to get De Klerk to change his plans, support was sought for an alternative peace plan to be planned by a broad range of religious leaders.

But the early stumbling blocks re-
the way for true peace
ANC’s stand may pave
Far too many empty seats

KAIZER NYATSUMBA of The Star’s Political Staff previews the peace summit beginning in Pretoria today.

The ANC, on the other hand, said from the outset it would not attend a Government-convened peace conference which was a mere public relations exercise. The Government, the ANC said, had failed to take decisive steps to end the violence.

All that can reasonably be expected from this conference is a joint statement denouncing violence as a political strategy and pleading to work for political tolerance.

Given the fact that those organisations not attending the conference, both on the Left and on the Right — and they are the ones that matter — will probably outnumber those attending the meeting, the wisdom of continuing with the conference has been questioned in certain quarters.

However, the conference will continue largely because Pretoria cannot afford to be seen to be allowing itself to be dictated to, albeit indirectly, by the ANC and its allies as well as by other extra-parliamentary organisations.

Mr de Klerk of having decided on the conference unilaterally. Their main contention, however, has been that the Government is not only party to the conflict, but is also responsible for it.

These organisations have expressed their preparedness to attend a peace conference convened by a neutral body, such as church leaders, where all attending parties — including the Government — would be there as equals.

The ANC and the CP were swift in their reaction to the announcement of the peace summit in Parliament by Mr de Klerk last month. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the conference was meant for those who were involved in violence.

The CP, he said, was not involved in violence and would therefore not attend the summit. He also dismissed the summit as "a panic reaction" by the Government.

Military government, the Lebowa government, the Boerestaat Party, the Conservative Party and a number of other extra-parliamentary organisations on the Left and Right of the political spectrum.

Present will be Government representatives, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, business leaders, some homeland leaders and parties operating within the tricameral Parliament.

The two-day conference, therefore, gets under way amid widespread perceptions that it has been a failure before it even began.

The organisations which have refused to attend the conference have given a number of reasons — the main one being that it will not achieve its purpose of ending the violence.

The liberation movements — the ANC, the PAC, Azapo, Wossa and NUM — have accused Mr de Klerk of having decided on the conference unilaterally. Their main contention, however, has been that the Government is not only party to the conflict, but is also responsible for it.

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Spear ban not good enough, says ANC

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC has rejected as inadequate the ban on carrying spears or assegais in unrest areas announced by President de Klerk on Wednesday night.

A spokesman for the movement, Carl Niehaus, said the move did not go far enough.

"The ANC has called for a ban on the carrying of all weapons in public, and not simply in unrest areas," he said.

"The places where people have been killed with these traditional weapons have not been unrest areas."

Mr Niehaus said the ban announced by Mr de Klerk may make a contribution towards reducing violence, but the ANC deemed it "quite a reasonable request" that everyone be banned from carrying these weapons in public.

"If he does that, it will bring us closer to attaining peace."

Mr Niehaus stressed that although the ban on the carrying of spears was important, the issue was not the reason for the ANC refusing to attend Mr de Klerk's peace summit.

"We were not consulted, and we are concerned that one of the parties involved in the violence is calling the summit."

He said the ANC supported the initiatives of church leaders.

The "spear-rattling" over the use of traditional spears by Inkatha was merely an ANC smokescreen to divert attention from the real issue of violence, a senior Inkatha Freedom Party official said in Grahamstown yesterday, reports Sapa.

Addressing students at Rhodes University, KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Velaphi Ndlouv said the central issue was not the carrying of "traditional" weapons, but the political climate the ANC had cultivated which "forced" people to defend themselves.

Mr Ndlouv quoted police statistics verified by the Institute of Race Relations that stabbings were responsible for less that 7 percent of killings.

Turning to the ANC call for the ending of the hostel system, Mr Ndlouv said this decision had been made without consulting the hostel dwellers themselves. This was "a sure recipe for confrontation", he said.
‘Second peace summit likely’

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Church sources said yesterday that they had gained strong assurances from the government, the ANC and Inkatha that they would attend a second peace summit due to be convened soon.

They expected the new initiative to emerge from the government-convoked summit starting in Pretoria today. A date for the second summit still has to be set.

The sources said Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s attendance at the second summit would still be in the balance though because he was not entirely happy with a peace initiative dominated by the South African Council of Churches.

Inkatha sources said, however, that the movement viewed today’s summit as the beginning of a process to be followed up.

Sapa reports Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen as saying in a statement yesterday that the government, Chief Buthelezi, the parliamentary parties, Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, churchman Prof Johan Heyns and Rustenburg Conference co-chairman Dr Louw Alberts, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre’Blanche, the Federation of Salaried Staff Associations of SA’s Mr Tom Ridge, Socho president Mr John Hall and Rheuma church pastor Mr Ray McCauley, Black local government leaders are also expected to attend.

Organisations that have refused to attend the summit include the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP, PAC, Azapo, the SACC and CP, but church sources are confident they will be represented at a follow-up meeting.

Political sources expressed fears that today’s summit could emphasise division rather than the united front to combat violence initially hoped for because the majority of those attending were part of the “system.”

Diplomatic and some government sources cautioned that the conference would prove constructive only if delegates at the summit did not criticise those not attending.
TOGETHER OR BUST

Behind the hardline facade of the ANC's weekend decision to put constitutional talks on hold, and Inkatha Freedom Party's belligerent insistence on the right to carry what it calls cultural weapons, progress is being made towards resolving differences, according to government sources.

The ANC's refusal to participate in constitutional talks was less dramatic than it seemed. As Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen pointed out, such talks have not even started. And other contacts — working group discussions on the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles — will continue. The ANC's grandstanding has little real effect on the political process: it is ultimately committed to the negotiations process.

President F W de Klerk's talks in Ulundi this week were seen as an important breakthrough. A significant concession on the carrying of traditional weapons has been made by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

De Klerk's drawing in of the Zulu king was not without significance. The Zulu royal family is known to be deeply divided and angry about the continuing violence and the way Zulu cultural norms are being warped — for example, women are increasingly featuring in war parties. While Inkatha has firmly backed the carrying of spears, more and more chiefs, concerned about the conflict, have rejected the bearing of the weapon.

The Ulundi concessions clearly will not be enough at this late stage to reverse the ANC's decision to boycott the weekend summit on violence — but they are a start, and believed to have impressed some senior ANC members. De Klerk ... may postpone talks

De Klerk was due to meet a joint delegation from the SA Chamber of Business and the SA Council of Churches as the FM went to press, and there were indications that he would be urged to postpone the peace summit because it would be pointless without the ANC.

The Ulundi meeting was also regarded as an important step towards restoring Buthelezi's image as a proponent of nonviolent solutions to crises — a vital move, as the FM argued in its cover article last week.

The ANC has been careful not to heighten tensions between it and Inkatha — relations between the two groups in the Transvaal are at an all-time low. The ANC is coming under strong pressure from leading members to make its peace with Inkatha. Some fear that if tensions between the two are not subdued, Zulu nationalism could rise and secession become an issue.

The IFP in particular and Zulus in general have been widely portrayed as the aggressors in the factional violence that swept the Reef in recent months. There were indications that some senior Nats were beginning to accept this view.

Buthelezi is understood to have perceived the intense concentration of government attention on the ANC as a snub to Inkatha, a lack of appreciation of his own efforts over the years to resist the armed struggle and oppose sanctions. It is understood that he told De Klerk this at a meeting in Cape Town this month.

In apparent response, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen lavishly praised Buthelezi during a debate in parlia-

mand last week.

He said the perception that government was talking "mainly and exclusively" to Nelson Mandela and the ANC about SA's future was false. "Fact is, talks with the ANC have come nowhere near the core issues of constitutional reform."

Later in the debate he both praised and condemned Mandela for recent public statements. One comment, at Stellenbosch University last week, was regarded as a significant moderation of his views on minority guarantees, while the other, at Swanieville on the West Rand the following day (when Mandela referred to possible violence in white areas) was interpreted as inflammatory and dangerous.

Viljoen said that while Mandela had repeatedly rejected the concept of minority protection or the protection of group rights, because he regarded it as tantamount to a perpetuation of racism, his speech at Stellenbosch indicated a considerable softening.

Mandela assured students that structural guarantees would be written into an ANC constitution to ensure that whites were not dominated by blacks and that cultural and religious rights would be protected.

"There are very important statements that clarify further common ground on the basis of which we can negotiate for the future," said Viljoen.

The common ground between the ANC and government appears to be broadening all the time, but no progress will be made until the violence is brought under control.
Is peace summit a futile exercise?

THIS weekend’s summit on violence seems destined to end up as a consultation of the like-minded following the withdrawal of all credible political organisations.

The death knell was sounded by the South African Council of Churches on Wednesday night.

In a statement released on behalf of a wide spectrum of religious groups, the SACC’s general secretary, the Rev Frank Chlinkane, said the endeavour was destined to fail.

The decision by the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation, as well as Cosatu and Nactu, to shun the Government-initiated summit means that forces likely to attend will be mainly those with Government links.

Violence

This is an obvious blow to President FW de Klerk. De Klerk had hoped to use the opportunity to get a broad-based consensus on how to handle the ongoing violence.

The Government has been enraged by the organisations’ refusal to attend, calling it “unjustifiable and irresponsible”.

The boycott has resulted in the summit becoming a tussle between those going and those not going.

The boycotting has been issuing statements announcing their decisions with pride.

These include some bantuist leaders such as Lebowa’s Nelson Ramolide, KwaNgwane’s Cephus Zitha and Transkei military strongman General Bantu Holomisa.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said this week that the Government had called the summit unilaterally and without consulting the ANC.

“We are not going to attend a conference which is called by one of the belligerents.”

The proper thing to do is to ensure that the conference is convened on an entirely impartial body or individual, which is not the case with the conference called by the Government,” Mandela said.

Necklace

PAC second deputy president Mr Dkgang Moseneke (see opposite page) said his organisation would not attend the summit because the security forces were involved in the actions to be debated.

He, however, said the Government was not solely responsible for the violence.

“Sections of the liberation movement have used or are still using the barbaric necklace murders, children run so-called ‘people’s courts’ with jungle justice and undemocratic civic practices,” Moseneke said.

Azapo declined the invitation, saying the Government did not need a conference with other parties to stop the violence as it (the Government) was responsible for it.

What was needed, Azapo added, was a consultative conference of the oppressed to close ranks and isolate the regime and its agents who were being used to ferment violence and commit indiscriminate killings within the black community.

The church leaders said in their statement that their decision was not a rejection of the Government’s effort in favour of or in solidarity with any party that was not attending.

Decision

It was instead a decision taken after a long and arduous debate at the end of which they were convinced that the meeting would not achieve its purpose.

In essence, all the parties have said either the Government is not a neutral party in the ongoing violence or simply that as other important parties had refused to go, the exercise would be futile.

An exception to this thinking is the Conservative Party, which said it had no role to play in the summit as it was not involved in the violence.

The party also said the invitation was a scheme by the Government to get it involved in negotiations, which it had rejected.

On the other hand, a blanket has been thrown over the identity of those who would attend.

A spokesman for the Government, asked yesterday for a list of participants, said simply: “That will not be made available until late tonight.”

He, however, said 200 organisations, ranging from political, church, commerce, women to youth movements would attend.

Their identities are a closely guarded secret, except for parliamentary organisations and Inkatha.

The secrecy is seen as an attempt by the Government to protect those willing to participate in the two-day summit against “intimidation”.

Observers spoken to yesterday felt that the absence of the SACC, ANC, Azapo, PAC, Nactu and Cosatu meant that the outcome would lack respectability within the black community.

There is also a breaking of ranks within the rightwing movement.

The Afrikaner Weerstands beweging will, unlike the CP, send a delegation to the summit. The delegation will be led by Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and Mr Piet “Skiet” Rudolph.

Spears

TerreBlanche said the AWB would attend to state its views on violence “so that we could not be blamed afterwards”.

Boerenaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder indicated that he will not attend.

The Government’s motivation is obviously that violence has become the first stumbling block to resumption of talks with the ANC.

De Klerk’s flight to Ulundi this week to talk to Inkatha and KwaZulu leaders into agreeing to a ban on the carrying of spears should also be seen as an attempt by the ANC back into the summit.

The refusal by the ANC to attend must be a terrible blow to the Government. It also means that the outcome of the meeting would have no credibility.
MORE than 200 political representatives, lawyers and experts on violence have gathered in Pretoria today for the start of President De Klerk's two-day peace conference.

Until last night, the government — which was expected to be strongly represented — would not reveal who would attend, but said the list indicated the conference "promises to be a significant event, despite the decision of some political and other leaders not to attend".

However, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Ger-riet Viljoen said in a statement he was heartened by the "large number of invitees" who said they were to attend.

"The good response reflects the sense of responsibility felt by South Africans across a broad spectrum who want to contribute to solving the issue of violence."

Another positive aspect is the number of scientists and other experts on violence among those attending."

Dr Viljoen said the government did not see the conference as the "final answer" to violence.

"Continued initiatives will hopefully be broadened to all parties involved after the next two days," he said.

The plenary sessions will be open to the Press and there will be news briefings at the end of each day."
'Peace secretariat' urged

Weekend Argus Correspondent and Saza PRIFTOM — After President Thabo Mbeki has proposed a national peace campaign and a peace secretariat to end violence, the week.

Addressing the conference on violence, Mbeki said: "We need to do this within the context of developing a national will to avoid violence and to extend access to the Constitution." The peace secretariat should be established to facilitate the process of reconciliation, he said.

In his speech, Mbeki urgedвин alliance to draw up a plan in the absence of a comprehensive plan. Gender and security, he added, should agree on a strategy to counter corruption.

The peace secretariat would establish channels of communication between the peace and the army, and would take on the responsibility of ensuring that violence ends as soon as possible.

The secretariat should work with the government and the police to ensure that violence ends as soon as possible.

The two-day conference would be under-achieved if it did not provide mechanisms of conflict resolution. It was agreed that the process would continue to be difficult until all the difficulties are overcome during the discussions that are in the hands of the government.

Dr Bheki Cele, the minister of justice and correctional services, said that the need to share responsibilities for the maintenance of peace is essential.

Delegates entered the conference and the President of the African National Congress national executive.

Total Drive of Terror: The country has been plunged into an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, with a wave of violence sweeping across the land. The government has taken steps to address the situation.

A range of issues were discussed at the conference, including the need for a comprehensive approach to address the root causes of violence.

The call for national unity to end violence was reiterated. The conference urged the government to take decisive action to end the violence.

There were calls for a national strategy to prevent violence and to promote reconciliation.

The conference called for a comprehensive approach to address the root causes of violence, including economic, social, and political factors.

The conference urged the government to take decisive action to end the violence.

The call for national unity to end violence was reiterated. The conference urged the government to take decisive action to end the violence.
The.15 mm. caliber. A hollow. point. bullet. hit. the. victim. in. the. head. Researchers. examined. the. skull. and. found. a. hole. where. the. bullet. entered. and. a. hole. where. the. bullet. exited. They. concluded. that. the. bullet. had. been. fired. from. a. distance. of. 10. to. 15. feet. away. from. the. victim. A. forensics. expert. analyzed. the. bullet. holes. and. determined. that. the. bullet. had. entered. the. victim's. head. at. an. angle. of. approximately. 45. degrees. The. victim. was. found. lying. on. the. floor. with. the. hands. bound. with. red. cloth. and. a. red. bandage. on. the. head. The. killer. left. a. note. that. read: "The. victim. is. guilty. of. murder. He. killed. his. wife. and. is. now. paying. the. price. of. his. actions."
THE three major players in the negotiation process, will consider a proposal for the National Conference of Churches to convene an independent peace summit for all parties, including those organisations not attending the Government's Conference on Violence and Intimidation.

Former NG Kerk moderator Professor Johan Heyns told the Government's two-day conference that the National Conference of Churches was prepared to act as the facilitator of a follow-up conference.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would discuss the proposal with the party's central committee and be guided by it.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the movement would consider any positive initiative by independent church leaders.

Added that the struggle against violence was not the task of the Government alone, but that of every South African.

He said the Government's conference was the beginning of an important process — a promise rather than fulfilment.

"It is my belief that it is futile to go on without the important parties being here," Professor Heyns said.

Speaking after the first day of the conference, Dr Viljoen said some valuable contributions had been made by delegates regarding the nature, causes and solutions of violence and intimidation.

Concern

A wrong perception existed that the conference would be marked by similar views. The Government welcomed the divergence of views expressed and the widespread concern about violence.

Dr Viljoen said it was a pity all parties concerned were not present at the conference. No one could avoid the implications of violence and everyone would eventually become part of the debate.

He said the conference was an important stepping stone in ending the violence — a view echoed by many of the delegates.

Peace indaba

The Government had never thought the conference would come up with concrete results. Firm decisions could not be taken, as important players were not involved in making them.

Delegates were unanimous about a code of conduct for politicians and security forces, Dr Viljoen said. Such codes of conduct would, however, be formulated by negotiation.

Four chairman — Institute for a Multi-Party Conference chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Barlow Rand chairman Warren Clewlow, church leader Dr Louw Albert and Dr Viljoen — have been appointed by President de Klerk, with the agreement of delegates, to chair the meeting on a rotating basis with Mr de Klerk.

After Mr de Klerk's opening speech, three keynote speakers — Dr Dhlomo, Centre for Policy Studies director Professor Laurence Schlemmer and Dr Nel Marias, a researcher in the security community — outlined the nature and causes of violence.

Referring to the open session, Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currim said the morning session was counter-productive and contributions had caused more alienation.

He said delegates should stick to the conference theme, rather than bashing organisations not present.

Referring to some of the delegates' attacks on the ANC, Dr Viljoen stressed this had not been the Government's intention.
'Big 3' do not need convenor

The past few days have again proved how difficult it is to open a rational debate about ways and means of stopping the violence that is tearing the nation apart. The Government tried to initiate the debate by convening a conference on violent but its credentials as a convenor were immediately challenged by the ANC, PAC and other political groupings.

The church leaders took up the challenge to convene another conference in lieu of the Government-convened one, but this too was apparently not acceptable to all the key players.

Ultimately, the Government-convened conference had to go ahead without the participation of other key political players like the ANC and PAC. The Church leaders themselves ended up deciding to stay away from the conference as they believed it would not be representative if the ANC, IFP and the Government did not attend.

So, the end result is that we now sit with an embarrassing situation in which the concerned parties are no longer debating how to stop the violence, but rather how and by whom they should be brought together to debate this issue.

In the meantime, innocent people are dying every day and political polarisation is escalating. Apparently it is proving difficult for the parties concerned to trust the same facilitators.

There is need for a way out of this dilemma. I can immediately think of one possible solution.

Everybody seems to accept that the three main players in any talks about violence are the ANC, the Government and Inkatha. These three parties are able to talk to each other and they do not need a facilitator to bring them together.

Why is it not possible for these three parties to decide that they will jointly convene a peace conference and invite other interested parties to attend? If other parties decline to attend that would not be a catastrophe since the three main parties would still be present to take effective and binding resolutions.

The three parties could solve the problem of the conference chairman by agreeing that the chairmanship would rotate among themselves or among three people designated by themselves.

It looks to me we will waste a lot of time and lose many more innocent lives in the process of trying to get a single person or institution that will be acceptable to all warring factions when the relevant issue is really the violence.

It is apparent that as far as the warring parties are concerned such a person or institution does not yet exist. Therefore the parties themselves must take the lead and convene the conference. It would of course be a different matter if the three parties did not believe that a conference was the best way of addressing the problem of violence in the first place.

If this is the case, it is the responsibility of these parties to say so. As far as we are aware, they have not said so. Therefore, as far as I am concerned the ball is now in the court of these three parties — namely, the Government, the ANC and Inkatha.
Peace proposals range from─force to youth camps

Marriage. Comer England is no passport. Gilgal

OWN CORRESPONDENT

INTERNATIONAL PRESS

EDITOR WALTER & ROBERT

PRETORIA—The Makana kip, a group of National Student Movement groups, held a peaceful march to Pretoria to protest against the proposed war on South Africa. The marchers, carrying banners and placards, marched from the National Student Movement office in Pretoria to the Pretoria University, where they were greeted by acheid Forces and police. The police, however, prevented the marchers from proceeding to the University and arrested several of them.

The marchers, who included students from various universities, were demanding the withdrawal of the South African government's forces from Namibia and the recognition of the Namibian government as the legitimate government of Namibia. They also called for an end to the war in South Africa and for a peaceful solution to the conflict.

The march was planned by the National Student Movement, which is a student-led organization that is active in South Africa. The movement has been involved in several protests and demonstrations over the years, and it is known for its commitment to nonviolent resistance and its support for democratic and progressive values.
Church offer of further peace talks

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Rustenburg National Conference of Churches yesterday offered to save the floundering peace talks by convening another summit on violence that already had the support of government, the ANC and Inkatha.

Speaking at President FW de Klerk's peace summit, former Ndebele Church moderator Dr Johan Heyns said "it is completely futile without the other parties here".

He said several important leaders not present had said they would be prepared to attend a meeting convened by an impartial body such as the churches.

Later, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen said the government would welcome contributions. He was specifically positive of the role the Rustenburg group could play and reiterated that President De Klerk had said this summit was only the first step.

However, a senior source disclosed that Mr De Klerk had given Dr Heyns a "very positive response" in a private discussion.

It is also understood that Rhema Church Pastor Ray Macaulay had travelled to see Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had given him "an 80% assurance" that he would attend a conference.

The Rustenburg group, a broad cross-section of church leaders, is co-chaired by SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane and Dr Louw Alberts. Dr Heyns said the group could be expanded by representatives from other religions and parties that wanted to participate in a follow-up conference.

At a briefing at the end of the first day's proceedings, Mr Viljoen said the conference had been valuable, with a divergence of views being expressed.

Major role-players absent from the day's proceedings were the ANC, SACP, Cusatu, Azapo, the PAC and the SACC.

The conference was dominated by constant reference to the importance of all parties being present in order to combat the violence.

However, despite this and Mr De Klerk's plea at the start of the summit that delegates not criticize non-participants and focus on the violence, Chief Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini launched a scathing attack on the ANC in separate speeches.
CHURCH PLAN

EW REJECTS

New committee is set up to push for wider peace talks.

Picture Exclusive: The moment Margeiz

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The government andéléments

Wm. Johnson

wishes more life

Angus McEwan

and the president faced an angry old

it's over and ended up laughing about it
The committee will be made up of Inkatha, the National Party, business representatives and church leaders. Organisations which did not attend the conference — the ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, GP, Contra and EAC — will not be included.

Another "facilitating" committee will attempt to start dialogue with the parties that were not present. President De Klerk will appoint the members. Dr Lowe Alberts has been nominated for that committee.

President De Klerk did not rule out the possibility of a conference in the future, but he said the general consensus had been to "go on with the nasty gritty" of ending violence.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday the central committee of Inkatha would have to decide whether to participate in the Rustenburg group conference — but he was opposed to it.

Gained

President De Klerk, summing up the two-day conference, said the government recognized the importance of the church in reconciliation and in the quest for peace.

The full committee of the Rustenburg conference — churches from a wide range of denominations which gained their name from an important reconciliation meeting at Rustenburg last year — will meet to discuss moves for peace in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Members of the group have been in close touch with all the parties involved. Pastors Ray McCauley of the RHEMA Church has been negotiating with Chief Buthelezi, the Rev. Frank Chikane of the SA Council of Churches with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, and Professor Heyns with President De Klerk.

The church leaders took the initiative after the ANC, PAC and other major political players refused to attend the government's peace summit in Pretoria.

"It is completely futile to carry on without other parties here," Professor Heyns told the summit on Friday.

In an emotional speech yesterday, Inkatha central committee member Walter Sogala rejected the Rustenburg conference, saying future peace summits were meaningless.

Mr De Klerk said the government was bound to a policy of impartial, lawful and professional policing and was prepared to accept the monitoring of police activities.

Tolerate

The government did not want to be a political player and referee simultaneously. The government's task was to ensure effective administration and maintenance of the law.

Mr De Klerk said no government could tolerate unauthorised militias operating within its borders. The government would act firmly against any such development.

He also said the government regarded itself as bound to agreements already reached — a clear reference to the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes — and expected others to do the same.

"Violence is the scourge from our troubled past," he said. "We dare not allow it to continue to reap its deadly harvest. We dare not become mesmerised by it. We must bring it to an end."

Delegates expressed...
FW rejects proposal

From Page 1

concern yesterday that the proceedings had been taken up with sabre-rattling, political posturing and maligning absent organisations.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin, who was booed when he contested speakers for failing to focus on the issue of achieving peace, said it was clear that another conference should be convened by an impartial group.

Idda co-director Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said it was important not to foreclose the process of bargaining.

"The issue of violence is crucial for making progress — that is why this type of conference and any others in future have to be taken seriously," he said.

"All parties suspect one another of playing politics with peace — it serves no purpose to restate these prejudices at a conference of this nature. We cannot waste time with thumping, outbidding or one-upmanship."

While he supported ideas such as peace secretariats and codes of conduct for police and political parties as put forward over the previous two days, Dr Slabbert warned against accepting proposals which came before negotiations.

A massive Inkatha rally, presided over by Zulu royalty, planned for Soweto's First National Bank Stadium today is creating tensions. Chief Buthelezi said yesterday he had heard that attacks on the rally were being planned, but he had been assured by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen that rallygoers would be protected.

Meanwhile, a senior Inkatha official has accused members of harassing and assaulting non-Zulu train commuters travelling between Johannesburg and Soweto.

This had to stop, Stezi Lumlula, chairman of the IFP's Mapetla branch, told an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Johannesburg's George Goch Stadium this week.

Mr Lumlula said he was aware that certain members...were dragging the name of Inkatha 'further and further into the mud' — something that could not be tolerated.

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
PEACE

violence hits out at Zululand

From Bega's 27/07/71

CALL FOR PEACE

The movement for a just peace is in high gear. The people in Zululand are mobilizing to bring about a better life for all. The ANC is leading the struggle, and we must support them. The time for violence is over. It is time for peace.
Peace Process Back on Track as ANG Approves Summit
Policemen targeted for attack as toll mounts

AT LEAST 19 people, including three policemen, were reported killed in unrest throughout SA, bringing this month's death toll to 256.

The official unrest report said three policemen were hurt when they were fired on in Nyanza, Cape Town, on Saturday. Police were also shot at in Nancefield, Soweto, and two men arrested. Men opened fire on a police patrol with a shotgun and in Lamontville, Durban, a man was arrested after he fired on a police patrol.

A man was attacked and stabbed to death at Sgeldeni, near Port Shepstone.

Necklace

Police arrested two men after entering a house in Langolweni, also near Port Shepstone, after receiving information that weapons were being kept there illegally.

The body of a man was found at Klipspruit, Soweto; another man was attacked and stabbed to death, while the body of a municipal policeman was found at Moroka, Soweto. Police also found the body of a necklace victim.

Police earlier reported that eight people died in Soweto's Pinville area on Friday.

Three people were killed and 12 injured after unknown gunmen opened fire with automatic weapons on a crowd standing outside Pinville's Blue Flame shebeen.

Witnesses told Sapa they had seen men wearing red headbands roaming Pinville streets at the time of the attacks. They claimed the attackers came from the Nancefield hostel, and that they had also been responsible for attacks on taxis on Friday night and Saturday morning.

Police responding to the shootings came under fire twice. One man was killed, two suspects arrested and an AK-47 seized.

In other incidents in Pinville four people died, including two off duty policemen who were stabbed to death near the Blue Flame shebeen.

Police also reported a man was shot and killed in Klipspruit and a policeman in Atteridgeville near Pretoria — both on Friday night.

Two more deaths, which occurred near Port Shepstone on Thursday, were reported for the first time on Saturday.

In Inanda, Durban, one of three people who allegedly fired on an SAP foot patrol died when police returned fire.

In Phillipi, Cape Town, a man was killed when police dispersed people who said they were attacking vehicles.

Sapa reports that four people have been arrested in connection with Thursday night's shooting attack on a Sebokeng beer hall in which 13 people died.

Two AK-47s were seized and sent for ballistic tests.

Wider role for commandos

A PROPOSAL to supply Citizen Force (CF) members on the Witwatersrand with military radios and firearms could be implemented in metropolitan areas throughout the country, an SA Defence Force spokesman said yesterday.

Business Day reported last year that part-time military networks would be set up across the Reef and Pretoria, with Sandton and Randburg among the first areas earmarked for the "hearth and home" local defence plan.

The operation is being led by Witwatersrand Command Group 18 commanding officer Col Geoff Holland-Muter.

Witwatersrand Command liaison officer Maj Andreus Jordaan said the Reef operation was being closely watched as a role model and that the area protection plan could be put into action in other cities, if required.

"The area protection scheme — a rejuvenation of the old commando system — is being introduced to all the CF commands. Whether they decide to implement the scheme depends entirely on the structure and needs of those commands," said Jordaan.

SA Defence Force spokesman Cpttial Rian Louw said yesterday the plan was not linked to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's recent warning that unrest could spill into white areas.

"All this is the SADF acting in a support role to the SA Police," he said.

CF members called up for camps in the Witwatersrand area would only have to serve the first week in uniform after which they would be sent back to their jobs but placed on short-notice standby, said Louw.

"This will help to minimise disruption to the economy," he added.

The area protection plan provides for CF "campers" to be issued with automatic weapons, ammunition and radios which they will store at home.

They will have powers to arrest and use their firearms. Units will also liaise regularly with the SAP.

The plan also entitles campers to recruit neighbours who have undergone SADF training. Recruits could also be armed if they meet certain criteria.

The concept was used to great effect among the Far Northern Transvaal's farming communities, Louw said.
Seven die in countrywide violence

PRETORIA. — Seven people were killed in countrywide violence, police said in their latest unrest report.

Three people died in an East Rand township and a man was shot dead in Katlehong.

In Tembisa police said they found the body of a man "who was allegedly killed with a bung". They found another body and two seriously injured men with burn wounds.

Also in Tembisa police found a man who had been stabbed.

In another incident a group set fire to a house.

Police confiscated an AK-47 rifle, with ammunition at a road-block in Thokoza. A man was arrested.

Three people died in Mgcobambeni, near Port Shepstone.

Police said they died when two groups attacked each other with firearms.

At Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, police said a stone-throwing attack damaged two vehicles. In another incident in the same area a vehicle was set alight.

Police said that on Saturday two explosive devices were detonated at a house in Soweto.

— Sapa.
Bid to include all parties in new peace talks

By TOS WENTZEL

A NEW forum to launch a peace initiative may flow from the weekend peace summit in Pretoria.

This would be a negotiated body which would try to include parties which did not attend the peace summit, Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen confirmed.

He added that a multiparty conference which could negotiate on various aspects including a peace initiative and constitutional reform would be the ideal solution.

In the meantime there is a continuation committee to coordinate and edit decisions made at the summit in Pretoria on Friday and Saturday. The committee consists of representatives of political parties, the business community and the church.

In addition, Dr Louw Alberts who played a key role in the recent Rustenburg church conference has been chosen as a facilitator to try and forge a fully representative forum.

It is hoped that the churches could play a role in the formation of such a forum. The African National Congress has expressed interest in a conference organised by neutral bodies.

At the Rustenburg conference 230 representatives of various churches rejected apartheid as a sin and pledged to work for reconciliation.

Dr Viljoen said an all-party conference should be held as soon as possible to address questions such as violence and demands for an interim government.

If this happened the need for the continuation committee would disappear.

President De Klerk has emphasised that a peace forum must not come about through co-option but through negotiation.

The continuation committee would eventually be disbanded to make way for a more representative mechanism.

The ANC said today it could not support proposals arising from the government's summit, because it had not been called by a neutral party.

"We are not going to join any committee that comes out of that meeting — then we might as well have gone to the meeting," ANC spokesman Mr Sako Makwana said in Johannesburg today.

Mr Makwana said a brand new peace summit would have to be called by a neutral party, and any proposals rising out of such a summit would then be acted on by the ANC.

The ANC would support an independently initiated meeting, Mr Makwana said.
New bid starts to coax reluctant parties into second forum
For all, delegates agree
Peace process a task
How the initiative will work

The conference decided on two mechanisms to continue the initiative. They are a continuation committee and a facilitating committee.

Delegates proposed that the continuation committee, which would “transform words into deeds”, be comprised of five members – former NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns, one representative each from the SA Chamber of Business and the Afrikaans Handelsinstituut, as well as a representative each from the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Boycott

It was also decided to appoint CSIR chairman Dr Louis Alberts as a facilitator between the continuation committee and groups which did not attend the peace summit.

President de Klerk said the conference would not ask groups which boycotted the talks to become part of the continuation committee, as this would amount to co-option.

The facilitating committee would not be playing a role on behalf of the Government but only for the continuation committee, as the Government had opened channels of communication with those involved.

Referring to the deployment of the two committees, Mr de Klerk said the first priority was to finalise their composition, but that one need not wait for the finalisation of the other to begin its duties.
Zulu king's plea for peace

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 40,000 Zulus, carrying assegais, shields and knobkerries, attended a rally near Soweto yesterday to hear King Goodwill Zwelethini appeal for an end to township fighting.

Virtually every man at the rally, at the First National Bank soccer stadium on the outskirts of Soweto, was heavily armed. The FNB stadium lies outside officially designated unrest areas and the weapons ban therefore does not apply to it.

The Zulu king earlier handed a petition to deputy regional police commissioner Brigadier Piet du Toit declaring that the Zulu nation would not remain quiet when its "symbols of manhood" — traditional weapons — were removed from them. The petition asked Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to remove the ANC's weapons.

He said it was not traditional weapons but AK-47 assault rifles which were responsible for the toll of violence. Nevertheless, the ban on all weapons stood, the king said.

"Let the atrocities end... Let the chopping up of people to pieces with pangas and axes end. Let people make their own choices," he said. "I command peace and I say to the ANC: Do not destroy our peace-keeping capacity."

KwaZulu ministers including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, civil servants and members of the Zulu royal family flew to Johannesburg for the rally. The chief told the rally that the gathering was not a meeting of his Inkatha movement but a call for peace by the Zulu king.

One minor incident was reported by the Soweto SAP after the Zulu rally. A spokesman said a man who ignored a warning by policemen in Diepkloof, to make way for the Zulu procession on their way back to their hostels, was struck on the head by the flat side of an assegai. The man was not seriously injured. — Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa
JOHANNESBURG.—At least 13 people, including three policemen, have died in bloody violence since Friday night, police confirmed.

Two more deaths, which occurred on Thursday but were reported only on Saturday, pushed May’s death toll to 250. The deaths on Thursday occurred at Ntshimbini, Port Shepstone, when a mob attacked a private home. Three people were also injured in the attack.

Violence erupted in Pimville, Soweto, about 11pm on Friday when an unidentified group with an AK-47 assault rifle sprayed homes and a taxi with gunfire, killing three men and wounding 15 people.

The group opened fire on a police patrol vehicle about 15 minutes later. Police returned fire, killing one of the attackers. The police arrested two men and seized an AK-47 rifle.

13 die in weekend of bloody violence

About the same time, a police constable guarding a stolen car was shot and killed by two men who drove past him and fired a number of shots at him with a pistol.

At 9.30am a man, aged about 30, was found necklaced near the Nancefield cemetery.

At 11am a 59-year-old man was stabbed to death with an assegai and put on a railway line.

On Saturday morning police arrested seven Zulu-speaking men at a hostel in Katlehong, near Germiston, during a search for arms. They seized an AK-47 rifle, pistols and ammunition.

On Saturday in Philippi, a man was killed and three others injured when police dispersed with shotgun fire a mob who were stoning cars.

Early on Saturday morning a 59-year-old man was shot dead in a house in Klipspruit, Soweto.

At Atteridgeville, near Pretoria, a police constable guarding a stolen car was shot and killed by two men who drove past him and fired a number of shots at him with a pistol.

At 9.30am a man, aged about 30, was found necklaced near the Nancefield cemetery.

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An 8PM limpet mine of Russian origin was found, wrapped in paper and taped, under a tree in the Game Store parking area near Bruma Lake in Johannesburg about 6.30pm on Saturday, police confirmed. A passer-by reported it to the police, who detonated the fuse. — Sapa
Church initiative on peace begins

A FULL-SCALE church summit on peace will be launched at a meeting of the Rustenburg Church Conference today.

The summit, which hopes to bring all parties together, is a sequel to the Government peace summit which ended in Pretoria on Saturday.

The South African Council of Churches and clerics representing the Catholic Bishops Conference and the Jewish and Muslim communities declined to attend the Government summit.

Summit

The clerics were determined to bridge the divide which kept the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and the other black liberation movements out of the summit.

Their absence, and the consequent absence of representation from the communities most directly affected by the violence, was given as motivation for the SACC grouping to also stay out of the summit.

Main players in the "bridging initiative" are former NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns and SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

The two men received the go-ahead from President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to launch a broad-based cleric initiative.

ANC participation is now considered much more attainable because the church movement, in its steadfast refusal to attend the Pretoria summit, has angrily proved its commitment to prior consultation.

Wrecked

The initiative came close to being wrecked on Saturday, the second and last day of the De Klerk summit, when Inkatha accused the churches as being "very much part of the problem".

When this appeared to threaten a proposal at the Government summit that a co-chairman of the Rustenburg Conference be charged with setting up a broad representative committee, De Klerk personally intervened.

He offered to ensure that appropriate people be appointed to ensure the neutral nature of a committee.

Another cleric drawn into the operation was the Rhema Church pastor the Rev Ray McCauley, who has especially warm links with Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Closer

Buthelezi has said he will have to lay the question of participating in the church-backed initiative before its central committee.

The new initiative has reversed the pattern of alliances.

Inkatha, in its reluctance to participate, has pushed the Government and the ANC - both willing participants - closer together.
Peace committee to woo ANC, PAC

PARTICIPANTS at the Government-sponsored summit on violence at the weekend elected a committee to seek ways to involve the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

The committee comprises Government officials, the Inkatha Freedom Party, businessmen and church leaders.

The ANC, PAC and Azapo boycotted the two-day summit held in Pretoria at the weekend.

One of the major proposals at the summit was that a code of conduct be initiated to monitor actions of the police. Guidelines were also suggested for a political code to end faction fighting.

Lawyers for Human Rights said many townships complained about "State violence" and urged for a commitment to lawfulness.

It proposed the appointment of a permanent judicial inquiry to investigate allegations of police involvement in acts of violence in black townships.

Individual speakers and organisations included the Democratic Party, IPP, LHR, the Legal Resources Centre and the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

The Afrikaner Weerstands beweging was represented by its leaders Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said South Africans should help the Government which, he said, had failed to maintain law and order.

He accused some policemen and some of their regional commanders of using their positions for party political gain.

The DP proposed that in order to avert instability, returning ANC and PAC combatants be accommodated in SADF bases.

They would retain their own commanders but be trained for the eventual merging with the SADF.

The DP said the violence was aggravated by unsatisfactory socio-economic conditions. The Government should therefore take urgent action to reduce unemployment, phase out single-sex hostels, improve education and address allegations impugning the credibility of the SAP and SADF.
Churches step in to help save F.W.’s summit

On Track for Peace
who respectively obtained the green light from Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela to launch a broad-based cleric initiative as conveners of an all-party movement against violence.

The initiative came close to being wrecked on Saturday, the second and last day of the De Klerk 'summit' when Inkatha responded to a proposal by Prof Heyns by attacking the churches as being "very much part of the problem".

When this appeared to threaten a proposal that Dr Louw Alberts (the only co-chairman of the Rustenburg Conference present) be charged with setting up a broad representative committee, Mr De Klerk personally intervened, by offering to ensure that appropriate people would be appointed to ensure the neutral nature of a committee.

Another cleric drawn into the operation was Rhema Church pastor Mr Ray McCauley, who has warm links with IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is expected that once the Rustenburg group of churches is further extended to include the Zionists and non-Christian religious groupings, the component Inkatha objects to, the SACC could be considered sufficiently balanced out.

This balanced structure is what the Rustenburg group will strive for, and will today try to devise methods which will ensure the full commitment of all parties before public pronouncements are made.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday said the summit had merely been a move towards creating an intermediate government which would negotiate about the abdication of power to communists. He said he and Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph had walked out of the conference hall immediately after his speech and had not returned.

Saps and Political Staff
ANC man's home fired on

EAST LONDON.—The Border vice-president of the ANC, Mr Sutors Ngonyama, and his family narrowly escaped injury when shots were fired at their Dimbaza home early yesterday.

Mr Ngonyama said he and his family were asleep when he was awoken about 2am by a sound "like thunder", followed by breaking glass. He waited for 20 minutes after the shooting stopped and then called the police who found 30 spent cartridges, apparently fired from an R5 rifle.—Sapa
Main players see need for a peace team

THE three key players in the peace process, the Government, the ANC and Inkatha, agree that some mechanism be established to find ways to end the violence.

The ANC National Executive Committee has proposed that a steering committee be formed to organise an all-party peace conference.

The steering committee, should be representative and be called by an independent body or leaders.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday the movement was looking at the broad issue of peace. It would also consider the outcome of the government's two-day Conference on Intimidation and Violence which ended in Pretoria on Saturday.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's proposal for a peace secretariat received widespread support from the government's conference.

This secretariat should be funded by the government, to underscore its commitment to peace.

The government has also supported a proposal that a continuation committee be established to systemise the comprehensive packages of proposals delegates discussed.

A second committee, led by CSIR chairman Dr Louw Alberts, would facilitate dialogue and negotiations between the continuation committee and groups which boycotted the government's conference.

Asked after the conference whether another summit was possible, President PW de Klerk said it was not impossible if such a need arose.

De Klerk said the two mechanisms should get and expand participation.
Church - key to peace

SOWETAN Correspondent

THE initiative for further peace talks lies in the hands of churchmen following this weekend's Government-organised peace talks boycotted by the extra-parliamentary left.

The men who emerged as leaders to break the deadlock and get all parties around the negotiating table are Rustenburg National Conference of Churches co-chairman Dr Louw Alberts and Ned Geref Kerk theologian Professor Johan Heyns.

The aim is to negotiate an all-party forum to end the violence.

Summit

Two committees - a continuation committee and a facilitating committee - were set up in Pretoria at the Government's Conference on Violence and Intimidation.

Dr Alberts said today the continuation committee, consisting of people who had attended the weekend summit, would "systemise" proposals made at the conference.

The facilitating committee, of which he was still the only member, would be expanded by him in consultation with President de Klerk. Groups which had not attended the summit, such as the Rustenburg Committee and the South African Council of Churches, as well as churchmen, business leaders and possibly trade unionists, would be approached to serve on the committee.

Alberts said no political parties would be approached to serve on the facilitating committee.

"The tendency would be to avoid political parties and bring in such currents that are common to most people, for example the churches, business and labour. The facilitating committee will be a machine to bring together various players including the political parties."

He said the committee, which would hopefully be finalised within two weeks, would "primarily be a small think-tank of people who can think through the total spectrum of the very sensitive problems concerning violence and intimidation."

Through the committee, the main political players would thus be drawn in.

Confusion

Clarifying earlier confusion about the role of the ANC - the main political force which did not attend the weekend summit - in the process, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said today his organisation could not support any proposals arising out of the Government's summit on violence because the summit had not been called by a neutral party.

"We are not going to join any committee that comes out of that meeting - then we might as well have gone to the meeting."

Macozoma said a brand-new peace summit would have to be called by a neutral party, and aligned to existing structures.

The continuation committee - on which political and business leaders serve and which includes churchman Professor Heyns - will deal with matters decided at this weekend's conference to ensure these matters could be taken forward to a possible future meeting for discussion by all players, Professor Heyns said.

President de Klerk said that groups which boycotted the Pretoria talks could not be asked to become part of the committee, as that would amount to co-option.

Peace

At the weekend there was some confusion about the state of the peace process. Viljoen denied reports that the Government had rejected participation in another peace summit.

He said the churches could "play a tremendous role" and made it clear the Government was willing to take part in another forum to deal with violence.

Confirming the church leaders' view, Dr Viljoen said the Government felt that the priority now was not to rush immediately into another full-scale summit.

Last week contacts were started by churchmen determined to bridge the divide which kept the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and other black liberation movements, particularly the PAC and Azapo, out of the weekend summit.

"The main players in the "bridging initiative" are understood to have been Professors Heyns and SACP general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane."

It is believed they respectively obtained the green light from Mr de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to launch a new initiative.

The Reverend Chikane could not be reached for comment this morning.

Although the ANC officially denied today that the peace process was back on track, ANC participation is now considered much more attainable.
Summit yielded little — ANC

OWN CORRESPONDENT
Johannesburg. — The government-initiated peace summit on violence produced "little by way of meaningful results", the ANC said yesterday.

Although the ANC boycotted the weekend summit in Pretoria, the organisation said in a statement that it would assess available documentation and deliberations from the two-day conference.

The statement added that the ANC would "continue to support the initiatives undertaken by religious leaders and organised business" to convene a broad-based conference on violence.

Echoing proposals delivered at the summit, the ANC said a future conference on violence should produce a binding agreement with enforcement mechanisms for a code of conduct for all political parties.

The ANC said such a conference should also produce a code of conduct for the security forces; elaborate on the powers and function of an independent commission on violence; and produce a comprehensive programme of community reintegration.

The ANC rejected a newspaper article which said that the organisation welcomed the summit's proposal for the establishment of a fully representative forum to address the violence. The source of the article, an unnamed senior ANC national executive committee member, had made a "hasty judgment" which was "ill-advised ... inaccurate and unauthorised".

Azapo yesterday said Mr F W de Klerk's peace summit was a failed attempt by the state to exonerate itself as a party to violence, Sapa reports.
Move to get all parties into peace initiative

MOVES were already afoot to involve all parties in the peace initiative flowing from government's weekend peace summit, and an announcement could be expected within days, a leading "facilitator" indicated yesterday.

Church sources said the "facilitating committee" agreed to at the weekend's peace conference was only days away from being established formally.

The sources said intense behind-the-scenes discussions were taking place yesterday, and would continue today, to set up the forum which aims to involve a broader spectrum of political players.

Several major organisations did not attend the government-convened summit, among them the ANC, PAC, Azapo, CP and SA Council of Churches.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches (RNCC) joint chairman Louw Alberts, who was mandated at the summit to establish the committee, said yesterday an announcement could be expected "within days".

He declined to comment on the individuals who had agreed to serve on the committee because consultations were still in progress and the issue sensitive.

But Alberts said he was aiming to involve particularly church and business leaders because they interacted with a wide spectrum of the population. He would consult, also, a wide range of individuals who would liaise with other groups.

The committee would not decide what mechanism was needed to address the issue of violence, but would concentrate on facilitating the setting up of such a mechanism.

Speculation about another peace summit or other mechanisms was therefore premature, he said.

It is expected that Alberts's committee will attempt to involve all parties in a fully representative, but lower-profile forum.
Tension high in township schools

By DAVE MARRS

TOWNSHIP high school teachers fear another year of chaos and disastrous final results as the class boycott enters its second week, only days before the start of mid-year exams.

Tension is running high as pupils attend "awareness lectures" and mass meetings to discuss ways of pressurising the government to resolve the problems caused by overcrowding in ill-equipped schools.

Meanwhile, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) is pressing ahead with a three-day programme of mass rallies, pickets and illegal marches to culminate in the defiance of the May 31 Republic Day holiday, when pupils will temporarily attend classes.

A Cosas spokesman said the "pens down" was affecting more than 15,000 Cape Town pupils and would continue until the Department of Education and Training (DET) provided more textbooks, classrooms, qualified teachers and laboratory equipment.

Primary schools have not been affected so far and the national president of Cosas, Mr Thami Rubusana, said although all 11 regions in the country will participate in rallies and marches this week, the "pens down" would be restricted to Cape Town.

The DET had not responded to a Cape Times inquiry relating to the crisis in Cape Town's black schools by late last night.

ANC publicly spokesman Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota said the organisation stood by its back-to-school call, but added that "local conditions" might prompt pupils to take action that included the short-term boycott of lessons.

The regional ANC leadership would try to ensure that pupils missed as little schooling as possible, he said.

Cosas has sent an open letter to President F W de Klerk listing the pupils' grievances and warning that they will not ask for permission to march on DET offices around the country tomorrow.

It was up to the government to "create the conditions conducive to proper and effective learning", the letter said.

In another development, teaching at two Soweto schools was disrupted yesterday and close to R30,000 damage was caused in the sprawling township when Naledi High pupils went searching for the murderer of a classmate at the nearby Thomas Mololo High School, education authorities and police said.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the Naledi pupils caused damage estimated at more than R30,000 when they attacked houses and cars with petrol bombs.

A DET spokesman said yesterday that several Thomas Mololo students were slightly injured after being threatened and manhandled by students from Naledi.

It appeared the students had acted on wrong information, the spokesman said, confirming a Naledi High School pupil had been murdered at the weekend.

Col Halgryn said police dispersed a mob of some 250 students with teargas and birdshot.

He added that police were investigating the possibility that the attack, which left four houses and several cars damaged, was in retribution for the killing of a school pupil. — Sapa
LONDON. — Mr Oliver Tambo, the ailing ANC president, has rejected suggestions by radical elements of a return to the policy of violence — and has left questions over his leadership open.

His view on any return to armed response is made clear in an interview with former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Raymond Louw, but he refused to say if he intended standing down.

He was also more flexible on vital issues such as sanctions and responses to township violence than some radical ANC executive members — including Mr Chris Hani.

But Mr Tambo, 73, and still recovering in London from a stroke he suffered two years ago, told Mr Louw it was unlikely that the ANC would go back to the armed struggle, suspended in August last year.

In the interview, published in Mr Louw's newsletter, Southern Africa Report, Mr Tambo said: "We must adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle. To go back means deceit, and it would be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new South Africa."

"It is so unnecessary because it is right that we should live peacefully with one another, and sort out our problems man to man."

Mr Louw said Mr Tambo's views were "broadly in accord with those of the ANC in Johannesburg", but there were "differences of emphasis between the two."

Mr Tambo also said that he could not confirm whether he would stand down as president at the ANC's National Congress in Durban in July.

Mr Tambo also placed greater faith in President F W de Klerk than ANC leaders — including Mr Nelson Mandela.

"I still believe in the sincerity of President De Klerk. It is clear, too, that whites in South Africa — except the extreme right-wing AWB — have come around to an acceptance of the 'New South Africa'," Mr Tambo said.
Bid on to involve all parties in peace

OWN CORRESPONDENT

JOHANNESBURG. — Moves were already afoot to involve all parties in the peace initiative flowing from the government's weekend peace summit, and an announcement could be expected within days, a leading "facilitator" indicated yesterday.

Church sources said the "facilitating committee" agreed to at the weekend's peace conference was only days away from being established formally.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches (RNCC) joint chairman Mr Louw Alberts, who was mandated at the summit to establish the committee, said yesterday an announcement could be expected "within days".
Talks to set up a catalyst for peace

Attempts continued yesterday to set up an eight-person group which would serve as a catalyst in creating the "facilitating committee" mooted at government's peace conference last weekend.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches Joint chairman Louie Alberts said yesterday he was talking to a range of people who would act as catalysts in establishing the committee.

None of them would be drawn from political groups.

He declined to say which individuals had so far agreed to take part in the group, but said an announcement would be made in the next few days.

The mechanism or forum to combat conflict in society would be decided by the "facilitating committee", he said.

The committee, agreed upon at the weekend summit, was to draw into the peace process parties which had not attended.

Meanwhile, a government source said yesterday that although the Rustenburg group had not been mandated to bring together facilitators to establish the facilitating committee, there was no objection to members of the Rustenburg group being seconded to the committee.

The ANC has indicated it probably would be prepared to take part in the facilitating committee, if its functions conformed with ANC proposals.

The ANC has called for a code of conduct for political parties and police as one of the measures to help reduce conflict and unrest.

Inkatha has so far resisted attempts by church bodies to establish a peace mechanism or forum because it considers church bodies to be too close to the ANC.

Jockey Club told to repay fines

SUSAN RUSSELL

A RAND Supreme Court judge yesterday ordered the Jockey Club of SA to repay fines totalling R2.000 imposed on trainer Alan Forbes after two of his horses tested positive for a prohibited substance.

Stipendiary stewards convicted Forbes twice of contravening Jockey Club rules after they held that the winners of two races on December 7, 1996 and April 1, 1999, Fastoell and Northern Shiek respectively, had tested positive for the anti-inflammatory drug Naproxen. He was fined R5,000 in respect of each conviction.

Forbes' appeals against the convictions were dismissed by local executive stewards of the Transvaal and Free State district of the Jockey Club and head executive stewards.

Mr Justice van der Merwe overturned both convictions yesterday after holding that the hearings in front of the stipendiary stewards were unfairly conducted and in breach of Jockey Club rules.

He ordered the Jockey Club to pay Forbes the R1.000 fines plus interest.

Women's League delegation in talks with F.W.

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk and a delegation of the ANC Women's League were still locked in talks three-and-a-half hours after the group had entered Tyunhuya last night amid speculation that they planned a sit-in at the presidential office.

Included among the group was Winnie Mandela, on her first visit to Tyunhuya. Two others in the delegation of about 15 women were carrying their babies.

They arrived for the meeting at 5pm. Leading the group was Women's League president Gertrude Hope and Ruth Mompata, an ANC National Executive Committee member.

Security at Tyunhuya was heavier than usual. Hope said as she was escorted through the gates to Tyunhuya that the women would be discussing "the problems of SA" with De Klerk.

It is understood that the violence and breakdown in talks between government and the ANC were top of the delegation's agenda. The delegation presented a petition on violence to De Klerk.

Another issue almost certainly discussed was the hunger strike by prisoners claiming they should be freed because they were sentenced for politically motivated crimes. The league had been trying to arrange a meeting with De Klerk for some time.

SPEAR OF THE NATION

In his "tiger-skin" head-dress and monkey-skin kilt, with his multicoloured bead armlets and anklets, carrying an elegantly crafted rawhide shield, knobkerrie and spear, Victor Ndlovu personifies the popular idea of Zuluhood.

Around him swirls a kaleidoscope of men in more or less customary garb — and a few women, some bare-breasted — who have converged on Johannesburg's Soccer City from the backwoods of Natal and the Reef hostels in an explosion of ethnic pride. On every side waves a forest of weaponry.

"I have come to hear my king," Ndlovu says. "This spear — I must carry it to support him."

Inside the stadium, tradition and nationhood are the dominant themes. Contrary to press reports, this is not an Inkatha Freedom Party rally, IFP president and kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi insists in a brief speech introducing the king. It is an "imbizo" — a royal address to the entire Zulu nation on the subject of peace.

Women ululate as King Goodwill Zwelithini warms to his theme; at points the crowd breaks in approvingly: "Bayethu!" (Hail!) "Uyindlovu!" (You are the elephant) "As King of the Zulus I stand above party politics," the king declares.

It is picturesque, impressive — and a gigantic sleight of hand. The huge slogans displayed under IFP colours on the turf below the packed terraces leave no doubt that this is a political gathering, skillfully stage-managed as a cultural event.

To hear the Inkatha leader, one might think him thepliant, self-effacing servant of his monarch. Zwelithini had approached him to say he had a statement to make; he had "shuffled inside himself at the awesome responsibility of introducing the king."

Buthelezi-watchers can be excused a snicker of disbelief: Zwelithini is a constitutional monarch who, after some skirmishes in the 1970s, has served faithfully as his uncle's voice.

The King of the Zulus told the faithful gathered at Johannesburg's Soccer City that 'the call to ban the bearing of cultural weapons is an insult to the manhood of every Zulu'. DREW FORREST reports

The unctuous references to "Dr Mandela" in the king's speech — it is an appellation which Nelson Mandela never uses and of which Buthelezi is particularly fond — raises some doubts about its authorship.

A masterpiece of ambiguity, it reflects many of the chief's pet themes. After a plea for peace, directed paradoxically at "brothers born of warrior stock", it launches into a lengthy attack on the ANC for its alleged "ugly vendetta against the Zulu people and their Zulus."

A key step in the argument is the insidious conflation of the King, kwaZulu and the Zulu people, turning a political programme into an ethnic agenda, and political opponents into foes of all Zulus.

"Not only does the ANC attack the very existence of kwaZulu and insult the chief minister of kwaZulu," Zwelithini avers, "and not only does it harm me in these attacks, but the ANC wants to hurt the Zulu-speaking people in the Transvaal as well."

Woven into the attack is another vintage device, an attempt, recalling Inkatha's adoption of the black, green and gold, to alipstream the ANC's central role in resistance politics. kwaZulu "produced" ANC founding father Pixley ka Seme and Albert Luthuli, we are told. "We as a people have nursed the ANC... why does the ANC want to destroy the place of its origins?"

The point is reinforced in a poster widely displayed in Johannesburg before the "imbizo" showing Luthuli carrying "traditional" weapons. It is in the treatment of the traditional weapons issue that the underlying agenda of the Soccer City,
SHOWING HIS MANHOOD ... A Zulu in cultural garb at a cultural gathering carries on the tradition of his nation.

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sanctioned only in contexts such as hunting and warfare. Historian Jeff Guy insists the carrying of assegais at Zulu national gatherings was banned before 1879 because they were too dangerous. But like all parties seeking to rally ethnic support, the IFP must manufacture myths and symbols. The peculiar power of "traditional" weaponry as a rallying-point is that it taps into intense Zulu pride in a warrior past.

"There is undoubtedly such a thing as an independent ethnic pride and consciousness," Guy comments. "The Basotho say, 'we opened the mines', for the Zulus it is rooted in the 19th century Zulu kingdom, powerful, centralised, independent. It is there for manipulation for political ends if people tap into it."

He also points to the irony inherent in the appeal to an immoral and unchanging custom and culture. Behind the power of the 19th century Zulu kingdom, he stresses, lay Shaka's genius. Interviews with ordinary Zulus at the Soccer City meeting show how successful the strategy has been. "Our King says we must carry the spear", "The ANC says we must not have it — we have carried it for 200 years, since before Shaka", "It is a sign of respect for our chiefs", were among the offerings.

In his speech, Zwelilithini calls ambiguously for Zulus to unite and be powerful for South Africa and for black unity of purpose.

One may reasonably doubt that South Africa's future stability, and the creation of a broader South Africanism, is served by the fostering of ethnic chauvinism for short-term political gain.
The Ethnic Wave

A Special Weekly Mail Focus

THE WEEKLY MAIL

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The power and the danger behind

THE RISE OF ZULU NATIONALISM

CAROAKA NCFERANKE

Campaign expression, the Zulu organisational movement that aims to bring political and economic stability to the country through democratic reform.

It is just one example of the ways in which the ANC is not operating in South Africa. The AWB, the IFP, the NF, the PANSA, the PAC and the SACP all have their own political movements and are included in the ANC's programme.

The AWB, for example, is composed of members of the Zulu People's Congress, a group of black Muslims and supporters of ZULU NATIONALISM. The IFP, on the other hand, is composed of members of the Zulu People's Congress and supporters of ZULU NATIONALISM. The NF is composed of members of the Zulu People's Congress and supporters of ZULU NATIONALISM.

The PANSA, the PAC and the SACP are also part of the ANC's programme. The PANSA, for example, is composed of members of the Zulu People's Congress and supporters of ZULU NATIONALISM. The PAC is composed of members of the Zulu People's Congress and supporters of ZULU NATIONALISM. The SACP is composed of members of the Zulu People's Congress and supporters of ZULU NATIONALISM.

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Thousands of shotguns illegally shipped to SA from US, claim

By David Braun
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US Department of Commerce is investigating allegations that thousands of shotguns may have been exported illegally to South Africa.

There are fears that they have been used in township violence.

A spokesman for the Commerce Department in Washington confirmed this week that an investigation was being made into the possibility that shotguns, supposedly shipped through Cape Town for Zimbabwe and Namibia, had remained in South Africa.

She said she was not permitted to provide any further information, and would not confirm that the US Commerce Department had sent investigators to South Africa only a few weeks ago.

The allegations about the shotguns were brought to the attention of the US Commerce Department and the State Department by Dumisani Kumalo of the New York-based Africa Fund, one of the oldest and most respected anti-apartheid activist organisations in the US.

Mr Kumalo, a South African-born US citizen, last week sent letters to anti-apartheid activists and organisations which said more than 20 tons of shotguns and ammunition had left the US for South Africa in the past 10 months.

While Nelson Mandela was touring the US in June last year, eight tons of shotguns left New York harbour for South Africa, he said.

"Since we discovered that thousands of shotguns were going to South Africa, more than 1,000 people have died violently in the townships, many from shotgun wounds," he said.

He said the guns were not being smuggled out but were being shipped with US government licences on the pretext that they were going to Zimbabwe or Namibia.

The letter said that the Africa Fund had, in November 1990, given the US Department of Commerce details about the shotgun shipments but that six months later, the department was still investigating.
Church sets up peace contact group

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Attempts continued yesterday to set up an eight-person group which would serve as a catalyst in creating the "facilitating committee" mooted at government's peace conference last weekend.

Rustenburg National Conference of Churches joint chairman, the Rev Louw Alberts, said yesterday he was talking to a range of people who would act as catalysts in establishing the committee.

None of them would be drawn from political groups.

He declined to say which individuals had so far agreed to take part in the group, but said an announcement would be made in the next few days.

The mechanism or forum to combat conflict in society would be decided by the "facilitating committee", he said.

Meanwhile, a government source said yesterday that although the Rustenburg group had not been mandated to bring together facilitators to establish the facilitating committee, there was no objection to members of the Rustenburg group being seconded to the committee.

The ANC has indicated it probably would be prepared to take part in the facilitating committee, if its functions coincided with ANC proposals.

Inkatha has so far resisted attempts by church bodies to establish a peace mechanism or forum because it considers church bodies to be too close to the ANC.
The SAP yesterday denied any knowledge of an investigation into the illegal exporting of thousands of shotguns from the United States to South Africa.

They had been asked to comment on a report from Washington that the US Department of Commerce was investigating such allegations.

Major Ray Harrald, of the SAP's public relations division in Pretoria, said the police had no knowledge of such an investigation.

"Although shotguns are being used in faction fights between political groups, deaths caused by shotguns are minimal."

SAP mystified over US probe into illegal shotguns

He said "as many as 90 per cent" of the victims killed with firearms had died of AK-47 assault rifle or handgun-inflicted wounds.

David Braun of The Star Bureau reports from Washington that fears have been expressed in the US that the shotguns may have been used in township violence.

A spokesman for the Commerce Department in Washington confirmed this week that a probe had begun into the possibility that shotguns, supposedly shipped through Cape Town for Zimbabwe and Namibia, had remained in South African territory.

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"Since we discovered that thousands of shotguns were going to South Africa, more than 1 000 people have died violently in the townships, many from shotgun wounds," he said.
THE PEACE PROCESS

LOOKING THROUGH A WINDOW

A SECOND SUMMIT IS UNNECESSARY — ALL-PARTY TALKS HOLD THE KEY

The point about the peace process is that it is a process — and that it continues. Who did or did not attend last week's peace conference is less important than that the major political powers in the land — broadly, the government, the ANC and Inkatha — remain in the weapons of death and the killing stops.

The ultimate success of the process will be measured by criteria such as the averting of a civil war and the willingness of foreign investors to commit long-term funds to SA. As Saaco's Raymond Parsons (who attended the summit) has pointed out: "What SA must now guard against is the replacement of external sanctions with an internal sanction — violence. This would equally place a ceiling on our economic performance in the years ahead."

Estimates of that ceiling hover around the 2%-a-year growth mark, which assumes no political meddling with monetary policy if unemployment soars further, and no disruptive transition to a centralist State influenced by the Marxist theory that wealth is finite and needs to be spread around more evenly by confiscatory legislation.

The economic potential of SA — making possible growth rates of 6%-7% a year, new wealth and work — needs to be unlocked, but in Parsons' words, "we can only unlock that potential if the political negotiations are back on track and if violence is eliminated."

This of course points to the tragic, and circular, nature of the violence.

Oscar Mpofu, executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, pointed out to the summit that the post-apartheid reconstruction of the economy would directly be targeted on the conditions that led to violence in the first place. "It is not a mere coincidence that violence seems to be rife in informal settlements and hostels where people are forced to live under disgraceful and unhygienic conditions."

Amelioration of these conditions depends on appropriate
The government would have taken decisive action. If whites had been killed in this conflict, the government would have been forced to make concessions to the demands of the indigenous population. The creation of a separate state for the indigenous population would have been a precedent that could not be ignored. The military would have been mobilized to suppress any further protests. The government would have had to demonstrate its resolve to maintain control over its territory. The situation in Borneo would have been further exacerbated by the internal divisions among the indigenous population. The government would have had to choose between appeasing the indigenous population and maintaining its control over the region. The latter option would have required the use of force, which could have led to a prolonged conflict. The military would have had to be prepared for any outcome, and the government would have had to be ready to take decisive action to ensure its survival. The government would have had to consider the implications of this conflict for its international standing, as well as for its domestic political stability. The situation in Borneo would have been a test of the government's ability to deal with a complex and volatile situation, and the outcome would have had far-reaching consequences for the future of the country.