RIOTS & DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1990

SEPT. - DEC.

SA 'at risk' of becoming like Lebanon

w/e Argus 1/9/90 274

Pessimism because of township unrest

Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON. — The township violence of last week has enhanced fears that South Africa could become "a sort of giant Lebanon, with warring communities tearing up all the rules of civil society and reducing the land to a series of no-go areas and contested zones".

This warning comes from former Natal Rhodes scholar Mr R W Johnson in the latest issue of New Statesman and Society. Mr Johnson is now a fellow in politics and sociology at Magdalen College, Oxford.

While he concedes that police had "frequently sided" with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha forces, Mr Johnson dismisses as "ludicrous" Mrs Winnie Mandela's claim that they and President F W de Klerk's government were behind the present unrest.

Most to lose

In fact, he adds, "he has more to lose than almost anyone from the violence, which pushes more white votes towards Treurnicht on the extreme right, and destabilises the negotiation process on which he, De Klerk, has risked everything".

Such accusations came naturally to the ANC, since the government and the police had been the movement's "natural enemies" down the years. "But it is extremely dangerous to fling such charges around now," he adds.

"In the eyes of the wilder township elements, it is tantamount to saying that to kill the other side (Zulus) is to strike a blow against the hated apartheid state. The result can only be to increase the ethnic polarisation that these events have done much to strengthen."

Mr Johnson, author of the bestseller *How Long Will South Africa Survive*, says the worsening relationship between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi comes at a time when the policy differences between them have been narrowed to almost nothing.

This has cost the ANC dearly. "Despite decades of non-racial propaganda, it finds itself engaged in a neo-tribal war." It is, he says, "the hope and probably the future of the country ... but (it) is in a fair old mess".

A lot of this is understandable, the ANC was an illegal organisation up to just six months ago. But time is lacking in a "fundamental sense", he claims.

Larger breakdown

The fighting on the Reef is only part of a far larger breakdown, Mr Johnson says. Youngsters who acted on the ANC slogan of the mid-1980s, "Liberation now, education later", now find they can't get into schools, that they are unemployed for life.

"I think of them when I hear that car theft is increasing so fast that insurance premiums are doubling annually. What else can they do? And who is to blame?"

With the South African economy shrinking, the country could easily slide further toward violence and social breakdown — "but it is important to the whole world that it doesn't".

Within the country, the main imperative has to be some kind of rapprochement between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi, Mr Johnson says.

"Nothing would do more to reduce ethnic strife, restore peace, help confidence and shore up the economy."

However, such a move would afford Chief Buthelezi a role in the ANC second only to Mr Mandela together with a huge personal power base, as well as push a lot of other ANC constituents further down the queue to make room for more Zulu office-bearers.

Such a transformation of the ANC was a tall order, "but there may be no other way to peace," Mr Johnson concludes. "Everything, once again, depends on what Mr Mandela does — within a few month of his emergence from jail, he has become South Africa's indispensible providential man."

Holomisa: Poverty breeds violence

CAPE TIMES 1/9/90

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — No leader will succeed in persuading people to refrain from violence while stark poverty pervades certain communities, Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said last night.

Speaking at a conference of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa in Uitenhage, General Holomisa said that politicians and church leaders could denounce violence, but this would only temporarily stop people resorting to it in order to rectify historical imbalances.

He said violence by the deprived against one another was senseless and had to be condemned without reservations.

He said the concern of the church should not be limited to conveying the liberatory message of God to people whose lives were marred and crippled by the "oppressive impositions of secular agencies in society".

"It must reveal the extent, range, depth and magnitude of social injustice. It must subject it to continuous, vigorous attacks until the perpetrators of vice and the social engineers of man's inhumanity to man can no longer turn a deaf ear to the ringing barrage of criticism," General Holomisa said.

"If the church wants to play a pivotal role in arresting violence, it will have to champion the cause of the poor and marginalised people.

"While some churches are assiduously striving for the total abandonment of policies spurned by the majority and devise ways and means of accelearting the dawn of a new social order, others actively resist social change.

"The latter agitate for the tightening of racial segregation."

'perpetuating black violence'

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela is reported to have said the ANC has no intention of meeting Chief Buthelezi as long as the Inkatha leader continues to portray himself as a leader by perpetuating violence among blacks.

It is reported that Mr Mandela said the ending of violence could not be left to an individual and that was why the ANC was meeting the government.

Mr Mandela and the chairman of the PAC, Mr Johnson Mlambo, met leaders of the seven frontline states to brief them on recent developments in South Africa.

The Africa News Organisation says President Kaunda of Zambia appealed to the PAC to seriously consider the South African government's invitation for it to join the talks on a new dispensation in South Africa.

Dr Kaunda, who is also chairman of the frontline group, said that as far as these states were concerned President De Klerk had proved to be a sincere man and he meant well when he invited the PAC to join in the talks with the government and the ANC.

Fanning violence

However, the news organisation reports that the PAC's secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said that Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, was "not serious or honest" when he issued the invitation to them to join the talks. Mr Alexander said the PAC had not changed its policy on talks with the government.

No reaction was reported from Mr Mlambo to Dr Viljoen's invitation.

At the meeting the frontline leaders are reported to have said they would not recognise Chief Buthelezi until he put an end to the violence among blacks that was sweeping Natal and the Reef townships.

President Kaunda accused Chief Buthelesi of fanning the violence and called on him to end it and to go back to the days when he had won the respect and admiration of the international community through his message of love.

"Recognition of him as a leader will only come as a result of good deeds and not as a man who contributed to the wanton destruction of human life," Dr Kaunda said.

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Pik calls for UN intervention in quest for peace

MIKE ROBERTSON

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha, in a letter to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, has called on the international community to issue a public appeal to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join forces in ending bloodshed in SA.

The letter was handed to Perez by SA's permanent UN representative Jeremy Shearer.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said Botha had written the letter to bring Perez up to date with developments in SA The General Assembly yesterday discussed the report of the recent UN fact-finding mission to SA

Both said in the letter that strenuous efforts were being made to control the wave of violence on the Witwatersrand. While there were no angels in the SAP, it was unfair to blame police for the violence

SA needed more tolerance of differing view points and a willingness on the part of all acknowledged leaders to participate in a reconciliation process.

"Attempts by any one political party or alliance of parties to become, through intimidation and threats of violence, the sole and dominant political force in SA will be met by reaction, including violent reaction," he said

Ending violence between the ANC and Inkatha was a major government priority

This included pressing for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi However, Mandela had claimed the ANC would not allow him to participate in such a meeting

There were now suggestions of a meeting at a lower level between the two groups

"This is a positive development but we continue to believe that a meeting at the level of Mandela and Buthelezi is essential if we are to succeed in curbing violence," he said

Final

Botha added "I believe it would be useful if the international community could issue a public appeal to the two leaders to join forces in putting an end to bloodshed"

The Foreign Minister said the international community should recognise that government's commitment to removing the last pillars of apartheid was final and irreversible

The political dye in SA had been cast and there was no turning back

Botha concluded his letter by saying that the debate offered the General Assembly an historic opportunity to recognise that changes had taken place in SA and to reaffirm that it was for South Africans alone to determine their future

Any attempt to interfere would be counter-productive and would risk upsetting serious efforts being made to get negotiations under way

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erkloof office fourth attack

TH BULBRING

office was bombed in the early rning

P office to be bombed in three

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ster Adriaan Vlok condemned the t, saying it was a "senseless deed finding solutions to the problems

nidentified caller to Radio 702 for the blast.

he was speaking on behalf of Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, and warned explosions in future, a Radio 702

Mandela home with message

CAPE TIMES 3/9/90

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday returned to South Africa unannounced after a week-long tour of four nations, including a stop in Libya.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said he flew in early to avoid journalists. He had been expected in the afternoon.

Mr Mandela arrived from Zambia with a message for President F W De Klerk from the frontline states asking him to end black strife.

Mr Mandela — who attended the frontline summit after arriving from a six-day tour of Norway, Algeria, Libya and Uganda — is to personally deliver the message to Mr De Klerk.

Mr Mandela is to hold a press conference today.

In Lusaka, meanwhile, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda chaired Saturday's meeting of leaders of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The summit effectively blamed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the recent black violence.

"Chief Buthelezi just now is creating a lot of chaos for all of us. He is leading us on a course of destruction and we are asking him to go back to where he was before and stop all this killing," Dr Kaunda said.

He also said the summit had also asked PAC chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo, who also attended, to take a special message to his organisation's president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

The Zambian leader would not disclose the contents of the message, but at the begining of the summit he urged the PAC to consider the invitation by Mr De Klerk to join the negotiations on a new South Africa. — UPI and Sapa

E Rand townships 'quiet' residents

Cape Times 4/9/90 774

JOHANNESBURG. The situation in the East Rand townships, where police reported renewed fighting had left 23 people dead at the weekend, was reported by both police and residents to be quiet yesterday.

A Phola Park resident described the situation in Thokoza bordering the Phola Park area as quiet, but said a man was shot and wounded yesterday morning in a street by attackers travelling in a vehicle.

East Rand police liaison officer Captain Ida van Zweel, who reported the township situation as quiet, could not confirm the shooting.

Residents described the situation in Tembisa as quiet, but reported sporadic gunfire at night.

● Natal police yesterday reported incidents of unrest in KwaMashu, Makunts location near Margate and Ilfracombe near Umkomaas at the weekend.

Police spokesman Lt Bala Naidoo said that on Sunday about 10.30am, two men died and a third was taken to hospital after being injured in a gang attack on a house at KwaMashu.

A man had burned to death when nine huts were set alight near Umkomaas. — Sapa

At the Human Rights Commission's and David Webster Trust's launch in Johannesburg yesterday of two reports on repression and the CCB, HRC member Chris Dlamini discusses the role of vigilantes. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

State violence continues unabated, says HRC study

THEO RAWANA

STATE violence was continuing unabated in the De Klerk reform era, and the Civil Co-Operation Bureau (CCB) had not been disbanded, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said in Johannesburg yesterday.

At the launch of two reports on repression and the CCB, the HRC expressed doubt about the achievement of a political settlement by negotiation.

A statement said: "How to tame the beast that is apartheid violence remains as much of a challenge in the De Klerk reform era as it was in the tyrannical time of P W Botha."

The HRC, which published a report on state violence, said the stakes were higher in the De Klerk era. "... It is the achievement of an end to the violence perpetrated by the state's armed forces, its secret agencies and its surrogates that will complement the suspension of armed action by the ANC and create the basis for a genuine ceasefire agreement. Without such a bilateral pact it is difficult — if not impossible — to see how a political settlement can be achieved."

HRC member Chris Dlamini, outlining the role of vigilantes and their perceived links with the police, said it seemed it was only the "hard core" of the Inkatha membership that was "deeply involved in the current violence".

The CCB report, published by the David Webster Trust, brings together threads of evidence on the CCB presented to the Harms Commission, and creates on this basis "profiles of responsibility" for top military officials.

It questions a government announcement that the CCB had been operationally disbanded, and makes extensive recommendations about how the CCB can be effectively dissolved.

get the co-operation of all leaders

Eddie Botha

THE VIOLENCE

FROM BOTH SIDES

ANC failure to move faster on matching SA Police appointments to the joint monitoring group is hampering police efforts to bring peace to strife-torn areas.

"It is pointless to have a working forum that is working from only one side. If there is a problem we need to address it," Law & Order spokesman Leon Mellet tells the *FM*. He also complains that those the ANC has nominated are not easily available. This makes it difficult for police to tackle problems quickly and after consultation.

The 96 policemen appointed by the SAP are placed across SA to make access to a joint monitoring group easy in most areas. The ANC has provided only a third of that figure.

The *FM* left numerous messages for the ANC to react to these allegations but no response was received.

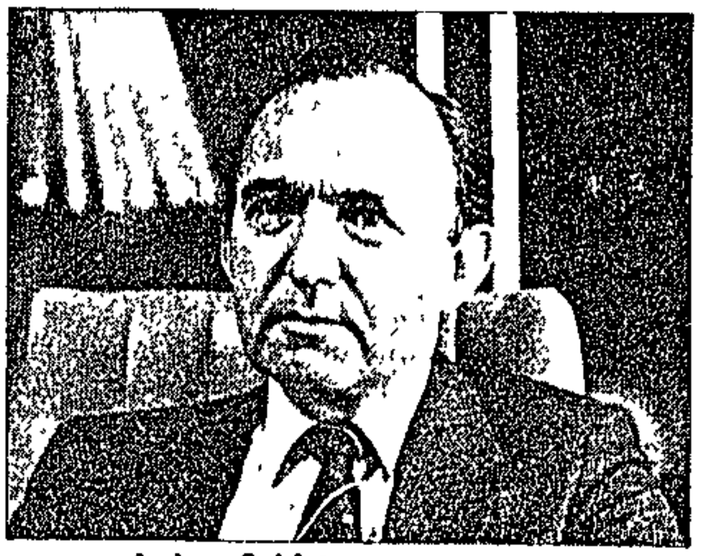
Mr Justice Goldstone earlier this week issued his report on the March 26 Sebokeng killings. He concludes that police actions, which led to the deaths of 12 and injuries of 86, were largely unjustified; he also finds that certain standing orders were ignored and recommends that the conduct of some policemen should be considered by the attorney general. Families of the deceased and injured are putting together claims of R2m-R3m against the police.

It is clear that there will be no easing of tensions between police and the community until there are regular discussions Mellett says this is an SAP priority.

However, the peace forum initiative (launched so promisingly in mid-August when Minister of Law & Order Adriaan Vlok flew to Soweto to meet Nelson Mandela) has still not got off the ground. It has not met since.

Not only communities feel threatened. Vlok says from January to mid-August 42 policemen (one white) died in political unrest; 403 were injured; there were 1 233 attacks on patrolling policemen; the homes of 522 were attacked; and 1 805 police vehicles were damaged or destroyed.

The Goldstone Commission criticises police attitudes and procedures but also con-



Judge Goldstone . . . *actions unjustified*

demns organisers of the Sebokeng march for ill-preparedness and lacking control. Marshalls to control crowds are essential and political organisations cannot expect police to take sole responsibility

It is hoped the Goldstone report will lead to greater accountability on both sides ■

King slams black-on-black conflict

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelethini slammed black-on-black violence yesterday and called for unity among his people.

The king said at the annual reed dance at the royal kraal in Nongoma: "We should stay every Zulu hand which is driven to lift up a spear to strike a fellow South African.

"Cease this black-on-black violence! I say this to all South Africans. It is my command to people of Zulu extraction.

"Let us put aside the ways of death. I say stamp out the evil of ethnic violence.

"We, of all people, know that valour, power and strength will never stoop to bully. Valour never stoops to demean. Valour never stoops to humiliate. Valour never stoops to strike out in anger against one whom history demands is your compatriot and whom history demands you should learn to live with.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said there was now so much at stake for South Africa that calls for unity dare not be party political.

He said: "Let me say that all the Zulu-bashing that has been taking place in black politics must stop forthwith.

"KwaZulu is not a product of apartheid and let anyone who dares say that be shamed into silence by the reaction of the people.

"As a Zulu, I am appealing for Zulu unity for the sake of all South Africa and for the sake of every political party in it.

"I appeal to you to come together as Zulus so that all South Africans can benefit.

"South Africa can only lose if the Zulu people fall prey to those who want to propagate the kind of internecine black-on-black conflict which has marred the black struggle for liberation in recent years.

"Real equality comes from the way brother treats brother, neighbour treats neighbour and from the way in which people with democratic come together rights," he said. – Sapa.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini ... has called for peace

SA will drown in bloodbath, warns Mandela

KAMPALA: Mr Nelson Mandela warned at the weekend that unless the South African Government stemmed inter-black violence the could would drown in blood.

"We shall do everything possible within our power to avoid this," the deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC) said in Kampala.

About 600 people have died in the past month in factional fighting between supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC sympathisers.

Mandela blamed some of the violence on state agents.

"Any political demonstration is regarded by the police and the army as a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way."

Earlier, Mandela accused the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of refusing to work with the ANC in trying to end apartheid.

He said that after a recent world tour he had convened a meeting of all organisations to report on developments. "Everyone came with the exception of the PAC." - Sapa-Reuter

Act or SA will drown in blood — Mandela

(274)

KAMPALA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela warned on Saturday that unless SA's government took action against black-on-black violence, the whole country would be "drowned in blood".

"We shall do everything possible within our power to avoid this," he told an OAU meeting concentrating on southern Africa.

Mandela blamed some of the township violence on state agents and said the police and army had not been properly trained to handle demonstrations. "Any political demonstration is regarded by the police and the army as a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way."

Mandela said there was a widespread demand in SA for people to be armed with guns to defend themselves. "This is a demand which will be difficult to refuse when the government fails to protect their lives," he said.

Growing violence in black townships risked derailing talks between the ANC and government on a new constitution.

Earlier, Mandela accused the PAC of refusing to work with the ANC in trying to end apartheid. "We can't afford to quibble when the house is on fire."

Mandela said that after a recent world tour he had convened a meeting of all organisations to report on developments.

"Everyone came, with the exception of the PAC. We have stretched out a hand of friendship to everyone. We are keen to share information, and we are even prepared to share our resources," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mercury 10/4/90

50 killed in wave of Soweto, East Rand violence

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The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — Township violence claimed the lives of at least 50 people at the weekend as waves of attacks on squatter camps spread across Soweto and the East Rand.

Shacks were demolished and people were hacked to death or shot dead by bands of marauders.

Six incidents of unrest were reported in the coloured township in Piketberg in the Boland from 6 am on Sunday to 6 am today, police confirmed.

STONED

Police and private vehicles were stoned in these incidents and a policeman ankle was injured. A petrol bomb was thrown at a police vehicle and police used rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse the crowds.

Vehicles were also stoned in the coloured township at Worcester. A car was stoned on the N2 near Khayelitsha and the back window was smashed.

Eighteen people were murdered on the East Rand. Bodies were found by police in Tokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Tembisa and Evaton.

Early today an unidentified man was shot dead by a gang of Zulus on a train between Katlehong and Germiston.

A source said the man's friend fell to his death after trying to escape the gang by jumping through the open window of the train. The incident took place at 7am.

In Soweto the death toll rose to 33. One of the dead was a pregnant woman.

One person was killed and two were seriously injured when a group of people surrounded a car and attacked its occupants in Meadowlands, Soweto, at 7am today.

Police said 10 hacked and bullet-riddled bodies were found early yesterday near the Tladi squatter camp and Merafe railway station. Another body — that of a man who had been set on fire — was discovered at Mapetla.

Most of the 33 Soweto deaths happened when about 100 people ran amok and attacked squatter residents.

● Four people were killed in unrest-related incidents in Natal at the weekend, according to police spokesman Lieutenant Bala Naidoo.

About 15 black men had chased a man in Magabeni, in the Umzinto district, who died after being stabbed four times in the back.

A 48-year-old man was killed near Port Shepstone on Saturday after he had answered a knock at his front door.

At Chatsworth, outside Durban, the body of an unidentified black man was found on Saturday morning. He had been set alight.

A man was killed in Kwamashu on Saturday after a policeman's house was attacked by a group of people.

Cape Times
nday, September 10 1990

Mandela briefs OAU

Violence 'extension of SA's backing of Renamo'

KAMPALA. — In his speech to the mini-summit of the Organisation of African Unity here, Mr Nelson Mandela said the violence was an extension of South Africa's backing of Renamo.

Having disrupted Mozambique's infrastructure, he said, their tactic was simple — to back Inkatha to attack township residents irrespective of tribe or political affiliation.

"You can see it is not just fighting between two political organisations. It is a matter of making it impossible for us to overthrow white supremacy.

"I don't want to detail the type of evidence we have, but it is sufficient to say that two black men opened fire on Wednesday night in a railway station and killed a number of people and these men have not been arrested by the government."

As a result of the government's failure to deal with the situation, he said, there had been a widespread demand for arms from "law-abiding people" which was increasingly difficult to resist.

"Our people are being systematically attacked with firearms and the only defence is for people to have firearms."

There was a real danger of the peace process being derailed, he said.

"We declared a ceasefire precisely because we wanted negotiations, and if the government fails to respond we know exactly what to do."

He also urged the Pan Africanist Congress to join hands with the ANC to "address this problem together".

Mr Mandela warned that unless the government stemmed inter-black violence the country would drown in blood.

"We shall do everything possible within our power to avoid this," he said.

He said the police and army had not been properly trained in methods of handling demonstrations.

"Any political demonstration is regarded by the police and the army as a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way."

Earlier, he accused the PAC of refusing to work with the ANC in trying to end apartheid.

"We can't afford to quibble when the house is on fire," he told the meeting, attended by senior PAC officials including PAC chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo.

Mr Mandela said that after a recent world tour he had convened a meeting of all organisations to report on developments.

"Everyone came with the exception of the PAC. We have stretched a hand of friendship to everyone. We are keen to share information and we are even prepared to share our resources," he said.

Backing his speech, OAU leaders said in a statement that the township violence would harm the struggle against apartheid if it was allowed to continue.

The meeting was chaired by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni and was attended by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam and Namibian Prime Minister Mr Hage Geingob.

The statement said that for the time being the white South African government was responsible for the maintenance of law and order. "Therefore the regime cannot be exonerated from responsibility for these wanton killings."

In remarks opening a one-day meeting of the committee, Mr Museveni also appealed for unity among all black political and tribal groups in South Africa.

"Tribal violence serves no one except those now working to maintain apartheid," he said.

Mr Museveni is this year's chairman of the OAU, a grouping of virtually all African nations that has consistently sought an end to apartheid.

He called for increased economic pressure on South Africa and the immediate withdrawal of all remaining South African troops from Namibia, which he described as in the infancy of its independence.

Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, secretary-general of the OAU, echoed Mr Museveni's call for intensified pressure from the international community until South Africa abolishes apartheid

Meanwhile, Mr Mandela arrived in Zaire for his first meeting with President Mobutu Sese Seko, national radio reported yesterday.

He was met by Mr Mobutu on his arrival at Goma, 1 600km north-east of the capital Kinshasa, on Saturday night. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter-AP

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Unless the government purges the security establishment of right-wing elements bent on derailing the negotiation process, there will be very little hope for a peaceful solution, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at the weekend.

The archbishop was interviewed by the Independent newspaper as the death toll in township violence over the past month rose to more than 600.

The violence prompted ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to warn in Kampala at the weekend that a failure by the government to contain the violence could lead to the ANC resuming its armed struggle.

Archbishop Tutu said he had heard repeatedly from township residents during a tour of the affected areas how police were fuelling rather than controlling the fighting and actively siding with Inkatha attackers from migrant-worker hostels.

"We have no doubt about the sincerity of President F W de Klerk and his commitment to a new South Africa. But it has become more and more evident there are right-wing elements in the security establishment who are hell-bent on subverting and derailing the whole negotiating process.

"Unless the government acts expeditiously to root out these elements, we're for the birds."

Inkatha, ANC talks called for by jurists

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The three-man mission from the International Commission of Jurists, which last week completed an investigation into the Natal violence, has called for a meeting of Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and government and church leaders.

The involvement of government and church leaders would ensure that decisions taken were made to work "on the ground", mission leader Mr John Macdonald QC said in an interview yesterday.

The group's two-week investigation culminated in talks with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha late last week.

In the interview Mr Macdonald said:

● There was a strong need for the police to "turn over a new leaf" — and he recommended the establishment of a second police staff college, where refresher courses could be given by Australian, British or Canadian police on exchange appointment.

● That the State of Emergency in Natal should be lifted as a "clear signal" to the people on the ground "that the government is determined to change the whole climate of opinion". He said Mr Botha indicated that the government was considering this.

Mr Macdonald said he was confident that because the violence, which has now spread to the Transvaal, originated in Natal, solving the problem there would help on the broader scale.

Mr Macdonald said his group was "left in no doubt" about the seriousness of the government's commitment to change.

He said a comprehensive report would be compiled over the next three weeks and would be submitted to President FW de Klerk, Mr Botha and Mr Vlok.

Violence: ANC 'should stop claiming innocence'

Cape Times 11/9/90 Page 274

PRETORIA. — Political organisations, especially the ANC, should cease claiming total innocence for themselves and their followers and laying all blame on their opponents or on the police, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

Dr Viljoen said the government had noted with great concern the "highly exaggerated" statement made in Kampala by the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, that the government "is conducting a war against us" and that the government "is systematically inciting certain people to attack and kill the ANC".

"Such charges are most unwarranted and unfounded and are calculated to increase tension and violence."

Dr Viljoen said it completely contradicted "the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved" to which the Pretoria Minute referred.

All political organisations had a duty and responsibility actively to contribute towards calming excited emotions and restoring peace and stability, Dr Viljoen added.

Mr Mandela's allegation that any political demonstration was regarded by the police and the army as "a rebellion which must be put down in a brutal way" was untrue and in conflict with the many political demonstrations that regularly took place without hindrance on the part of the security forces, Dr Viljoen said.

Dr Viljoen said it was time that other organisations became visible in their control of their people, failing which they might stand condemned either as condoning violence or not being in control of their supporters. — Sapa

Township violence 'threatens SA investment and sympathy'

From ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Argus Correspondent
in Johannesburg

IT would take little more than the current spate of township violence to convince the world to withdraw its investment and sympathy, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, said here yesterday.

VIOLENCE

Speaking at the SA-German Chamber of Commerce, Mr van Heerden said the new international interest in South Africa, and new possibilities of investment, would not materialise if the country elapsed into uncontrollable violence.

The government insisted that effective government be maintained during the process of transformation. It had no hidden agenda in its quest to arrive at an authentic democracy and was not in favour of white minority protection.

Its commitment to the establishment of a democracy should not be confused with an unwillingness to accept a democratically elected and truly representative government.

He said the recent remark by SA Institute of Race Relations head John Kane-Berman that mass mobilisation could easily become an armed struggle in disguise was a timeous warning.

"It would be a great shame if the licence to free political organisations (granted on February 2 when the ANC and other organisations had been unbanned) were to turn into turmoil," he said.

Neil van Heerden

Turning to South Africa's relations with Africa, Mr van Heerden said the stage had been set for the country's participation in regional structures and pan-Africanist organisations such as the OAU

"We are knocking on that door. We say we have the right to be part because we consider ourselves as Africans. That message has been heard."

'Full-blown anarchy'

South Africa would never be able to fulfil its vital role in the region if a peaceful solution were not found internally and if the civil wars in Angola and Mozambique were not ended, he said.

Mr Lloyd Vogelman, director of University of the Witwatersrand Project for the Study of Violence, said that as the killing in the townships around Johannesburg became increasingly indiscriminate, the potential for widescale anarchy mounted daily,

"For every day that there are more victims and the killing continues, the potential for anarchy increases. Unless this is stemmed within the next three weeks I believe we will be faced with full-blown anarchy reminiscent of Natal," he said.

Despite threats and appeals for peace from the state, political organisations and church organisations, the situation is increasingly fluid and volatile. The death toll has risen to about 650 over the last month — higher than that of the two-year-long turmoil in Israel.

"When the trouble broke out about a month ago it seemed well co-ordinated and well planned," Mr Vogelman said.

"But now people are becoming more and more indiscrimate about who they kill. It started largely in the hostels, then spread to squatter camps. As people seek new havens and places of safety, the violence is becoming more and more widespread. Now it is spilling out all over the place, everyone is a target."

"A problem in South Africa is that because the civic committees and community organisations were smashed during the State of Emergency, they wield little influence on the ground," Mr Vogelman said.

"Once violence starts, people react in a spontaneous and undisciplined way. People are now taking the law into their own hands. There is little discussion about justice, while there is, increasingly informal retribution.

"While the forces of law and order are not perceived as effective and fair, it is very apparent that they are very neccessary. But they must show themselves to be fair and unbaised and take allegations made by township residents seriously.

"Once the cycle of revenge and retribution begins it is extremely difficult to break. If it gets much worse it will be extremely difficult for political organisations, no matter how many agreements they draw up, to control the violence on the ground."

An International Red Cross spokesman said that while the fighting was still localised and the townships were not totally ungovernable, the situation had elements of a civil war.

'Under control'

SAP spokesman General Herman Stadler said: "In certain townships people are taking the law into their own hands, but there is still control to a large extent. Even in the violence stricken areas people are still going to work and doing their daily tasks"

Asked why the state did not send in massive reinforcements, he said: "The violence fluctuates, but is not continuous. One never knows where it is going to happen. If it gets worse we will send in the army, but we cannot keep a continous large force in every area. We can only take our guidance from day-to-day events.

"The police cannot solve the problem. We can put a lid on it, we can contain it, but the people must want to stop it. The leaders must come forward and stop it."

Threat to talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela last night warned that negotiations would be jeopardised unless full powers of state were used to stamp out violence which has claimed the lives of more than 600 people in the past month.

As he was speaking people in East Rand townships, where 24 people have died since the weekend, were barricading roads and forming watch committees to stand guard throughout the night in case of further fighting.

Speaking at the Union Buildings, Mr Mandela sounded the strongest warning yet that the ANC leadership was finding it difficult to resist demands from supporters for arms to protect themselves

A total of 32 people have been killed on the Witwatersrand since Monday night At the time of going to press a gang, allegedly Inkatha supporters from Vosloorus, had moved into the Phola Park squatter camp in Thokoza setting fire to shacks and firing shots

In Johannesburg yesterday evening, terrified Soweto commuters swelled taxi queues rather than board trains following violence in the morning when a panga-wielding mob hacked and stabbed passengers on a train travelling between Braamfontein and Johannesburg stations One person was killed.

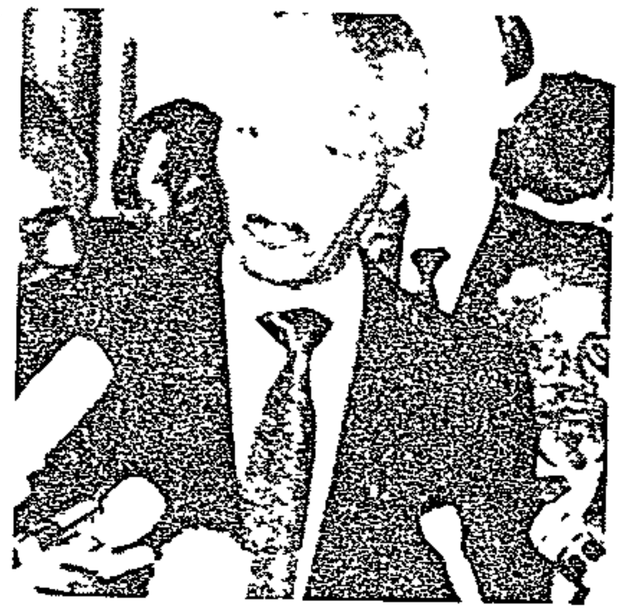
Mr Mandela yesterday led an ANC-Cosatu-UDF delegation which discussed violence in Natal with President F W de Klerk. Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Inevitably, the orgy of violence on the Witwatersrand also came under the spotlight.

Speaking after the meeting, Mr Mandela said "If the government fails to take action and violence continues to rise and people continue to demand to be armed, we will find it difficult to oppose these demands"

The government he said, had the capacity in a well-equipped army and police force to stamp out violence. "I want them to use this capacity"

Violence, he said, was threatening the peace process. The ANC would do everything in its power to keep peace talks on track, but if the government continued to



Mr Mandela at the Union Buildings yesterday

"drag its feet" the process would be under threat.

"No doubt the peace process is in distress," Mr Mandela said

He confirmed he had said several times that the government was conducting a war against the ANC

"The government cannot be allowed to talk peace and negotiation while it conducts war against the ANC"

Mr De Klerk said in a later statement, apparently aimed at reassuring the ANC, that he had told Mr Mandela the government was taking steps "to strengthen the maintenance of law and order The president noted he "reiterated his deep concern about the situation"

The statement from Mr De Klerk's office added 'The president once again indicated that a solution to the problems in Natal depended as much on a political solution as on steps by the government. The delegation was urged to continue with the present political initiatives between the main parties involved

"The president also stressed that in handling the situation in Natal it is imperative that the government must be seen to act impartially towards all the parties involved in the conflict Bearing this in mind, the recommendations made by the delegation will be considered"

At Johannesburg station last night, commuters who had witnessed the early morning attack described how people leapt out of the train to escape

Mandla a middle-aged Sowetan, said he saw a man's body lying at the end of platform 1 when he came into Johannesburg station about 7 20am

Other commuters said they were shocked by a large pool of blood lying wet on the stairs leading from the Johannesburg station platform to street level Mandla said splatters of blood leading up the stairs gave the impression the bleeding person had crawled away

Mandla said some of his colleagues had left work at 1pm to avoid travelling home in the evening.

As the sun set yesterday on Katlehong and Vosloorus township residents were seen barricading not just main access roads but back streets too in a bid to slow or halt alleged Inkatha-owned vehicles police Casspirs and other security force vehicles

Both Katlehong and Vosloorus residents said they did not sleep and were constantly worried as violence always erupted at night in the townships

To page 2

● Night of terror — Page 2

From page 1

"We stay vigilant and try to protect our property, as we don't know when the Zulus will launch their attacks," one said. CAPE TIMES 12/9/90

This morning, local authorities in Vosloorus will demolish part of the Sotho hostel where Inkatha supporters three weeks ago gained a stronghold.

"There is concern among residents that the hostel dwellers are using the block as a hideout when launching attacks on them," Vosloorus town council spokesman Mr Sydwell Mofokeng said last night.

Police liaison officer Capt Henriette Bester said 24 people had died in Katlehong, Thokoza and Volsoorus since Monday night.

One body was found in Tokoza, three in Vosloorus and 20 in Katlehong.

Another person died and four were injured, including a policeman, after a shoot-out between police and people in a private vehicle.

Two pistols and a revolver were seized by police after the incident.

Vosloorus residents said they saw police confiscate three AK47 assault rifles from the hostel dwellers yesterday morning after about 2 000 residents converged on the Sotho hostel demanding its demolition. According to the official police report one AK47, a .38 special revolver and a .22 pistol were confiscated at the scene.

They said the inmates attacked and burned a water lorry from Sandton outside the Sotho hostel. Police last night confirmed this.

In the afternoon, Inkatha-supporting hostel inmates set upon a house opposite the Zulu quarters of Vosloorus Nguni hostel, smashing windows and setting the house on fire.

Ms Sophie Phiri managed to escape with her life but lost everything she owned in the blaze that swept through her house. Police, SADF troops and a group of hostel dwellers watched impassively from across the street as she watched the remains of her home smoulder in the late afternoon sun.

Her daughter, Miss Ellen Phiri, said the incident had been reported to the local police who told her they "would only come out if there was a dead body involved".

Reporters were stopped from taking photographs by a policeman carrying a machine gun who refused to identify himself. "You are not allowed to take pictures of policemen carrying weapons," was his explanation.

Outside the burning house a policeman disarmed a youth bearing a pick handle. About 20m away an army truck and a Casspir parked opposite a group of hostel dwellers who brandished pangas, assegais, knobkerries, sharpened poles and other weapons. Police made no effort to disarm the group who told journalists the "comrades" had set Sophie Phiri's house on fire and had then blamed them.

They were adamant that the police had sided with the "comrades" and disarmed the hostel dwellers.

Cttn this 12/9/90 (274)

Violence in SA 'has resulted in mass trauma'

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — A disaster situation of mass psychological trauma had overtaken South Africa, experts reported at a conference in Harare on the consequences of organised violence in the sub-continent.

Dr Andy Dawes of the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town, noted that there had been no moves by the state to offer rehabilitation services or set up rehabilitation clinics It had been left to voluntary organisations and individuals to deal with the problem

Dr Dawes said in an interview after the conference, attended by 120 delegates from 22 countries, that there should be pressure on the state to accept the need to work from a national level down into the communities

Professor Brian Robertson, head of the Department of Psychiatry, UCT, and Dr Dawes said the conference identified a need to revive the family unit and work within it This echoed the advice of workers from the Frontline states who said the African extended family was the best channel for therapy for those suffering emotional trauma

Prof Robertson said the conference heard evidence that, 30 or 40 years after the nazi holocaust, its psychological aftershocks came out in European society Similar effects could be expected from the violence in South Africa

Leapt out

Dr Paresh Soni of the Natal Medical and Dental Association, who delivered a paper on continuing violence in that province, said its current victims were too distressed by immediate survival needs to take any measures to heal psychological wounds

ANOTHER DAY IN THE AFFRAY . . . The psychological aftershocks of township conflict, which will be felt for years to come, will take their toll not only on black South Africans but on conscripts and their families too, the conference was told.

Dr Dawes reported the plight of children whose families had been caught up in the destruction of the Crossroads squatter camp They instinctively leapt out of the window and fled into the night when anyone knocked on their door Other Crossroads children showed behaviour abnormalities, difficulties with sleeping and fearful clinging to parents

Studies had focused on black South Africans but, Dr Dawes believed, police and military doctors saw similar problems with servicemen and their families

Dr Naomi Richman, a British doctor working in Mozambique's Zambezia province, joined Dr Dawes in citing instances of denial in which victims and witnesses tried to reject the memory of violence And white children showed a lot of fear for the future as the media presented powerful images of death and destruction

Dr Dawes said healing the wounds of violence would depend largely on the nature of post-apartheid society — whether there is reconciliation, whether there is any real chance of reducing poverty and disruption of schooling

Grown up

The conference had considered the plight of so-called superannuated children, now too old to return to the conventional school system Many were now unemployed — and unemployable

Dr Dawes said "My feeling is that a lot of children will not be reached, children who have grown up in a cul ture of violence" They would not be rehabilitated without a massive redistribution of South African resources

"Economic redistribution is a key issue and that must be linked to education projects, training people to be employable, so youngsters do not have a problem of despair and alienation from society"

Professor Ampie Muller of the Centre for Inter-Group Studies said it was essential to know the relative power of parties to a dispute No party had the proven support of the under-25 age group which constituted 50% of South Africans

The increasing numbers seeing themselves as defending their ethnic group interests always believed their goals were rational hence it was crucial to understand people's perceptions

Old hurts

Effective peace bargaining must recognise the needs of individuals and groups for identity, he said, pointing to extreme terrorist violence from Basques, Catalans and Palestinians who suffered from convictions of non-recognition

Professor Muller said it was important for people to be allowed a period of "mourning" to let go of old hurts, when they would undergo deep, but necessary, depression

"It is important to draw attention to the fact that the Afrikaner right wing, that started off being very brash and arrogantly aggressive, seems to be going through a much quieter phase at the moment

"They are in the process of losing aspects of their existence that have become very important in their lives

"For them to be capable of living with ease in a new South Africa needs a lot of mourning and they must do it and people must have respect for what they may be trying to do"

Power of veto

Professor Muller said they were people who had been confused by the messages sent out by the National Party during the period of its reorientation but who could and would contribute greatly to a new South Africa once they had done their "mourning" and had time to re-orientate themselves

"We must remember, despite what we would like to believe, that they have both the power and the force to veto an outcome to which they have not contributed," he warned

Dr Kerry Gibson of the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa, urged more attention be given to the clinical effects of war on white conscripts who suffered "a sense of loss, meaninglessness and pessimism about the future" when deployed in townships, according to initial studies

A conference working group called for a ban on the recruitment of refugee children and adolescents into combat forces

Mandela call is rejected in Cape

THE New Unity Movement has strongly disassociated itself from ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's call to the State to use the SADF and SAP to end the violence in the townships.

In a statement issued in the Cape yesterday, the movement said: "This call is not only politically indefensible - it is a cry of despair and an error of political judgment which can only lead to further unbridled violence and provide cover for warlords and gangsters who latch on to political revolt to pursue their own agenda of preying upon the victims of conflict to unleash another wave of murder, pillage and terror."

Causes

The call failed to take into account the basic causes of the terrible conflict and mistakenly called for the principal organs of state violence to be used against the victims," it added.

"All experience pointed to the fact that the use of the armed forces of the State had precipitated greater and greater waves of resentment and angry revolt which turns inward upon itself and sows death and destruction in its wake". - *Sapa*

UN chief speaks on SA violence

Sowetan 14/9/90

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NEW YORK - The UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, warned yesterday that if the wave of violence in South Africa continued it could critically impair the process towards political change.

He repeated an appeal made in an earlier report on the situation in the Republic that violence, "not least in Natal, needs to be addressed urgently and at the highest level."

He also expressed special concern about allegations made against the South African security forces, whose effective discharge of their responsibilities, he said, required that they carry with them public trust and confidence.

The Secretary-General, who was addressing the UN General Assembly on the opening day of a scheduled three-day debate on steps taken to dismantle apartheid, seemed hardly less optimistic about the ultimate prospects for the Republic than he was in his July 1 written report to the world body.

African members harshly criticised his findings then, calling them distorted and one-sided. The report was based largely on information gathered by a UN

FOCUS

SOWETAN Correspondent

team led by Under-Secretary General Abdulrahim Abby Farah which toured South Africa.

Explaining the document yesterday, Perez de Cuellar said it was his own intention and that of the Farah mission to be factually objective and to reflect as wide a range of views as possible.

His African critics said that there was insufficient input from anti-apartheid activists, but the Secretary-General insisted that the mission members met "virtually all political organisations and movements."

Process

He said he had made the point that a process had started towards the dismantling of apartheid through negotiations, "although it was still at an early stage".

Almost two months after the release of his report, all of the measures called for by the UN had not been implemented but some further steps had been taken in that direction, he said.

"What I stressed at the time remains valid today," he said, "that continuing resistance to change on the part of the entrenched apartheid structures of the system, as well as existing security legislation, continue to inhibit free political activity."

Referring to the Joint Declaration of Pretoria issued on August 6 by President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela, he said this reflected determination and clarity of vision, particularly as it was concluded at a time of great national turmoil.

Anguish

The Government and the ANC did not allow the rising tide of violence to sway them from their course, he said.

"In this regard," he continued, "I am sure that the Assembly shares my profound sense of anguish and deep concern at the continually spiralling cycle of violence in South Africa. Indeed, it can tear the fragile fabric of understanding that has begun to be woven."

While not intending to apportion blame or responsibility, he said, the maintenance of law and order was a primary duty of the Government, but it was incumbent upon all parties concerned to contribute to the creation of an atmosphere where negotiations could take place unhindered by fear.

He urged the Government to consider lifting emergency regulations recently imposed in the Transvaal, as well as those applied in Natal.

"It is also my hope that there will be an early repeal of the basic legislative structures of apartheid, two of which the Government announced it is planning to repeal early next year," he said.

The Secretary-General again praised De Klerk and Mandela, saying the political process had been enhanced by the President's commitment to dismantle apartheid and by the constructive initiatives of the ANC and its deputy president's statesmanship.

Measurement

"I believe confidence-building measures at all levels can reduce violence and allow unimpeded progress towards a united, non-racial society," he said.

"To that objective I am sure the overwhelming majority of South Africans and the international community stand committed."

When night falls, townships bow to the rule of violence

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B Paddock 14/9/90

Reporter BILLY PADDOCK compares two nights in the townships — one spent with a resident and the other with a police patrol

KATLEHONG, Tuesday 11pm. — The comrades, barely visible in the thick, smoky haze, were patrolling on sentry duty in front of the makeshift barricade.

One, a panga strapped to his belt, held a petrol bomb The other five carried an assortment of axes, knives and so-called traditional weapons

"Halt!" one shouted as we approached. We were ordered out the car, frisked and told to open the bonnet and boot. As they searched, the leader, wearing a green canvas jacket with ANC badges, repeatedly instructed his colleagues: "Discipline comrades, discipline."

Steve, who lives in Vosloorus, was with me. We were going through Katlehong, Thokoza and then Vosloorus before I took Steve home.

The "comrades" instructed us to switch on the hazard lights and drive at walking pace while two of them jogged in front of us through a succession of barricades, each guarded by armed men.

All the while we were being shouted at to slow down by groups of residents in front gardens, their weapons included sticks, knives and axes.

Two other cars ahead of us, one a taxi, were getting the same treatment.

A yellow police van drove up. The police, too, were stopped but not searched. They did not confiscate the array of weapons the comrades and residents were carrying but drove quietly through barricaded roads to the police station.

The comrades allowed us to go as far as the police station and said it was impossible to go further. The next barricade was shoulder high with a collection of boulders, freshly cut trees, skips and rocks — with a green flashing light on the top.

The front gate leading to the charge office of the police station was chained and, according to the sergeant, now stays that way. The only entrance was down a side road marked "No entry. Police vehicles only".

In the charge office 10 policemen were standing around with rifles. Heavy gunfire could be heard and they said a lot of fighting was going on inside the township, near the hostels — later it was established that more than 40 people died during the night's clashes.

Asked why they were not out there trying to prevent the fighting, one said: "We are not going in there with those" — pointing to police vans in the yard. "There is no protection and we are scared."

He added, however, there were four Casspirs patrolling the township.

From Katlehong we tried to get to Natalspruit Hospital; the road was impassable and the comrades were getting increasingly hostile, demanding petrol for petrol bombs. We left the way we had come.

At Thokoza police station, which we reached via Alberton, there were also numerous policemen inside the station. Huge barricades made the township impenetrable. In the distance the orange glow of burning houses could be seen.

Vosloorus was also heavily barricaded but Steve led us down a backstreet and then cross-country. Through the coal fire smoke we saw a huge crowd of people with weapons silhouetted against the lights of a women's hostel. We left.

We were eventually stopped by a group of armed men. They were aghast that we had managed to get into the township. I was told to get out fast.

On Wednesday night I went back into Vosloorus, this time with the police riot unit. Maj Hein Killian said the situation was far worse than on the previous night.

The radio crackled with a report of a petrol bomb landing inside a Casspir. No one was hurt. Another report told of a huge group of armed men singing and marching near the hostels in Thokoza.

The high point lighting in Vosloorus went out. The police reacted immediately; apparently the lights are tampered with at the poles and as soon as they go out the attacks start.

"Oh God! Let's get inside because now the shots will start and we are going to get it," Lt Louis Buys said. A short while later the lights came on again — there were no shots.

Killian said police did not normally patrol the township at night. "We use Casspirs at static posts in front and near the hostels mainly." Then those posts radioed in.

"There is a huge fire in squatter camp Phola Park in Thokoza ... There are about 5 000 people, mainly women and children, converging on Natalspruit Hospital."

Killian dispatched two Casspirs from the base with 12 men in each to help the two Casspirs in Thokoza. I was allowed to go with them.

At Phola Park, half the camp was blazing. "Ah! It's bring and braai," said the young national servicemen seconded to the SAP as they loaded their shotguns with birdshot.

The Casspirs' searchlights picked out a group, 700 men at the police estimate, wearing white headbands and wielding an assortment of weapons Others stopped their looting and burning to join the mob. Many in the front sat down on their haunches.

There were now three Casspirs and a squat armoured car at the scene.

The mob were not ordered to drop their weapons and no attempt was made to disarm them.

A policeman shouted an abusive order to leave. As some started moving off, another policeman fired birdshot at them; a mad rush ensued as they fled into the night.

After circling the camp again, we pursued the mob across the road. Teargas was fired and, as they ran from that, the warrant officer shouted: "Not teargas. Shoot the bastards." Shotguns roared all around me.

"Warrant (officer) ... there's someone out there with a gun," one policeman shouted above the deafening firing. As we drove around we saw people hiding in the grass. They were briefly interrogated from the Casspir, disarmed and told to leave.

We found one dead person in open ground — he had been badly hacked

We went past the Catholic church where hundreds of women and children, who had fled Phola Park, were gathered in the grounds. Others had gone to Natalspruit Hospital.

At the Thokoza police station, ambulances were loading the injured who had been brought there. One told me "the Zulus" arrived and attacked them in the camp. The warrant officer, carrying boxes of shotgun shells, said the injured claimed white men with blackened faces had led the attack. "It's the same old story we hear" All the injured I saw had stab wounds.

We went to the hostels, where inmates looking out of windows were told to go to bed. Around the block, we saw a group of men gathered with sticks and spears, they were shot at from the moving vehicle as we returned to the squatter camp Sporadic shots were fired at people breaking windows and doors or removing articles from squatter huts.

In Thokoza we found another person with half his face hacked away and a huge gaping wound in his side He breathed once every 15 seconds. When the ambulance came they said he was dead.

Back at the riot unit base in Vosloorus, the warrant officer asked his men if they had enjoyed themselves A chorus of affirmations — 20 boxes of birdshot, 50 cartridges to a box, had been used.

I did not feel afraid or vulnerable while I was with the police. The Casspir is wonderful protection. However, I felt deeply troubled; there was too much "fun", no arrests and little attempt to exercise the law by confiscating dangerous weapons.

When police arrived at a clash, with groups fighting or where squatters were attacked, they would fire birdshot, rubber bullets and teargas into the distant crowd, and then hare off to another conflict where they would fire off another salvo.

They would return to the first scene 15 minutes later and shoot at any group still gathered there.

Two nights in the township, one with a resident and the other with police, left me emotionally exhausted. For residents, it is like that all night, every night.

Police deny whites are in townships

SAPA Times 14/9/90 (274) (Cttee)

Political Staff

THE police yesterday emphatically denied reports that white people were involved in attacks on an East Rand squatter camp on Wednesday and that a white person had been killed in the fighting.

"We have investigated these reports and we could not find any substance to them at all. None whatsoever," the head of the police's public relations division, General Herman Stadler, said.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman, Colonel F Malherbe, said there were no whites, and certainly no policemen, instigating East Rand violence.

"There was no white man killed, and we categorically deny these allegations," said the colonel.

However, Sapa's Guy Rogers reported yesterday that residents of the Phola Park squatter told him a white man, who was part of an Inkatha group which allegedly attacked the camp on Wednesday night, was killed.

He said all the squatter camp residents he spoke to told the same story: "About 8pm on Wednesday a group of over 100 people attacked the settlement. Most were Inkatha, from Umsheyazafe hostel, recognisable by their white bandanas.

"Among them were a number of white men with blacked-out faces or with stockings over their heads.

"They were in plain clothes, but the squatters are convinced they were police. An SAP badge was found on the dead man, they claimed. The police removed the body."

Mr Rogers said none of the squatters wanted to be named but one claimed: "The state is supplying the guys of KwaZulu with weapons."

Yesterday, Mrs Winnie Mandela told a crowd in Phola Park: "If you are attacked, you have the right to defend yourselves."

Colonel Malherbe said: "There are no white people involved. There is black-on-black violence, finish and klaar."

Ethnic tone to unrest tragic — Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — It was tragic that ethnicity had now entered political conflict and the Zulu people were being targeted for political attack, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Addressing a gathering of KwaZulu chiefs, he said the Zulu nation would not tolerate attacks on it. He said he had warned that the targeting of KwaZulu would have tragic consequences and now they were starting to emerge. "We must do everything we can to stamp out ethnicity in politics."

Chief Buthelezi said he had simply claimed his right to democratic opposition to anything which he felt was bad for South Africa. — Sapa

Vlok 'must resign or end the violence'

PRETORIA. — Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok should resign if he was unable to carry out steps to stop the violence in the country, said a group of about 100 women representing Women Against Represssion who yesterday handed a memorandum containing their demands for peace to the government.

WAR further called on Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to bring his members under control. If he failed to do so, he should immediately be removed from office.

Leaders of the delegation, representing 22 organisations, are due to meet Mr Vlok today to discuss the contents of the memorandum. — Sapa

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Violence: UN 'concerned' over force's role

NEW YORK. — The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said on Wednesday that he was concerned about allegations that elements of the South African security forces were responsible for some of the violence sweeping black townships.

"This is all the more disturbing since the effective discharge of their responsibilities requires that they carry with them public trust and confidence," he said.

"It would be remiss of me not to express special concern about the growing allegations of the culpability of elements of the security forces in these incidents."

The secretary-general was addressing a resumed session of the General Assembly on the question of apartheid.

Meanwhile, the leader of the three-man International Commission of Jurists mission, which visited South Africa earlier this month, said yesterday that Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had conceded during their meeting that the government had failed to discipline the security forces sufficiently.

Mr John Macdonald, QC, also suggested yesterday the possibility of United Nations involvement in setting up a peace indaba between Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the government and church leaders.

However, he told BBC radio news that a meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi "itself will solve nothing".

On the same programme, ANC information secretary Mr Pallo Jordan dismissed the suggestion that the violence was the result of an ANC/Inkatha feud.

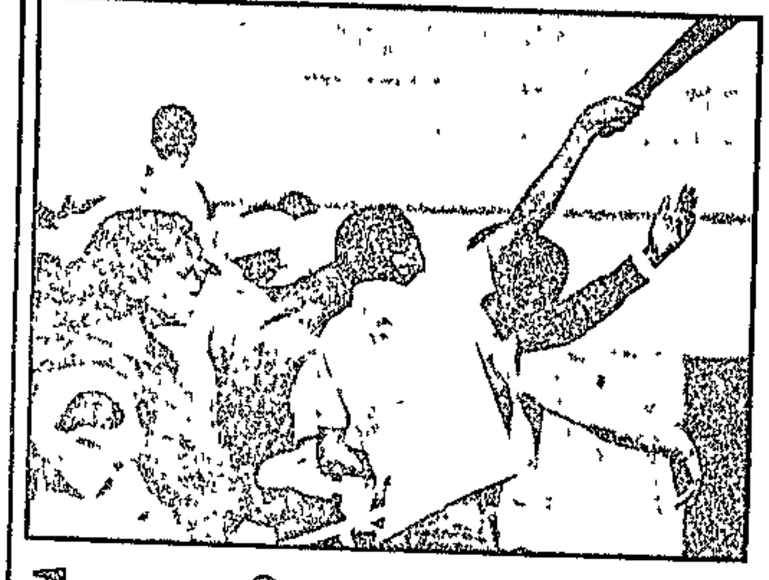
Reacting to to Mr Botha's call for UN help in organising a meeting between the two leaders, Mr Jordan said: "The problem is not one between Inkatha and the ANC, and I do not understand why the media insists on presenting it in these terms," he said.

"What is happening in the townships is that members of Inkatha, assisted by elements of the South African security services, have been launching attacks on residents of the townships, irrespective of who they are."

And in Harare yesterday Zimbabwe's Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, urged the Commonwealth to exert its influence to stop the fighting in South Africa which has caused the deaths of hundreds of innocent people in the past few weeks.

He was officially opening the 10th Conference of Members (of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association) from small Commonwealth countries, which is being attended by parliamentarians from 15 Commonwealth countries. — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

If you CAN stand the heat



let's see you in the kitchen!

ST Times 16/9/90

Dries van Heerden suggests South Africa's leaders should stop passing the buck and get down to doing something about the violence

HARRY S TRUMAN, that most underestimated of American presidents, had fairly simple ideas on political leadership you either practise it, or you don't

More famous for his "buck stops here" philosophy, he once publicly stated the almost blindingly obvious 'A leader has to lead otherwise he has no business in politics"

After a week of almost unparalleled mayhem, it is becoming clear that only the Truman variety of political leadership can put a stop to the mindless orgy of violence and thuggery that is afflicting our country

Enough is enough What has happened in the past few days goes way beyond what any country or community claiming civilisation can tolerate

Anarchy

Marauding hordes armed with pangas and knobkieries go on the rampage, hacking to death the first unfortunate who happens to cross their path In one massacre alone, 26 people are brutally slaughtered More than 100 dead from dusk to dawn Scores more injured and maimed for life

Hooligans drive around in minibuses and indiscriminately open fire with automatic weapons on innocent passers-by Armed thugs board a train and embark on a murderous spree among commuters bound for home

People's dwellings are attacked at random Possessions, carefully assembled over a lifetime, are destroyed in a single ball of fire

It is no longer merely a political or ethnic conflict between rivals fighting for political turf ANC vs Inkatha Zulu pitted against Xhosa

Already other elements have moved in to exploit the state of near anarchy Gangs settling old scores Gun-runners out to make a profit Small-time thugs trying to cash in on the action

And, behind it all, the spectre of claims about a possible reactionary conspiracy hatched in the security establishment, using *agents provocateurs* to foment the violence in order to make the country ungovernable and pave the way for a right-wing takeover

What the hell is happening in South Africa?

Blame it on apartheid The real Children of Verwoerd are the ones now conducting a reign of terror in black townships A whole generation steeped in the culture of an underclass Let down by an inferior education system Ill-equipped for life outside the ghetto environment Discriminated against, denied dignity, treated like *bywoners* in the country of their birth

And the anger, and the frustration and the — let's call it by its name, hatred — are boiling over

It is apartheid but it is not only that

Because in recent days "white" South Africa has also come to reject apartheid Granted, there is still a lot of latent resistance Granted, the Government is still tentatively feeling its way into unknown territory

But "irreversible" — that shibboleth created by the ANC's Harare Declaration?

You can bet your last, devalued rand it is as near to irreversible as "dammit" is to a swear word Anyone who believes that Mr F W de Klerk and his colleagues can turn around and confess the errors of their way to lost supporters on the Right does not have an inkling of understanding of how the political system works

Apartheid is dead The burial may still take some time

Unpopular

And, at some stage in their political development, black political organisations will have to admit this and come to terms with the fact that the days of conveniently using the apartheid system as a scapegoat for every wrong and ill are past.

We need leadership Bold, imaginative leadership Fearless leadership on all sides of the political divides

● Leadership means taking responsibility. It means an end to blaming everybody else for everything that is happening

The time has arrived when the parrot-calls blaming the police for everything should be supplemented with facts

The ANC claims to be in possession of evidence to back their allegations It should produce it so that it can be scrutinised and acted upon

And if the ANC calls for the "full might of the State" to be implemented to stop the violence it should state in practical terms what this means

Does it mean the police must arrest people — Inkatha only or ANC as well? Detain them indefinitely, use teargas, rubber bullets, buckshot, sharp-point ammo, patrol the township streets in Casspirs, put troops behind sandbags on every street corner, reimpose the State of Emergency?

Listening to ANC leaders one gets the impression they — and only they — are as innocent as lambs It's the police It's Inkatha. It's the "third force" The only righteous people in Gomorrah wear black, green and gold

Likewise, Inkatha claims its supporters are the victims of ANC attacks. They are merely defending themselves The others are to blame And the Government only reluctantly considers the thought that the actions of certain elements in uniform are not only fanning the flames of violence but may, in fact, be instigating it

Responsibility requires admission of the wrongdoings of your own supporters, and firm action to put an end to it.

● Leadership means taking difficult and often unpopular decisions It is not good enough merely to talk about peace Leaders have to demonstrate it in their decisions and actions

If you "suspend" violence but keep a loaded AK-47 behind your back, you are engaging in double-talk that destroys any hope of a peaceful resolution of problems Negotiation and armed struggle are mutually exclusive concepts

If you promote someone who has the shadow of a court case involving violence and possible murder hanging over her head, you are sending a message to your followers that war-talk and bellicosity are the route to career advancement

If you display sweet reasonableness in public but privately exhort your followers to defend ethnic pride and traditions — if need be violently — you are exacerbating the climate of intolerance and rancour that have already led to more than 750 deaths in six weeks

And if you refuse to take seriously allegations of bias among the defenders of so-called law and order you further erode the already dwindling faith in the instruments of the state and add to the notion that ordinary individuals have to do it unto one another before it is done unto them

● Leadership means exercising authority. Claims should be put to the test and positions should be earned

Those who claim to represent the vast majority of South Africans should prove that they can indeed control their followers. Members who step out of line should be disciplined

Children rampaging in the streets should be told to restrain themselves and return to school

It is not enough merely to claim leadership and bask in the adulation associated with it You have to prove it in the streets and in the shantytowns, the classrooms and the work place.

Those who govern the country should control the instruments of state power. They should ensure that they are adequately trained and equipped to handle unrest

And if they act outside the boundaries of their authority, their actions should be properly investigated by way of the ordinary judicial process and not through buddy-boards sitting behind closed doors

● Leadership means taking risks It means sacrifices It means focusing all energy into solving the problem at hand Not resting or dashing off to mediate in other trouble spots until you have done everything humanly possible at home.

It even means meeting your worst enemy if that seems to be the only option out of the impasse

Real leaders dismiss the unwise counsel of sycophantic minions and DO that which is RIGHT.

Troubled

This is an issue that will not go away It needs to be spread on the bread of the pretenders to leadership every day Unless they meet publicly and resolve their differences for all their followers to see, there will be no end to the bloodshed

"Give 'em hell", Harry Truman deserves the last word on the quality of leadership South Africa deserves in this dark and troubled time "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen"

'W on 'sinister force'

ST Times 16/9/90

(274)

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK yesterday raised the possibility that an unknown force may be playing a role in the violence that has wracked black communities in South Africa.

Speaking at a National Party meeting in Middelburg, Cape, Mr De Klerk warned it would be shortsighted to ignore or play down the real causes of the violence.

His remarks were the first official acknowledgement in public that there are concerns in government circles over what has been called the "third force".

"It is true that the latest murder by men of innocent commuters point to some sinister action by well-organised terrorists or gangs," said Mr De Klerk.

He said it appeared that the outbreak of violence was being abused by some or other force.

By DRIES van HEERDEN and LESTER VENTER

"Who they are must be ascertained. It is not impossible that they may come from within the ranks of the fighting factions themselves.

"Alternatively (the violence) might come from forces as yet unknown to us.

"Let me emphasise the promise made by (Law and Order Minister Adriaan) Vlok that the SAP will not rest until the perpetrators of these dastardly deeds are found."

Anarchy

Meanwhile, it was learned by the Sunday Times this week that intelligence and security officers are concerned by the high level of organisation and use of military-style tactics in the apparently random attacks.

No conclusive evidence has yet been found of any "third force" but two avenues of investigation are being pursued.

Both assume that right- and left-wing extremists may be using the outbreak of violence to promote anarchy and help them force a change of government.

Senior police sources suspect that Thursday's massacre of 26 people on a Johannesburg train may have been undertaken by extreme left-wing groups, perhaps drawn from the ANC's military wing.

These extremists are thought to be keen to undercut the "moderates" involved in the negotiation process and so activate "the masses" through deeds of terror and render the country ungovernable.

Another possibility under investigation is that right-wing elements are responsible for the attacks.

There are fears that right-wingers are using black agents to sow mayhem in the hope of creating an atmosphere of instability to hamper the process of reform.

Foreigners

This possibility has also been raised by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who believes elements of the security establishment may be acting in collusion with the assassins.

He has pointed to the fact that, unlike other attacks involving Zulus, the assassins did not say a word — leading to speculation that they may be foreigners from countries like Mozambique or Angola.

Violence is aimed at ANC and talks'

By BARRY STREEK

A VIOLENT offensive had been unleashed against the ANC because it had made so much headway through negotiations and peace initiatives, and to derail the peace process, the ANC's treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, said yesterday.

"The very future of our democratic struggle is at stake," he told the annual congress of the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa in Cape Town.

"The presentation that this is mindless violence, or Inkatha-ANC violence, or Xhosa-Zulu feuding is not correct.

"What we are witnessing is planned, orchestrated destabilisation similar to that carried out against Mozambique by MNR or Angola through Unita.

"These are highly trained killers, who slaughter total strangers — old men, pregnant women and even children — without mercy or compunction."

Mr Nkobi, a senior member of the ANC's national executive committee, said the violence was aimed at preventing the ANC from organising its millions of supporters into functional structures on the ground, at "derailing the peace process" and at "presenting the government as the arbiter of peace, to show that only with white rule can there be stability. The impression created is that, left to our own devices, blacks simply slaughter each other".

"The place De Klerk should start with any investigation is inside his own security forces and elements of the government," he said.

● PAC's plan on wealth — Page 10

...ted the rugr

to an arms
s in Pretoria

travelling in a green station wagon.

The Boerestaat Party last night called on the government to treat Mr Rudolph as a political prisoner.

cism was untair because it was untrue.

He said police investigating teams regarded "crime as crime" from either side of the political spectrum.

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FW: More steps to end violence

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The State Security Council yesterday gave urgent attention to further measures to end township violence which has claimed the lives of more than 750 people on the Witwatersrand in recent weeks.

President F W de Klerk said yesterday that later in the week he would announce further steps to be taken.

Opening a Public Servants' Association congress in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said the turning point had been reached last week and the level of violence could not be tolerated in any civilised country.

Those who believed a time of change was a free pass to murder and unrestrained violence should take note of the government's determination to stamp these out.

The government would take the needed action to halt unrest and prevent it from undermining the negotiation process

Transgressors would be prosecuted because the country could not be allowed to lapse into a state of anarchy.

FW MEETS ... President De Klerk with President Tutor Ndamase (left) and King Goodwill Zwelithini after their meeting yesterday. Picture REUTER

In a statement issued after an earlier meeting with Transkei President Tutor Ndmase and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr De Klerk said the new steps had no political motives. They were intended to be applied impartially to restore peace and stability.

He said the violence was the result of attempts by black political factions to gain a leading role in the negotiation process.

Factions were trying to get an upper hand within black society to ensure this leadership role. The government was committed to the participation of all leaders with a constituency.

No details of further measures discussed by the State Security Council have emerged.

However, government sources said the council had also discussed the measures announced by police as part of "Operation Iron Fist".

Police said yesterday that except for a dusk-to-dawn curfew in townships affected by violence, police would fully implement all other Operation Iron Fist measures in the next few days.

It would take "close to a week" to implement the curfew, which would rely heavily on close co-operation between police and employers.

Defence Ministry spokesman Dr D A S Herbst said yesterday that the Defence Force had not yet received any requests for additional troops to back up the police.

● **Permits for night workers — Page 5**

CAPE TIMES
18/9/90

Azapo convenes 'peace summit'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

AZAPO is convening an urgent peace summit in Johannesburg tomorrow of liberation movements, churches and other key organisations to discuss ways to end the violence "destroying the black community".

Announcing the initiative yesterday, Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala also called on ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Dr Mosala said a number of liberation movements had already "soiled their hands" by meeting homeland leaders and there was no reason why all the key players should not be included in a search for peace.

"People are already dying and so they (the ANC) must talk to Gatsha (Buthelezi)," he said.

However, Dr Mosala emphasised that violence could not be resolved simply by leaders meeting and that a more comprehensive national peace initiative was needed.

Azapo believed it was well-placed to initiate such a process and had accordingly arranged tomorrow's meeting.

Apart from Azapo, organisations that had already accepted included the Pan Africanist Congress, the New Unity Movement, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action and the SA Council of Churches.

A number of newspaper editors on the Reef and religious organisations had also been invited.

Dr Mosala said he hoped Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who had also been thinking of convening such a meeting, would attend.

The PAC's general secretary, Mr Bennie Alexander, said yesterday that his organisation hoped that violence among the "oppressed" would be resolved at the meeting.

Dr Mosala also said yesterday that Azapo would announce "very soon" its response to a government invitation to take part in exploratory talks.

He said that in its invitation the government had urged him and Azapo "to commit ourselves with the support of our members to become actively, openly and formally involved in the process of peacefully shaping the constitutional future of our country".

He said Azapo would not respond to the government's invitation through the media but would make its decision public once the government had been informed "in accordance with the normal rules of courtesy".

Dr Mosala said Azapo was already at an advanced stage in canvassing its members about possible talks.

He said Azapo's position on negotiations was that these first had to take place "among the organisations of the oppressed and exploited masses"

There was "a real concern" that the government and the ANC might try to strike a "cosy deal" which excluded other members of the liberation movement.

Should this happen, South Africa could end up after negotiations with a type of "neo-colonial settlement".

Azapo accordingly insisted on a consultative conference and the formation of a constituent assembly before negotiations for a new constitution took place.

"Azapo remains committed to peace," he said.

Dr Mosala also said the ANC had finally agreed to take part in a conference with other liberation organisations before entering negotiations with the government — but no date had been set.

● Mr Alexander said yesterday that the central committee meeting of the PAC's internal and external wings in Harare on Thursday would not make a final decision on participation in exploratory talks with the government.

Such a decision would come only once the PAC's national executive had canvassed all views, including those of PAC prisoners, he said.

(274)

18/9/90

Cape Times, Tuesday, Sep

Hostel living fuels killing fever

By BARRY STREEK

PEOPLE living in hostels were so enraged by their degradation and awful conditions that it took very little to get them out to kill, a University of Cape Town anthropologist, Dr Mamphele Ramphele, said yesterday.

This had been demonstrated in 1976 when it was proved easy to use hostel-dwellers to attack township residents.

Once they had been instigated to attack, a momentum developed that could not be stopped, she said at the annual congress of the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa (Abasa) in Cape Town.

"All it needs is for someone to say over drinks 'By killing you will feel like a man' for it to happen."

Dr Ramphele, a member of the Independent Development Trust who has conducted research among hostel-dwellers in Cape Town over the past five years, said everyone was responsible for the current situation, including other township residents who looked down at them.

Dr Ramphele

"I know just how enraged these hostel-dwellers have become. They have been denied the right to be full citizens of Cape Town."

They were not migrants at all and some had been living in Cape Town for 40 years.

"They are enraged by the dehumanizing conditions in which they live.

"It is simply awful," Dr Ramphele said.

People had seen what had happened in 1976: "It takes very little to get them out to kill."

Their anger and violence usually turned inwards but it took little for that violence to turn outwards.

All South Africans had to recognise the humanity of these people, as some church people had done by praying with them.

"It is no good demolishing or bombing the hostels, nor can we wait for a change of government."

It was the responsibility of the private sector to intervene in this situation and provide the hostel-dwellers with decent accommodation.

Talks on further unrest curbs

THE State Security Council yesterday gave urgent attention to further measures that might be needed to end township unrest. B1Dam 18/9/90

President F W de Klerk said he would be in a position later in the week to announce further steps aimed at ending violence that has claimed the lives of more than 750 people on the Witwatersrand recently.

Opening a Public Servants Association congress in Pretoria, De Klerk said the turning point had been reached last week and the current level of violence could not be tolerated in any civilised country.

Those who believed a time of change was a free pass to murder and violence should take note of government's determination to stamp it out and prevent it from undermining the negotiation process. Transgressors would be prosecuted.

GERALD REILLY, MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

In a statement issued after an earlier meeting with Transkei President Tutor Ndamase and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, he said the new steps being introduced to curb violence had no political motives. 274

After a morning meeting with an Italian business delegation, De Klerk said the violence was the result of attempts by black political factions to gain a leading role in the negotiation process by trying to get the upper hand within black society. Government was committed to all leaders with a constituency participating in negotiations.

Strong measures to end violence had already been announced and he was fina-

☐ To Page 2

Unrest B1Dam 18/9/90

☐ From Page 1

lising additional measures.

No details of further measures discussed by the State Security Council have emerged. However, government sources said that the council also discussed those measures announced by police as part of "operation Iron Fist".

They said some of these required Cabinet approval before they could be implemented. It was likely De Klerk would announce new measures only after the Cabinet had met tomorrow.

Sapa reports that Witwatersrand liaison officer Col Frans Malherbe said yesterday that except for a dusk-to-dawn curfew in townships affected by violence (which would take about a week to implement), police would fully implement all other "Iron Fist" measures in the next few days.

It is unlikely defence force reservists will be called up to serve in the townships Defence Ministry spokesman Das Herbst said yesterday to date the SADF had received no request for additional back-up troops.

● See Page 3

Violence 'a ploy to derail talks'

A VIOLENT offensive had been unleashed against the ANC to derail the peace process, the organisation's treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, has claimed. Sowetan 19/9/90

"The very future of our democratic struggle is at stake," he told the congress of the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa in Cape Town on Monday.

"What we are witnessing is planned, orchestrated destabilisation similar to that carried out against Mozambique by the MNR or Angola through Unita."

Nkobi said the violence was aimed at preventing the ANC from organising its millions of supporters into functional structures on the ground, "derailing the peace process", and "presenting the Government as the arbiter of peace, to show that only with white rule can there be stability. (274)

"The impression created is that, left to our own devices, blacks simply slaughter each other.

"The place President FW de Klerk should start with, in any investigation, is inside his own security forces and elements of the Government," Nkobi said. - *Sapa.*

Suppress violence, UN urges SA

Sowetan 19/9/90

NEW YORK - The 44th General Assembly closed its final meeting on Monday with a unanimous appeal to South African authorities to suppress the violence that has killed nearly 800 blacks in the last six weeks.

The General Assembly "calls for an immediate end to violence and urges the South African authorities to take urgent action to end it, specifically by dismantling the apartheid structures as well as ensuring effective and impartial action by the security forces," said the resolution, adopted by acclamation.

The assembly "calls on all parties concerned to contribute to the establishment of a climate free of violence," the resolution said.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said last week after meeting with President FW de Klerk that the Government thinks there is a "hidden hand" behind the clashes in black townships.

The ANC has accused the white security authorities of arming the conservative Zulu movement Inkatha, which has been battling pro-ANC youths in the black townships.

De Klerk has promised to announce a comprehensive programme in the next few days that would halt the clashes, which some people believe are being provoked by black provocateurs recruited by white extremists.

The assembly noted South Africa's progress in the last year, such as the freeing of political prisoners including Mandela, and lifting the ban on the ANC and other organisations, but said more efforts are needed toward racial harmony.

South Africa's voting rights in the 159-member General Assembly have been suspended since 1974 for its refusal to end apartheid.

Blood-letting swings blacks against Buthelezi

JOHANNESBURG — Black opinion has swung strongly against Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the past few months, in the wake of blood spilt in battles with the rival African National Congress, according to a recent study.

A nationwide poll by Intergrated Marketing Research last month showed that many blacks regarded the ANC as most representative of their lot.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela led among the politicians making positive contributions to a future South Africa. President F W de Klerk came second.

The poll among 2 100 "economically active" blacks showed that 51% believed Inkatha "was making a negative contribution to the future of SA".

In a similar study in April, 18% were critical of Inkatha, IMR said yesterday.

The performance by Inkatha rivalled the extreme conservative movement AWB, which polled 52%, an 8% drop since April.

In sharp contrast, the ANC received the approval of most of the canvassed backs, 66% believing that it was making a positive contribution to a peaceful future. However, the ANC's performance fell by 18% from its April high of 84%.

In other major findings, the survey showed that 34% of blacks believed Mr Mandela was making a positive contribution to the future South Africa.

Only 1% thought so of Chief Buthelezi and his party.

Twenty percent held a similar view of President de Klerk and 12% for the National Party.

Seventy percent said the ANC was representative of black opinion today, a sharp rise from 20% in a study conducted in January.

The rating for Mr Mandela rose from 13% in January to 44%.

"Black opinion has swung strongly against Inkatha," IMR concluded.

More than 700 people have been killed in fighting between ANC and Inkatha supporters since August 12.

Five percent thought Chief Buthelezi was representative of black opinion and 4% thought so of Inkatha.

Eleven percent regarded the Pan Africanist Congress as a positive force but 20% believed it was represented black opinion. In the January poll, 5% thought the PAC representative.

Cart Tims 19/8/80

Police gun plan is 'answer to AK-47 attacks'

274

PRETORIA. — The police will use machineguns only if attacked by "terrorists" using AK-47 rifles or similar weapons.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said this in response to criticism of the plan for police to mount light machineguns on Casspirs. He said the decision, one of the measures aimed at quelling violence in Rand townships, was taken after several attacks on police vehicles with AK-47 rifles.

"The AK-47 is a deadly automatic weapon and conventional arms are of little use in defence against them," General Van der Merwe said. However, the machineguns would not be used in unrest situations

"The legal requirement that minimum force must be used, where the use of force is unavoidable, will be strictly complied with by the police."

General Van der Merwe said machineguns were mounted on police vehicles in several Western countries, including Northern Ireland and West Germany, in the struggle against "terrorists".

PAC peace summit hits snags

THE peace summit between the ANC, Inkatha and the PAC planned for today faltered last night with the ANC and Inkatha not participating and the PAC threatening to withdraw.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) organised the talks.

The ANC, however, which said it had told Azapo last Wednesday that it could not attend because of its national executive meeting yesterday and today, did express support yesterday for all-party discussions aimed at ending the violence in the Transvaal.

The ANC also said it had no objection to Inkatha participating and pointed out that it was already involved in negotiations with Inkatha in Natal.

According to Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodely, Inkatha was not invited in deference to other political organisations.

The proposed summit suffered another blow last night when the PAC said it would probably withdraw from the talks.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said a peace meeting without Inkatha and the ANC would be ridiculous, but the PAC would make a firm decision on the issue at a meeting last night.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday that the ANC was not opposed to such a meeting. "We think it is a good idea.

"It is our feeling that if Inkatha could make a contribution, we would have no principle objection. After all, we are talking to Inkatha in Natal"

Mr Macozoma added that some of the statements made by Azapo about the peace summit had reduced its credibility.

"It seems they are more motivated in taking potshots at the ANC."

The problems faced by Azapo included the ANC executive meeting in Johannesburg and the departure of the PAC leadership for Harare tomorrow for a central committee meeting.

However, the ANC's support in principle for the summit proposal could mean a more representative meeting at a later date.

Sapa reports that the United Democratic Front has invited its affiliates to a "general council" in Johannesburg on Saturday to discuss ways to end the violence on the Witwatersrand.

● The President's Council will debate the violence in the country, and possible solutions, on Friday, the PC's secretary, Mr J Weilbach, said yesterday.

Arms amnesty

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The government is to appoint special units to investigate last week's Denver station massacre and other major incidents of recent violence on the Witwatersrand.

This was said last night by President F W de Klerk, who also announced an amnesty for people possessing illegal arms and explosives.

He said the investigation teams would be headed by an attorney-general or deputy attorney-general.

He also announced that:

● Operation Iron Fist measures had been approved by cabinet; and

● He was considering appointing an "independent, highly-respected person" to investigate allegations against the police, SADF and other government institutions.

Mr De Klerk said the full capability of the police would be placed at the disposal of the investigative teams. These, he said, would be charged with conducting investigations without delay, and with ensuring that the criminal process took its course expeditiously. They would report to the ministers of Justice and Law and Order in the shortest possible time, advising them on facts relating to each case and the course to be followed.

The following incidents would be urgently investigated:

● The Denver station massacre;

● Violence in Sebokeng during the nights of September 3 and 4;

● The incident at Jeppe station in which passengers were flung off a train; and

● The alleged ambush near Diepkloof squatter camp in which a policeman was killed.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, he said, could also decide to appoint teams to investigate any past or future incidents of violence. He would appoint a

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Table

Natal Witness 21/9-29/9/90

DEATHS AND INJURIES

THE HRC has recorded 2 334 injuries and 709 deaths in incidents of police, vigilante, hit squad and right-wing action across the country during August. (274)

In the PWV, 1 618 people have been injured and 570 killed in 35 acts of violence. 564 of these deaths are attributed to vigilante action which, says the HRC, includes all township violence and could include deaths caused by police and right-wingers.

Other deaths by region:

Eastern Cape — 48; Natal — 80; Eastern Transvaal — five; Orange Free State — four; and Western Cape — two.

FM 21/9/90 TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE (274)

LAST CHANCE TO NEGOTIATE

It's not been a good week for the ANC — or, at least, for the Mandela family, which is so prominent in its local arm. First, Nelson got himself into an almighty tangle over Adriaan Vlok's new "Iron Fist" policy for quelling township violence; then came the news that Winnie, who, on a recent visit to the US, was quoted as saying she would "welcome being charged with the murder of Stompie (Seipei) . . . so that she could appear in court and defend herself" is to have her wish partially granted (see *Current Affairs*).

After calling so long and so loudly for "the authorities" to act firmly to end the violence (a call repeated by Nelson Mandela in Worcester as recently as Monday), it's illogical also to turn around and attack measures designed to achieve this.

Even more illogical was the earlier threat that the ANC might have to arm its own cadres to end the violence.

Fact is, there is no way to stop the senseless massacres in the townships other than a stronger presence by the security forces. This must entail disarming civilians, not accumulating more weapons in an already over-armed society. In no other country can AK-47s and other military weapons be so readily available to certain civilian groupings — not all of them black, be it noted.

Of course, it does not follow that the institution of Iron Fist was flawlessly launched. On the contrary, the PR aspects appear to have been badly handled — and in an age of negotiation politics, these are not just superficial.

This could be the biggest gamble F W de Klerk has taken since the release of Mandela. If even Iron Fist does not — cannot — bring peace to the townships, what hope can there be of a negotiated settlement? Or, at any rate, one that can be made to stick?

Yet the attempt must be made. Many townships have virtually ceased to function as administrative units. It's not easy to persuade people to pay rent (let alone service charges) when they have a legitimate fear that their houses could be burnt down. Or when they're told by radicals that after the revolution houses will be provided "for free."

And there's no doubt that violence, if unchecked, will spread into white areas, with a consequent surge in support for the CP. F W not only has to keep blacks involved in negotiations; even if he does not intend another white general election, he can't afford to lose too much white support. Like the ANC, he must not only deliver a settlement, he has to make it stick among his constituency.

Only those who believe that society must be totally destroyed before it can be reconstructed will approve of recent events. We suspect that, *sub rosa*, such people are still around. Let them ponder how long it took Soviet agriculture to recover from Stalin's liquidation of the kulaks.

Eliminating inequality is fatuous if it means universal poverty and misery. The new SA will only be able to deliver its citizens' legitimate expectations from the basis of a sound and internationally competitive economy — which, in turn, requires a return to domestic peace.

But just taking a hard line in the townships won't bring that about. The situation is too complex — even without the suspicion among many blacks that those now entrusted with solving the problem are not entirely innocent of having fomented it. Equally, nor does it help for (say) Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi to fail (or refuse) to talk to each other, for reasons that dispassionate observers hardly find convincing.

If there was a simple answer, it would have been found by now; it's either too late or too soon to strike gestures and score points. Political leaders who hide behind rhetoric and fail to commit themselves to peace will be harshly judged by posterity. In this respect, it was heartening to note how Adriaan Vlok, who has come in for a good deal of justified criticism, defused a potentially dangerous confrontation over the weekend at some personal danger.

There are suggestions that government is losing patience with Mandela. True, he has yet to deliver much on the local stage, however fêted he may be on foreign trips, and there are signs that he is becoming overwhelmed by the enormity of the situation in the townships.

De Klerk, too, must wish that the growing signs of a revival of international acceptance were matched by concrete progress at home. But having pinned his flag to the Mandela mast, he has no option but to continue.

The *FM* has warned repeatedly of the danger of letting negotiation seem to be a strictly two-party affair. The CP may have opted out and the PAC may not be particularly keen — still talking of "one settler, one bullet" — but they are not the only other players. The trouble is that if the NP-ANC talks break down now, there are no credible alternatives; they have all been marginalised by the F W-Nelson show.

It's popular to draw parallels with the Rhodesian precedent. Most of them are fallacious. But just consider this one: ultimate victory went to the party that could guarantee peace. And that was the party which showed most ruthlessness before the settlement. ■

On the rise — Inflation, violence And crime

w/Mail 2119-27/9/90 274

BY ARTHUR MAIMANE

JUST like inflation rises in an economic recession, such as the one South Africa is sliding into, the crime rate takes off on the graphs of the police force and criminologists. Some desperate people among the newly unemployed turn to crime as their "informal" alternative for making a living. But this anti-social progression is complicated by apartheid and its various side effects.

The disruption of black schools sparked off by the 1976 Soweto uprising, which was a protest against Bantu education, has resulted in thousands of children dropping out from the formal system that leads to gainful employment. Many of these no-hopers have turned to crime — an alternative that's become an easier option over the years because of under-policing. Thousands of policemen are occasionally taken off the normal crime beat to tackle "political unrest" in the townships — caused by apartheid.

There are no official statistics for any increase in crime this year because the figures are collated annually. But Brigadier Chris Serfontein, South African Police crime prevention co-ordinator in Pretoria, says there has been "a considerable increase" in serious crime. That was without taking into consideration the recent blood-bath on the Witwatersrand (about 700 murders and thousands of assaults) which has taken more policemen off the beat onto township frontlines.

This other effect of apartheid is bound to give non-political criminals more room to manoeuvre, especially when the policemen drafted into "Operation Iron Fist" man roadblocks in the townships.

Captain Opperman, police liaison officer in Johannesburg, has a different view on crime statistics from his senior colleague in Pretoria. He said that although he has no specific statistics because he'd have to ask all 92 police stations in his area, and that would take two weeks, the crime rate was "steady".

He said any suburban residents concerned about policemen being withdrawn from their usual patrols onto the frontline based their fears on insubstantial evidence.

Asked if there was a slow-down in police response to emergency calls, Opperman said people were conditioned by television dramas which showed police cars screeching down streets, sirens howling, within seconds of a call.

"We have to assess our response on priorities," he said. "If a resident calls complaining that towels have been stolen from their washing line and somebody else calls about a burglary in progress — or a rape — the priority is obvious. We could have several police cars responding to the crime in progress within minutes and ignoring the towel theft for a while."

However well the SAP are doing their job, some suburbs organised Neighbourhood Watch schemes to protect themselves from armed burglars and towel thieves. Gavin Webster is chairman of such an operation in a part of Kensington, Johannesburg. Neighbours got together last year at a time when, according to police statistics, break-ins were down to 88 890 from a peak of 150 186 in 1986.

Webster said that under-policing had been "a fact of life for a while" and the watchful eyes of his neighbours had kept the crime rate down. And the organisation had also served a social purpose by bringing isolated suburbanites together. Neighbourhood Watch schemes, he said, had improved contacts with the police — and some insurance companies were lowering premiums for residents in the eagle-eyed neighbourhoods.

Tens of thousands of homes around the country have been turned into fortresses and their owners are prisoners behind high walls, razor wire, electronic burglar alarm systems and other security measures. And they pay high premiums for the services of "armed response" security companies.

In the townships the attitude is that tall fences are self-defeating. First, they declare to the world that there are valuables beyond them. And, second, once the burglars have breached this first line of defence they are protected from the eyes of watchful neighbours.

There is, though, a crime that fences, razor wire and the latest anti-theft technology cannot diminish: vehicle theft. Manufacturers design ever more sophisticated alarms, immobilisers and even anti-hijack devices; but thieves soon find their way round this technology.

According to Serfontein, about a third of stolen vehicles are exported to neighbouring countries where foreign exchange restrictions limit legal imports. It seems that well-off people who can get foreign currency come to South Africa to buy vehicles and other luxuries while the rest wait for "back door" imports and pay in Zim-dollars, kwachas or whatever is the local currency.

The SAP says it recovered 58 percent of the 56 640 vehicles stolen in 1987 but two years later the percentage was down to 52,1 — when the theft-rate had risen to 60 564 vehicles. Of the vehicles insured with members of the South African Insurance Association (SAIA) only 17 338 were stolen in 1987; but there was a much smaller recovery rate: 15 percent. The initial figures for this year promise a bumper year for thieves. According to the police, 17 860 vehicles were stolen in the first three months of 1990, which is 18 percent above the average monthly rate for the same period last year.

The SAIA statistics are reassuring for their members' policy-holders; with an increase of only 9,2 percent of their vehicles stolen in the same period this year.

Buthelezi will be invited to talks

ANC to meet homelands on violence

B Iban 21/9/90

PETER DELMAR

THE ANC has resolved to call an urgent meeting with all homeland leaders including KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The organisation's full national executive committee (NEC) ended an extraordinary three-day meeting in Johannesburg yesterday by repeating the ANC view that recent township violence was threatening the negotiation process, and resolved to seek a "summit" with government.

It wanted to discuss "profound anxieties regarding the future and integrity of the peace process".

A statement issued last night encouraged ANC supporters to organise themselves for self-defence, and accused President F W de Klerk of bad faith over the recently announced "Iron Fist" measures to curb the unrest in which more than 750 people have died.

The statement said the meeting with homeland leaders would be held to get to the root causes of the violence and to devise a joint strategy to end it.

The ANC and its allies would also call a conference of all democratic forces to seek a common strategy on ending the violence.

Representatives of Cosatu, the UDF and all 16 ANC regions attended the meeting. The statement said the meeting was called to review the ANC's "strategic and tactical perspectives" in view of the unrest.

It accused government of adopting a "two-track policy". While accepting the need for negotiations, government had devised strategies to weaken the ANC and other democratic formations.

Government's attitude towards the violence was "laissez faire" in that it hoped this would generate a climate of insecurity and fear which would make a "decisive majority of our people more amenable to an authoritarian regime".

The NEC warned government that it would be responsible for derailing the peace process unless it took appropriate measures to apprehend and prosecute those responsible for the violence.

The "Iron Fist" measures announced by the SAP last weekend were unanimously rejected. The NEC believed they were designed to reintroduce a state of emergency. De Klerk was accused of "bad faith and of undermining the work of the joint ANC/government working group which was considering issues relating to the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle.

One of the group's tasks was to consider the question of arms in the possession of ANC cadres.

"The State President has deliberately undermined this working group by preemptively criminalising the possession of such weapons.

"We cannot but interpret this as a measure directed against the ANC and its underground military structures. It does nothing to build mutual confidence between the ANC and the government."

Earlier yesterday, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said trained ANC cadres would form defence units to protect people in townships.

WILSON ZWANE reports that when addressing a packed Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto at the funeral of 12 unrest victims, Mandela said it would be hard to

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ANC

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☐ From Page 1

oppose ANC supporters' demands for arms.

"We are not going to arm everyone who wants to be armed. We have an army of trained people which will form defence units," he said.

His statements at the funeral came after De Klerk's announcement on Wednesday that government would refuse special negotiations with any organisation about the retention of arms.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said last night there was only one police force and anyone who broke the law had to expect prosecution.

"People wanting to join the police reserve are welcome to do this. They are also welcome to join neighbourhood watches. But vigilantes are vigilantes whether they are from the left or the right, and this is in direct contradiction of the law," he said.

● Comment: Page 8

VIOLENCE FM 21/9/90

RIDING THE TIGER

"A man may be one of integrity, despite the mistakes he makes" — Nelson Mandela, speaking at an ANC press conference last week, said of State President F W de Klerk. The words might just as easily be applied to Mandela — and, increasingly, questions are being asked about his political grip.

There is little doubt, if media conferences are anything to go by, that the ANC deputy president needs a hearing aid He strains to hear questions and often it is apparent that either he has not properly heard or not grasped a question.

Despite his assertions that he lives in a township and speaks to his people all the time, Mandela does not always seem to relate to them To a question about what assurances he could give township residents who live in fear in their homes and travel in fear on trains and buses, Mandela said people would be reassured to know that the ANC national executive committee would be meeting next Tuesday. How this was supposed to reassure people is hard to imagine

Perhaps Mandela is suffering from a syndrome not unknown among leaders (Winston Churchill was a good example): the great man's followers become so paralysed by awe of him that they feel unable to contradict him and fail to keep him in touch with reality.

Mandela has also been inconsistent Early in September, he called for government to use the "very strong, effective and well-equipped army and police force . . If it does, the violence will be something of the past" Now that government is doing exactly that, he has roundly condemned the new measures.

Mandela and De Klerk have agreed that much of the violence has been orchestrated by "highly professional killers, people who are highly trained." What is also needed, then, is criminal investigations into who these silent, organised killers are. Mandela sees hints of Renamo-type operations; there has also been suspicion that extreme right-wing elements may have been involved in incidents such as the Jeppe train massacre, with a view to making negotiations impossible.

Meanwhile, the new measures appear to have put a lid on the violence and whatever Mandela says, the ordinary citizen will be grateful for that. However, there is a grave danger that calls for more guns (whether for police or ANC supporters) will only worsen the violence.

This is why it is difficult to understand Mandela's statements that "the demand

Township violence . . *blunting the knife*

from the people that they should arms themselves is a reasonable one" and that "there is no point in calling for peace in the townships because violence is caused by faceless elements If I said anything to the people, it would be that they should defend themselves."

Township residents armed to the teeth and police bristling with machine guns is not a recipe for peace Care should be taken on both sides, in word and deed, to avoid inflaming the position on the ground We could do with less talk from Mandela about arming ordinary citizens — and no more pointed political statements from police officers

All variations of anarchy have to be brought under control The ANC and Cosatu must abandon the stayaway as a method of protest It achieves nothing and has a serious effect on productivity, earnings, jobs and — most destructive — schooling Surely a more original and constructive approach is possible? Rents must be paid, rates must be paid, residents must be encouraged not only to pay for what they have but to work as communities to uplift townships And government must move swiftly to remove the remaining apartheid restrictions

Mandela and the ANC should also remember that there is a powerful white constituency that the organisation is not addressing — and which is increasingly fearful of a future under the ANC. Mandela's visit to Temple Shalom in Johannesburg last Friday was an important but rare gesture.

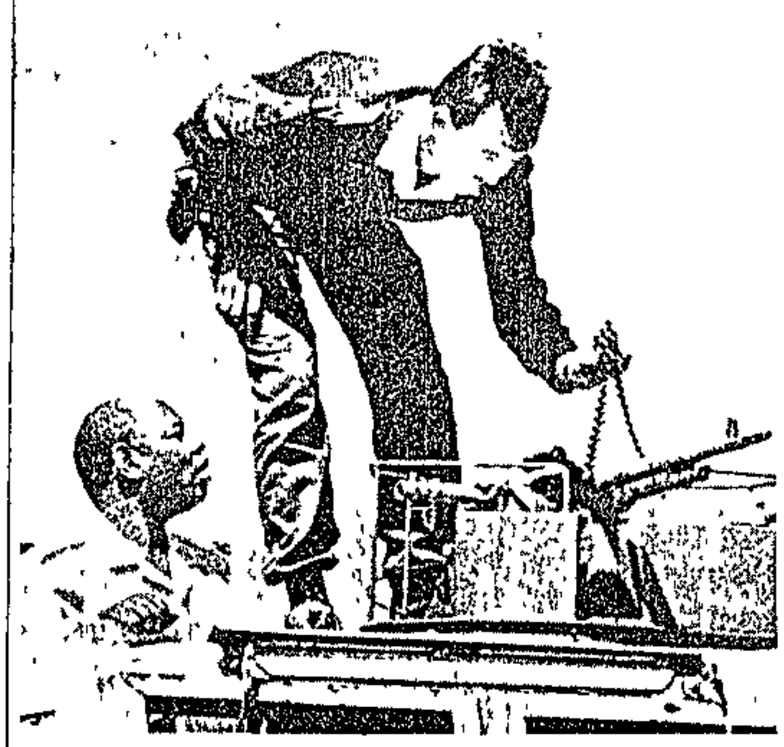
While both De Klerk and his Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok have taken it upon themselves to visit black areas — at some personal risk — Mandela and his lieutenants should be doing the same in white communities.

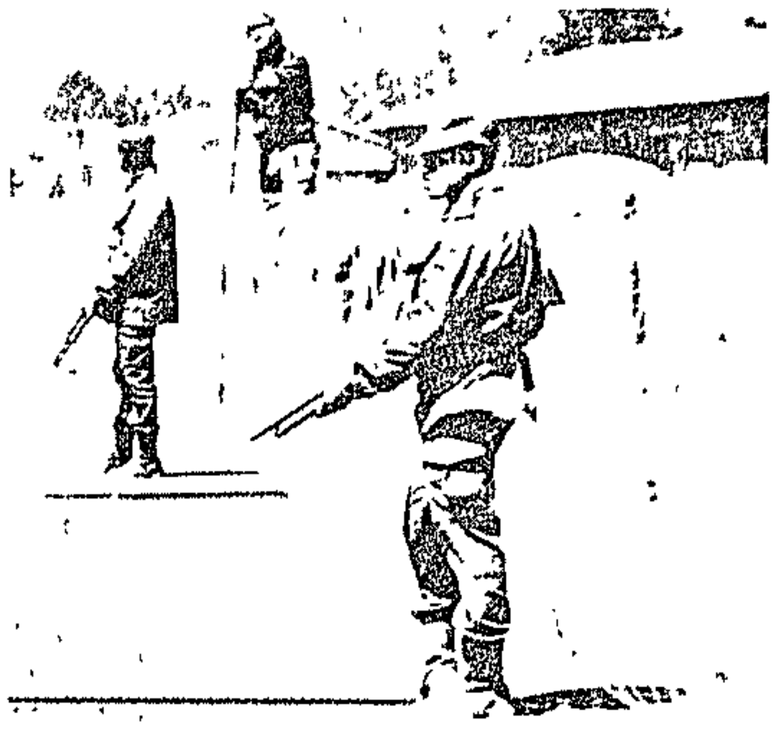
The country seemed this week to have retreated a few steps from the edge of a precipice. The townships appeared calmer and the police achieved a much-needed boost with the arrest of rightwinger Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

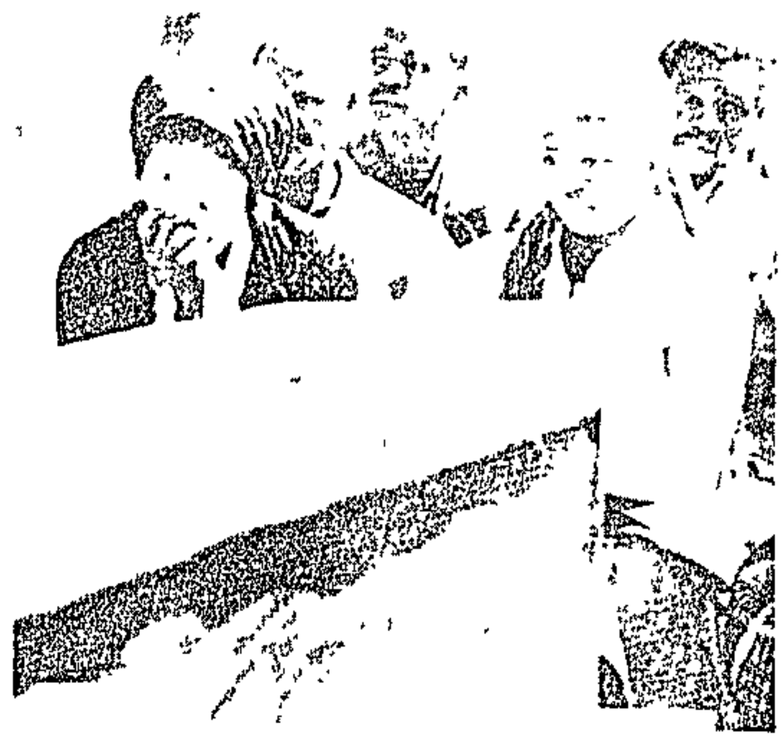
As the *FM* went to press, the ANC's national executive committee was meeting at a secret venue and there were hopes of a comprehensive endorsement of Mandela's earlier assertion that negotiations would not be diverted

The leaders need to keep their nerve The rest of us will just have to sit tight and remember the words of De Tocqueville. "Liberty is generally born in stormy weather, growing with difficulty among civil discords and only when it is already old does one see the blessings it has brought."

Iron Fist swings into operation as Soweto mourns







TOWNSHIP REACTS . . . Operation 'Iron Fist' started to take affect in Soweto yesterday as police mounted machine guns on an armoured cars **(left)** and stood guard outside hostels surrounded by razor wire **(middle)** as part of the government measures announced this week to stop the violence that has killed over 700 people on the Witwatersrand For the people of Soweto it was a day of mourning as families **(right)** joined more than 30 000 residents at the funeral of 12 victims of the violence **Report — Page 2** Pictures REUTER

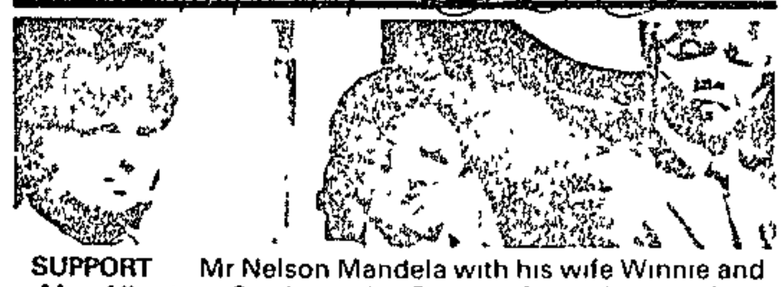
ANC talks on

Cape Times 21/9/90

Opens way for Buthelezi meeting

(274)

Cape Times 21/9/90



SUPPORT Mr Nelson Mandela with his wife Winnie and Mrs Albertina Sisulu at the Soweto funeral yesterday

Mandela: I'll back Winnie

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday pledged his wife Winnie "support and security" as she faces charges of abduction and assault

Asked whether he thought there were any political motives in the charges, he said "This is a matter which is now in the hands of the courts and it would be improper for me to comment"

"My wife has been true and loyal to me during the long time I was in prison While I was in prison, I was not able to give her the support and security which she is entitled to"

"Now that I'm free, I am in a position to offer her that support and security"

Syfrets Cape Times

Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE: R2 200

TODAY'S INDEX. (+) R1,50

There were no winners yesterday

IF your share price total movement equals exactly R1,50 today, you are a winner! Call (021) 488 4702/4760 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim If you haven't already applied call 488 4760 for a free card. No queries or requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone numbers.

DAILY LISTING — Page 8
STOCK PRICES — Page 10

BLONDE HIT . . . Beauty queen Miss Nicola Rotter, 22, breezed into Cape Town on the Blue Train yesterday to start the week's holiday she won for being crowned Miss Johannesburg 1990 in August Namibian-born Miss Rotter was the Cape Festival Queen for 1988 Pict

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress is to call an urgent meeting with all homeland leaders, including KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A spokesman said last night that the ANC agreed on the move after a three-day emergency session of its national executive committee

Deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela "probably" would attend the talks, leaving the way clear for the long-awaited meeting between the two leaders

"In order to get to the root causes of the violence and to secure peace, the (ANC) resolved to convene a meeting with all homeland leaders, including Chief (Mangosuthu) Gatsha Buthelezi, to devise a joint strategy for ending the violence," the ANC said in a statement.

His 'friend'

On British breakfast television yesterday Mr Mandela seemed cool about a one-on-one meeting with Chief Buthelezi But he spoke with his unusual warmth on Independent Television last night of his "friend" Buthelezi

He told viewers he was committed to bringing the ANC and Inkatha closer together and said Chief Buthelezi was "an old friend and he is still my friend"

"I have made efforts for a meeting not only between the two of us, but also to bring the two organisations closer to each other," he said "I will still try to achieve this objective, mainly because Chief Buthelezi has been one of those men who have fought for my release and that of other comrades, from prison "

Negotiations

Mr Mandela also said negotiations with the government remained on track "for the time being"

The ANC's full national executive committee (NEC) ended an extraordinary three-day meeting in Johannesburg yesterday by repeating the ANC view that recent township violence was threatening the negotiation process and resolved to seek a "summit" with the government

It unanimously rejected the "Iron Fist" measures announced by the SAP The NEC believed they were de-

De Klerk leaves tomorrow for talks with Bush

Cape Times 21/9/90

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk flies out of Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow night for his historic talks in Washington on Monday with President George Bush

The talks are the first between a South African and American head of state since Field Marshal Jan Smuts helped to draft the United Nations Charter in San Francisco in 1945

Mr De Klerk is understood to be reluctant to be out of South Africa for too long because of the current wave of violence and the visit is confined to two working days, during which he will also meet top press representatives and businessmen

He will be interviewed on two major television networks More than 700 guests are expected for his address on Tuesday to the National Press Club in Washington

After landing at Andrews Air Force Base on Sunday morning Mr De Klerk will go almost directly to a service at the National Presbyterian Church which has South African links That evening he will have dinner with Vice-President Dan Quayle

He will lay a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery on Monday morning before going on to the White House and "eyeball to eyeball" talks with President Bush in the Oval Office

This is to be followed by a working lunch with Mr

ANC, business clash over unrest

CAPE TIMES 21/9/90

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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — There were sharp exchanges between ANC, government and business delegates yesterday attending a high-powered international business conference here, where discussion was dominated by the ongoing violence in South Africa.

The conference, attended by more than 150 delegates including a large contingent of South African businessmen, was closed to the media.

For the first time in London, a government minister, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, and an ANC representative, foreign-affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, spoke at the same venue.

Conference oragniser Mr Graham Hatton, a former South African, said the latest outbreak of violence had been "the main topic of the conference, where we had sharp, acute exchanges of views — from the ANC's side, from the government's side, from the business side — to try to establish really what is at the root of it".

He said entrepreneurs would wait for the violence to settle. "Once it does, then I'm sure confidence in the country is going to start growing again."

American delegates were "talking about preparing for investment in the country — but obviously they can't do so while sanctions are there".

Mr Mbeki put across the ANC's concern that "forces that are opposed to this particular process leading to change are responsible for the violence — they have stoked it up, they have organised it and orchestrated it".

"And we expect the government to take action to ensure that the culprits are caught, to make sure that the violence doesn't spread."

He added: "Peace and stability in South Africa really has to be a consequence of the ending of apartheid."

In his speech, Mr Mbeki went over much of the economic and political ground covered by other ANC leaders in recent months, such as an assurance to the private sector that it had a "central and critical role to play in the mixed economy" and would obtain a fair return on capital.

He also committed himself to a degree of state intervention in education, housing, health and social welfare.

Let's take an adult view of the violence

S/Times 23/9/90

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Herbert Vilakazi urges adult black South Africans to reclaim the mantle of leadership and authority from the youth

THE spectre of ethnicity has again reared its head and hundreds of innocent lives have been lost, and hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of hearts have been left bitter and aching.

The violence has spread outside Natal; and enemies of majority rule, both internal and external, are fully involved in trying to defeat the liberation of the African masses. The diabolical forces of violence and evil are dutifully at their posts, wrecking hopes for freedom, peace, fraternity and democracy.

What is lacking now? It is the positive forces of good, commonsense, humane concern, and political and moral boldness on the part of the political leadership of the African people.

The ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha have failed, so far, to join hands as members of the African community, to stop this wanton and senseless violence.

It shall take a long time for ordinary African people to forget, or forgive, this dereliction of moral and political duty. The urgent word all around the country is that ordinary men and women should assume responsibility for initiating efforts to put this fire out, and save our liberation struggle and the humanism which should be guiding and warming that struggle

Now, what should be done?

Cease

First, we need to create a movement or spirit of *reconciliation* within the African community. We should stop asking what you were yesterday, or last week, or last year. The immediate need is to create *political brotherhood* and *sisterhood* among all the political movements.

Second — in the spirit of the recent peace agreement between the ANC and Inkatha, at Empangeni, and the ANC's decision to meet homeland leaders — verbal assaults of one organisation by another, in African political life, must temporarily cease.

Inkatha must stop blaming the ANC for making the country "ungovernable" and the ANC must stop accusing Inkatha of being used by white rightwingers.

Third, we must try, by all means, to reinstate ordinary, adult African men and women in place of youths as the main carriers and force of our revolution.

Let us recreate the old situation — in the ANC and PAC, for example, before these organisations were banned — when the majority of people in meetings were ordinary, adult African men and women, when youth wings of the organisations did not have prestigious, leading status equal with the adult wings in an alliance; when the front rows and stages were not filled by toyi-toyiing youth

The banning of the ANC and PAC, the imprisonment of countless political activists and the flight into exile of many others, brought about the silence of African political life similar to the silence of grave-yards.

Powerful

It is then that the youth's anomalous, abnormally big influence in the liberation politics of this country began. It distorted and skewed the proper balance between the role and influence of the youth, on one hand, and of African adults, on the other hand.

We are still paying a deadly price for that distortion. All reports on the violence in African political life, so far, show that the most common and frequent perpetrators of violence and intolerance are youths. The style, impatience and subjective criteria of the youth still have predominant influence in the choice of tactics of our liberation movements.

Here lie the roots of the tension and conflicts between Buthelezi and the other liberation movements in the African community.

We must realise that the most powerful and reliable arm of our struggle is that of the millions of ordinary, adult African men and women — and two-thirds of these people are semi-literate and illiterate Our struggle is still very much an elitist struggle, dominated by the youth.

We cannot win our struggle without getting down to these millions of people, urban and rural, without establishing the closest ties with them, without getting back to grassroots African people who are truly the main carrier and engine of our struggle.

We must imbue young activists, and the youth in general, with respect for the adults.

☐ *Herbert W Vilakazi is Professor of Sociology at the University of Zululand*

HRC blames 'some vigilante deaths' on SAP

WILSON ZWANE

MORE than 700 people have been killed and 2 334 injured in actions involving the police, army, vigilantes and right-wingers, says the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

Topping the casualty list was the PWV area with 520 deaths and 1 618 injuries. Next was the eastern Cape with 48 deaths and 608 injuries.

At its briefing, the HRC said that by end-August, vigilante action had caused 639 deaths and 1 641 injuries, while SAP/SADF and right-wing actions caused four deaths and 65 injuries.

The commission said 666 people were injured during police/SADF action and 24 were hurt during right-wing action.

The HRC said although all deaths and injuries during violence in the PWV last month were attributed to vigilante action, a high proportion should have been "allocated to police and SADF actions".

The commission also gave a break-down of detentions in SA, Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

Zulus 'will remain Zulus in a new SA'

DURBAN. — Zulus would be a major force in the South African negotiation process, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said here yesterday.

Addressing about 10 000 followers at King's Park Stadium, in commemoration of Shaka Day, Chief Buthelezi said Zulus would retain their identity in a new South Africa.

KwaZulu would be present at the negotiating table as KwaZulu, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) would also be represented as a party there.

Turning his attention to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, he maintained he had done more to gain his release than any other black person.

"Since Dr Mandela's release I have repeatedly held out a hand of friendship to him and the ANC."

King Goodwill Zwelithini, in his speech, referred to the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu "and their South African Communist Party ally" as "products of gutter violence to stand up and even think they call tell KwaZulu that it must stop existing as KwaZulu. No, we say never in a million years".

While calling on his people to lay down their arms, the king however told them to stand up in defence of their kingdom, thus making a contribution to a new South Africa. — Sapa

Unemployment 'a key factor' in violence

B Times 25/9/90

SANCTIONS-induced unemployment among young black school leavers was "maybe the major factor" behind communal and tribal violence in townships, Harry Oppenheimer said yesterday in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Oppenheimer received a gold medal from the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America at the opening luncheon of the American Mining Congress. The award is made annually to an outstanding individual in the minerals industry.

"Are sanctions working? I would say to you that they certainly are and that they

RIAAN SMIT

are bringing great pressure on the SA government and all South Africans."

SA's exclusion from international sources of loan finance had turned a developing country, which would have normally attracted substantial investments, into a capital exporting country. This made it necessary to enforce a restrictive fiscal and monetary policy.

This in turn placed "highly undesirable" limitations on the sums of money that could be made available for education, for housing and for the whole infrastructure of the country and imposed indirectly "a very great reduction" on the total level of employment that was available.

"In the nature of SA society, this unemployment hits black rather than white South Africans."

While the killing in the townships continued, it was obvious that the difficulties in the way of negotiating a peaceful solution were greatly increased.

"For this state of affairs there are many reasons: ethnic, historical and political

☐ To Page 2

Unemployment

B Times 25/9/90

☐ From Page 1

But I do not think that any serious observer would deny that unemployment among young black school leavers is a major, maybe the major factor, behind these deplorable events."

Oppenheimer said in spite of all the misery and violence in SA and southern Africa there was light at the end of the tunnel. Apartheid and Marxism were both in a state of terminal decay and there seemed to be a chance of building democracy, freedom and prosperity in the region.

What was needed was not a continuation of pouring money into African countries. "What the new southern Africa needs is private investment which stands up to examination on the solid basis of calculation of profit and loss," he said.

Klaaste dreams of putting it all back together

By JACQUELINE MYBURGH

At the launch banquet of Nation Building in 1988, Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan newspaper, referred to the almost endless cycle of violence that was tearing communities and families apart throughout the country.

Sharpeville in 1960, the 1976 riots in Soweto and the outbreak of violence in September 1984 were "terrible explosions" which planted the germ of an idea in Mr Klaaste's mind.

"Blacks lost many things. Worst of all we all lost the innocence of our children," he said in his speech.

He said then that there was a silent preparation by blacks for the next inevitable explosion and that someone had to do something to stop the madness.

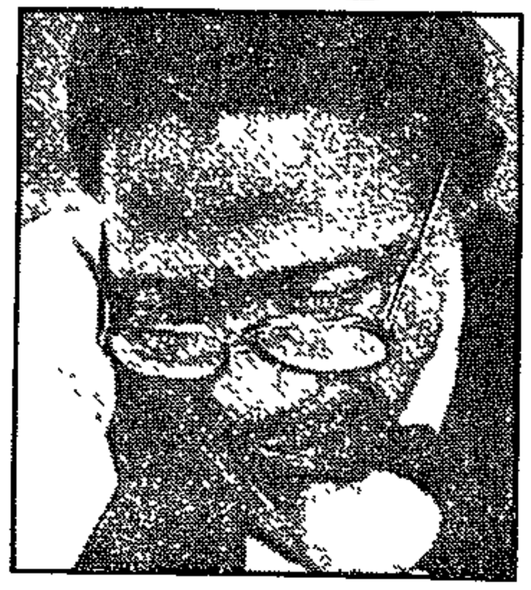
The next explosion took place on the Reef two weeks ago.

Mr Klaaste said the outbreak of violence was the result of the destruction of the social fabric in the black townships. However, the carnage had sharpened peoples' desire to rebuild the structures.

Nation Building means picking up the pieces and rebuilding all structures that have collapsed in the black community.

"We face the prospect of massive political change in South Africa in the short to medium term. Are the people ready to assume the responsibilities that this change will bring?" Mr Klaaste asks

The visible evidence that Nation Building is preparing blacks for this responsibility comes in the form of various community projects.



Aggrey Klaaste.

A matric rewrite school at the Sowetan newspaper is putting 1 600 pupils through matric this year, and Mr Klaaste expects an excellent pass rate.

Nation Building has also resulted in the creation of a remedial school in Soweto. Previously, children suffering from dyslexia or other learning disabilites were treated as mentally retarded and never given the extra attention they required.

A business school has also been established to train entrepreneurs.

To highlight Nation Building's efforts, a Nation Building Festival has been planned for the whole of next month.

The festival has been expanded to 40 events throughout the Transvaal. The emphasis is still on the main theme of Nation Building — "To rebuild the structures that have collapsed in our communities".

The first event is a talk by a psychologist and a nutritionist on the crisis facing the nuclear family in the townships

Other events include a lecture on the job market; a small business exhibition; a school choir festival; a press seminar; a mass choir festival; a woman of the year luncheon, a business competition; and a soccer day and pop festival

Nation Building is "not ideologically based", Mr Klaaste says, but he hopes to get the okay from leaders of all political groupings for the Nation Building initiatives.

Speaking two years ago, Mr Klaaste said Nation Building was something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style, in shift of thought and in the crucial role blacks would play in this country's future.

7 people killed in latest violence

CAR Thefts 27/9/90 274

PRETORIA. — Seven people died in unrest-related incidents, according to police yesterday. But police said they had experienced no problems with the implementation of the dusk-to-dawn curfew in black residential areas on the Witwatersrand.

The curfew came into effect at 9pm on Tuesday.

At Nxamalala, in Natal, police found the bodies of two men and a seriously injured woman. A youth was arrested.

Also in Natal, at Dassenhoek, police found the body of a man with several bullet wounds. Another man was seriously injured.

Four men were shot and killed in two separate incidents in Soweto.

Two taxi owners were shot dead outside an Orlando East house. In another incident in the same area, members of the Soweto SAP dog unit shot dead two suspected car thieves. — Sapa

POLITICS FM 28/7/90 (274) ~~310~~ 304

STRANGE, TENSE TIMES

A tense peace appears to have been achieved in the townships by the security operation known as Iron Fist — but the calm could be deceptive. Ironically, one of the sparks for future unrest could be government's measures to stop violence Defiance campaigns were being mooted as police began to enforce curfews — which have been angrily denounced by the ANC as providing opportunities for "hunting parties" against township residents. The allegation seems absurd but perceptions can be as inflammatory as facts. Whites, on the other hand, seem to have become markedly more impatient with what they regard as the ANC being difficult.

Yet an air of unreality pervaded the political scene this week. There was President F W de Klerk's triumph in Washington and the ANC's contradictory position on security; Winne Mandela made a preliminary court appearance on charges of kidnapping and assault; and it was announced that Northern Transvaal would play the Barbarians in a goodwill rugby match at Soweto's Orlando Stadium. Seven bodies were found next to a railway line in Soweto and right-wing detainee Piet Rudolph reportedly abandoned his hunger strike.

A shaky accord was reached between the Transvaal Provincial Administration, town councils and civic associations in an attempt to resolve the crippling rent and services boycott; the Democratic Party agonised over whether to defend one of its own seats in a by-election.

In such conditions it is difficult to read the political wind but, whatever happens, De Klerk cannot allow more violence to divert his hard-won gains.

☐ The ANC is not sure how many members it has and is unlikely to know for some time. The organisation is looking for money to buy a computer to facilitate the streamlining of membership lists. The R12 annual membership fee is still under debate; recruiting methods are still being discussed.

What is clear is that membership is not up to expectations. Barbara Hogan, PWV regional organiser, blames the recent violence for seriously impeding the formation of branches. The curfew is also expected to affect recruitment.

Though there are three branches in "white" Johannesburg — Houghton, Mayfair and Yeoville — with a fourth soon to be launched (Melville), recruitment in white areas has been almost non-existent. Most white members are drawn from the ranks of known activists and sympathisers.

DP member and former Prog MPC Selma Browde is one of those DP members who is also a member of the ANC — which is against DP policy. Other white members of the ANC include novelist Nadine Gordimer, singer Jennifer Ferguson, actress Grethe Fox and lecturer Wilhelm Liebenberg.

Mandela and wife ... *problems with the law*

The organisation has launched 60 branches in the PWV region, with more than 31 000 members. Soweto has 10 000 members in its 22 branches (Orlando East with 804 members is the biggest).

One of the largest and best organised branches is Katlehong with 1 500 members The Pretoria sub-region has about 3 000 members in nine branches; the West Rand has 480 in two branches; and the East Rand has 3 500 in nine branches.

Johannesburg (including Alexandra and the "coloured" townships) has 3 337 members in 11 branches. ■

DET INQUIRY — 1 FM 28/9/90

MORE WORMS

The Treasury condoned irregular deposits of more than R500 000, made by the Department of Education & Training (DET) to private camp owners — in a manner which indicated that treasury officials could not have known what they had condoned. This is the finding of Justice Leo van den Heever. In her latest report on the DET youth camp scam, which was first exposed by the *FM*, she severely criticises the lax role played by the Treasury.

"The Treasury's conditional approval (of the deposits) was non-inquisitive (*onnuuskierig*) and is evidence of a 'passing-the-buck' attitude," says Van den Heever. The Treasury may also have known that the Auditor General does not necessarily come across things that are wrong within a department, she says.

Violence is part of govt strategy — Ramaphosa

274 SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk was refusing to institute an indepedendent judicial inquiry into the latest violence because "he knows it will expose him and his strategy", NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Speaking at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, he said government had "embarked on a sophisticated strategy to destabilise the democratic movement". 10 Mon 28/9/90

The violence, which he described as a "reign of terror" instigated by the police and an Inkatha determined to "shoot its way" to the negotiating table, was being "used by De Klerk as a strategy to "emasculate the ANC and MDM" and strengthen Inkatha.

While admitting that he had no evidence that would stand up in court, he also alleged that a "Renamo-type of organisation is being established in our country" which might involve Renamo personnel.

He argued that government had adopted a "two-track policy": to negotiate; and to "devise stratagems to weaken the ANC, UDF and Cosatu".

He veered between blaming government as a whole of acting in bad faith, and indicting rogue elements within the security services that wished to derail negotiations.

Despite his tough rhetoric, he also hailed De Klerk as "courageous enough to carry on regardless" of the fact that NP was ruling "without the consent of its constituency". And he admitted that ANC supporters were not entirely blameless in the killing.

MEAN A LOT ■ AT ITT SHERATON LITTLE THINGS MEAN A LOT AT

NUM tells US of 'reign of terror'

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — President FW de Klerk was refusing to institute an independent judicial inquiry into the latest violence because "he knows it will expose him and his strategy", National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said here yesterday.

Speaking to a packed audience at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace after Mr De Klerk's widely applauded visit here, he said the government had "embarked on a sophisticated programme to destabilise the democratic movement".

The violence, which he described as a "reign of terror" instigated by the police and an Inkatha determined to "shoot its way" to the negotiating table, was being "used by De Klerk as a strategy to emasculate the ANC and MDM" and strengthen Inkatha as a potential "alliance" partner.

While admitting he had no evidence that would stand up in court, he also alleged that a "Renamo-type" of organisation is being established in South Africa which might involve "actual Renamo personnel".

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'Don't blame ethnic differences for clashes' - Zulu king

W/Mail 3118 – 219190

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DURBAN: The king of the Zulus, King Zwelithini Goodwill, yesterday denied the violent clashes in Natal and more recently on the Reef were due to ethnic differences between Zulus, Pondos and Xhosas.

At a meeting between the king, kwaZulu representatives and paramount chiefs, and chiefs from Transkei and Ciskei, he claimed the Zulus, Xhosa and Pondo people had "never clashed in any war at any time in our history".

This, he claimed, was "quite contrary" to what "white writers" have written about feuds between those people.

King Goodwill said bonds of marriage between the royal families "bind us together".

He said that, above all, "we are bonded together by Isingunu as Nguni brothers and sisters which we all speak whether in the form of Xhosa or Zulu".

He criticised the media for billing the recent violence in the Transvaal as "ethnic violence".

"How can there be a Zulu-Xhosa war when we have never told our subjects to go to war?" he asked.

"We have never declared any war between each other, not in the past and not even now. Our people are victims of misguided political ambitions between some of our subjects. They are also victims of propaganda and misinformation."

He criticised the African National Congress and its affiliates for vilification campaigns against Inkatha and its president and kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

King Goodwill said members of the ANC had actively prevented African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela from meeting Buthelezi. — Sapa

Political leaders call for peace

CAPE TIMES 1/10/90

Staff Reporter 274

A SPECIAL church service, attended by top local members of the UDF, ANC and PAC, was held at St George's Cathedral yesterday to call for an end to the violence in the country.

Among the speakers were Ashton Anglican priest Father Mike Weeder, who yesterday ended his 21-day fast against the violence, PAC national executive member Mr Batembu Lugulwana, Mr Graeme Bloch of the UDF and an Elsie's River parent who lost his son in gang violence.

The service, organised by the Western Province Council of Churches, was attended by 600 people.

Tolerance

In his sermon, Father Weeder said people needed to look within themselves and to stop "abdicating social and political responsibilities to messiahs" such as Mr Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Nor should they "crucify" them when they failed to "deliver the goods".

Mr Lugulwana called for tolerance of differing political opinion so that "warring organisations" could settle their differences peacefully.

Mr Bloch traced the origins of violence in Crossroads, on the Witwatersrand and gangster violence on the Cape Flats, linking it to underlying political problems caused by apartheid.

...was buried in Johannesburg yesterday. He died in the US last week. Picture ROBYN RYAN

Large numbers of black security forces defecting to ANC — Sisulu

BDay 3/10/90

LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — There had been a widespread defection by black security forces, including police, prison officers and soldiers, to the ANC, its internal leader Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Delivering the T B Davie memorial lecture at UCT, Sisulu said the NP had become increasingly fragmented and confused and could no longer rely on its public service and security forces to carry out its policies.

Sisulu argued that government was pursuing change in a society based on apartheid and that it had not yet agreed to replace the existing system with a nonracial democracy.

Apartheid would continue to exist as long as government pursued the protection of minority rights as its basic cornerstone, he said.

"It is our job, the task of all democrats, to advance this idea that nothing short of full freedom will satisfy us," he said.

Sisulu told hundreds of students who packed UCT's Jamieson Hall that the ANC had never supported the idea of "liberation before education" because it believed that education was one of the weapons to be used in achieving liberation.

"We need doctors, lawyers, teachers and accountants to help run the new SA. We are desperately short of such people in the black community. There will be much ground to cover to redress this imbalance."

Sisulu called for a national response to the violence on the Reef which threatened the process of peaceful change.

"The very insulation of the white community from the trauma inflicted on the black communities provides the conditions for such violence to continue. Whites have a responsibility, for what is happening is of national importance and will affect the fabric of our society and the possibilities of peaceful change," he said.

He urged academics to research and expose the forces behind the violence.

'Unrest down by 80% due to Iron Fist'

BDay 3/10/90

LINDEN BIRNS

UNREST incidents had decreased by 80% as a direct result of the implementation of Operation Iron Fist, a Law and Order Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

Capt Craig Kotze said 12 incidents were reported on Monday compared with a high of 166 on September 12.

The sharp decrease in incidents indicated the enhanced effectiveness of police controls since Iron Fist measures, including a 9pm to 4am curfew, were introduced, he said.

The Iron Fist operation has been sharply criticised by the ANC and other political organisations.

Buthelezi says 'no' to Mandela talks invitation

ARGUS 2/10/90

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Political Staff

IN a major setback to peace efforts by President De Klerk, Kwazulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected an invitation from ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela for talks this week on curbing political violence.

The ANC said in a statement released today that it was unfortunate that Dr Buthelezi had turned down the invitation, but that they would "continue to try to persuade Dr Buthelezi that it is necessary for such consultation in the interests of the country".

Mr Mandela invited Dr Buthelezi to the meeting with the leaders of the other five national states. QwaQwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Kwandabele and Kangwane leaders all accepted and will meet Mr Mandela for three hours in his Soweto home on Friday.

DAMPEN VIOLENCE

Dr Buthelezi is overseas, and is expected to attend the World Economic Forum meeting in Geneva.

The ANC said he conveyed his refusal to accept the invitation in a letter to Mr Mandela.

President De Klerk had pinned hope on the two men getting together as a further spur to peace besides the government's Iron Fist crackdown and top level meetings between Inkatha and ANC officials. In Natal and Kwazulu these meetings are credited with going a long way to dampen political violence.

Mr Mandela telephoned Dr Buthelezi on September 20 and invited him for talks. This raised hopes around the world that the two men would at last meet, after murderous clashes between their supporters, and a war of words.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

But within 16 hours Dr Buthelezi said he was concerned because he was invited as a leader of a national state and not as president of the Inkatha Freedom Party. He asked if this was a deliberate attempt "to deny me my prime political identiy as president of Inkatha".

President De Klerk has said that while he could not bang the heads of Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi together to compel them to meet, he was working for the right atmosphere between them, and would continue to do so. The President has privately implored them to meet.

See page 6.

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ARGUS 2/10/90

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See page 6.

Hacking, shooting, burning as 2 die in unrest, say police

JOHANNESBURG. — A man was stabbed and his car burnt and two people were killed in unrest incidents overnight, police said.

Police liaison officer, Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen, said the body of a man who had been hacked to death was found in Tembisa township near Kempton Park this morning.

In Edendale, Natal, a man was shot dead when a group opened fire on a crowd of people.

At the Khutsang township near Oberholzer in the Western Transvaal, a man was stabbed in the back and his vehicle set on fire. A Post Office vehicle was also set alight and badly damaged.

In Bellville, police arrested six men and four women during an "illegal" gathering.

A policeman's home was set alight and badly damaged in Jouberton near Krugersdorp and a vehicle was stoned in a separate incident in the same area.

At Kujusa, near Colesburg, a man tried to rob a policeman of his service pistol. When the policeman retaliated a crowd of people began stoning him. A man was arrested. — Sapa.

Police shootout: three versions

TWO vastly different versions have emerged of an incident at Soweto's Avalon cemetery on Tuesday, when three men were killed and a policeman wounded in a shootout.

An Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports.

The police say:

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said Constable Neels Goosen of the Soweto Vehicle Theft Unit and a colleague stopped a car in Soweto on Tuesday and searched it shortly after 9 am. They found spent cartridge cases in the car. The four passengers of the car promised to co-operate with the police and offered to point out a place where ammunition was stored.

This car, a yellow Ford Escort, drove in front of the police car. Near the Avalon Cemetery the suspects suddenly started accelerating and shooting at the police vehicle.

Constable Goosen and his partner gave chase and returned fire. The suspects stopped their vehicle at the cemetery and tried to flee. They were warned to stop, ignored the warning and were shot at by the police. Two men fell.

Constable Goosen approached one man, who shot him in the thigh. The policeman returned fire and this suspect was killed.

The other suspect who had fallen was dead. The two remaining suspects had fled.

Members of several police units, including members of the murder and robbery squad, were soon at the scene Among these was Constable James Bouwer who, with his colleagues, searched the cemetery. They found one of the suspects, who had slightly injured himself and torn and dirtied his clothes. They arrested him.

The arrested man asked if he could change his clothes and the police accompanied him to his parents' home in Thabo Street. When they arrived Constable Bouwer waited outside the room while two armed policemen accompanied the man inside.

They undid the suspect's handcuffs so that he could change. The suspect lunged at one policeman and grabbed his pistol

In the ensuing struggle two shots were fired and Constable Bouwer ran inside the room. As he entered the suspected pointed the gun at him. Before the suspect could shoot him, Bouwer fired at him. The man was mortally wounded and fell to the ground still holding the policeman's service pistol.

Colonel Halgryn said the first incident happened shortly after 9 am and the second just before 11am.

The matter is being investigated and no names have been released by the police.

Constable Goosen is being treated at the Garden City Clinic.

A survivor says:

In a sworn statement made to lawyers yesterday, Benjamin (assumed name for the purposes of protection) said he was the only survivor of the shootout.

Benjamin, a merchandiser at Metro Trade Centre, said he was working on his car at about 8.45 am near his home in Soweto. Three friends joined him.

Two plainclothes policemen in a red Ford Husky stopped beside the group and searched them, then went to each of their houses, which they also searched.

The police found a pistol and magazine with ammunition at the home of Jack (also a pseudonym).

Benjamin claims they took R400 from his pockets and R200 from Jack.

After Jack offered the police a bribe to abandon charges, the policemen replied that they should go to Avalon cemetery where it was quiet and no one could witness the transaction.

All four got into Benjamin's yellow Ford Escort and drove slowly to the cemetery, with the police following them.

"I drove slowly into the grounds, but I didn't know where they wanted me to stop. Suddenly they started shooting at us. One of my friend's said: 'Hey, these guys want to kill us. Drive faster.'

"I speeded up, but there is no way out of the cemetery. Three of us got out and started running. They shot my best friend first. I saw him fall. "(Jack) was running next to me but said he was tired. He said he would wait for them to arrest him. I saw them shoot him as he stood there. I managed to run to Tshiawelo station. I caught a train and escaped."

Benjamin was nicked by a bullet on his right shoulder.

He said one policeman, wearing jeans and a yellow T-shirt, had a heavy scar on the left side of his neck. The other was wearing jeans and a white T-shirt.

Another eyewitness, the nephew of the man who was shot in Thabo street, said he was woken by plainclothes policemen at about 10 am on Tuesday. He has also made a sworn statement.

He said the policemen took him outside to a red Mazda 626 and white Golf and asked him identify his uncle.

"My uncle was there in the car. His face was very swollen and there was blood coming from his mouth. He said, 'These policemen beat me up. I don't know what they want'.

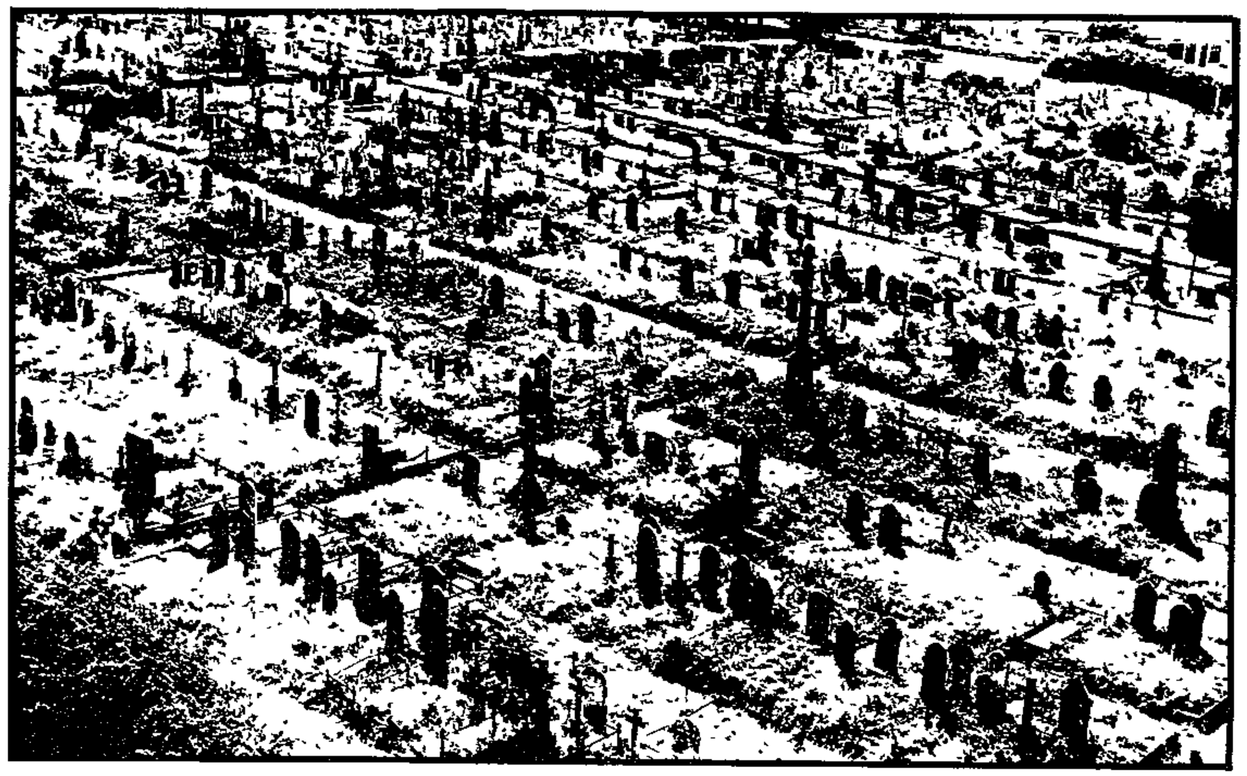
"Then they took my uncle inside and told me to wait outside. They also chased Isaac's girlfriend out of the house. The policeman James Bouwer went in alone I heard some shots.

"They took me inside and there was Isaac on the floor, face down in the diningroom. He had two wounds on his chest and one in his head. There was a lot of blood. There was a pistol lying next to him.

"They told me to bring an axe to open a small money safe. I asked them why they didn't wake up Isaac for the key. They told me they couldn't, he was dead.

"Then they chased me outside again. A Black Maria (mortuary van) came to take the body away and they left. The money safe had been forced open and there was R1400 missing."

The witness said he recorded the registration numbers of both vehicles.



What happened in Avalon cemetery, in Soweto, on Tuesday.

Pensioner describes the shooting

A Soweto pensioner, Philemon Mathonsi (64), who witnessed the shooting of two men by police near the Avalon cemetery on Tuesday, said he saw two vehicles driving past at high speed.

"Both vehicles were from a gravel road in the township. They were racing towards the cemetery. Motorists had to give way and pedestrians ran for cover.

"A few minutes later a passenger got out of the vehicle and ran. A policeman followed him with a gun in his hand. He shouted "Hey, hey" and the pursued man looked back and started to reduce his speed.

"The policeman then opened fire which hit him at the back and he fell. The policemen joined his colleague who was running after two others who drove away. Their vehicle did not go any further as it got stuck in the mud.

"One man managed to run away but another was shot by police. The policeman who shot the first man went back to where he ws lying and he was dead.

"A group of police arrived holding another man. They asked if he knew the dead man. When he denied ever seeing the dead man the police told him he was lying.

'Violence definitely decreased' — Vlok

From GIEN ELSAS Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg

MINISTER of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said last night that despite claims by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, there had been a dramatic decrease in the violence, especially since the introduction of the curfews on September 25

Mr Vlok, his wife and several generals paid a visit to members of the police force manning several roadblocks at strategic points in Soweto last night. He addressed the men at the blocks and thanked them for their dedication and positive atitude.

At the Merafe Hostel warrant officer Flip Prinsloo asked the minister whether he had a permit to be in the area while the curfew was in operation. Mr Vlok then produced one that had been signed by his employer, the State President.

Members of the media accompanied him on his tour through the area and attended the ensuing media conference.

"I have noted with great concern the statements from various quarters on claims that violence in certain townships has increased since the State President's return from his historic visit to the United States," he said.

"I have also noted, with equal concern, the unfounded claims made by the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, on the alleged ineffectiveness and unpopularity of measures introduced under 'Operation Iron Fist', designed to restore law and order in certain reef townships.

"Facts at my disposal do not bear out claims that violence has flared up in the affected areas since the State President's return," he added.

Mr Vlok said that statistics showed that unrest related incidents had increased relatively sharply during Mr De Klerk's visit to the United States but then declined from 54 incidents on the second day of his tour to 27 incidents on September 29 and 16 incidents on September 30.

Of the 1 151 incidents reported during September, 393 occurred before the president's visit and only 77 in the last four days of September. Twelve incidents were reported on Monday while only nine incidents took place on Tuesday this week.

"To suggest that operation Iron Fist was timed specifically to coincide with President De Klerk's visit, or that violence had risen dramatically after his return, is a cynical manipulation of the facts. Moreover, measures such as 'Operation Iron Fist' are instituted to save human life and property, not to fit into any political agenda," Mr Vlok said.

He said the reaction of the residents to the curfew measures in Soweto and on the East Rand had been overwhelmingly positive.

"Many residents have sent messages thanking the SAP for restoring law and order to the troubled areas. It is abundantly clear that where unpopularity does exist, it is from the ranks of those who wish to take advantage of unrest so as to pursue their own agendas at the expense of township residents," he said.

"The curfew, for obvious reasons, cannot be maintained indefinitely and, where circumstances permit, it, along with unrest regulations, will be lifted," Mr Vlok said.

He warned that the curfew had been such an effective measure to curb unrest and criminal acts that there could be serious problems in those communities when the curfew was lifted.

Only 14 people had been arrested since the curfew came into operation in Soweto.

Mr Vlok added that a special unit had been formed in Soweto to investigate all unrest related deaths and incidents since August 16. This unit was dealing with 350 cases and was analysing all information received in an attempt to establish the causes for the unrest.

Mandela blames NIS and CCB for violence

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela accused the army and National Intelligence Service (NIS) yesterday of using black agents to provoke township violence which has killed more than 750 people.

"It is the security forces, the government security forces themselves," he said in an interview with Japanese television journalists.

ANC officials and many township residents say some indiscriminate assaults in the townships were staged by mysterious masked squads, widely referred to as "the third force".

Mr Mandela accused the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and the NIS.

"They are using blacks under the cover that they are members of Inkatha. They are using these blacks in order to create a smokescreen for their activities and that is the source of the present violence."

Mr Mandela has suggested before that President F W de Klerk is not fully in control of security forces. But this was the first time he had pointed a finger at the NIS, whose reporting line goes to the President's office. — Sapa-Reuter

Violence in townships 'tempers business hopes'

Staff Reporter

THE township violence has tempered high hopes business had for the negotiating process, says outgoing Cape Chamber of Industries president Mr P Collins.

The violence, which appeared to be senseless, had brought misery to many black citizens, he said last night at the 86th annual meeting of the Cape Chamber of Industries.

The violence had been condemned by all political parties and community interests, but it was spluttering on, fuelled by some so-called third force, "unidentified and apparently anonymous".

The Western Cape appeared to have been spared the worst excesses of township violence. This was "probably because our burgeoning township areas do not exhibit the same ethnic and tribal mix as may be the case elswhere, therefore denying to that unknown third force the opportunity to play on this factor in fuelling the unrest," he said.

It was interesting that township violence had not spread to the workplace and "for this we consider ourselves fortunate".

The wide publicity given to the violence and the actions of police in trying to contain it had "negated" South Africa's improved international image.

He said: "Possibly this is one of the aims of those who have been perpetrating the violence — whoever they may be."

This year the number of man-days lost because of workers staying away from work for reasons other than health or holiday had been higher than in previous years.

● Mr W J E Wilson, a director of Romatex Fabrics Ltd, was elected president of the CCI.

F W and Mandela to hold talks on violence

ST Times 7/10/90

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and MARION DUNCAN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town tomorrow to discuss the violence in black townships.

Government sources yesterday described the meeting as "very important", but said a major summit on the scale of the Groote Schuur and Union Buildings meetings was not expected in the near future.

"Too many summits too often will demean the status of such high-level encounters," said a senior source.

It is expected that Mr Mandela will present Mr De Klerk with three ANC demands on how the Government should tackle the violence:

- All "hit squads" should be disbanded immediately;
- Members of the SAP should only be issued with weapons used to combat ordinary crime;
- Independent monitoring groups should be established to investigate police action.

Speaking at the launch of the new SA Democratic Teachers' Union, Mr Mandela yesterday again accused the Government of backing "Renamo-style" violence by Inkatha supporters.

He said Inkatha was training special "township killers" in the white suburbs of Johannesburg, as well as in Caprivi.

In a hard-hitting address to an appreciative crowd, he said: "There is something more to this — and I mean the direct cause of this violence.

"It is that some State agencies are using some well-trained death squads. It is the CCB. It is the military security. It is the National Intelligence Service.

"They are using organisations like Koevoet, the Askaris and other organisations."

Later, at Chief Albert Luthuli's grave on the Natal North Coast, Mr Mandela issued an ultimatum to President De Klerk to stop the violence immediately.

ANC officials claimed five supporters were murdered on their way to the Mandela rally.

- Mr Mandela yesterday paid a surprise visit to Communist Party and ANC activist Mac Maharaj in a Durban hospital. Mr Maharaj was detained in July in connection with an alleged plot to overthrow the Government.

Three shot dead in Zulu-Xhosa clash

JOHANNESBURG. — Three Xhosa men — one of them an off-duty municipal policeman — were shot dead during an isolated Zulu-Xhosa conflict in Daveyton township near Benoni late on Saturday afternoon, East Rand police said.

Police have arrested two Zulu men in connection with the incident and confiscated a ,38 special revolver with six rounds of ammunition, as well as a 7,65 pistol with three rounds of ammunition, a spokeswoman said.

The shooting followed an argument between the three dead men and two Zulu men.

One of the Zulus allegedly shot and killed the policeman and robbed him of his firearm before shooting dead the other two Xhosas.

The dead are Constable E Dyonese, 24, Mr G Twala, 25, and Mr T Selale, 29, all of Daveyton.

The incident appeared to be isolated and the situation in Daveyton yesterday was quiet.

Other incidents of unrest reported were:

● At Crossroads homes were badly damaged in fire-bomb attacks.

● A police spokesman said the body of a man who had been burnt to death was found in Tembisa on the East Rand.

In a separate incident, a private vehicle was badly damaged after being set alight.

● In Soweto, a policeman was stabbed to death on Saturday night in unrest-related violence, police said.

Another policeman was found dead in the township with a pistol next to his body.

The two policemen were off duty, police said

● At Kagane outside Potchefstroom, three people were arrested for stoning a police vehicle.

● At Digane, near Hartebeesfontein in the Western Transvaal, the municipal offices were damaged in an arson attack. — Sapa

SA exiles: Zim call for amnesty

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — Delegates to a one-day workshop here on Saturday on the repatriation of South African refugees called on the international community to exert pressure on Pretoria for a general amnesty allowing all exiles to return home "without fear".

The Roman Catholic Inter-regional Meeting of Bishops in Southern Africa (Imbisa), the Liberation Support Committee and the Ecumenical Documentation and Information Central for eastern Southern Africa co-organised the workshop.

The workshop recommended that a "solidarity network" be set up to assist the repatriation of the about 250 South African refugees in Zimbabwe.

'Force' claims

Cape Times 8/10/90 (274)

Mandela says he has proof of third force

DEPUTY ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will try to convince President F W de Klerk today that a "third force" of government officials is deliberately provoking the current bloodshed in South African townships.

Mr Mandela said at the weekend he had proof that the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and military intelligence were using black agents to stage vicious random attacks in black townships.

"We have taken affidavits from a wide variety of people and we have no doubt that these organisations are behind these slaughters," Mr Mandela told a rally at Groutville in Natal on Saturday.

Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk are expected to discuss these allegations when they meet today in Cape Town.

The Office of the State President could not confirm the meeting, saying it was policy not to disclose Mr De Klerk's engagements unless he wanted them disclosed, but a number of ANC officials said it was on.

Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, told the Cape Times after a rally in Nyanga yesterday that Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk "are definitely meeting" today.

The ANC had been submitting to the government affidavits backing the allegations about "elements within the security forces", ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said.

However, she said Mr Mandela would definitely not hand over affidavits about the "third force" at the meeting.

Law and order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet denied that the government had received any such affidavits from the ANC.

"The ANC should come up with hard-core evidence to back their allegations and then we will investigate the matter," Brigadier Mellet said.

At the Groutville rally, however, Mr Mandela said the ANC would present affidavits supporting these claims to the president.

He again made "Third force" allegations in his speech

He said the NIS, the CCB and military intelligence with Koevoet and Askaris (former ANC guerillas "turned" after detention by security police) were all behind the violence.

Chief Zanemvula Nonkonyane, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders, at an ANC rally in Nyanga yesterday.

● Chris Hani slams PAC — Page 5

"Instead of maintaining law and order, the security forces are using certain organisations as a smokescreen to continue killing our people. What they want to do is destroy the ANC," Mr Mandela said.

He added that he was not claiming that Mr De Klerk was "working directly" with these agencies, but the fact that there was co-ordination between the NIS, CCB, military intelligence and government departments in this regard was "of grave concern".

"There are moments when I sincerely doubt whether I should continue talking to De Klerk, when he is unable to carry out his obligations to maintain law and order.

"In any other country where so many people are dying the state president would come out clearly and condemn that slaughter. That is not happening in our country," Mr Mandela said

"Since July 27 the violence in the Transvaal has been very intense Then, a few days before Mr De Klerk goes to America, there is suddenly a lull.

"I said to our people not to be fooled into thinking that the violence was over. The lull is rather the calm before the storm . . . enabling Mr De Klerk to go to the USA under conditions of peace. And when he returns this violence is going to happen again

"That is exactly what happened. The night after De Klerk saw Bush, seven mutilated bodies were found near the railway line at Riverlea. The government's death squads were on the rampage again.

"It is quite clear that there is a connection between the refusal of the government to deal with the violence and the enemies who are instigating it."

However, Mr Mandela appealed to the crowd not to be provoked into resorting to violence against "other organisations" — he did not mention names — which he claimed were being used as a smokescreen by NIS and military intelligence.

About 800 people have been hacked, shot and burned to death around Johannesburg since mid-August in fighting between supporters of the ANC and Zulu migrant workers who favour the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Late last month the government imposed heavy armed patrols and a night-time curfew on townships around Johannesburg. Since then the violence has diminished and on Friday the government lifted the curfew there, while retaining it in other townships.

Mr Mandela later accused Inkatha of involvement in the killing of five people at Groutville on Saturday afternoon

Speaking at an ANC rally in Maritzburg yesterday, Mr Mandela said the people had

To page 3

Government, ANC meet over unrest

AN ANC delegation led by its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, met State President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet for three hours of "sensitive" talks at his Tuynhuys office in Cape Town yesterday.

The two delegations issued a brief joint statement after the talks, saying note had been taken of "different perceptions" of the cause and handling of current violence and that there was agreement to do their utmost to end it.

The State President also issued a separate statement saying the Government had decided to activate the process of indemnity provided by legislation passed this year, after the ANC had affirmed the report of the working group on immunity and indemnity.

Indemnity and immunity against prosecution or civil suits for "political offences" would apply only

To Page 2

Meeting over violence

From Page 1

to acts committed before noon yesterday, the State President said.

De Klerk emphasised, however, that no one would receive indemnity automatically and that the Government would not suspend any pending or current legal process.

He also announced that 15 more prisoners would be released this week in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would announce relevant procedures, guidelines and related matters on Friday.

De Klerk said this statement should not be confused with his call to all individuals to hand to the police whatever arms they illegally possessed or controlled.

Special indemnity applied to those who did so before October 30 while the police continued to locate and remove all illegal arms and explosives.

The meeting between the two parties started shortly after 11am. Mandela was accompanied by ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, SACP secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo and ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma.

Assisted

De Klerk was assisted by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and the Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

After the meeting, Mandela told reporters at Tuynhuys's gates and that there would be no questions taken as this is a very sensitive issue.

The issue of detention of ANC leaders had been raised, the statement said. There had been an in-depth review of the recent spate of violence.

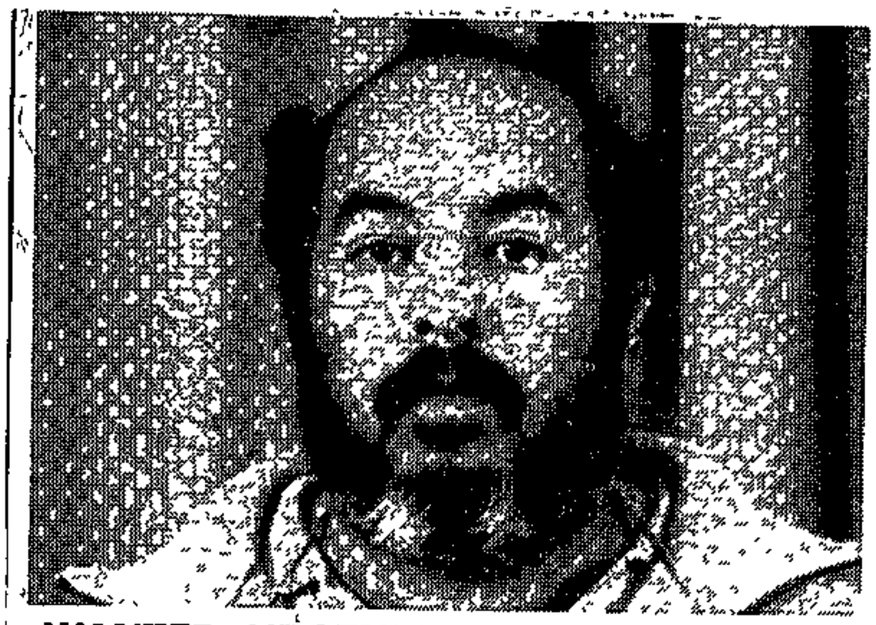
"Note was taken of the different current perceptions concerning the causes and handling of this violence. There was general agreement that all sides must do their utmost to bring this violence to an end.

"The ANC delegation also made submissions concerning the detention of some of its leaders and members under security legislation.

"The Government agreed to deal expeditiously with these submissions."

Both sides reaffirmed the need to keep the process of negotiations on course and act in such a way to sustain and strengthen the atmosphere of trust necessary to achieve this objective.

Sapa.



WANTED URGENTLY ... Police wish to question this man, last known to them as Mr Neville Petersen, in connection with fraud. He has shaved off his beard since this photograph was taken. Anyone with information is asked to contact murder and robbery unit chief Major Leonard Knipe at 951-6665.

Three killed in unrest

Cape Times 9/10/90
574

JOHANNESBURG. — Three people have been killed in unrest incidents in the past 24 hours.

Police said the bodies of two people were found in Tembisa on the East Rand. One had bullet wounds while the other had been stabbed.

The body of a man who had been burnt to death was found at Sebokeng outside Vereeniging.

In Sweetwaters in Natal buses were damaged in stoning incidents. — Sapa

Chief warns on ANC 'vendetta'

CAPE TOWN 10/10/90 274

Political Staff

IF the ANC carried on with its vendetta against the Inkatha Freedom Party, the prospects for peace could be shattered and the situation could easily get out of hand again, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday.

He also called on the ANC to instruct its officials and supporters "to desist, forthwith, from virulently attacking Inkatha and its leadership on public platforms".

Chief Buthelezi issued a statement yesterday in reaction to the speech made by Mr Zanemvula Nonkonyana, the president of Contralesa, the ANC-linked body of chiefs, at a meeting at the weekend in Nyanga.

The meeting was also addressed by the head of the ANC's military wing and a member of its national executive committee, Mr Chris Hani.

Chief Buthelezi said: "Mr Nonkonyana indulged in various attacks on me personally and perpetuated the kind of killing talk which has been responsible, to date, for exacerbating tensions.

"This kind of puerile rhetoric ultimately results in violence and tragic loss of lives. This must stop.

"I loathe the violence. Inkatha seeks peace. I urge that talk which could cost lives must stop," he said.

The aim of the churches in SA: Reconciliation

274

Delegates to an emergency consultation on South African violence last week outlined an action programme for the church to alleviate the problem.

ALICE COETZEE *reports*

EACH week images of violence burn into the national psyche. And each Sunday, thousands of Christians pray for peace.

In an emergency consultation on the violence called by the Institute of Contextual Theology (ICT) last Friday, representatives from the churches, para-church groups and the black community reflected that the crisis facing South Africa today was far worse than in 1985. Then, it was a clear struggle between the government and the oppressed. Now the lines are not as clearly drawn.

Delegates at the meeting felt the violence had exposed the ineffectiveness of the church in calling for peace. For true peace to be achieved, they believed the church needed to expose and condemn those reponsible for the violence.

Their conclusion was that the church needed to take immediate steps to build and promote hope in South Africa.

The meeting, which met under the chairmanship of Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, director of ICT, recommended seven areas of action for the church:

- To speak out against the perpetrators of the violence.
- To encourage the churches to form an independent monitoring body.
- To be alongside violence-stricken communities.
- To reflect theologically on the violence.
- To issue pastoral letters explaining the causes of the violence and its implications.
- To encourage churches to re-assess their understanding of the work and preaching of reconciliation.
- To encourage churches to meaningfully minister to all.

The church needed to examine the reasons for the violence, to find out who benefitted from it, the motives behind it, and to investigate claims of a conspiracy.

It was recommended that the churches should form a single monitoring group to investigate the violence and to guide the country through the negotiation process.

During the meeting church leaders were criticised for not being alongside the violence-afflicted communities.

Said one of the community leaders: "The church leaders came to visit us and said they would draw up a report. But they never came back."

In response, the meeting urged that minister's fraternals and individual churches should immediately step in and support communities where violence was ongoing.

The underlying concern of the meeting, however, was the need to redefine the understanding of reconciliation.

Said Father Albert Nolan: "The churches are preaching reconciliation more than ever before, yet there is more and more violence. Reconciliation is not just a string of sermons. As a church we have to expose the reasons for violence, to stand up for the truth.

"The churches must ask themselves, what are we doing in working for reconciliation?"

Sister Bernard Ncube, a Soweto community leader said: "Reconciliation is not a static thing, it flows from every action for jusuce.

"Standing up for justice, challenging wrongs, every action that aims to eradicate what is evil and to create a just situation is reconciliation."

The challenge to the church was to minister as meaningfully as possible to the different factions.

CM Trib (ZTU

October 15 1990 5

3 killed, 10 hurt in weekend unrest

PRETORIA. — Three people were killed and 10 reported injured in countrywide unrest at the weekend.

A municipal policeman, Constable N D Shamase, of Langverwacht, Secunda, was stabbed to death by a group.

The bodies of two people, who had apparently been murdered, were found in Edendale, Maritzburg, police said.

Nine people were reported shot and injured on Saturday after police allegedly fired birdshot and teargas at people returning from a Phola Park funeral.

And at Old Crossroads on Saturday night, a man was wounded after a special constable, who had been fired at, fired a shot into the air.

According to Major Reg Herold, damage of about R1 600 was caused when two Old Crossroads houses were petrol-bombed. — Sapa

Buthelezi tags violence 'black'

ULUNDI — People should stop pretending that the country's current violence was not by and large produced by blacks attacking blacks, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend. CNA Tmes 13/10/94 (27K)

He was delivering his presidential address to tens of thousands gathered here for the annual general conference of the Inkatha Freedom Party's Women's Brigade.

Chief Buthelezi said that though Mr Nelson Mandela might be able to provide information, if they met, about the so-called "third force" behind the violence, thousands of Inkatha supporters in Natal and the Transvaal had been killed by supporters of the ANC/SACP/UDF/Cosatu alliance and vice versa. There had also been criminal violence resulting from the unemployment caused by sanctions and socio-economic conditions.

He said there might be other violence, like that undertaken by some whites and at times by "wayward elements" in the country's security forces, but it was the ANC's declaration of an armed struggle and of a "people's war" which had established and nurtured a culture of violence in the black community. — Sapa

Tutu calls for summit

Cape Times 18/10/90 (11) 274

Staff Reporter

BLACK leaders should meet for an urgent "peace" summit, Archbishop Desmond Tutu charged last night.

He called for black leaders of substantial political movements to get together to plan a joint strategy on negotiations and to adopt a code of conduct for political dealings.

They had to decide on how to handle factional violence and promote unity and peace.

He proposed Bishopscourt as the venue for the summit — and said those who refused to attend would be seen as "enemies of unity, peace and liberation".

The archbishop delivered his call at the three-yearly synod of the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town.

Lifting sanctions

Archbishop Tutu, who spurred the sanctions drive against South Africa, also listed his prerequisites for the lifting of the measures for the first time.

They are: The scrapping of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts, the establishment of a single education department and a start to serious negotiations.

"Once Mr De Klerk can announce that he proposes to repeal these abominations in the next session of Parliament... then I promise that at that moment I will stand up and say to our friends, 'Lift sanctions'."

The archbishop warned that President

CALL ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town Synod in Rondebosch last night.

F W De Klerk should act firmly against a "third force" in the security establishment that wanted to derail the negotiation process.

He called for:

● The removal of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, from the cabinet due to his "political responsibility" for the actions of alleged assassination squads.

● The formation of a special police force comprising members of the police and liberation movements to uphold law and order, especially in the unrest areas.

● A permanent judicial commission to investigate allegations against members of the security forces, and for a group of "trusted lawyers, religious and authentic community leaders" to monitor security activities and help scotch allegations of police partiality and power abuse.

● The government to grant offices in the Union Buildings to the ANC executive committee and to establish an interim coalition government once a constituent assembly had been convened.

He also praised Mr De Klerk' reform initiatives and undertook to nominate him and the vice-president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, for the Nobel Peace Prize if they got negotiations underway.

He urged political leaders and their adherents to show tolerance and maturity.

Last night the ANC said they would discuss Archbishop Tutu's call before issuing a response.

The ANC had, however, already received an invitation to attend the meeting, a spokesman said.

KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he wanted to nurture the ongoing peace talks in Durban between Inkatha and the ANC — and could not see how they could "over-fly these peace talks to all of a sudden meet in a summit" at Bishopscourt.

He would however put Archbishop Tutu's suggestion to the Central Committee of his party and the caucus of the KwaZulu Assembly before giving his final word.

'Nothing in the way of negotiations now'

FW lifts emergency

CM-Times 19/10/90

274

From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk yesterday lifted the state of emergency in Natal, enhancing prospects for an end to sanctions and removing one of the key obstacles to constitutional negotiations named by the ANC.

South Africa stood on the threshold of real negotiations, he said later at the opening of the Transvaal congress of the National Party,

"Stumbling blocks have been removed The door is now fully open.

"Let us get on with the job Let us put petty politics and manoeuvring aside"

Mr De Klerk told more than 1 500 people gathered in the city hall here last night that support for reconciliation through negotiation was "growing by the day"

Earlier he had told a media conference that conditions in Natal had stabilised to such an extent that ordinary laws were sufficient to ensure the public's safety and to maintain order.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told the conference however that security force levels in Natal townships would not be reduced They were needed in case of renewed outbreaks of violence.

For the first time since June 1986 no state of emergency is in force anywhere in South Africa

The announcement was hailed by the ANC and Inkatha, who agreed it would help pave the way to full-blown constitutional negotiations

And the move was met with immediate positive reaction abroad.

The White House warmly welcomed the announcement

Spokesman Mr Marlin Fitzwater termed the move "another important landmark on the road toward full normalisation of political activity in South Africa" and credited Mr De Klerk with political courage and leadership

Momentum

"As the President George Bush said on the occasion of President De Klerk's visit to Washington, we believe that the process of change in South Africa has become irreversible The lifting of the state of emergency in Natal reflects that reality"

A spokesman for the British Foreign Office said "There is now a heavy responsibility on all South African political leaders to restrain their followers from further violence and maintain the momentum towards negotiation"

The ANC said yesterday that the step taken was part of the process necessary for the removal of obstacles in the path of negotiations

"We hope this will be extended to eradicate the remaining obstacles, in particular the release of all political prisoners and detainees and the repeal of all security legislation

"The lifting of the state of emergency should be accompanied by the withdrawal of troops such as 32 Battalion from Natal," the statement added

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was his fervent hope that the move would give peace initiatives "greatly added scope" to succeed He called on everybody in the KwaZulu-Natal region to make a concerted effort to put an end to political violence "once and for all"

Responding to questions after his announcement, Mr De Klerk said it was impossible to provide a timetable for a new constitution, as negotiations

SHOT . . . Police (above) fire teargas from an armoured vehicle yesterday to break up a protest by Toekomsrus residents against the suspension of electricity and water supplies. Below: The body of a man shot dead by police lies beside an armoured vehicle after security forces fired on the demonstrators. © Report — Page 7

Picture: REUTER

FW to visit Morocco

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk will visit Morocco next week

President De Klerk's trip was confirmed last night in a brief statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha

"On their way to Europe, the State President and the Minister of Foreign Affairs will pay a working visit to Morocco," the statement said

Mr De Klerk is expected to hold talks with King Hassan during his brief visit to Morocco's capital of Rabat.

Morocco, which has strongly supported the international campaign against Iraq since the conquest of Kuwait and has sent troops to Saudi Arabia, is regarded as one of the moderate Arab states

After leaving Morocco, Mr De Klerk will travel to Holland on Tuesday for an official state visit where he will meet Queen Beatrice and Prime Minister Mr Ruud Lubbers

Commuters pushed off Joburg train

JOHANNESBURG. — Fifteen commuters were thrown from a Pretoria-Johannesburg train yesterday morning.

Police said the incident occurred between the Birchleigh and Riebeeck railway stations near Kempton Park.

The 15 injured passengers were admitted to hospitals in the Kempton Park area. Four of them were in a critical condition.

No arrests have yet been made. — Sapa

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Responding to questions ater his announcement, Mr De Klerk said it was impossible to provide a timetable for a new constitution, as negotiations were in essence a multi-party process and could not simply be bipartisan

The government had a four-year limit before the next elections were due but it would obviously prefer to honour its commitment to test the opinion of the existing electorate sooner than then.

It would seek a mandate from the electorate for a totally new constitution in which everyone would have a vote of equal value.

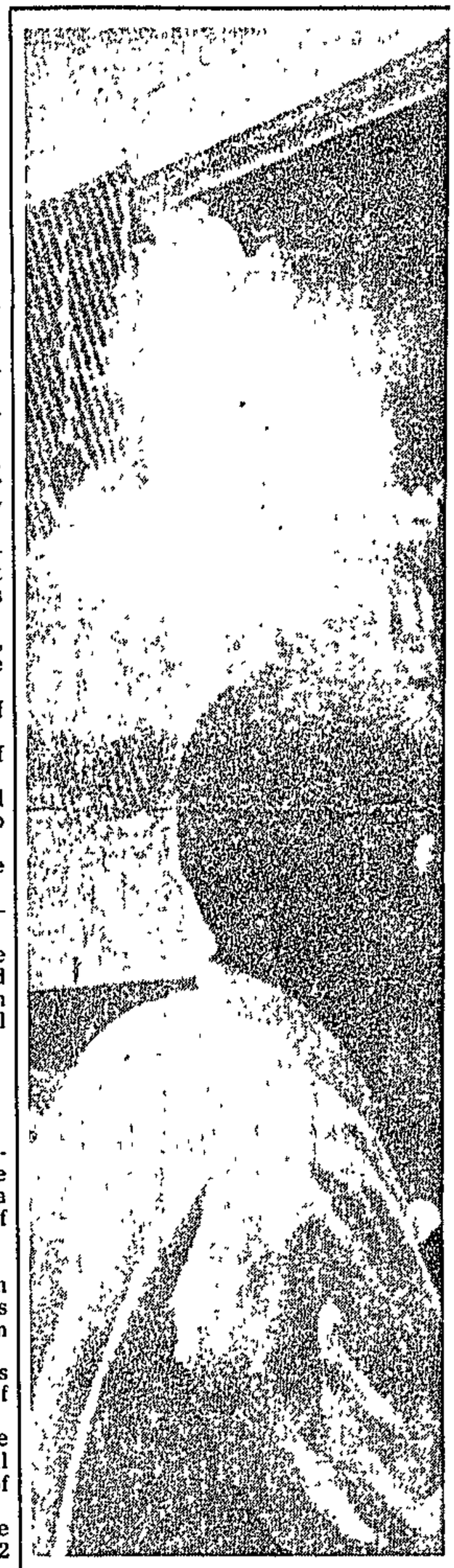
"If the negotiations are not concluded before the next election is due, we will be forced to hold another election"

He was confident the National Party would be "part of the winning side" in the election held under the new constitution

Commenting on Archbishop Desmond Tutu's plans to convene a summit of black leaders to formulate a joint strategy to negotiations, he said he welcomed each initiative to bring more stability to the country, but he would not comment on the archbishop's method of doing this.

Mr De Klerk said the leadership of extra-parlia-

To page 3



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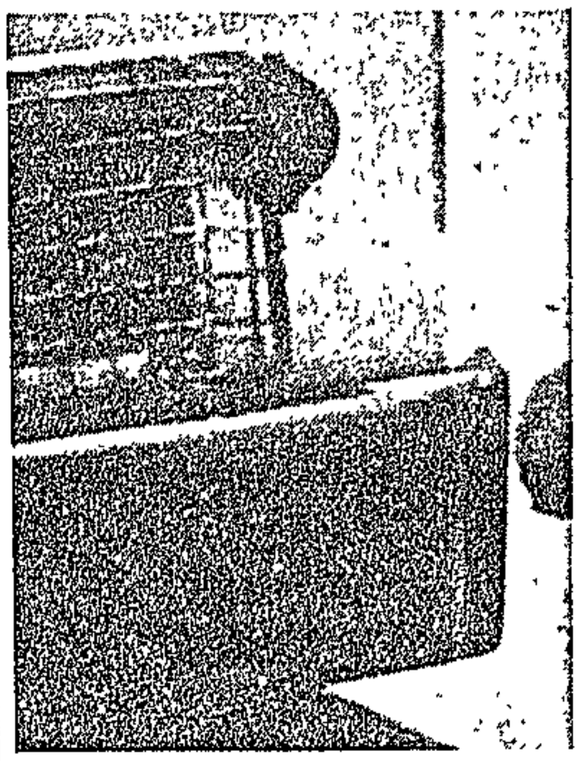
yesterday to break up a protest
the suspension of electricity
body of a man shot dead by
vehicle after security forces fir
port — Page 7



Authors failed to end violence

Soweto 27C
23/10/90

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

WRITERS contributed to the ongoing carnage and internecine violence through their failure to develop new holistic people molded on the ethics of tolerance, compassion and empathy, poet Don Mattera told a gathering of writers.

He was speaking at the Congress of South African Writers' reading session on *Writers against Violence* at Funda Centre

DON MATTERA

in Soweto at the weekend.

Mattera's paper was titled *Writer's unity in a violent situation.*

"I believe we have failed through our actions and writings as cultural activists because our goals, visions and aspirations are anchored into party partisan loyalties and sectarian interests.

"The near obliteration of our cultural identity made it easy for the state to manipulate the ideological positions among the various political contestants, a condition which largely succeeds because of the powerful instruments of institutionalised violence, both psychological and physical, as well as the state's and commercial media's massive propaganda offensive and superiority."

Mattera said the scope and aftermath of the recent violence among the oppressed shows that perpetrators gained ground

"because revolutionary forces - writers and other activist artists included - have lost the humanising will and initiative needed to galvanise the masses".

Mattera shared the platform with returned exile Mr Keorapetse Kgositsile who spoke on *The Writer and exile as violence*; Mrs Boitumela Mofokeng who read a paper on *The Writer and Repression* and Mr Dikobe Martins who talked about *Prison: Writing under repressive conditions.*

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PH 685 5040

Summit 'soon'

Cape Times 23/10/90 276

Buthelezi, Mandela set to meet after ANC invitation to Inkatha

Chief Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The long-awaited meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is almost certain to take place within weeks.

The ANC said yesterday that its national executive committee (NEC) had decided at the weekend to meet the central committee of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party "in the near future".

This signals the ANC's intention to press ahead with plans to hold its national conference in December, despite recent concern that it would be postponed because of the delay in the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles

The planned summit would be aimed at strengthening efforts to end violence, the ANC said.

Chief Buthelezi said last night that Inkatha's central committee would consider the ANC proposal once this had been formally received.

It is understood the meeting was facilitated by discussions between Inkatha and ANC representatives on a joint committee on the Natal violence

Sources said yesterday that it was possible that the initial meeting would be the first in a series at top leadership level.

Although the discussions would probably include various topics other than violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, Inkatha sources said the movement would almost certainly resist any attempt to reach a joint strategy on constitutional negotiations

Efforts to bring the two leaders together, particularly after factional violence spread to the Transvaal this year, have repeatedly failed.

Earlier this month, Chief Buthelezi declined an ANC invitation to meet Mr Mandela with other non-independent homeland leaders. It is believed that Chief Buthelezi's refusal to attend was mostly related to the fact that he was invited as a homeland chief minister and not as Inkatha leader

The ANC is understood to have resisted a one-on-one meeting between the two because it believed such an encounter would give Chief Buthelezi greater recognition than it believed he deserved.

The proposed summit will be the first face-to-face encounter between the two since Mr Mandela was released from prison in February.

An ANC statement yesterday welcomed a report on progress being made by the ANC/government joint working group on the release of political prisoners and the return of the exiles.

"The ANC therefore looks forward to the speedy implementation of the relevant provisions of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes," the statement said.

Mr Mandela

Mandela storms off radio show

Cape Times 24/10/90

CANBERRA. — Mr Nelson Mandela angrily walked out of an Australian radio studio yesterday when an interviewer unexpectedly brought Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the conversation in a telephone hook-up with South Africa.

"Was that Buthelezi? In fairness you should have told me," Mr Mandela told interviewer Mr Paul Murphy of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC).

"Mr Mandela — yes I should tell you that I have just been talking to Chief Buthelezi," said Mr Murphy, adding: "I don't know whether you want to listen to what he has to say."

Mr Mandela, annoyed, said: "I don't. In fairness you should have told me the full picture beforehand."

He then left the studio in Australia's parliament building as his aides remonstrated with the host.

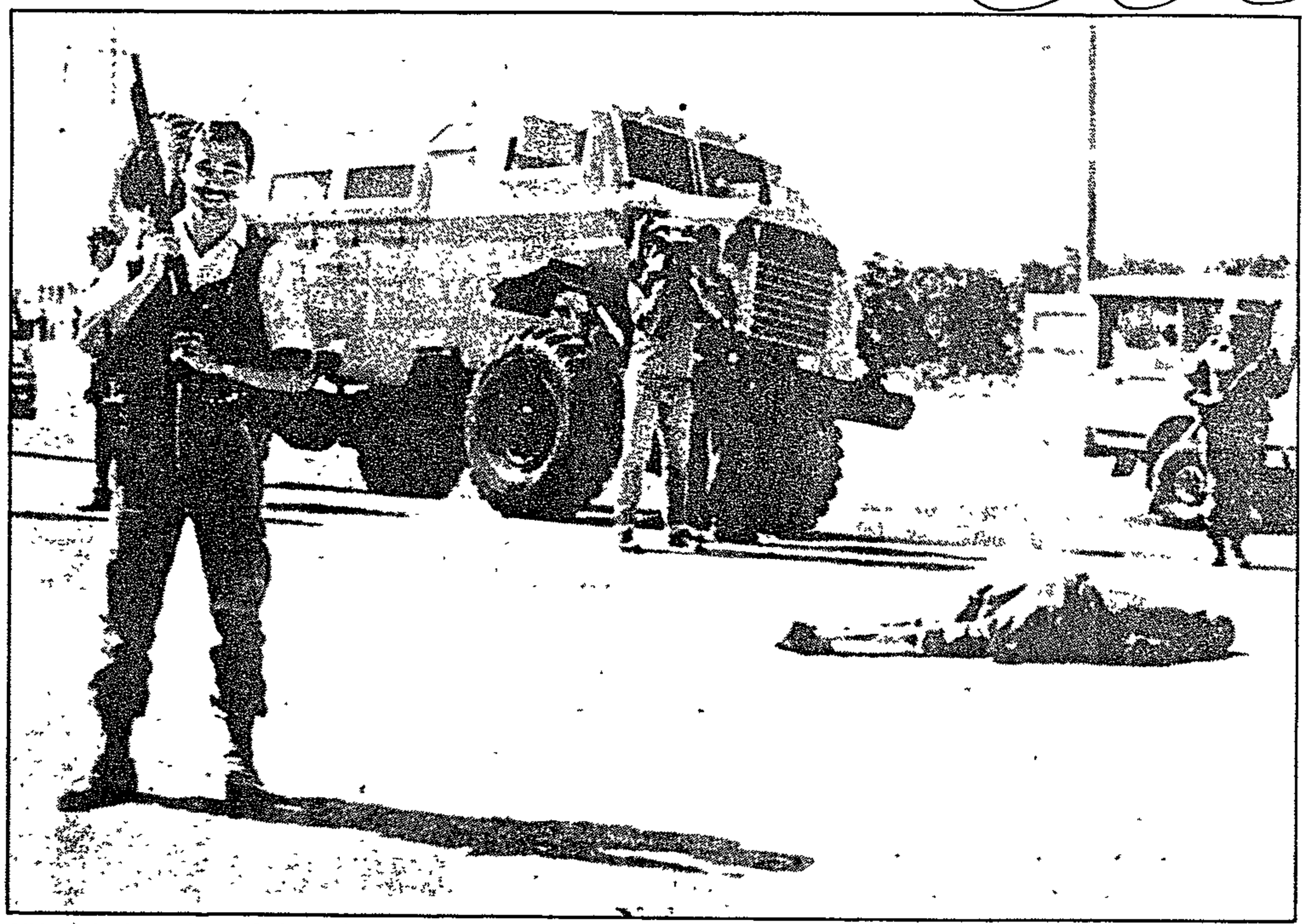
Planned talks between Mr Mandela, who is on a five-day tour of Australia, and Chief Buthelezi were announced on Monday.

Mr Mandela earlier told a news conference that hopes for an end to township violence had been raised by his planned meeting with Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi, after Mr Mandela's departure from the radio station, was asked whether he believed talks with Mr Mandela could end township violence.

"Yes, because I think that leaders should lead. I think we should be seen by our followers — both ANC and Inkatha followers — as really advocating peace," he said. — Sapa-AP

Mandela thanks Australia — Page 5



All in a day's work . . . A riot policeman stands guard over the body of a black man gunned down by police in Khayelitsha yesterday. The policeman grinned as he shouted at journalists to take his picture. Picture: Associated Press.

VIOLENCE FM 26/10/90

LOST MILLIONS

So far this year, 2 378 people have died as a result of political violence — almost double the previous peak of 1 403 in 1989, according to the latest *Innes Labour Brief*.

In all, the brief says political deaths over the past five years have topped a staggering 7 768 — and that is reported deaths. The recent Reef township violence saw at least 787 deaths.

It is estimated that the violence cost the economy R3bn for the first six months of this year — and that is not including the recent Reef violence.

The costs were calculated by taking into account the premature deaths of 1 800 people; the hospitalisation of the injured; the destruction of around 2 000 shops and factories; expenditure on security force deployment; the destruction of personal property, including motor vehicles; and the cost in lost production caused by national and regional stayaways.

The accuracy of the figure is probably not important. The fact is that the cost was high and as the author, Wits sociologist Duncan Innes argues, it probably equals the cost of the socio-economic fund allocation by government earlier this year.

He is probably on firmer ground in these calculations than when he attributes the conflict to attempts by Inkatha to extend its power base outside Natal.

He quotes Markinor research which indicates Inkatha's support outside Natal to be as low as 2% and a McCann advertising survey which revealed "staggering resentment" of Inkatha in the Transvaal.

Whether this sort of research proves anything is a matter of opinion. Certainly, without balancing research into the ANC it probably doesn't amount to a row of beans. The ANC has been no less intimidatory and violent than Inkatha, if not more so.

And there is certainly a fashion among leftwing intellectuals to present Inkatha in as bad a light as possible.

However, Innes is right in asserting that the crucial issue is the lack of political tolerance. He criticises leaders of the ANC and Inkatha for failing to meet. But the reluctance has been on the part of the ANC. ■

Two men shot dead, cars stoned, burnt

PRETORIA. — Two men have been shot dead in unrest incidents, police report.

Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen said a a man was killed and another wounded in Umbokwani, Ladysmith. A vehicle was set alight.

Police found the body of a man and an injured woman in Umkomaas, Natal. They appeared to have been shot.

A group stoned a municipal police vehicle in Huhudi, Vryburg.

A private vehicle was stoned in Kwazakeli, the tyres were slashed and one man was stabbed.

Arsonists damaged a house in Tembisa, East Rand and a vehicle was set alight in Kanana, Klerskdorp.

Youths attacked a municipal policeman's home in Steadville, Ladismith, with petrol bombs. The house was gutted and two vehicles wered damaged. — Sapa.

NATIONAL

Inkatha declines Tutu's summit

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee has questioned Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's impartiality and turned down the cleric's invitation to Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to attend a meeting of black political leaders in Cape Town.

The IFP committee resolved at a meeting at Ulundi to question Archbishop Tutu's impartiality because he had given "ecclesiastical endorsement" to some ANC policies.

"We question the impartiality of Archbishop Tutu when he suggests that President F W de Klerk should provide Dr Nelson Mandela and his national executive with offices and facilities in Union Buildings."

Inkatha also invited Archbishop Tutu to clearly state whether he thought Chief Buthelezi was an "enemy of unity, peace and liberation" as the clergyman had suggested would be the way people would judge leaders who declined to attend the Cape Town meeting.

HOPES KILLED

It was up to political leaders themselves to normalise their relationships with each other ... "it is they who are answerable to the people and not a dignitary like Archbishop Tutu".

The committee resolved to advise Chief Buthelezi to "graciously decline" Archbishop Tutu's invitation, so killing hopes of yet another opportunity for their leader to engage in face-to-face talks with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Another resolution, however, called on the ANC to add its voice to calls for a normalised relationship between the IFP and the ANC so that Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela could "lead in their striving to normalise political relationships for the sake of democracy". — Sapa.

Star 29/10/90

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DP and ANC to monitor unrest

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In a unique local initiative, Democratic Party and ANC structures in the Free State started discussions last week on joint regional strategies to promote the creation of a democratic and non-racial dispensation.

DP and ANC leaders met in Bloemfontein following the adoption of a resolution at the recent DP provincial congress to "negotiate regional joint strategies with the ANC aimed at building a broad non-racial democratic alliance/pact" to encourage the move towards the creation of a new South Africa".

A member of the DP's Free State/Northern Cape executive and of the DP's national council, Professor Dirk du Toit, said this initiative was in line with the DP's programme of action of seeking closer ties with the ANC and the National Party.

The programme committed the DP to the development of a broad front for peaceful co-operation and alliances with organisations within and outside Parliament which were pursuing the objectives of negotiations and reconciliation.

"One of the issues discussed was to establish a joint unrest monitoring and prevention committee. A large number of the DP's black executive members were present," Professor du Toit said.

The only definite decision taken was that a follow-up meeting would take place before the year end.

DP sources said the resolution to seek closer ties with the ANC had been taken after DP leader Zach de Beer left the DP conference They suspected he would not be "too happy" about the initiative.

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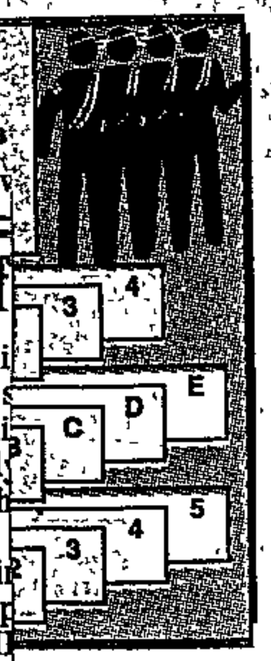

Communist Party planning township self-defence units

B/Day 31/10/90

ALAN FINE

THE SA Communist Party has published a detailed plan for the creation of township self-defence units designed "to protect the community and to ensure law and order".

A key section of the proposal yet to be finalised is the question of arming members of these units.

SACP interim leadership group member Chris Dlamini said yesterday he believed this issue had been raised at discussions of the government/ANC working group addressing questions arising from the ANC undertaking to suspend armed actions.

Dlamini said the plan, aspects of which were published in the latest edition of the party's newsletter, Umsebenzi, represented the SACP's contribution to a debate on the subject being discussed in all sections of the MDM — including the ANC, its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), youth groups and the trade unions.

The proposal argues that recent violence against township residents makes an "organised and disciplined force, guided by political leadership", a necessity.

The SACP argues its proposals are not out of line with SA practice generally.

Government permits Inkatha members to carry "cultural" weapons, and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok "tells the AWB with its military camps that there is nothing wrong with self-protection provided the commandos do not attack anyone . . . We do not intend to attack anyone."

The article details an example of a proposed structure for a township self-defence unit organised along para-military lines (see diagram). It also diagrammatically outlines the way different sections of a unit would be responsible for defending particular streets.

It envisages people with military skills, "such as MK ex-prisoners or reliable ex-policemen", playing a key role.

The proposal urges members of the MDM alliance to discuss their ideas with their communities to gain their acceptance beore self-defence committees are established.

Regarding the arming of volunteers, Dlamini said there was a debate within the SACP over whether the units should apply to the police for ordinary firearm licenses, or whether it should be demanded that government permit the use of MK weapons.

"Government's interpretation of the

☐ To Page 2

☐ From Page 1

Self-defence

B/Day 31/10/90

Pretoria Minute is that MK people should be disarmed. But some of us argue that this does not fall within the ambit of the agreement. We say only when a ceasefire is declared should both sides be disarmed," Dlamini explained.

He said this point was being discussed in the working group where the ANC delegation was led by MK and SACP leader Chris Hani.

The proposal stresses that unit members should be carefully selected volunteers. "Criminals and other unreliable elements" should be excluded and other potential recruits screened and checked by street committees to prevent infiltration by spies.

Recruits would have to undergo physical training, receive education on their role, and be trained to understand the needs of discipline.

Plan to halt train attacks

CAT Tabs 31/10/90

274

Crime Reporter

HIGH wire fences, turnstile control access to stations and police body searches are to be implemented by the railways following the recent spate of attacks and killings of commuters countrywide.

These measures were announced last night by Dr Koos Meyer, general manager, marketing, of the Johannesburg-based SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC) — the body which took over the railways in April.

He said the plan, however, would not reach Cape Town "for some months, at least".

In the meantime, Capetonians would have "to take responsibility for their own safety", though police and security guards would "be more alert than ever". Precautions will include the erection of high wire fences around major stations, and turnstiles, manned by attendants, to control access to trains. Police will assist with body searches and crime prevention on a 24-hour basis.

Meanwhile, Spoornet — contracted by the SARCC to run the railway service — announced last night that more than 70 cases of violent attacks on Cape Town commuters on suburban trains had been reported to it this year.

Spoornet spokeswoman Ms Yvette Olwage appealed to the public to report all incidents by phoning 080-021-0081 toll free, as this service had resulted in many arrests. About 67 rewards worth almost R17 000 had already been paid out, she added.

Dr Meyer said the security plans would start on Monday with a one-month pilot study of the Soweto line — "the worst hit in the country" — before being implemented in Cape Town and elsewhere.

Police spokesman Major Jan Calitz said there were 45 robberies, 13 thefts from passengers, 11 murders and 11 serious assaults reported on trains from January to September this year.

"In the Western Cape region there are 101 stations which we police and approximately 700 trains leave Cape Town station daily.

"Between January and September this year 617 people have been arrested on charges including robbery, murder, theft, assault and possession of dangerous weapons as well as firearms and ammunition."

He said more than 4 700 poeple were summonsed for drunkenness, drinking in public and other misdemeanours.

"We have been very successful when you take into acount the number of stations we have to police, as well as the number of trains we have to patrol," said Major Calitz.

CAPE TIMES 274

Tuesday, November 6 1990

Violence claims 29 lives

JOHANNESBURG. — Violence has claimed the lives of at least 29 people since last Thursday, police confirmed yesterday.

The highest death toll occurred in Bekkersdal on the West Rand, where at least 19 people were killed and many more injured, in a feud between Kgothalang High School pupils in the township.

Police said the fighting took place between two politically affiliated youth groups, one demanding a boycott of final year examinations and the other defending their right to write exams.

One faction, alleged to be an ANC/PAC alliance from the Mandela Park squatter camp, known as "Spook Town", were opposed to writing examinations, while pupils belonging to the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) were in favour of writing, police said.

"This has been going on for a long time but the fighting only broke out on November 1," police liaison officer for the West Rand Captain Henriette Bester said.

One youth was badly injured when he was stabbed by a group yesterday afternoon, she said.

She also reported incidents of stone-throwing and arson in Bekkersdal yesterday.

Since Thursday at least 10 houses had been burnt down in the continuing unrest.

A Bekkersdal resident who did not wish to be named denied examinations were the cause of the dissent. He said the fighting had begun in February when an Azasm member was killed. The ANC had retaliated and spasmodic attacks between the political groups had continued.

A "third force" in whose interest it was to continue the violence was responsible for the ongoing fighting. He was unable to identify the third force.

Another eight people were killed and many were wounded in Kutloanong township near Odendaalsrus on Sunday, in what is believed to be the result of clashes between rival taxi companies, police added.

People in houses in Block 7 of the township were shot and stabbed to death, when a group of men randomly attacked them about 2am on Sunday, police said.

Free State police spokesman Major Johan Fouche said police were investigating whether the eight deaths were linked to the fighting which had erupted between rival taxi groups last week, killing three people before Sunday.

● In Alexandra township, near Sandton, police found the body of a man who had been shot dead. Three people had also received serious bullet wounds.

● Another man was stabbed to death in the Natal township of Mganga Baboyi, police said.

● At Tembisa, near Kempton Park, a private dwelling was extensively damaged when it was set alight. — Sapa

Three burn to death in arson attack on home

PRETORIA. — Arsonists caused extensive damage to two schools and three people were burned to death when a gang of youths torched a house near Durban, according to the latest police unrest report.

Police said a primary school and a high school were set alight yesterday at Masibambane, Elliott. No injuries were reported.

At Inanda, outside Durban, two women and a man were burned to death when a group of youths set their house on fire.

In other incidents:

● At Atteridgeville, Pretoria, a group of youths stoned a police vehicle and one of them was arrested.

● A house and a shop were set alight at Bekkersdal, Westonaria, causing extensive damage. Police found a man with serious stab wounds;

● Youths stoned police vehicles at Tigane, Hartbeesfontein. A bus also was set alight. — Sapa.

ARGUS 7/11/90 (ZK)

Let's break our habit of violence with just laws

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W/Mail 9/11 - 15/11/90.

Violence is a way of life in South Africa. And to end this tragic habit this country needs material justice before we can live in peace. This is an extract from NADINE GORDIMER'S keynote address to the Weekly Mail Book Week

THERE is a lot of forgetting to do in South Africa.

Yet it should not begin before we face what we are in relation to what we wish to become. Progressive forces in our country are pledged to one of the extraordinary events in world social history: the complete reversal of everything that, for centuries, has ordered the lives of all our people, under all the successive governmental avatars of racism — conquest, colonialism, white republicanism — and has culminated, again and again, in violence.

We know we have to face the kind of legacy, in terms of human relations, apartheid is leaving us. There is, there will be, an aftermath which can't be tackled without majority rule under a Bill of Rights, but which won't evanesce because of these legal victories over oppression. Just as there are people physically maimed by the struggle between white power and black liberation, there is psychological, behavioural damage that all of us in South Africa have been subject to in some degree, whether we know it or not, whether we are whites who have shut eyes and electronically-controlled gates on what was happening to blacks, or whether we are blacks who have been transported and dumped where the government wished, tear-gassed and shot, detained, forced into exile or have left to join the liberation army which came into being when no other choice remained. Violence has become the South African way of life.

Violence has been with us a long, long time as a pure expression of racism. In its latest avatars, it is still surely a manipulation of that same racism: an end product of old colonialist ideas of divide and rule in the sophisticated Verwoerdian version of grab and rule — take the land and make kinglets of those given a backing of white government's power in ethnic enclaves. But more of that later.

Does violence imply hate? Personally, I'm prepared to say that hatred towards whites — and in the extreme conditions of racism in South Africa — has been and is rare among South African blacks Like you, I have lived here all my life, I have been in many situations where hate could have revealed itself, I have talked in open mood with many people, when we have been sober and when we have had our inhibitions loosened by a drink or two: I have seen and read much — and, yes, I've met bitterness, hard words, but hate — so unmistakable, so frightening, has not been there.

Hate kills. It is ugly to have to quantify deaths. But how many white civilians have been killed by black freedom fighters between 1990 and the time when the liberation movement resorted to arms in 1961?

Sixty-six.

The precise figure comes from no less an authority than Major-General Herman Stadler, given in August 1990.

The figure for black civilians killed by whites, beginning, if you like, with the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, runs into thousands; no one really knows how many, counting deaths in detention along with those brought about by direct police action.

But the habit of violence has been instilled, and this is a problem we know will be inherited by a new South Africa. The vocabulary of violence has become the common speech of both black and white.

Among whites, with the phenomenon of no less than 70 white extremist organisations (some consisting of a handful of people, others of considerable numbers) I would say that hate is the motive of violence. We have seen the disgusting banners these people hold up. We have heard the venom towards blacks shouted under the sign of a new version of the swastika.

But apart from this white minority, I believe destructive emotions among whites stop short of hate. For fear does not always go inextricably with hate. And the prevailing emotion among whites is fear; fear of retribution for all that has been done to blacks by whites' forefathers, by governments for whom they themselves have voted, for all that they themselves have done by their own actions and — for their silence, their turning away with closed eyes. Fear of losing privilege; if they can be convinced that they won't lose their lives, they yet see themselves about to be skinned of their privileges of being white. But subconsciously they understand hate as the useless emotion it is — even if this is understood only in terms of what it could do for them now: precisely nothing.

Much is made, in the outside world and at home, among those in opposition to real change or determined to manage it for their own ends, of cultural differences as a source of violence between blacks and whites in South Africa. But if we turn away from the obsession with group categories and the neglect of everyday, individual relationships upon which, in the end, human relationships depend, we find that ways of life, mores and manners, forced upon us by apartheid laws, down to the details of which toilet we could use, and, by custom, to the grading of butchers' meat between general cuts, "servants' meat" and "pets' meat" — these ways of life that we've been born to have created differences between black and white that are neither the product of any separate tradition, religion etc, nor a matter of ethnic temperament.

It is racist politics and laws which have caused morbid mutations, in favour of violence, in our behaviour. We must recognise this. Race has become a catch-all for every form of personal conflict, at home, in the work-place, in the street. All ordinary, individual human failings become attributable to the race of the culprit in societies where people are defined by colour. All of us, black and white, are caught out at some time in this kind of conditioned thinking. Part of the anxiety among whites to have minority rights — group rights — written into a new constitution despite (or in my view, in contradiction of) a Bill of Rights to guard the individual, comes from these morbid mutations which have come about among us. Whites surely need to realise that group rights would categorise them still within the dead apartheid structure, single them out, perpetuate the memory of racism and lead to the possibility of continuing violence?

The perceptions of others about violence in general in the contemporary world may give us some helpful perspectives. At a recent conference in Norway it became clear that we delegates fell into two distinct categories of priority in dealing with violent conflict. There were those subjectivists who believe that a spiritual change of heart is the basis of peaceful resolution, and those, the objectivists — among whom I numbered — who believe that the basis has to be just economic conditions. Vaclev Havel said violent hatred "... is a diabolical attribute of the fallen angel; a state of the spirit that aspires to be God, that may even think it is God, and cannot be". Love one another or perish. But can you love me while I have a full stomach and you are hungry? The American economist, John Kenneth Galbraith, said: "Hard, visible circumstance defines reality. Out of poverty comes conflict." And Elena Bonner said. "Moral concepts are lovely, but the key is governing things by just law."

I believe we must create material justice before we can hope to eliminate the kind of violence that has become a tragic habit in South Africa. Given that base, I believe there is a good chance of decent relations between black and black, black and white in our country, whatever languages they speak, whatever their ethnic origins may be. For I can think of no other country in Africa where, in spite of our extraordinary racism, a comparable proportion of people of all races have committed themselves to the black struggle for freedom, recognising it as their own. Now we need a politic that will nurture material justice before we can hope to live in peace.

Workers affected by the violence need business's aid

LLOYD VOGELMAN

BDay 9/11/90

DURING the violence that swept the Reef over the past two months, businesses started asking what they could do to reduce the violence and limit the psychological devastation their employees experienced.

The question remains relevant, for the violence has abated, not gone away. I have no doubt that in coming months we will see another upsurge as the contest for power increases and the recession bites deeper.

Business's contribution should ideally range from the political and socio-economic domain to programmes directed specifically at employees. The current political chaos makes it impossible to devise and implement national plans with long-term goals. Our practical work has short-term vision and involves crisis management.

To begin to move national reconstruction, a political settlement which safeguards democracy is required as quickly as possible. Business as an organised force is well placed actively to encourage this.

One practical reason violence has not plagued the workplace as it has the community is that conflict resolution in the labour sphere has been institutionalised relatively effectively. Unlike the political realm, the labour arena has two groups (employers and employees) who in most cases can deliver on their agreements and who have developed experience in negotiation.

This is distinct from the civic and political domain where negotiation politics is new, and where local level structures are often not strong enough to enforce accords. Since both business and trade unions have developed sound organisational and negotiation skills, they are well placed to assist community activists in these areas.

I am well aware of extreme caution within the business community in implementing specific programmes in the workplace, for fear of being labelled partisan by members of the workforce who belong to different political factions which may not have benefited from the assistance provided by a particular company.

Obviously if the risks are too great, the implementation of programmes is not feasible. However, assessment of the risks should not be intuitive; it requires extensive consultation with the relevant trade unions. The reason some companies get caught in the middle is because sufficient consultation has not taken place.

If business is to respond appropriately to the violence its employees face, it must educate itself about the nature of the violence and the circumstances that surround it. This should be done not only by reading newspapers but also through joint discussions with staff about social issues in the townships. Companies can establish joint monitoring teams with trade unions, which would also help foster a relationship of trust and common purpose with employee organisations.

Visiting townships is another means of obtaining information about the living experience of employees. It is refreshing to hear about the visit of a number of chief executives to hostels in the townships. The hostels were the breeding grounds or starting points for much of the violence, and they need to be converted into more comfortable living areas.

A prime difficulty individuals face when living in war zones is transport and travel. Venturing out may lead to loss of life; individuals fear going to work. At these times, the option of different pay systems needs to be explored. Instead of no work no pay, it may be possible for days off to be deducted from the employee's annual leave.

Flexibility about working hours, such as changing shift times, can lessen the anxiety workers have about coming to or returning from work. Several of the most bloody attacks in the past two months took place in the evening or in the early hours of the morning; different shift times may help in saving lives or avoiding injuries.

Living in communities saturated with violence is costly. It demands a change of living habits which adds to monthly expenses. Individuals may choose to take taxis, which are more expensive, rather than trains, which are less safe. Instead of buying in bulk from supermarkets and risking losing all their purchases, individuals may buy fewer items from stores which are more costly but closer to home.

Financial cost is felt in its most extreme form in damage to houses and their contents. Many employees have worked long and hard to purchase items of furniture, only to see them destroyed. Death too, is costly in SA — funeral charges are high. The provision of financial assistance to employees who have had houses damaged or have lost members of the family would go a long way to lessen the trauma that come with such losses.

Much can be done to assist victimised employees with medical, psychological and legal problems. Assistance for employees who have been permanently disabled in the violence would be pivotal in improving the quality of life for those who face long-term difficulties. Such measures also communicate to other members of the workforce that the company's concern with them extends beyond the scope of their physical capacity.

The provision of psychological counselling through, for example, the employment of a social worker would help decrease some of the psychological difficulties arising from the violence. Heightened stress can have a significant impact on the family; it leads to irritability, conflict and frequently to violence in the form of wife battery and child abuse.

On an individual level, sleep disturbance, appetite problems, concentration difficulties, anxiety about the welfare of the family and an obsession with developments in the townships are common. Counselling, as well as home visits by the social worker to employees would make a small contribution to dealing with some of these problems. Structured social support helps combat some of the long-term symptoms of extreme stress.

A psychological problem which impinges on the legal domain is the inability of victims to extract retribution. When retribution has occurred, it has frequently been informal. Necklacing has been one tragic example of the politics and psychology of revenge.

To foster the process of judicial retribution, black employees will need encouragement to report their victimisation, and they will want some results for their trouble. Business can promote this process by giving time off or by accompanying the victim in the reporting of an offence. When there is evidence of little progress in the police investigation, management needs to ask why.

Even if such a programme results in only a few offenders being apprehended, it makes two vital points: it tells employees that the company is sympathetic about their plight and their desire for retribution, and it tells the police that they are accountable and that lack of progress is acceptable only if they have exhausted their resources.

Temporary accommodation for workers who have lost homes or who are unable to return home, is another useful aid. Employees looking for more permanent accommodation need mattresses and a place to sleep.

Holding memorial services at the workplace for employees who have been killed provides an opportunity for workplace friends to mourn their loss. It again intimates that the company respects its employees beyond their working lives.

All these solutions have their problems, and their execution involves a lengthy and arduous process. However, the implementation of even a few is likely to make a positive contribution to working relationships. At a broader level they add value to human life — and in SA we can do with a lot more of that.

□ Vogelman is director for the Project for the Study of Violence at Wits University.

4 die as men fire on buses

PRETORIA. — Four people were killed and nine wounded when five men in a bakkie opened fire on passengers in two buses and a combi on the Vereeniging-Villiers road at the weekend.

One person died in Sebokeng on Saturday when two people in a bus on their way to Kwa-Maziza hostel were attacked with AK-47s.

Also in Sebokeng, police found the burnt body of a man.

At Enkalakala township, near Greytown, an unidentified man was shot.

And in Lingithothu in the Eastern Cape, a group petrol-bombed a bakery van. — Sapa

Mandela repeats call for more mass action

CAPT Times 12/11/90

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela has reiterated his call for intensified mass action, saying such action would continue until the government instituted structures to address the complaints of the disenfranchised.

But he also stressed his organisations's commitment to an end to violence. "We cannot afford to see South Africa sliding into a Lebanon," he said on Saturday.

"Mass action is a fundamental principle of democracy to be enjoyed by all, even those with the vote."

Mr Mandela added that the government should be held responsible for the chaotic consequences of recent mass action. He said the principle was exercised in many parts of the world, including the US and Britain.

Mr Mandela told reporters after his return from an 18-day overseas fund-raising tour that the ANC remained committed to ending violence.

He said that in addition to the joint ANC/Inkatha Central committee on violence, the ANC had set up a sub-committee of the NEC, which included Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr John Nkadimeng and Mrs Gertrude Shope.

He said a recent meeting between the ANC and Inkatha on the violence was mutually postponed by both parties. The ANC was now addressing the recent clashes between ANC and Azapo supporters in Bekkersdal.

On his failure to secure aid from Japan, Mr Mandela said the explanations by Japan for its inability to assist the ANC were acceptable to his organisation.

He argued, on the retention of sanctions : "Sanctions will remain in place because we are still far from obtaining the objectives for which they were imposed."

He repeated that certain sectors of the economy — the mines, fincancial institutions and monopolies — would be nationalised. He said, however, the economy clause of the Freedom Charter was made many years ago and the ANC would not be dogmatic about it.

Asked if the ANC would enter into a coalition government with another party, he said if the people favoured a coalition then their democratic view would hold.

The failure of the joint government/ANC working group on the armed struggle to make any significant progress at a meeting on Friday has also fuelled fears that the negotiation process is stalling. — Own Correspondents, UPI and Sapa-Reuter

Mandela, FW to have talks soon

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo will return to South Africa on December 14, deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Mr Mandela also announced that he would meet President F W de Klerk on November 27 during which, he said, they would hopefully "cover a number of issues", in particular the question of the violence in the country. The meeting, he said, was at Mr De Klerk's request.

"Mr De Klerk has pre-empted me because I had planned to meet him soon to avail the third summit between the government and the ANC," he said.

Mr Mandela said the purpose of Mr Tambo's visit was to attend the ANC's national consultative conference in December. The conference, probably to be held two days after Mr Tambo's arrival, will be be the first inside the country in 30 years.

Mr Mandela said he met Mr Tambo during his recent trip to the East, Australia, Britain and France. He said the ANC president had made an encouraging recovery and that he (Mr Tambo) would visit some African states on Wednesday. — Sapa

Khayelitsha firebombs — three more injured

Weed 16/11/90 (274)

Staff Reporter and Sapa

THREE people have been injured in petrol-bomb attacks on two vehicles in Khayelitsha.

Thus, in three days, 17 have been injured by firebombers.

Nine Lingeletu West Town Council clerical staff and five others were injured when a car and a minibus collided on Wednesday after a petrol bomb was thrown through the minibus windscreen.

Two people have died and three injured in shooting incidents in the township this week.

● Police found the body of a man with stab wounds at the Zongizizwe squatter camp near Germiston, according to the unrest report.

At Tembiza in Kempton Park a home was attacked with petrol bombs and an AK 47. Two women and two men were injured.

At Wembezi in Natal four men fired shots at a home with a 9mm pistol, killing a man. In another incident a home was attacked and a man was killed with "sharp instruments", said the report.

Mr Mandela

Dr Naude

Mandela accuses FW in row over demos

Cape Times 16/11/90

274

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela last night accused President F W de Klerk and his government of trying to prepare public opinion for a "violation" of civil rights.

Speaking to the Foreign Correspondents' Association, Mr Mandela hit at government criticism of the ANC's strategy of mass demonstrations.

While the media's freedom of speech was recognised, the same could not be said of the people's right to assemble, hold meetings, processions and stage mass demonstrations.

"After close on three decades during which these rights were trampled underfoot by the SA state, there are signs that De Klerk and his colleagues are attempting to prepare public opinion for their violation."

Mr Mandela said it was accepted that extra-parliamentary and parliamentary activites constituted an interface that was essential for the unfolding of democratic politics.

As the rift between the government and the ANC widened, Dr Beyers Naude, former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, yesterday warned of serious consequences for South Africa if it was not resolved.

He referred to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee's statement that the ANC's Western Cape "mass mobilisation" campaign seemed to "be a ploy to derail negotiations".

He said the impasse showed an "alarming lack of communication or difference in understanding between the government and the ANC".

He was "especially concerned" about the mood among young unemployed blacks, many of whom believed meaningful change was "deliberately being blocked".

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said the government should allow demonstrations. When police kept a low profile, they nearly always went off without problems.

"Then the onus is on the organizations to ensure that they enjoy their democratic right without encroaching on the rights of others," he said.

● ANC hits back — Page 2

Mass protests go on — ANC

CNA Times 17/11/90

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC-organised mass action is to continue despite government demands that the organisation halts its nationwide mass mobilisation campaign, ANC spokesman Mr Sakie Macozoma said yesterday.

Following the launch of the ANC mobilisation campaign in the Western Cape, marches have been planned by the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal in several Transvaal towns this weekend.

Mr Macozoma was yesterday quoted in in the Afrikaans neswpaper Beeld, reacting to a statement by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, in which the minister condemned the Western Cape campaign as a ploy to derail negotiations.

The Western Cape ANC called for pickets to be held and a march on the Ikapa Town Council on Thursday to hand over a list of of demands.

Mass action was the only method through which the people could express their grievances, Mr Macozoma said, adding that mass action planned in the Western Cape was in keeping with ANC policy.

The ANC mass mobilisation campaign is expected to be a focal point of discussion during the next meeting in Pretoria of the joint government/ANC working group. The campaign is a major point of disagreement currently being discussed by the working group.

The issue could be high on the agenda of the ANC's National Executive Committee meeting which began on Thursday and which was expected to end yesterday. — Sapa

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Sponsoring Brokers

Davis Borkum Hare

Surge in unrest claims — Sasria

MARITZBURG — Unrest-related insurance claims have increased tenfold over the past two years to more than R200m in 1990, figures released by SA Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria) show.

Insurance claims paid and outstanding totalled R260m during 1989 and 1990, up from R12m in 1987 and R16m in 1988, Sasria MD Rodney Schneeberger said.

Bfpam 19/11/90 Reef 274

"Parties in Natal put in the second-biggest total claim of R51m this year and last year, exceeded only by Ciskei with R86m. "Claims for R32m came from the Reef, R35m from Port Elizabeth and R5m from Bophuthatswana," he said.

"Pending strike-related claims amount to an additional R50m," Schneeberger said.

It has been estimated that violence has cost SA more than R3bn this year.

Latest claims figures show that less than 10% of the damage was covered by Sasria. — Sapa.

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B Pars 19/11/90 (274) Reef

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Death toll rises to two

City centre street-war 'avoidable'

Attack from above . A policeman points at a suspected assailant after various missiles were thrown at troops and police from blocks of flats and rooftops during Saturday's clash in Johannesburg Picture David Sandison

Staff Reporters

Johannesburg City Council management committee chairman Ian Davidson has sharply criticised the authorities for the bloody outbreak of violence that saw pitched battles between flat residents, protest marchers and police lasting several hours in Johannesburg's city centre on Saturday

The death toll has risen to two after an injured person died in hospital

About 20 people, including passersby, hawkers, policemen and a traffic officer, were injured in the fighting

Said Mr Davidson last night "It was totally unnecessary and the bloodshed could have been avoided"

However police have blamed the ANC-backed Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (CAST)

SAP spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said last night "Blame for what happened rests squarely with CAST and their supporters It is more than obvious that certain leaders and organisations cannot control their supporters — it would seem that the demonstrators controlled the leaders"

Late on Friday afternoon, Johannesburg's chief magistrate refused permission for the march after the City Council had given the go-ahead to CAST

Mr Davidson maintained that the period of notice banning the march had been totally inadequate

"The city council gave CAST permission to hold the march on Monday, well before it was to take place, but the magistrate informed the organisers of his decision only at 4 15 pm on Friday

"If the magistrate believed the march would create problems, the least he could have done was communicate his refusal well in advance

"And the gathering was given only five minutes to disperse, which was totally inadequate," he added

Worrying

Sam Ntuli, general secretary of CAST, said last night "It was very unfair of the magistrate to refuse permission for the march and to tell us only at 4 15 pm on Friday after we had timeously gone through correct channels"

Actstop general secretary Pressage Nkosi claimed last night that people had been shot in taxis and on their way to the march

"We have instructed the ANC to reconsider its stand on the armed struggle The ANC and the MK are the only ones who can protect us," Mr Nkosi said

Captain Opperman said it had been established that petrol bombs had been "available" to demonstrators "It seems as if they were prepared — this is worrying"

He denied that police had adopted a hard-line approach toward mass marches in recent months Laws had to be adhered to and upheld

Police had afforded the marchers a reasonable time to disperse peacefully. The demonstrators refused and the SAP used teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse the crowd

The demonstrators regrouped on several occasions, thus forcing the SAP to take further action, added Captain Opperman

During many of these incidents, bottles, objects and petrol bombs were thrown at the police Nine SAP vehicles had been damaged

The crowd — estimates range from between 300 and 2 000 people, was one of several that gathered on Saturday to protest against local black authorities The marches came amid a growing row between the ANC and the Government over mass protest action

In Germiston and Cape Town legal marches went off peacefully

trate refused permission for ANC and the MK are the peacefully

Star 19/11/90 (274)

14 die in nationwide unrest

Staff Reporter

Fourteen people died and 17 people were injured in violence that involved battles between police and protesters, petrol bombings, and attacks on policemen and their homes throughout the country at the weekend.

A man allegedly on his way to an Inkatha rally in Soweto yesterday was shot dead by unknown gunmen.

Seven of the deaths occurred in Natal, the police unrest report said.

Six people were killed and one was injured when four men opened fire on Mthethwa residents on Friday.

At Wembezi, a man was killed when a group of people opened fire.

At Zonkziswe, near Germiston, police found a man's bullet-riddled body.

At Nkelethu, Barkly East, a mob stoned a policeman's vehicle and attacked his home. Police retaliated and one man was killed and another injured.

In Atteridgeville near Pretoria, a petrol bomb extensively damaged a shop.

One man died, another was seriously burnt and scores of people were left homeless yesterday when 24 tents, two houses and three shacks were razed in violence in Crossroads, near Cape Town.

The dead man has not been identified.

● Four men were shot and killed at the Merafe Hostel in Soweto in separate incidents on Saturday night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said a man from Natal apparently arrived at the hostel earlier in the evening. He shot and killed two people. A short while later, the man was shot and killed and later a fourth man was shot dead.

'Political' death toll reaches new high

BIP:my 20/4/90 (274)

Business Day Reporter

TEN people were killed in politial violence every day this year, making 1990's "political" death toll by far the worst, the SA Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

Releasing its latest political fatalities statistics, the institute said the 1990 toll was three times that of last year.

In the first 10 months of this year, 3 038 people died in political violence. This was an average of 10 a day, compared to 3,25 for the same period last year.

The institute said between September 1984, when the present cycle of violence first erupted, and the end of last month, the total number of fatalities was 8 577.

It said "1990 alone already accounts for more than a third of all the people killed in political violence over this six-year period".

Security forces accounted for most of the political fatalities when violence first erupted, but this had now changed.

Conflict within the black community continues to be the main source of casualities and conflict between the ANC/UDF/Cosatu camp and the Inkatha/KwaZulu group had been the largest single source of fatalities over the past three months.

Fatalities outside Natal to rose to 46% of the total this year compared with 10% in the first 10 months last year.

3 000 killed this year in 'grimmest violence'

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG — More than 3 000 people have died this year in the worst spate of political violence, says the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Commenting on its latest report on political fatalities, released in Johannesburg yesterday, the institute said the 1990 death toll was "by far the grimmest".

In the first 10 months of this year 3 038 people died in political violence, an average of 10 each day.

This figure dwarfs the daily average of 3,25 deaths over the comparative period last year.

The report noted that between September 1984, when the present cycle of violence erupted, and the end of last month the total number of fatalities was 8 577.

It said: "1990 alone already accounts for more than a third of all the people killed in political violence over this six-year period."

Whereas most political fatalities resulted from the actions of the security forces in the early stages of the conflict, clashes within the black community now accounted for most casualties.

Violence 'beyond the levels society able to tolerate'

By Al-Ameen Kafaar

The removal of racial barriers can now be used more positively to focus on the socio-economic issues of poverty and disadvantage which face our society, says the chairman of the Urban Foundation A M Rosholt.

In his annual statement Mr Rosholt said the foundation had responded to the new open environment by seeking more involvement from community leaders in its decision-making.

Far wider interaction with political groupings resulted in communities viewing the foundation as a valuable resource, not only in the project field but also in its policy fields.

"The past year has also seen violence escalate within the black urban communities. As SA struggles towards a non-racial democracy, the country had to expect conflicts between different groups of people.

"However, the viciousness of this recent violence goes way beyond what society can tolerate — and requires that all leaders commit themselves beyond rhetoric to a peaceful transition."

It was critical to develop a tolerance for other people's views and a mode of settling differences peacefully and through democratic processes.

The violence had very negative consequences for the foundation he added, in particular for their housing utility companies in Natal, OFS Goldfields and the East Rand.

The progress on a number of education programmes had been thwarted.

10 a day die as unrest toll rockets

CAPE TIMES 20/11/90 274

Political Staff

THE death toll from political violence in South Africa was the grimmest ever this year with an average of 10 people killed every day, the SA Institute of Race Relations said yesterday.

In the comparative period last year, 3,25 people died a day, the institute said in a report on the latest political fatalities.

In the first 10 months, 3 038 died in political violence — an average of 10 a day.

Between September 1984, when the present cycle of violence first erupted, and the end of last month, 8 577 were killed.

More than a third of the victims over the six-year period died in 1990 alone.

Whereas security forces had accounted for most of the fatalities at first, they now accounted for a relatively small proportion of the deaths, the institute said.

"Conflict within the black community continues to be the main source of casualities."

In the past three months, conflict between the ANC/UDF/Cosatu camp and the Inkatha/KwaZulu camp had been the largest single source of deaths, while the second-largest was conflict between ANC and Labour Party supporters in the Eastern Cape.

A major feature of this year's violence was the rise in fatalities outside Natal.

Last year only 10% of deaths were outside Natal but this had risen to 46%.

"On a comparative basis, there has thus been an increase of more than 1 200%," the institute said.

Lawless element threatens SA, says Solidarity leader

(274) Sowetan 22/11/90

THE black-on-black violence currently endemic in South Africa could dwarf even the worst of what apartheid violence did to South African society, Dr JN Reddy, the leader of Solidarity, told his party's congress in Durban at the weekend.

Reddy said he was deeply concerned about the level of violence in the country, including total disrespect for the law and the increases in robberies and thefts.

"There is an element of lawlessness that threatens the security of the individual and destabilises society," he said.

Reddy said the relative strengths of political groups would not be determined by the number of people who were killed by any group.

"The true test of a democratic system, to which all groups are supposedly aspiring, is through the polls."

Urgent

He said an urgent priority for the Government was to assemble all relevant political parties who were committed to negotiations, for the constitution they produced would be the product of discussion and compromise and would thus be legitimate.

"If we fail to address the realities of South African society, perceived or otherwise, we will plunge society into chaos and instability and we will be no better off than at present." - *Sowetan Correspondent*

SA's marathon of violence

Violence, largely in townships, has claimed 10 lives a day this year. HELEN GRANGE reports on the causes and possible solutions.

SOUTH Africa's political reform, which began with the State President's February 2 watershed announcements, has brought with it an unprecedented marathon of violence.

The latest political death toll statistics, released by the Institute of Race Relations, put the count of fatalities at a shocking average of nearly 10 a day. Some 3 038 people died in political violence in the first 10 months of this year.

Although there was a relative lull after the carnage on the Reef which broke out in August, township massacres are again making headlines.

The reasons for the original spate of killings — and its subsequent continuation — are many. The solution to the problem seems no less complex.

According to Lloyd Vogelman, director of the Project on the Study of Violence at Wits University, various factors have contributed to the continuation of mass violence.

"The original rash of killings, which claimed about 50 lives a day at the end of August, created immense resentment and frustration. The result is a higher potential for further violence.

"With large-scale violence, there is a general breakdown in law and order — and a lack of confidence in the police. Individuals become more confident of their ability to take the law into their own hands and the fear of punishment is diminished," he said.

There was also a decrease in the reporting of specific incidences of violence and thus less potential for prosecution.

Another factor was the heightened sense of expectation among certain groups, which had still not been met.

"Certain groups are experiencing frustration because of their perception of others benefiting from the improved political situation. In these communities, violence becomes a quick and acceptable form of resolution," Mr Vogelman said.

Access to firearms — licenced and unlicenced — had had a further significant influence on fatalities. Informal trading of firearms in the townships was rife, and automatic weapons were used in many offences.

In the South African political scenario, there was no history of democratic institutionalisation of violence — through parliament and the courts. There was little confidence in these institutions among blacks.

Mr Vogelman said this lack of institutionalisation was also experienced among black political organisations like the ANC. While the ANC had enormous popular support, it was weak in terms of local grassroots structures. Individuals developed their own sense of power and the situation became anarchic.

Police have attributed recent high fatality rates to black-on-black conflict, which began in earnest since the reform process started.

Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, said that prior to February 2, violence was directed largely against the State. "Security force action accounted for a large number of deaths, but that has changed.

"There is no need for the State to defend itself now, and hence the drop in security force induced casualties. There is now a jockeying for position between black organisations on the political chessboard.

The only remedy is for these groupings to talk out their political differences, he said.

Captain Kotze said the police faced a real difficulty in administering law and order in the face of such large-scale violence. "When groupings of people attack their enemies, even the largest law enforcement organisation is hard put to stop the killings."

Statistics from the Human Rights Commission show that security force action has accounted for fewer and fewer violent incidents in recent months.

In July there were 147 police actions and 72 "vigilante" actions (actions by political or tribal groups). In August, there were 102 police actions and 90 vigilante actions. By September, combined SADF and police actions counted 69 as against 72 vigilante actions.

Last month, there were 44 combined police and SADF actions and 55 vigilante actions.

However, the Human Rights Commission maintains that hit-squad action is a factor in the violence, despite findings in recent commissions of inquiry that hit squads do not exist.

Right-wing violent activity was also on the increase. □

10 killed every day over politics

TEN people are killed every day in South Africa in political violence, the South African Institute of Race Relations said in Johannesburg on Monday.

Releasing its latest political fatalities statistics, the institute said the 1990 death toll was "by far the grimmest ever".

In the first 10 months of this year, 3 038 people had died in political violence. This was an average daily rate of 10, against a figure of 3,25 for the comparative period last year.

Sowetan 21/11/90

Total

The institute said that between September 1984, when the present cycle of violence first erupted, and the end of last month, the total number of fatalities was 8 577.

"1990 alone already accounts for more than a third of all the people killed in political violence over these six years."

Whereas security forces accounted for most of the political fatalities when violence first erupted, the position had soon changed, the institute said.

In the last three months, conflict between the broad ANC/UDF/Cosatu camp and the Inkatha/kwaZulu camp had been the largest single source of fatalities, while the second largest was conflict between ANC and Labour Party supporters in the Eastern Cape. *Sapa.*

Military truck hits, kills man

A 27-YEAR-OLD man died at Kalafong Hospital after being knocked down by a military truck in Atteridgeville last Sunday.

Mr Godfrey Mabena, of Saulsville, died hours after the funeral of two youths - Lucky Patlane (19) and Prince Makhoba (9) - who were both shot by police.

Mr Johannes Maphoka (54) was seriously injured after being shot by four policemen on Saturday.

Mrs Rose Mabena told *Sowetan* yesterday that

By MONK NKOMO

her nephew was knocked down at the corner of Ramokgopa and Mhlanga streets about 3.15pm.

He was rushed to the hospital but died a few hours later.

Family

A spokesman for lawyers representing the Mabena family said they may take legal action.

An SADF spokesman in Pretoria yesterday confirmed the incident and said a military board of inquiry would investigate the matter.

The Atteridgeville\Saulsville Residents Organisation yesterday condemned the activities of security forces which have allegedly claimed three lives in the township in a week.

"It is clear the security forces are not interested in the maintenance of law and order but are actually promoting conflict," Mr John Ramatsui, Asro's publicity secretary, said.

Mrs Mabena said her nephew would probably be buried on Saturday.

He is survived by his wife Glory, and a five month-old son, Siphiwe.

Flat rate for Reef township

Sowetan 21/11/90

By DON SEOKANE

THE Vosloorus Council has announced that residents would be charged a flat rate for services over November and December.

Mayor of Vosloorus Mr MM Sinokela said wired houses would be charged R40 for electricity and R20 for other municipal services.

He said negotiations between the council and the Vosloorus Civic Association ended in deadlock so the council decided to introduce interim flat rates.

Meanwhile, Katlehong residents have been without water since Sunday after a water pipe burst.

Katlehong mayor Mr MacDonald Mhlana said the pipe was being repaired and the water supply would resume today.

3 000 died violently this year

Sowetan 21/11/90

274

MORE than 3 000 people have died this year in the country's worst ever political violence, the South African Institute of Race Relations has announced.

Commenting on its latest report on political fatalities released yesterday, the institute said the 1990 death toll was "the grimmest ever".

In the first 10 months of the year 3 038 people died in political violence, an average of 10 a day.

This dwarfs the daily average of 3,25 deaths over the same period last year.

The report noted that between September 1984 - when the present cycle of violence first erupted - and the end of last month, 8 577 had died.

More than a third of those killed died this year.

Whereas most fatalities had resulted from security force action in the early stages of the conflict, clashes within the black community now accounted for most casualties.

Renewed fighting at the weekend claimed 40 lives - including 19 men killed at Zonk'izizwe on the East Rand and two policemen shot in Port Elizabeth.

The bodies of Sergeant Johan Gerber (21) and Constable Cornelius de Wet (22) and an unidentified man were found in Zwide on Monday. - *Sapa*.

ANC announces 'mass action'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is to embark on a mass action campaign in a bid to force the government to speed up the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

The launch of the new campaign comes amid increasing tension between the government and the ANC over the organisation's continued commitment to "mass mobilisation".

Announcing the new campaign, the chairman of the ANC's PWV region, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, said it would be launched by the staging of marches through Johannesburg and Pretoria on December 6. This would be followed by other forms of "mass action", he said.

● **'ANC policies put off investors' — Page 2**

Suggesting ways to end violence

Sowetan 22/11/90

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SIR - Our deep feeling of grief and lament at the continued and even worsening state of violence in our country, obliges us to suggest and recommend ways to achieve national reconciliation.

It is necessary that a Council for National Reconciliation be established.

The purpose and objectives are:

*To stem the tide of black on black violence;

*To encourage our people to resolve their differences through dialogue;

*To preserve life and to avoid intimidation, threats and violence;

*To promote tolerance and build consensus and to observe and apply the democratic principle;

*To promote dignity and respect; and

*To find and encourage common ground to foster co-operation among the organisations.

The core of the council will be drawn from the executive officials of our political, labour, student, business, professional and community organisations.

The chairperson's position will be held on a rotating basis.

The chairperson will stand down temporarily if matters affecting his / her organisation are under discussion.

There will be a secretariat to implement the day-to-day functions of the council.

It will create directorates, or committees, for planning and priorities, research and finance and expenses.

The Council of Reconciliation is not a political organisation.

It will not foster mergers, alliances or coalitions.

This will help the council to maintain an unbiased position on all matters.

It will studiously avoid endless and counter-productive accusations.

We speak on behalf of the Community of South Africans / Azanians for National Reconciliation (Canada).

L PAYNTER (The Rev)
P MADIKIZA
H MOGADIME
Toronto, Canada

274

Tutu peace summit in city

By DALE KNEEN w/t ARGUS 24/11/90 CAPE
Weekend Argus Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's summit of all major black political groups is to take place in Cape Town next week.

The African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha and the homeland leaders have been invited to Thursday's summit to hammer out a joint strategy on negotiations.

Some of the organisations have already indicated they would be attending and confirmation from others was still expected.

Archbishop Tutu's Press secretary, Mr John Allen, said he could not release the names of those who had said they would be at Bishopscourt next week.

"I am not willing to speculate about who will be attending the summit and who will not," he said.

Inkatha's Freedom Party has already stated it would advise its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to decline Archbishop Tutu's invitation.

Inkatha invited the archbishop to clearly state whether he thought Chief Buthelezi was an "enemy of unity, peace and liberation".

The clergyman had suggested this was the way people would judge leaders who declined to attend the meeting, said Inkatha.

Mr Allen was not able to confirm if Chief Buthelezi had informed the archbishop of plans to decline the invitation.

PAC attending

A representative from the ANC would be attending the summit, said ANC spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada.

However, he was unable to confirm if ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela would attend.

Asked what the ANC hoped would be achieved at the summit, Mr Kathrada said: "I am unable to say what they are hoping for at this point."

The PAC was also attending the summit but still had to decide who their representative would be, a PAC spokesman said.

10 killed in unrest, SAP reports

PRETORIA. — Ten people have died violently in unrest, police report.

The bullet-riddled body of a man was found at Montana near Wolseley in the Boland.

Two men were found shot dead at Tembisa near Kempton Park and another two at Dunnottar, Springs.

At Katlehong, Germiston, a man was stabbed and hacked to death while at Table Mountain outside Maritzburg two men died and one was injured in a gunbattle between opposing factions.

BIRDSHOT

One man was killed by birdshot when police moved in after a hostel was stoned at Jouberton, near Klerksdorp. A man was later found stabbed to death.

At Khayelitsha a house was damaged in an arson attack while at Engelbrecht Camp near Elandsbaai on the West Coast a car was destroyed when it was set alight. In the same area a cafe was looted and extensively damaged.

A car was extensively damaged in a stoning at Kuils River. — Sapa.

Star 26/4/90 (274)

Unrest is keeping the investor away – Louw

By Stan Hlophe

Foreign investors were reluctant to put their money in South Africa because of industrial unrest, Minister of Manpower Eli Louw said at the weekend.

Speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Louw said the anti-apartheid and sanctions lobbies against South Africa were no longer valid since the speech by President de Klerk in February.

But industrial unrest meant foreign investors were cautious.

He said there were now no reasons for disinvestment in South Africa. But he warned that talk about nationalisation and socialism would also scare off potential investors.

He also urged the private sector to create employment.

"Growth in job opportunities, in the final analyis, depends on the rate of economic growth in the country. South Africa's economic momentum will have to come mainly from exporting manufactured goods.

"For a firm or industry to become more competitive, management must be trained in productivity techniques.

"They must know how to measure productivity in co-operation with workers, and they must know how to develop teams of excellence in which management and workers work towards higher productivity.

"If more wealth has been created through higher productivity, the created benefits should be shared in three ways: the owners of capital should get a part in the form of higher profits, the customer should get a part in the form of lower prices, and the worker should get a share in the form of higher wages," he said.

Star 26/11/90

Union, Chamber in move to end violence

Staff Reporter

The Chamber of Mines and the National Union of Mineworkers made a joint commitment at a meeting last week to do everything in their power to stop mine violence.

Following recent incidents of inter-group violence on mines in northern Natal, the Chamber and the NUM held a meeting where the parties unconditionally rejected violence on the mines and agreed to take steps to prevent it.

Earlier this year, after inter-racial violence erupted in Welkom, the Chamber and employee organisations established a forum to look into the causes of the violence and possible ways of eradicating it.

The Chamber and the National Union of Mine Workers agreed on:

- The absolute and unconditional rejection of such violence, whatever its source or motivation on mine property.
- To do everything in their power to prevent the recurrence of violence.
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SA may have new riot force

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE feasibility of establishing a new paramilitary riot force — not linked to the police — is being investigated.

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The study, first mentioned in the overseas publication Africa Confidential, stems from concern in government over the perception of the police as a partial, political instrument and a bastion of white conservatism.

As a result anti-crime and unrest operations, particularly in townships, are often seen as acts of political repression.

The soldiers of misfortune

One disturbing sign of the growing militarisation of the South African society is the alarming growth of "private armies", writes Argus Correspondent ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE from Johannesburg.

"AN unarmed Boer is a dead Boer," goes a catchy right-wing slogan.

But there is disturbing evidence that — despite high hopes of the "new" South Africa — growing numbers of South Africans across the political spectrum seem to believe that an unarmed man is a dead man.

In recent months, ironically since the government and the ANC have started talks, there has been a massive build-up of weapons inside the country.

Those who are physically, logistically and emotionally preparing themselves for confrontation range from individuals to organisations across the political spectrum

The security firm industry and private arms dealers experience a boom, as individuals seek to secure their property and lives.

War talk

And on the political front, war talk from both the extreme left and right has made nonsense of the general optimism that a political settlement might soon be reached.

The registrar of the Board for Security Officers, Frans Lubbe, estimates the number of registered private security firms at between 3 000 and 4 000, representing 100 000-plus private security officers who make a living from patrolling and securing properties, installing alarm systems and safes, and transporting valuables between destinations.

Police statistics of registered weapons show that 123 415 new licenses were issued last year, bringing the total number of registered licences to almost 2,9-million.

The number of unlicensed weapons is anyone's guess. Last year, 7 760 weapons were reported missing, and less than half of those (3 678) were recovered.

Potentially more explosive are the number of politically-motivated armies, collecting arms and training "soldiers" for some expected bloodbath if — and in some cases even if not — peaceful negotiations break down.

The accompanying graphic, which does not claim to be comprehensive, gives a broad indication of the extent of private armies which for the purposes of this article are defined as any group of people which operates in a vigilant or aggressive capacity. It thus excludes the official state security machine embodied in the SADF and SAP

The graphic encompasses the most prominent groups which are believed to be active. Groups have been categorised merely for clarity's sake, since little information is available on their exact nature due to secrecy.

Private armies range from shadowy sub-divisions within the official state machinery — such as the Civil Co-operation Bureau and "kitskonstabels" — to neighbourhood watch schemes and street and area committees in the townships

Gangs

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, believes a new category is emerging — armed groups which do not necessarily report to any political organisation, and criminal gangs which are increasingly using weapons such as AK47s for non-political crime such as bank robberies.

One expert who has tried to estimate the number of "soldiers" under the command of the main para-military groups is political risk consultant Wim Booyse.

He believes the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe may have about 22 000 members — 6 000 outside the country's borders, 6 000 trained soldiers within the country and an additional 10 000 "marshalls' who mainly play a preventative role but could be used as a "rapid deployment force".

The Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has an estimated 1 200 members and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania's military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, about 250 trained men

His estimate of right-wingers under the command of para-military organisations range from 12 000 to a maximum of 45 000.

Even less is known about emerging private armies in the homelands, apparently being deployed to protect their governments as the homeland system nears collapse and black political parties vie for power.

Impis

Inkatha's "impis" are regarded by many organisations as a separate force which could be linked to the KwaZulu security forces.

In Gazankulu, a secret army is said to be trained in guerilla warfare tactics and armed combat It is reportedly linked to the cultural movement Ximoko Xa Rixaka which is led by the homeland's leader, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi.

And in KwaNdebele, the Parsons Commission into the 1986 violence in the homeland has found that hundreds of people have lost their lives at the hands of the notorious Mbokotho vigilante group.

Since February, right-wing groups have mushroomed. Their command structures are vague and many groups seem to either overlap or have members who are active in more than one organisation.

Experts believe many of the organisations which have claimed responsibility for the recent spate of arms thefts and acts of violence probably don't really exist.

Commented Mr Booyse "Between July and August this year, some 50 telephone calls have been made to newspapers claiming that the Wit Kommando has been responsible for acts of violence. But there is no evidence that this organisation exists.

"It is impossible to make any sense out of the right-wing organisations. Some seem to have as few as three members who operate on an ad hoc basis. They are nothing but a few lunatics who have organised themselves into some Trompie-style gang.

"But other armies are believed to run into thousands. Of considerable force seem to be the AWB's Wenkommando and the Boerestaat Party's military wing, the Boere Weerstandsbeweging."

In a detailed document on extreme right-wing organisations, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression says militant extra-parliamentary groups which have shot to prominence since President De Klerk's February 2 speech range from relatively harmless intellectual think-tanks to "shadowy, ultra-militant "armies" intent on urban terrorism and, ultimately, a "Third Freedom Struggle" for the Afrikaner".

The Board says the biggest obstacle in the way of a concerted right-wing terror campaign might be the fact that the political Right is broken up into so many disparate groups, mainly due to personality clashes and power struggles.

"Also, it should be kept in mind that cross-organisational affiliations are rife, and that individuals might support a parliamentary party such as the Conservative Party in an election, claim membership of the AWB, and commit deeds in the name of the Wit Wolwe," the Board says.

Other right-wingers, incensed by the legalisation of black protest marches through town centres, have organised themselves into armed neighbourhood watches. Most prominent among these is Blanke Veiligheid in Welkom

Mr Booyse believes some of these vigilante groups fall under the command of political organisations, while others could easily be "hijacked" by the politicos.

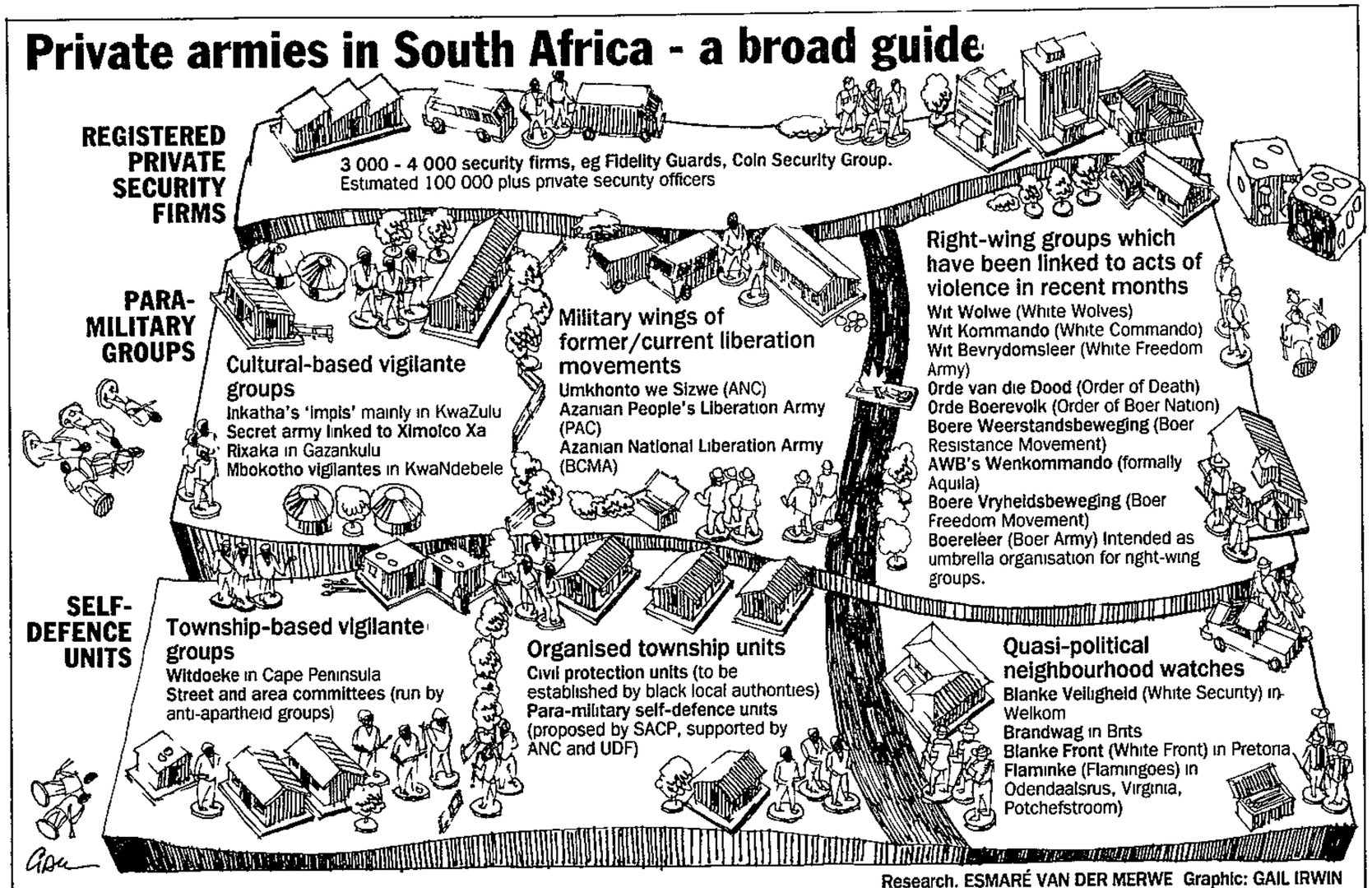
Professor Hough stresses that while many neighbourhood watch schemes are becoming increasingly militarised, others have no ulterior political motive and merely act as protectors of property and preventors of crime.

Another area of potential conflict is between "self-defence units" in particularly the townships.

Concerned about continuing state violence against political activists, and in an apparent attempt to pacify radicals who are disillusioned with the ANC's suspension of the "armed struggle", the SACP has proposed the establishment of para-military self-defence units This concept has been endorsed by the ANC and the UDF.

On the other hand, the state has sanctioned the creation civil protection units under the authority of embattled black local authorities. This could lead to major conflict in the volatile townships.

Private armies in South Africa - a broad guide



Research. ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

Star 27/11/90 274

Joint effort to curtail mine violence

Staff Reporter

The Chamber of Mines and the National Union of Mineworkers made a joint commitment at a meeting last week to do everything in their power to stop mine violence.

In a joint press statement, the chamber and the NUM expressed grave concern about the high level of violence on mines.

Following recent incidents of inter-group violence on certain mines in northern Natal, the chamber and the NUM held a meeting at which the parties unconditionally rejected violence on the mines and agreed to take steps to prevent it.

Prevent

Earlier this year, after inter-racial violence erupted in Welkom, the Chamber of Mines and employee organisations in the industry established a forum to look into the causes of the violence and possible ways of ending it.

At last week's meeting, the parties agreed on the following:

- The absolute and unconditional rejection of such violence, whatever its source or motivation, on mine property.
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10 shot and hacked to death in raid

Argus 27/11/90

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Renewed outbursts of fighting between rival blacks and attacks by rightwing extremists are racking the country.

Latest flashpoints:

● Last night Zulu-Xhosa clashes on the East Rand claimed 10 lives.

● Police expect to make arrests today following a savage sjambok-and-knobkerrie attack on black Sunday school children in a park in Louis Trichardt.

● Police reinforcements drawn from all over the Western Cape have been deployed in Khayelitsha and Old Crossroads, while the Defence Force is calling up Citizen Force members by telephone in a hurried attempt to help police stem township violence.

● Tension in Welkom, scene of bitter racial clashes this year, has soared after rightwingers beat up trade unionists at a meeting.

● Water and electricity cut-offs in townships hit by long-standing rent-and-service payment boycotts continue to add to the tension. The latest possible trouble spot is Maokeng in the Free State, where the National Party-controlled council cut off water on Friday.

The worst overnight violence was in Katlehong.

A police spokesman said the bodies of 10 men were discovered near Mandela Park before 6am.

Some victims apparently died of gunshot wounds and others were hacked to death with pangas and stabbed.

About 150 people attacked the camp late last night, said police spokeswoman Captain Ida van Zweel.

The 10 deaths brought the East Rand toll for the past two days to 15. In Natal 18 people have been killed in unrest since Saturday.

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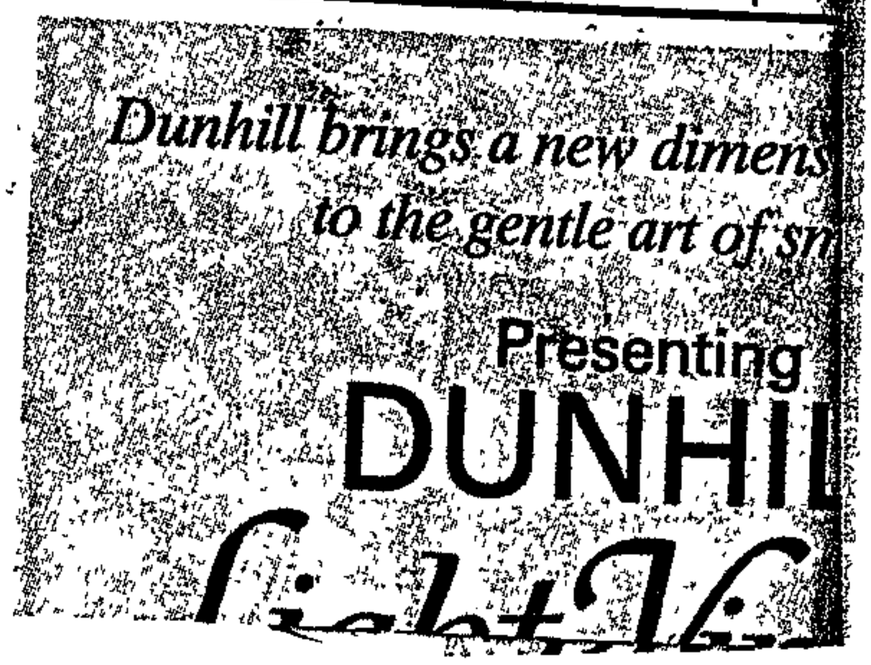

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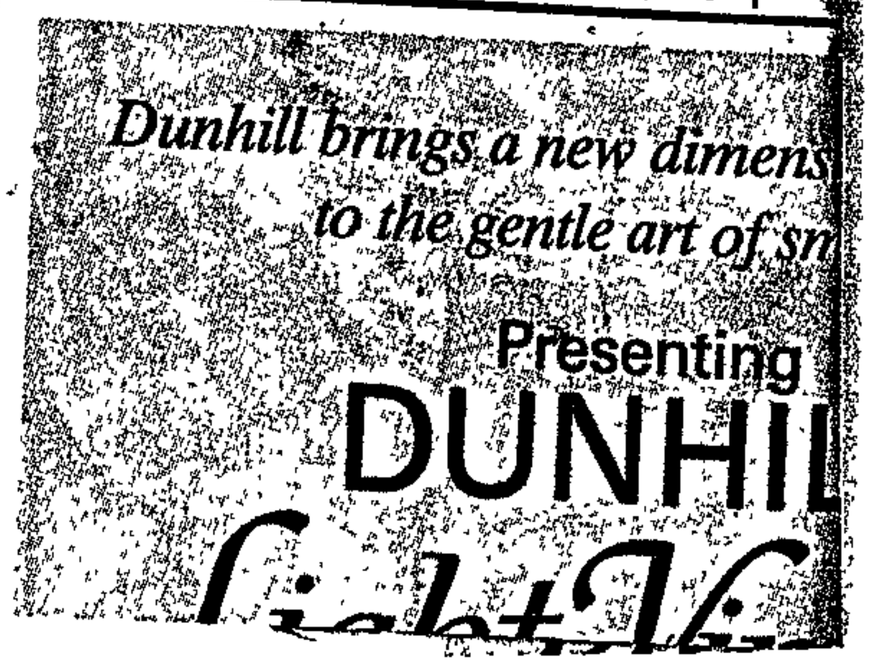


Ten die in unrest violence - SAP

274

TEN people died in unrest-related incidents countrywide during the past 24 hours, police have confirmed. Sowetan 27/11/90

Seven people were shot dead, two were stabbed to death, while another was killed when police used birdshot to disperse rioters stoning a hostel in Jouberton, near Klerksdorp, said police liaison officer Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen.

Giving a break-down of fatalities, she said one of the people stabbed was found at Jouberton, while a vehicle in the area was destroyed when set alight.

The other man stabbed and hacked to death was found at Katlehong, near Germiston, she added.

Police found one body with bullet wounds in Montana, near Wolseley, while two people were shot dead in Tembisa, near Kempton Park, with another two at Dunnottar, near Springs.

Two men were killed and another was injured when two groups attacked one another with firearms at Table Mountain, Natal, according to Barkhuizen.

At Taylors' Halt in Natal a woman was seriously injured when an unknown group of people fired a number of rounds at her, she said.

A private home in Khayelitsha near Cape Town was damaged in an arson attack, while at Engelbrecht Camp near Elandsbaai in the Western Cape, a private vehicle was set alight and a cafe was attacked and looted by an unknown group of people.

Another private vehicle was stoned at Kuilsriver near Belville, she added.

* Meanwhile nine people - among them an eight-month-old girl - died when unknown gunmen ambushed two crowded vehicles near Harding, in southern Natal, last Friday night.

They were travelling towards Mvenyane location when the vehicles - a kombi with a NUZ registration and a bakkie with an NPN registration - were struck by a hail of 9mm bullets. *Sapa.*

'Black Christmas' looms as masses push for protest

Star 28/11/90

By Shaun Johnson

It is virtually certain that a "Black Christmas" will be declared in the townships this year, despite the fact that political organisations — and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — are free for the first time in nearly three decades.

ANC publicity chief Dr Pallo Jordan told The Star the organisation was under intense pressure from members and supporters to declare a Black Christmas.

Massacres

"It's an issue we can't ignore," he said, "it's not we who are calling for it but ordinary people in the streets, in view of what has happened here in the PWV region in the last few months, the massacres that took place here."

Dr Jordan said officials in the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front "are getting the same sort of feedback".

"This is another form of mass action." He said it was "different" from the marches and rallies which have led to the current impasse with the Government, "but it is still people acting together to make a point".

ANC representative Gill Marcus said the Black Christmas would, as in the past, involve consumer boycotts, although these would be declared on a localised basis. "For example, a boycott is starting in Louis Trichardt today in protest against the right-wing attacks on schoolchildren. It was not declared from the top."

The main thrust of the Black Christmas campaign, however, would be "non-celebration" in the townships over the festive season. "There is also a very literal sense in which it will be a Black Christmas," she added, "in that power is being cut off in so many townships."

Ms Marcus added: "It is tragic and totally contradictory that the Black Christmas is necessary, because this is the first Christmas of an unbanned ANC, and of a free Mandela.

"There should be enormous celebrations; it ought to be a time when people are feeling the benefits (of the changes which have taken place). (The situation) is in total contradiction to what we would have hoped."

The Black Christmas will also mark the fact that many political prisoners have not been released, and the bulk of exiles have not been enabled to return, she said.

The ANC head office was under "very strong pressure" from ANC branches, civic associations "and even whole communities", Ms Marcus added.

It was possible that the ANC national executive committee would be called upon to take a formal decision on the matter, "but the feeling is that this shouldn't be something that is imposed from the top, by the NEC". There were officials within the organisation who felt a public stand was necessary, however. The ANC would try to use the Black Christmas "positively, to push for unity".

Dragging

Dr Jordan said the development should not be viewed as a negative initiative by the ANC.

"We don't want the process of transition to be delayed," he said.

"We feel that the South African Government is dragging its feet in bringing about the changes to allow us to arrive at a situation where we have normal political activity.

"So these are some of the issues that mass action (including the Black Christmas) is going to have to address."

Helmoed-Römer Heitman points out difficulties with riot control in South Afric

'Minimum force' won't wor k

THE current political violence has again brought complaints that the police use excessive force. While there appear to have been such incidents, the general tone of the complaints suggests there is little understanding of the realities of riot control.

South African Police doctrines do not differ much from those elsewhere. What does differ is the situation facing the SAP. Not only is the political climate overheated, there are very basic differences between the situation in South Africa and in most Western countries.

Every time rioters are killed, a comparison is made with Europe, where very few die. What is not taken into account is the very large number of police employed to quell riots in Europe. It is quite usual for police almost to match mob numbers, sometimes even to outnumber them. That makes minimum force practicable. Given enough police on the scene, many riots do not even begin.

The situation in South Africa is very different. The police have for so long been so grossly underfunded that they simply do not have the manpower. This country of 35 million has not many more police than New York City finds necessary to police 8 million. That is bad for normal policing. It is crucial for riot control.

Matching

Far from matching mob numbers, the SAP deploys in groups so small as to be barely noticeable, and often in acute danger. In 1976 there were several cases of 50 policemen facing mobs of 3 000 or more. In 1990 it is not much different. Such odds make most minimum force methods at best unworkable, at worst suicidal.

Most rioting in Europe is in built-up areas of relatively narrow streets of tall buildings. That limits mob manoeuvrability and makes it difficult to avoid rubber bullets and water cannon, or escape teargas — which is contained by the buildings, enhancing effect and persistence.

The police can use the street layout to manoeuvre the mob and break it into smaller groups, which can be dispersed with minimum force, or which may break up of their own accord once they drop below the "critical mass" of mob anonymity and again become individuals.

In South Africa, most riots occur in townships of single-storey houses in small gardens on often quite wide streets, with open areas nearby. The mob has unrestricted manoeuvrability, and can avoid, outflank or surround the police.

It is also difficult for the police to look impressive or intimidating, a key factor in preventing an unruly crowd turning into a rioting mob. A small, outnumbered group of police in an open area is simply not very impressive. Teargas and water cannon are also less effective: gas disperses too quickly, water cannon are too easily avoided.

Rubber bullets are also less useful. Pushing or baton-charging a mob is simply not a practical proposition, quite regardless of numbers: the mob can simply side-step the police

Avoided

South Africa's relatively high temperatures causes teargas to disperse quickly, making it almost useless in many situations. More "clinging" gases are useful, but can still be avoided in open terrain. Water cannon are also less effective: they do not so much rely on knocking rioters off their feet, as on the sheer discomfort of being thoroughly and continually wetted by a high pressure jet. In South Africa rioters probably regard the cool water as welcome relief.

The temperatures also make it difficult to use proper protective equipment: helmet, visor, gas-mask, padded and flame-resistant clothing, gloves, perspex shields. These protect against bricks, acid-filled light bulbs, blade-studded potatoes, petrol bombs and blunt weapons, and make a reactive posture practicable.

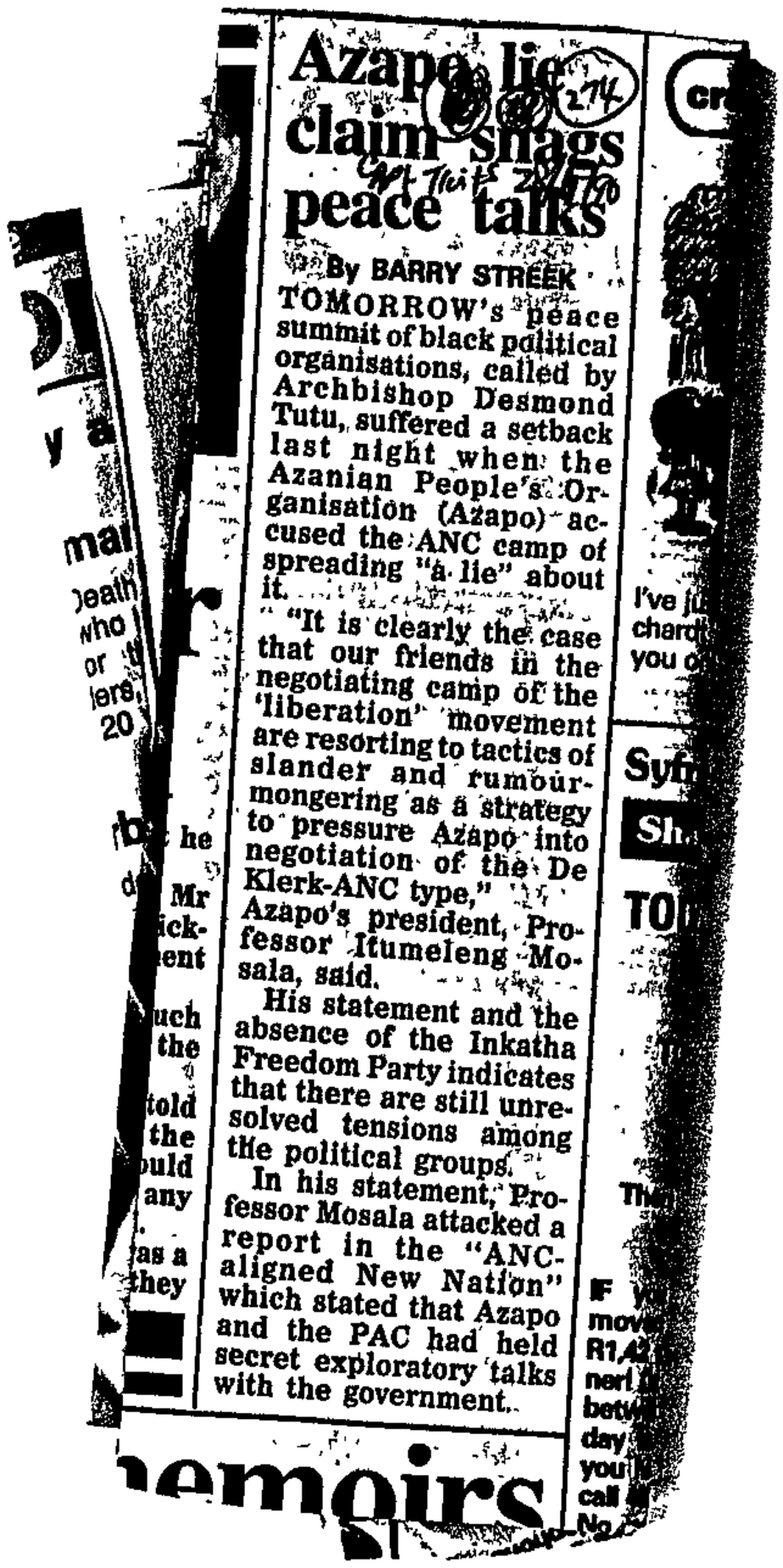
Without that protection, the police are extremely vulnerable to serious injury or death. Then the mob cannot be allowed to close with the police. Stand-off methods must be employed, which are generally more violent than contact methods (for example rubber bullets versus batons). The menacing aspect of suitably designed and coloured protective clothing — dark overcoats and helmets, dark perspex shields and visors (a "Darth Vader" effect) — is also lost. Short-sleeved shirts and caps do not compare.

Limits

A final point is the level of violence inflicted by the rioters. Rioters in Europe are often violent towards police, but rarely kill or even inflict potentially fatal injuries. In South Africa, mobs have gone beyond killing policemen, and have often killed passing civilians.

That seriously limits the available options. Any close contact methods are immediately unusable, except where police can avoid being outflanked or surrounded, or having their formation broken up. Riots cannot simply be left to burn themselves out — that would claim too many innocent victims.

● *Mr Heitman is the South African correspondent to Jane's Defence Weekly.* □



Azapo lie claim snags peace talks

By BARRY STREEK

TOMORROW's peace summit of black political organisations, called by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, suffered a setback last night when the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) accused the ANC camp of spreading "a lie" about it.

"It is clearly the case that our friends in the negotiating camp of the 'liberation' movement are resorting to tactics of slander and rumour-mongering as a strategy to pressure Azapo into negotiation of the De Klerk-ANC type," Azapo's president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, said.

His statement and the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party indicates that there are still unresolved tensions among the political groups.

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Demos: ANC-govt stalemate

CNC Tapes 28/11/90

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday identified the main problems creating a logjam in negotiations.

However, after their two-hour summit here, they remained in disagreement on whether mass mobilisation falls under the definition of "related activity" to armed action referred to in the Pretoria Minute.

They agreed to meet again to resolve this and other problems creating obstacles to negotiations.

It is understood that both are in possession of an initial report by the "armed action working group" appointed in terms of the Minute. The report still has to be approved by both sides.

The April 1 deadline for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles is still on track.

Before the meeting, government spokesmen said the main issue President De Klerk would raise was the ANC's continuing commitment to "mass mobilisation", as the government believed coercive aspects of mass mobilisation qualified as a related activity of armed action.

Afterwards, the leaders declined to discuss the meeting.

● Meanwhile, Mr Mandela arrives in Cape Town today to receive two honorary doctorates, attend a concert in his honour and participate in Archbishop Desmond Tutu's peace summit.

An honorary doctorate of laws will be conferred on him tonight at the University of the Western Cape by the chancellor, Archbishop Tutu, and on Friday, he will receive a second honorary doctorate, this time from the University of Cape Town.

The list of participants at tomorrow's peace summit has not yet been released. The Inkatha Freedom Party has already stated that it will not participate.

BRIEFING

Star 29/11/90

Feelings that simmer like a subterranean fire

Labour Reporter BRENDAN TEMPLETON looks at the causes of violence in the mining industry this year.

THE attack on mineworkers returning from a union meeting in Welkom on Sunday was just another incident of mine-related violence which has been sporadically flaring up since May.

According to National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) spokesman Jerry Majatladi, the growing trend of violent confrontation on mines had its roots in the changing political face of South Africa.

Tensions normally kept under control in other situations emerged too easily in the political and racial melting pot at the rock face

He believed violence on mines could be divided into three categories.

● **Group violence** between Inkatha and organisations like Cosatu This was seen in Natal recently when NUM members were forced to leave the Durnacol and Hlobane collieries after repeated attacks on them.

"This is nothing different from the broad violence gripping the country and aimed at destabilising all progressive groupings"

The attacks were aimed at weakening the "progressive" movement, so that it would not be able to present a strong, united force at the negotiating table, said Mr Majatladi

● **Racial violence** between black and white workers underground. Factors influencing this type of violence could be linked mainly to the weakening force of apartheid.

White workers were feeling threatened as their traditional privileges were undermined, resulting in increasing tensions.

But, at the same time, racial discrimination continued in the form of the "piccanin" system where black workers were forced to carry the tools and clothing of white workers; in segregated facilities like canteens and change rooms (these were open to certain grades of workers of which the great majority were white), and in the hoisting system whereby blacks were forced to queue when going down a shaft while white workers could simply step into the cage.

● **Vigilante violence** which took the form of outside right-wing groups assaulting workers. This was especially characteristic of mining towns like Welkom where the whole economic infrastructure revolved around the local mines. Outside right-wing groups also felt threatened by the changing political climate and took out their frustrations on the most visible "progressive" grouping in the area, the NUM.

Examples of racial violence, which has received the most publicity since it hit the headlines in May, have taken place mainly in the Free State.

Right-wing sentiment in Welkom reached fever pitch when two whites, Johannes du Preez (57) and Sydney Koen (43), were killed during a clash between black miners and mine security personnel at the President Steyn No 1 Shaft.

An uneasy calm had only started to settle when Steve Buitendag (42), a personnel manager of the Harmony Gold Mine, near Virginia, was killed outside a mine hostel

Tensions flared up again in August when three black workers were killed in a clash with mine security personnel at President Steyn

The body of Nicholaas Jordaan (42) was later found at the bottom of a shaft.

Following the tension in the Free State and a meeting between Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, the Chamber of Mines, right-wing groups, the white Council of Mining Unions (CMU) and the NUM, it was agreed to conduct regular meetings to discuss ways of preventing racial flare-ups.

The meetings had proved to be successful, leading to a greater understanding of different points of view, Mr Majatladi said

Now, rumours were circulating in Witbank and Welkom that Inkatha impis could be brought in from other areas to disrupt the union's organisation.

In an attempt to combat the possibility of such violence flaring up again, the NUM and the Chamber of Mines recently drew up a joint document banning the possession of weapons in the workplace They also agreed to the establishment of a joint monitoring group to keep an eye on violence on the mines; that stringent disciplinary action be taken against perpetrators of violence; and that existing channels be used to enable employees to effectively inform management of any impending violence

But the NUM still had not identified a way of combating vigilante violence, said Mr Majatladi It would be up to Mr Vlok to ensure that right-wing elements did not get out of hand □

Dispute could mar Tutu's peace summit

Political Staff

A DISPUTE over the presence of homeland leaders could mar today's peace summit of black political organisations in Cape Town.

Azapo has demanded, as the first item on the agenda for discussion, the presence of Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Transkei and Venda at the meeting.

Bophuthatswana, Qwa-Qwa and KwaZulu, through the Inkatha Freedom Party, turned down invitations and the Ciskei has not given a final response to an invitation to the summit, called by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Azapo leader Professor Itumeleng Mosala agreed to participate but indicated the homeland system would have to be the first on the agenda.

Although the ANC has developed working relationships with homeland governments, Azapo rejects them and the homeland system in principle.

Azapo is likely to be supported in its stand by the PAC and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, who have accepted invitations to attend.

In October Archbishop Tutu said the meeting should plan a joint strategy on negotiations and adopt a code of conduct for political dealings.

The leaders also had to decide on how to handle factional violence and promote unity and peace, Archbishop Tutu said then.

However, in his statement, Professor Mosala said Azapo understood the agenda to be the question of violence in the country and the issue of the future of the country and "how black liberation movements can strategise together in this regard".

10 killed in unrest

PRETORIA. — Ten men have been killed and one seriously wounded in unrest incidents in 24 hours.

The police report says the bodies of nine men who had been stabbed and hacked to death were found at Zonkazizwe, near Germiston, and in Hopeville, Natal, a man was killed when shots were fired from a group of people.

A man was seriously injured at Table Mountain, Natal, when shots were fired at him. In same area a group of youths set fire to a house.

POLICE VEHICLE STONED

A petrol bomb damaged a policeman's house in Utlawanang, Christiana, and 11 men were arrested. A man and a woman were arrested after a police vehicle was stoned.

A house was damaged in a petrol-bomb attack at Hexpark, Worcester, and stone-throwers damaged a police vehicle at Jouberton, Klerksdorp.

A hand-grenade explosion damaged a policeman's house in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, and a police vehicle was set alight and destroyed in Kwamakuta, Durban. — Sapa.

10 die daily in violence

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Sowetan 30/11/90

TEN people a day have died in political violence between the beginning of the year and the end of October.

According to statistics released by the South African Institute of Race Relations, 3 038 people were killed in the first ten months of the year.

The 13 deaths reported by the police yesterday bring the total for this month to 90, according to records kept by *Sowetan*.

These, plus the figure given by the SAIRR, bring the toll to 3 128 since the beginning of the year.

"People are dying this year at more than the rate at which people lost their lives in this way last year," said the

By KENOSI MODISANE

SAAIR.

"Nineteen-ninety alone already accounts for more than a third of all the people killed in political violence over the period September 1984 the end of last month."

"Political fatalities outside Natal had accounted for only 10 percent of the total in the first 10 months of last year. But this proportion had now risen to 46 percent.

"The whole of last year saw 124 fatalities outside Natal but this year 1 402 people were killed outside Natal in the 10 months up to the end of October."

What *Sowetan* readers think of What the *Sowetan* stands for

Summit in strong plea for peace, tolerance

ARGUS 30/11/90 Z1V

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE biggest gathering of South Africa's black leaders emerged from a day of talks at Bishopscourt with a strong plea for peace, political tolerance and discipline.

They spoke out firmly yesterday against forcing people to join boycotts or stayaways — and political movements — against their will and called on political leaders to cut abuse and acrimony from their public statements.

The 37 men and women, representing 11 major movements and homeland governments, blamed apartheid as the principal source of violence.

But they acknowledged that some violence stemmed from political rivalries and that the right of township residents to make free political choices was denied by intimidation and violent coercion.

ANC, PAC, and Azapo Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action delegations were joined by top-level representatives from the homeland administrations of Transkei, Venda, Lebowa, Kangwane, Kwandebele and Gazankulu.

Inkatha, Ciskei, Bophuthutswana and Qwa Qwa were absent. They had been invited, but Ciskei could not attend and the others declined.

Pressing issues

In what host Archbishop Desmond Tutu described as a "remarkable" meeting in which "nobody scratched each other's eyes out even though they were sitting within striking distance of each other", the leaders concentrated on two of the most pressing political issues of the day — the future of the homelands and violence.

The search for a united strategy on negotiations, which was on the agenda, has been held over to the next such summit, expected to be held soon.

The meeting issued a joint statement in which it described the discussions as a "breakthrough".

It called on homeland leaders to review their involvement in perpetuating the "balkanisation" of South Africa and to match their commitment to a unitary and democratic South Africa "more urgently, more stridently and within specific time frames".

But the bulk of the statement is devoted to the question of violence. Warning that the "enemies of our people and our struggle for liberation rejoice when they see violence within black communities," the meeting issued a "passionate and urgent call on all our people to strive for peace".

The leaders also acknowledged that some of the violence was the result of political rivalries.

They called on supporters to exercise discipline "in order that we may create a culture of tolerance". Without that there was danger of Renamo-type forces developing in the country.

They called on people to respect the right to make free choices.

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13 more killed in faction violence

JOHANNESBURG. — The bodies of at least 13 people were found in East Rand townships yesterday morning following overnight clashes as police clamped a curfew on the violence-plagued Zonkesizwe squatter camp at Katlehong.

Police liaison officer Captain Piet van Deventer said nine hacked and stabbed bodies had been found at the near-deserted Zonkesizwe shack settlement.

By late yesterday morning the police did not know the identities of the dead men or their assailants.

"We think this is possibly a faction fight between Xhosas and Zulus, but we are investigating the attack," a police spokesman said.

The troubled shack settlement was declared an unrest area by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok last night.

The declaration is with immediate effect and includes the imposition of a 9pm-to-4am curfew which began last night.

Since November 22 no fewer than 69 people have been killed in the settlement, with the worst attack taking place early last week when a Zulu raiding party allegedly launched an attack which left 19 dead bodies scattered around the area.

Mr Vlok said the "extraordinary measures" were aimed at hooligans and criminal elements who were preying on law-abiding citizens.

He also appealed to Zonkesizwe's residents to co-operate with the police in re-establishing law and order in the area.

Journalists who recently visited the settlement found it deserted with only a handful of refugees waiting for transport out of the area to relative safety in nearby Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus townships.

The bodies of four men were discovered at Thokoza near Alberton late on Wednesday night. It is not known if the four were killed in unrest-related incidents.

In other incidents of unrest, one man was shot dead by a gun-toting mob in Hopeville, while a similar attack left one man seriously injured at Table Mountain in Natal. Youths in the same area also set a house alight.

A policeman's house was gutted after a petrol-bomb attack at Utlwanang near Christiana. Police arrested 11 men after the incident.

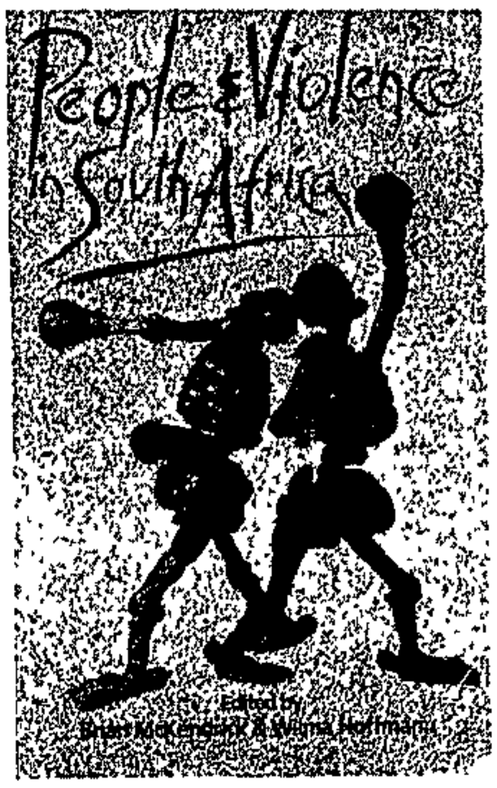
A man and a woman were arrested after an attack on a police vehicle in the same township. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

BOOKS

South Africa in the tight grip of violence

W-E/mail 30/11-6/12/90 (SH) 274

PEOPLE AND VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA *by Brian McKendrick and Wilma Hoffmann* (Oxford University Press, R49,95)



VIOLENCE on the big screen may be titillating but people avert their gaze when confronted by violence at home.

Denial is no salvation, argue the contributors to a book newly released by Oxford University Press, entitled *People and violence in South Africa*.

"When for whatever reasons a nation becomes severely polluted by violence, the corrosive effects perforate all layers of society, damaging national institutions, community life and family living so that no individual within the society remains untouched by its insidious presence," assert editors Brian McKendrick and Wilma Hoffmann, of the Wits University School of Social Work.

Their collection of writings is a sociological "whodunnit" — an attempt to understand the roots of many forms of violence in South Africa. The investigation is wide-ranging — from the violence of low intensity war to abuse of old people, from capital punishment to rape, and from detention without trial to abusive sports practices. Not surprisingly, victim and perpetrator are often not what they seem.

Behind many, but not all, forms of violence examined hovers the presence of apartheid.

In some instances, as in the practice of corporal punishment in the administration of the law, apartheid finds its place brazenly in officially sanctioned violence. In other cases, such as emotional abuse of children in the home, apartheid creeps in under layers of disguise.

Julia Sloth-Nielsen, a law lecturer at the University of Cape Town, stresses the "severe and degrading" nature of corporal punishment.

South Africa is one of the few countries that retains it — for juveniles and for adults.

She argues that corporal punishment cannot be divorced from the practice of whipping, prevalent in the time of slavery and in the colonial era: "Imprisonment alone was not sufficient punishment for the black person — he/she had to be taught that the white person was master."

In 1987/8, according to the minister of justice, no fewer than 40 000 people were sentenced to corporal punishment — an average of 112 people a day.

Three studies on corporal punishment imposed by the courts show a racial bias in sentencing of this kind. In a 1975 study by J Midgeley in Cape Town it was found that 60 percent of coloured juvenile offenders were sentenced to whipping while 12 percent of whites received this treatment.

In a 1987 study conducted by the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro) in two Cape magisterial areas, it was found that 71,6 percent of convicted African juveniles were sentenced to cuts, while only 16,3 percent of whites were so sentenced. Coloured juvenile offenders received corporal punishment in 56,8 percent of cases. Similar findings were yielded by a study in the Umlazi/Durban area in 1981.

In the Midgeley study the youngest child subjected to corporal punishment was nine years old. The Nicro study turned up the case of a 10-year-old thus punished and " .. corporal punishment accounted for 47,5 percent of sentences imposed on first offenders who appeared in the juvenile court".

But apartheid rears its head in relation to corporal punishment in more ways than discriminatory sentencing, Sloth-Nielson implies.

"South African penal history also reveal the unique feature that corporal punishments have tended to be utilised increasingly in times of social and political upheaval."

In 1952 — the time of the African National Congress-led defiance campaign — instead of restricting flogging as a commission of inquiry had recommended, the National Party government "adopted legislation which made whipping a compulsory sentence for certain offences. In just one year, mid-1957 to mid-1958, 18 542 adult offenders, most of them black, were sentenced to a whipping in terms of the new legal provisions".

It was only in 1965, when mass protest had been crushed, that the government repealed the provision.

However, "In 1976 and 1977, after widespread civil unrest in South African townships, publicity was given to the fact that many black school children were whipped for participating in politically motivated activities."

And "when resistance surfaced again in 1986, the law was amended to extend legal whipping provisions. New offences were added to the list for which corporal punishment was a competent sentence. These were the offences of public violence, sedition, arson, malicious damage to property"

Legal history, court records, statistical analysis form the basis of this examination of legalised violence

There are no such certainties in the study of child abuse advanced by Wits University psychologist Gill Straker who argues it is a form of child abuse — emotional abuse that is — to expose young children to "the common practice of employing black child care workers under conditions which communicate the notion that human exploitation is legitimate and that a class of people are inferior as human beings".

The emotional abuse lies in the blunting of the child's development of empathy, that is an ability to relate meaningfully and to make deep contact with other humans

This damage occurs, argues Straker, in the process of entrusting the child for hours each day to the intimate care of a child minder who is exploited, treated demeaningly — and who the child learns to treat as an object rather than as a person whose emotion and individuality is recognised and answered.

One such study was conducted by B Wulfson, a doctoral candidate at the University of South Africa, who concluded that "in the majority of cases the nanny was found to be a peripheral, shadowy figure, as viewed by both the child and the mother She does not feature strongly in the child's emotional world and for the most part is experienced as a stranger with whom there is no emotional involvement"

The study provides the following flashes from domestic life "When the child came into the house, she took off her wet shoes and handed them over to the nanny without looking at or greeting the nanny." And: "The child snatched her leotard from her nanny without any sign of appreciation or recognition for the time the nanny had spent hunting for it at the whining demand of the child."

In the words of various mothers: "When I ask my child to clean up his mess he tells me that he's not a nanny"; "My daughter knows the nanny can't sit with us at the table and sit on the same furniture — my children have been brought up that way"; and "I don't talk to blacks much. I don't think it's a good idea"

There is an absence of mutual obligation and emotional reciprocity in the relationship between the child and the child minder. No account is taken of the minder's emotional state so how can the child "enter into the nanny's world or identify with her?"

The problems do not end there. "Empathy is dependent both on identification, which involves the perception of others as similar to oneself, and on the ability to appreciate simultaneously their separateness and difference."

Racial prejudice is promoted by the reverse processes — failure to see people of another group as similar to oneself and failure to perceive the individuality of people outside one's own racial group.

There is an accompanying risk that the ability to show altruism or concern in a broader sense will be impaired. "If the child has not developed a sense of empathy for the child-care worker on a personal level, the chances of developing a more general sense of concern for her and for those perceived to be like her will be diminished."

Thus the scene is set for the emotionally abused child to become the abuser. One form of apartheid violence feeds almost imperceptibly into another.

Jo-Anne Collinge

South Africa in the tight grip of violence

W-E/mail 30/11/-6/12/90 (25) (274)

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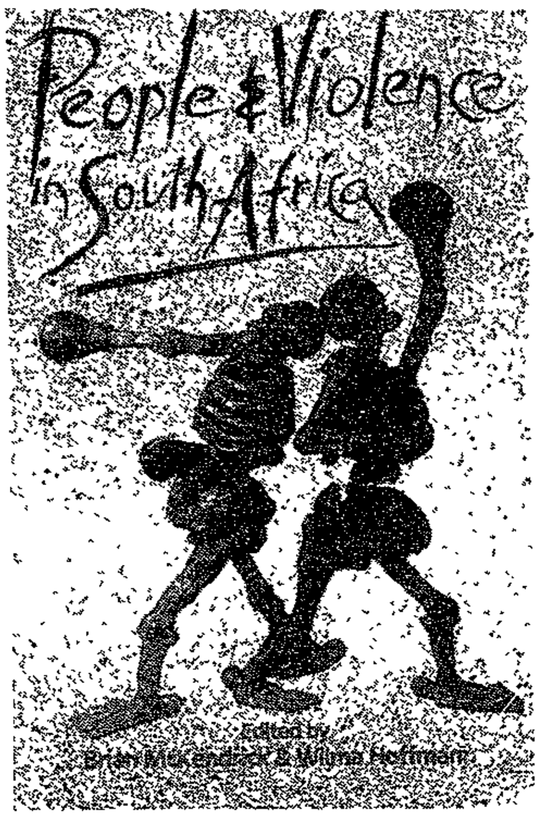

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Thus the scene is set for the emotionally abused child to become the abuser. One form of apartheid violence feeds almost imperceptibly into another.

Jo-Anne Collinge

Peace pact sealed at Tutu's summit

CAPE TOWN — Black leaders, with the exception of Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and three homeland leaders, agreed yesterday to work together in pursuit of peace.

Leaders of the major liberation movements, including the ANC, PAC and Azapo, churches and several homelands agreed at a summit to urge their followers to strive for peace, to commit themselves to the dismantling of homelands and to consult one another on calls for mass action. They also agreed to meet again to discuss a unified strategy for national negotiations.

Leaders of homelands, with the exception of KwaZulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa which declined to attend,

LESLEY LAMBERT

committed themselves to the dismantling of the homelands in discussions with government on new regional structures.

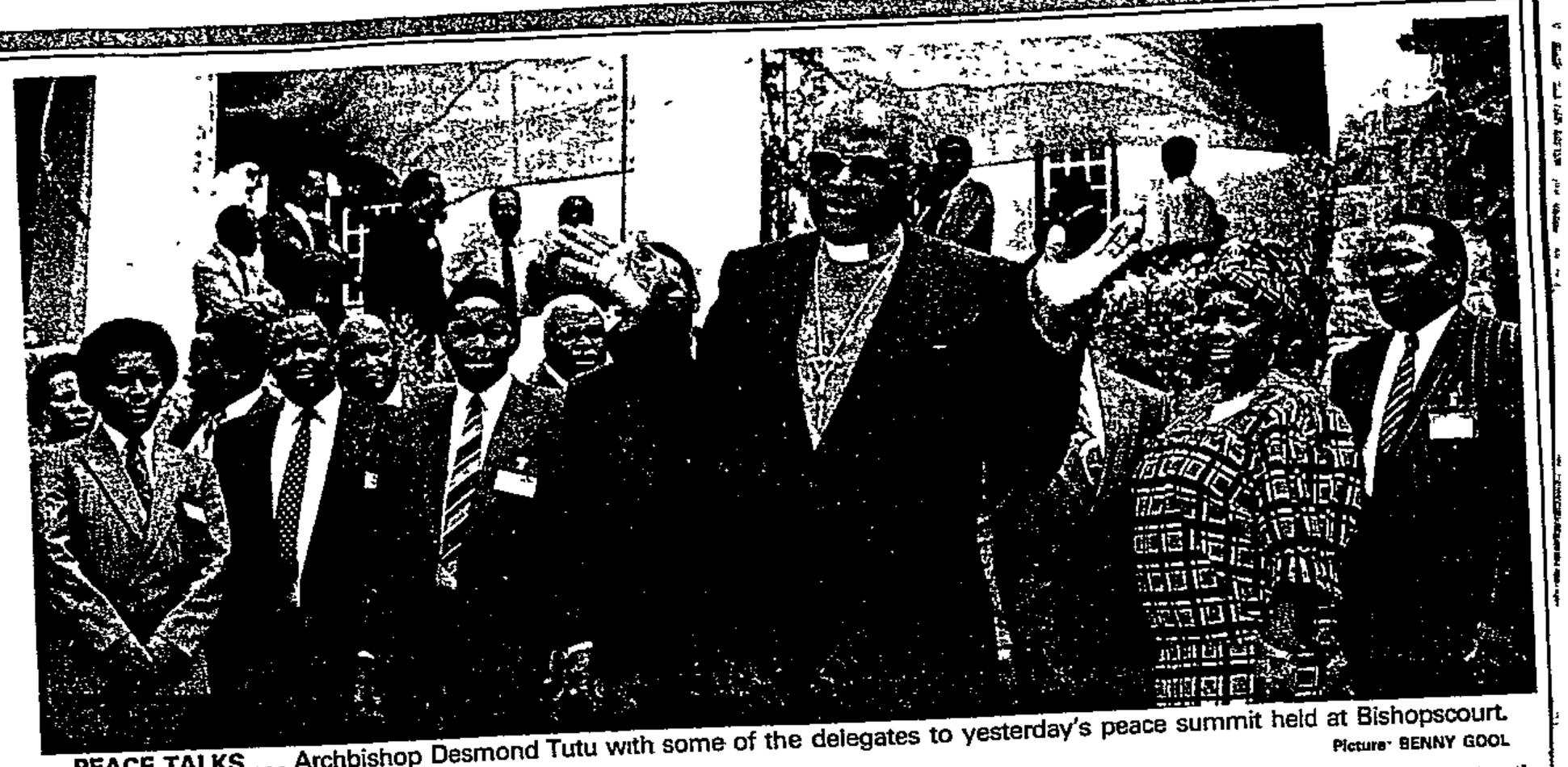
Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the convenor and host of the summit held at his official residence, said before it started that the participants supported unity, peace and tolerance.

He said some leaders had principled objections to talking to others, but hoped they would realise that the cost was too high in terms of human lives. He called on those who had turned down the invitation to "examine their motives very carefully".

● Picture: Page 3

Plea for peace at Tutu summit

CAPT Times 30/11/90



PEACE TALKS ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu with some of the delegates to yesterday's peace summit held at Bishopscourt.
Picture: BENNY GOOL

● More pictures — Page 3

By BARRY STREEK

AN urgent call to end violence within black communities and for "discipline" and tolerance was issued yesterday at the summit of black political, homeland and church leaders

After one of the most high-level and diverse meetings of black leaders ever held, the leaders said they wished "to issue an appeal to our followers and our people for discipline in order that we may develop a culture of tolerance".

"If we cannot establish such a culture, there is a danger of Renamo-type forces developing in our country"

But in the hard-lined joint statement, they said the roots of the current violence lay "in more than three centuries of white domination, culminating in the vicious system of apartheid"

They said they believed a "third force" was stoking violence to sabotage the initiatives towards a democratic society and there was no clearer example of the violent expression of political intolerance "than the death squads of the South African Police and South African Defence Force".

The significance of the statement is that it was issued jointly by different political groups, such as the ANC, PAC, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the representatives of six homeland governments and six church leaders.

Among the participants were the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, the president of Azapo, Professor Itumuleng Mosala, the PAC's Ms Patricia de Lille, the head of Transkei's military government, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, the head of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, the president of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, Bishop Wilfred Napier, and the president of the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Khoza Mgojo.

The convener of the summit, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said the statement showed that the possibility was there for different groupings to talk.

"Despite the short duration of the meeting, we believe it constituted a breakthrough in bringing together a range of leaders who had not previously met," the joint statement said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa governments declined invitations to the summit. The Ciskei government did not send representatives because of a clash of dates

Archbishop Tutu has been asked to convene further meetings as soon as possible. He said it was hoped that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would participate in the next meeting.

Archbishop Tutu stressed that none of the organisa-

To page 2

P.T.O

From page 1

tions had refused to participate if Chief Buthelezi had agreed to attend the summit and every effort would be made to encourage him to attend future meetings.

"The meeting was concerned quite early on that we were not as representative as we wanted to be," Archbishop Tutu said.

The joint statement said there was no time to discuss the issue of attitudes to negotiations but this, as well as the issue of a constituent assembly, would be on the agenda of the next meeting.

● Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi told Archbishop Tutu it had been "virtually impossible" for him to attend the meeting.

Chief Buthelezi said in a statement that he had declined the invitation after careful consideration.

"My prime concern is the emergence of peace and the normalisation of relationships between black political parties which have been drawn into violent confrontations.

"Violence must cease; killing must cease. I am committed to peace," he said.

TALKING PEACE . . . Archbishop Desmond Tutu greets the president of the Azapo, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, and Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, at Bishopscourt yesterday.

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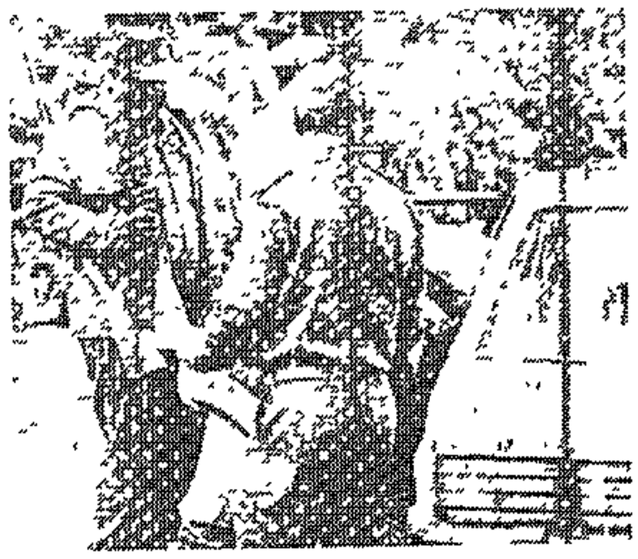
Summit security in unionist row

A CITY security firm, previously restrained by the Cape Town Industrial Court from violently threatening trade unionists, was in charge of the security operation code-named "Operation X" at Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Bishopscourt peace summit yesterday.

The firm, Rottweiler Security, was restrained by the court on November 19 from threatening members of the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU).

Rottweiler specialises in guard dogs and is frequently employed in the Peninsula.

December 3 was set as the return date in the union's application against the company. — Sapa



SECURITY . . . Guards check a car entering Bishopscourt yesterday.

SOWETAN Friday Nov
November 30 1990

End human sacrifices to evil god of violence

Sowetan 30/11/90

I RETURNED this week from a visit abroad to South Africa's ugly story.

This week it was the turn of Holomisa Park to provide the human sacrifices and 11 people were slaughtered.

(One day when sanity has returned to this country, somebody will write about the names people give to the wretched squatter camps mushrooming all over the landscape.)

It is the same story that I left at the beginning of November, but then Bekkersdal's slums - Mandela, Spooktown, Silver City and X - were providing the blood.

But as the week closes, there is a glimmer of hope: as I am writing this piece, representatives of black liberation movements and the leaders of some homelands were talking to one another at an historic meeting called by the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu.

When colleague Kenosi Modisane returned from Holomisa Park in the East Rand on Monday he told a familiar tale.

Rumour

It usually starts with a rumour of an attack. The victims are then actually attacked by people who disappear in the night. And the next day the media are telling of an Inkatha-ANC war or a Zulu-Xhosa war.

This time there was a rumour at Holomisa Park on Monday that an attack was imminent. When night fell, the men in the squatter camp went to some bushes to discuss defence.

They believed they were safe at the spot they had picked, hidden between the bushes and the railway line.

The attackers knew where they were hiding. They came over the railway line and from the bushes, opened fire with guns and hacked and slashed with pangas.

Eleven people were killed, one of them beheaded, and 16 were injured.

And from the survivors we heard the usual refrain: there were some whites in the gang that attacked them.

Ugly stories like these should get the nation angry, demanding explanations, finding solutions.

Casually

Instead they are treated casually - just another story in the newspapers.

The wives, children and other relatives and friends will mourn for a while. In a few days the newspapers will be rushing to another location to look at more sacrifices to this insatiable god of violence.

What have we become? After having watched life treated so cheaply, what will our children be like in 10 years?

The police and the Government, on the other hand, seem to deal with these horrors as isolated incidents.

Today it is Holomisa Park. Yesterday it was Zonk'izizwe. Tomorrow it will have leaped to another location.

(As I am writing this, 10am Thursday, somebody bursts into the office to tell us that 10 bodies were found at Zonk'izizwe this morning.)

A few people are arrested and charged after each incident.

The police are not putting together the obvious pattern emerging from collating all the incidents.

Dig deep

Minister of Law and Order must appoint a squad that investigates all the manifestations of the current violence. The squad must not just skim the top: it has to dig deep.

Most of us are convinced that there is a manipulating hand behind it all. That hand must be grabbed and stopped, urgently.

That is one side of the coin. The other, very obvious one, is that the hand is taking advantage of divisions that already exist among us.

It is easy to attack a hostel and pretend that it is township residents attacking. The hostel people will obviously retaliate. The township residents then defend themselves against the unprovoked attack from the hostels.

The instigator can pull out and go and sow mayhem somewhere else.

The differences between the hostel people and township residents provided the opening.

You could look at other divisions between Azapo and the ANC, between the PAC and the ANC, between the ANC and Inkatha, etc, and you will find they provide just as fertile ground as the first.

The differences are not enough to warrant the present flow of blood in our streets, but we seem incapable of dealing with them.

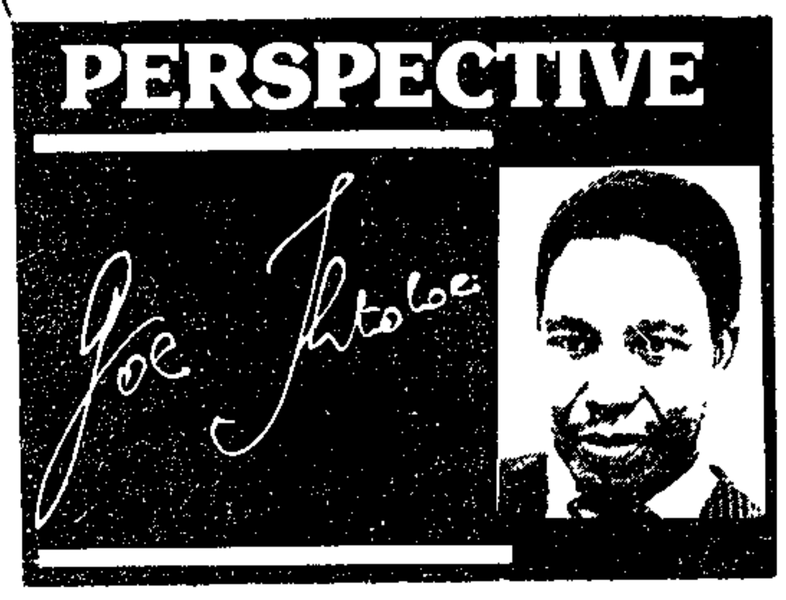
Homage

We don't need the same grey uniforms, we do not need to recite the same slogans and pay homage to the same leader to live in peace.

We can differ and still live in peace. We can differ and still pursue the same goals. We can differ and still work together to achieve those goals We need to introduce a new culture into our politics

All black South Africans and many whites are praying that the meeting in Cape Town yesterday was the seed for this cul-

PERSPECTIVE



Dismay over ANC's mass action vow

ARGUS 3/12/90

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government reacted with dismay today to ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela's vow yesterday that the ANC would intensify its mass action campaign.

The mass action strategy has become the major point of difference between the ANC and the government and has contributed largely to bringing the negotiation process to a halt.

Mr Mandela's strong public call comes while he and President De Klerk are involved in what is expected to be a series of secret one-on-one meetings to try to resolve the mass action issue and other problems obstructing negotiations.

The government seems to be dismayed that Mr Mandela is continuing to make public statements after an agreement to handle the problem low-key.

Mr Mandela and President De Klerk met last week in Pretoria to discuss delays in negotiation and agreed to meet again.

Secret meetings

It is understood their subsequent meetings might take place in secret as both the government and the ANC believe the high expectations created by their meetings often lead to dashed hopes, which hinder the progress of negotiations.

Senior government sources today expressed shock over Mr Mandela's statements in support of mass action at the funeral of Actstop official David "Oupa" Thoga, 26, yesterday.

They said the government had no objection to mass action, such as peaceful protests, meetings or marches which were acceptable as democratic activities.

"What is unacceptable to the government is mass action resulting almost consistently in violence and intimidation, which results in stayaways or boycotts and mass action with the intended aim of the ungovernability of government structures.

"While negotiations are taking place the maintenance of sound administration by existing structures should continue until the negotiated structures take their place."

CMG Trust
3/12/90

ANC to stand by mass action

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC would never back down from its campaign of mass action, Mr Nelson Mandela said at a funeral yesterday for a man killed in police action two weeks ago during a march through Johannesburg.

Mr Mandela told the 300-strong crowd at Wits University that mass action was accepted as normal in democratic countries.

Mr David Tshoga later became the first black person to be buried in Johannesburg's West Park cemetery. — Sapa

ALAN TAYLOR

Khayelitsha councillor murdered

Crime Reporter

A TOP Khayelitsha town councillor was stabbed to death at the weekend.

The attack on Mr Alfred Nqoboka, 37, took place on Saturdy in daylight on the N2.

Mr Nqoboka, who is a member of the controversial Lingelethu Town Council which runs Khayelitsha, was standing trial for murder.

Police said they were not sure if the murder was unrest-related.

In other parts of the country there were several unrest-related deaths at the weekend.

In the Table Mountain area near Maritzburg, five men were fatally wounded when two groups using firearms clashed. Four houses were also set alight in the fighting. In the same area, police found the body of a man with bullet and stab wounds.

Nine people were killed in Thokoza early yesterday during fighting in the East Rand township, police said.

The bodies of three men were found at Bekkersdal near Krugersdorp. One man had been hacked to death, another hacked and stabbed and a third stabbed to death in three separate incidents. In another incident in the area, two houses were set alight and extensively damaged.

Stones and petrol bombs were thrown at police vehicles at Bekkersdal, and on one occasion shots were fired at a police vehicle. Police used either teargas, rubber bullets or birdshot to disperse the attackers.

Mr Nqoboka is the third person linked to the controversial Lingelethu town council to be murdered in the past month.

Mr Nqoboka was one of the eight councillors who have appeared in court on seven counts of murder and three of attempted murder relating to election-night violence in Khayelitsha last year.

Police spokesman Major Jan Calitz said it was unclear whether he had been murdered for political or criminal motives.

He said Mr Nqoboka's body, riddled with chest and back wounds, was found lying on blood-drenched grass on the centre island of the N2, about 300 metres from the Khayelitsha turn-off, soon after 3pm.

His 9mm pistol was missing from its holster.

Residents of Site C — the part of Khayelitsha which can be seen from the N2 — had heard a shot go off about 10 minutes earlier. Just before, they had seen Mr Nqoboka "running for his life with four or five men after him".

Police think Mr Nqoboka, who lived in Site C, might have fired a shot in self-defence before being disarmed by his attackers.

No arrests have been made and it is not known whether anyone was wounded by the shot.

Lingelethu town clerk Mr Graham Lawrence said arsonists had burnt down Mr Nqoboka's shack twice in the past four months.

Tension between the council and the Western Cape Civic Association left many dead last month, including senior housing administrator Mr Harold Nltangwini, who died after being bound, stabbed and set alight, and council driver Mr Wiseman Mdube, 38, who was shot and burnt to death in a delivery bakkie. — Staff Reporter and Sapa

Section B: For Information

7. Appointment of Examiners of Masters Degree Candidates.

8. Cancellation of Registration for Higher Degrees.

9. Re-registration in 1988 of students for Higher Degrees.

10. List of Excluded Students readmitted in 1988 on appeal.

11. Academic Concessions.

12. 1987 Annual Report of the Faculty.

Slovo calls for township defence units

By Patrick Laurence

The South African Communist Party yesterday urged township residents to form well-disciplined self-defence units.

Its call, made in response to continuing township violence and the apparent inability of the authorities to check it, was linked to a demand for the resignation of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

In an interview with The Star, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said: "We consider these units as purely legal organs (devised) for purely defensive purposes."

He compared the SACP's proposed self-defence units to neighbourhood watches and civic guards, arguing that it was quite legal to defend oneself against attack and to use "commensurate force".

In a statement, the SACP labelled the continued presence of General Malan and Mr Vlok at their posts "astonishing", saying: "Their records show them to be either incredibly incompetent or reluctant to take the necessary steps against warlord and death-squad violence."

It noted that the death rate was now running at 10 people a day, with at least one person a day being killed directly by the SAP or SADF.

The SACP appealed to "patriots" in the SAP and the SADF to emulate rebel policeman Gregory Rockman by coming forward to expose those elements in the police and army, no matter how high-ranking they were, who were part of the "sinister third force".

Mr Slovo later cited circumstantial evidence which, he said, pointed to the existence of a third force responsible for orchestrating the violence. It was drawn from "elements in the security forces".

He denied that the SACP was conducting a vendetta against the SAP and SADF. But, he said, they had changed minimally either in composition or leadership since President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech promising a new beginning and a new South Africa.

Behind daily township toll

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Sta 4/12/90

Political Reporter ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reports on the latest upsurge in violence.

FOLLOWING the Reef township mini-war in August, there was a relative lull in the violence.

This has now ended. Clashes are claiming lives every day

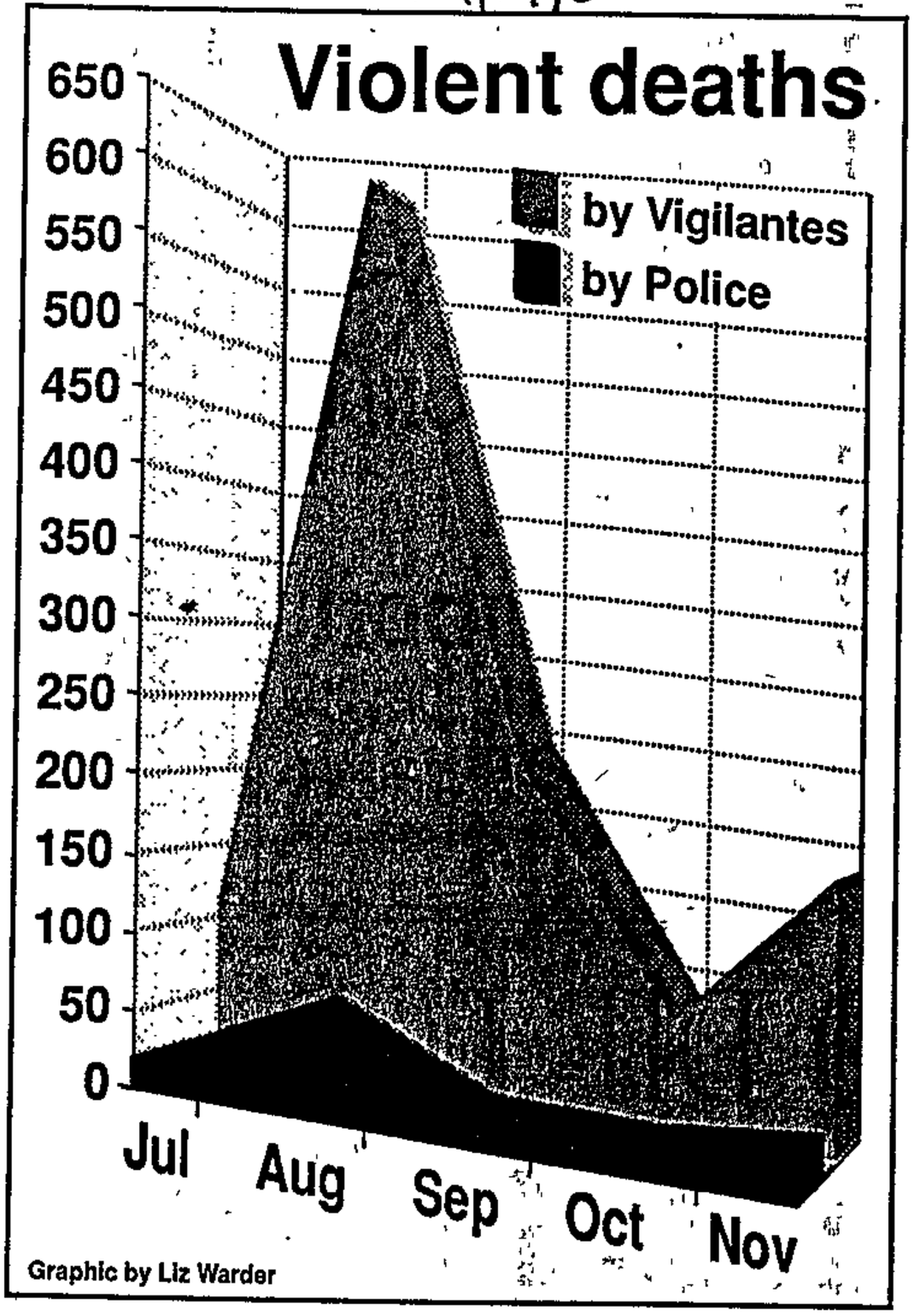
Analysts of the violence have produced many reasons for the bloody conflicts: most obviously, battles for political power among unbanned organisations; the concerted campaign against black local authorities; appalling conditions which turn townships into war zones within seconds (often without any particular political motive); the alleged partiality of the security forces; and alleged state efforts to fuel tribalism.

In recent weeks, related factors have exacerbated tensions. Among these are the democratic movement's intensified mass mobilisation campaign, hardline police action following the refusal of permission for protest marches, calls for another Black Christmas, the apparent stalling of the negotiation process, economic hardships and a war of words between senior ANC and Government officials on aspects of the negotiation process.

Recently, the South African Institute of Race Relations published figures on the extent of violence, saying violence had claimed 10 lives a day this year.

And according to the Human Rights Commission, at least 1 382 people have died between July and November through police and vigilante actions, while 3 945 people have been injured.

The HRC's figures on the number of people who have lost their lives in this period are presented in the accompanying graphic.



Graphic by Liz Warder

A spokesman stressed that the figures were "guesstimates" since information was not always readily available.

The November figure in particular, although showing that the country could be in for another upsurge in violence, was provisional, since information was still being gathered.

Experts believe the festive season could well see another upsurge in violence.

Graham Simpson, researcher at the Project for the Study of Violence at Wits University, said the level of pessimism had become fairly critical — mainly due to economic pressures and the gloomy prospects of a rapid political settlement.

"In the wake of February 2, increased expectations have largely been unmet," he said.

"For most people, however, political change is not really about political rights and a democratic parliament, but about a better lifestyle. And blacks are still looking across the railway line to the substantial affluence of whites.

"While economic deprivation and the perceived political logjam do not directly lead to violence, it leads to increased frustration.

"Other exacerbating factors in this climate could be a call for a Black Christmas, intimidation and mass mobilisation programmes.

"Let me add that mass mobilisation — an effort to push the Government out of the negotiations logjam — is explicable and legitimate.

"But it enhances the potential for increased social conflict."

Political risk analyst Wim Booyse said the main reason for the enormous upsurge in violence this year could be categorised as "deeds of political revolutionary terror" against political opponents.

This, for example, accounted for 68 percent of the 314 incidents of violence between January and October.

His analysis included attacks on the state machinery and black local authorities but excluded attacks on infrastructure, civilian bystanders and private and business property.

He said one solution to the endemic violence would be to widen negotiations.

"In the conflict area of Bekkersdal, for example, the clashes are between the ANC and Azapo and the 'system' is not involved at all.

"The same goes for the actions of Inkatha vigilantes.

"What is needed is for the supporters of the main political organisations to see that their organisations are involved in talks.

"We need multi-party rather than bi-partisan negotiations, and national negotiations to be complemented by regional negotiations, for it is at the grassroots where the clashes take place." □

Mayor's home bombed

PRETORIA. — The home a Northern Cape township mayor was rocked by an explosion today.

Mr Joshua Mquina, Mayor of Ikhopseng near Warrenton, was sleeping with his wife and children at the time of the blast.

No one was injured, but the exterior of the house was damaged.

At Chamdor near Krugersdorp two municipal policemen on guard duty at an electrical substation were attacked. One was stabbed and died soon afterwards. The other is in a critical condition in hospital. — Sapa.

Mandela's appeal for consensus on peace

CAAT Trips 5/12/90

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As renewed violence takes a dreadful toll of lives in the Transvaal, NELSON MANDELA has called for the building of national consensus on the need for peace. These are extracts from his address at UCT last week.

WE WANT to appeal to all South Africans to join us in calling for an end to violence. We invite all our compatriots of whatever political persuasion and irrespective of race, to join us in building national consensus around the need for peace, for it is a matter in which all of us, while disagreeing on other matters, share a common interest.

Our own commitment to peace, as the ANC, cannot be doubted. It was in pursuance of peace that we sought talks with the government. We are determined that these talks will succeed so that the remaining obstacles to negotiations for a new South Africa are removed. We even took the bold step of unilaterally denying ourselves a key weapon on the struggle against apartheid — use of arms.

Can it, in all honesty, be said that our commitment has been matched by an equal commitment, at all levels, on the side of the government?

Peace, we believe, can only be secured when there is justice. Certainly those who suffer deprivation, hunger, poverty and unemployment as a direct consequence of the policies of apartheid are impatient to move as quickly as possible to achieve redress of their disabilities. Moreover, in the eyes of the majority of South Africans our country is ruled by a government that derives its mandate from less than 14% of the population. To the disenfranchised, it sounds like frivolous quibbling to deny that such a government is illegitimate and has no moral right to exist, regardless of the government's seriousness about the need for change.

The illegitimacy of the government, in the eyes of the majority, cannot be disassembled into discrete compartments. It affects every facet of government and is underscored by the brutal actions of its security organs and their auxiliaries which have been the object of severe judicial strictures.

Eroding confidence

If therefore we want lasting peace, we must commence from the premise that the continued exclusion of the vast majority of the population of our country from the centres of power is a prescription for conflict and provides dry tinder for violence.

A commitment to peace and an end to violence demand a great deal more than fond wishes and vociferously expressed hopes. It must entail, in the first instance, a determination to eradicate the inequalities that foster and fan the flames of conflict, root and branch.

On the surface, it would appear that the majority of political parties in our country have come to accept the need to dismantle apartheid and establish a democratic system of government. Despite this apparent agreement on broad principle, there is no doubt that vastly different meanings are ascribed to this commonly shared objective.

The ANC, for its part, has insisted and shall continue to insist on a process that is inclusive. We welcomed the expressed willingness of Dr Carel Boshoff and his colleagues to engage in the national dialogue about the future of our country despite our vastly differing perspectives of what that future should be. It is consistent with this principle that we have called for an interim government and a constituent assembly as two indispensable instruments to effect the transition from minority domination to democracy.

Given the reality that the majority of South Africans have no reason to accept the legitimacy of a wholly unrepresentative government, continued insistence that one of the parties to the negotiating process should exercise exclusive control over the levers of State power, can only have the effect of eroding confidence. Popular confidence in the authorities will both enhance the possibilities of peace and will guarantee the integrity of the negotiations themselves by removing the temptation to abort the entire process by a unilateral deployment of military forces.

Speedy transition

It has been often repeated that no player can also seek to be referee. The matter is even more serious if the player/referee periodically seeks to change the rules of the game and claims exclusive control over the playing field!

It is clearly insufficient that every political grouping, large or minuscule, representative and unrepresentative, be accorded a seat at the negotiating forum. By calling an election for a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote, every party will be given the opportunity to canvass support for its view of the future constitution. An assembly elected in this manner will have the virtue of representativity and the added bonus of conferring legitimacy on its final product. We want to see a speedy transition that will set the democratisation of South Africa irreversibly in motion.

An elected constituent assembly, which will negotiate and draft a new constitution for South Africa, in our view, will be the best means of achieving this.

The process of building democracy must involve also, the steady penetration of a democratic political culture into all facets of life, including universities, colleges, schools, factories and other workplaces. The universities could set the pace by adopting democratic practices that will empower all sectors of the university community. Meaningful student and worker representation on its decision-making bodies will not impair, but will enhance their effectiveness and legitimacy. The composition of the university council should faithfully reflect the community within which this university operates.

Thousands expected at ANC marches today

6/12/90

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mass marches by tens of thousands of ANC protesters will be staged today here and in Pretoria, the Free State and Eastern Cape.

But in many of its largest regions, the ANC's "Peace and Freedom Now" campaign will get off to a slow start. Spokesmen for the ANC's Eastern and Western Transvaal, Northern and Western Cape and Border regions said yesterday they had no marches planned.

A Western Cape member said the campaign had already been launched in Cape Town last weekend.

An ANC PWV spokesman confirmed yesterday that the organisation had obtained permission for mass marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

This would be followed by further mass action around the ANC demands for a constituent assembly and interim government.

Mass march 'violence' cause for govt concern

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government acknowledged the democratic right of peaceful protest by way of marches, but could not allow mass action to deteriorate into acts of violence and intimidation, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

Speaking after a marathon three-day cabinet meeting, he said the government was concerned about the disruption and conflict that appeared to go hand in hand with programmes of large-scale and repetitive political protest.

It was also concerned by the inability of certain political leaders to get their followers to behave in a disciplined manner.

There was clear evidence that members of the public were being intimidated into participating in so-called mass action.

CHE Times 7/12/90 #74

Thousands march to support ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday staged a show of strength when thousands of its supporters took to the streets of Johannesburg, Pretoria and other centres.

ANC marshals and security forces exercised strict control and virtually no incidents were reported.

A march through the centre of Johannesburg attracted 15 000 ANC supporters, while about 10 000 marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

The marches brought large sections of central Pretoria and Johannesburg to a standstill.

Three thousand turned out for a similar march in Bloemfontein and 1 000 in Port Elizabeth.

With the marches the ANC formally launched its programme of mass action, "Peace and Freedom Now".

In Pretoria and Johannesburg memorandums were presented calling for a constituent assembly and interim government, an end to violence and the release of political prisoners.

The Pretoria march was led by Mrs Winnie Mandela and ANC executive members Mr Joe Slovo, Ms Ruth Mompati and Mr Pallo Jordan.

Reconsider

Mr Hennie Botha, deputy director-general of the President's Office, accepted a memorandum from Mrs Mandela and Mr Slovo.

Mrs Mandela told marchers in front of the Union Buildings that the ANC had not said it would talk to the government at any cost. If the violence was not stopped, it would have to reconsider its position, she said.

Memorandums handed over at Johannesburg City Hall and John Vorster Square accused the government of not being fit to manage the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa. They said the government, though an essential player in the resolution of the country's problems, was engaged in a process of trying to smash all those committed to democracy.

● No marches were planned in the Eastern and Western Transvaal, Northern and Western Cape and the Border, ANC spokesmen said yesterday.

A Western Cape member said the campaign was launched in Cape Town last weekend.

Natal ANC regional secretary Mr Sibusiso Ndebele said that dates and decisions on "mass action" in Natal will be made by the end of this week.

Johannesburg ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus indicated last week that because of violence and the government's slow pace of reform there was an overwhelming demand from black communities for a non-celebration of Christmas.

PAC exiles deplore violence

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

Senior Pan Africanist Congress leaders, who returned to South Africa this week to attend the movement's national congress, yesterday deplored inter-organisational violence and renewed the PAC's offer to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi and economic affairs secretary Mfanasekhaya Gqobose told a press conference in Johannesburg that the violence gave ammunition to those who believed blacks were killing one another and were incapable of running the country.

Mr Mkhwanazi, Mr Gqobose and social welfare secretary Nomvu Booi arrived in South Africa on Wednesday night.

The PAC leaders denounced the "senseless and unnatural" violence, saying their organisation believed in the right of all organisations "no matter how small" to exist.

Mr Mkhwanazi said although they were very happy to be back home after spending more than two decades in exile, they had been struck by the fact that apartheid was still very much alive.

The PAC's three-day congress starts at Shareworld this morning.

'Police, councillors the prime targets'

Black town councillors and policemen have been a major focus of violent attack this year, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said in its latest report released in Johannesburg yesterday.

It said at least 22 policemen and six councillors had died in "first-strike" violent attacks in the first seven months of the year.

An average of two attacks on black councillors and policemen were being mounted daily.

The SAIRR said it had counted at least 409 attacks on the persons or property of black councillors and policemen between the beginning of the year and the end of July.

These included 87 attacks on the homes of black councillors and 222 attacks on the homes of black policemen Most of the attacks involved petrol bombs or other forms of arson and hand grenades.

At least 402 black councillors had resigned to date, in most cases giving intimidation as the reason.

At least one councillor had been necklaced, while one off-duty policeman had been condemned by a "people's court" and had died after being sentenced and stabbed 45 times.

Two-thirds of the 409 violent attacks on black policemen and councillors had not been reported in any of the Johannesburg English-language daily newspapers, the report said.

"The average Johannesburg newspaper reader was thus not made aware of two out of every three violent incidents directed at councillors and policemen.

"Nor did this violence appear to have attracted any adverse editorial comment, with the exception of two leading articles in the Business Day"

In an editorial in July, The Star noted that only property had been damaged when the home of a white Johannesburg councillor was bombed, but the newspaper nevertheless condemned the attack as an act of "terrorism".

The SAIRR, however, could find no equivalent condemnation by The Star editorials of attacks on black town councillors, even though these resulted not only in damage to property but also in injury and death.

In the last few months there had been several articles in various newspapers purporting to give the background to councillors' resignations

"Many articles said 'pressure' caused councillors to resign. Quite a number failed to mention that this pressure has frequently been so violent that the term 'pressure' is a euphemism"

Several groups in SA, the SAIRR added, were involved in monitoring unrest and/or violations of human rights Six groups contacted by the SAIRR kept track of at least one category of police malpractice, but none recorded attacks on councillors or police or their spouses or children in their reports.

The report added· "Our continuing investigations into political violence have convinced us that councillors and policemen are themselves very often the targets of violent attack.

"The extent to which this is occurring has been inadequately reported in the media" — Sapa.

Govt happy with peaceful marches

Staff Reporters and Sapa

Government spokesmen have expressed satisfaction that yesterday's ANC marches in several major centres of South Africa went off peacefully, but have criticised the demands made.

The ANC said today the fact the marches had gone off peacefully was clear evidence that whenever the police and authorities did not interfere in the people's right to march there was no violence.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said this further reinforced the view that "when the police opened fire on marchers" in Johannesburg a few weeks ago "it was totally unnecessary".

Miss Marcus said: "The marches were all peaceful and well attended. This shows that our 'Peace and Freedom Now!' campaign had our people's support. The marches were an exercise that should be welcomed by everybody."

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said petitions handed to officials at venues across the country by ANC protest march organisers did not appear to take into consideration the contents of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Mr Coetsee said the documents contained demands militating against agreements already concluded between the ANC and the Government, and some points raised in the petitions were antiquated.

Other demands related to subject matter that had been discussed by the Government, the ANC and other political organisations. He said the Government would react to the petitions in due course, if necessary.

Captain Craig Kotze of the Ministry of Law and Order said: "We are very pleased the marches went off without incident, because in the final analysis the main concern of the SAP is the maintenance of law and the protection of life, limb and property. Anything which contributes to this goal is welcomed.

"It is still our view that mass protest remains unnecessary and still has the potential to be abused and so erupt into mass intimidation and violence, as so often seen in the townships.

"We therefore hope yesterday's marches are not merely showpieces, but reflect a genuine commitment to peace and the rejection of destabilising tactics."

Marches in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Cradock, Ficksburg, Brakpan, Bultfontein, Wepener and Botshabelo took place with no serious incidents reported.

Police kept a low profile in Johannesburg and Pretoria.

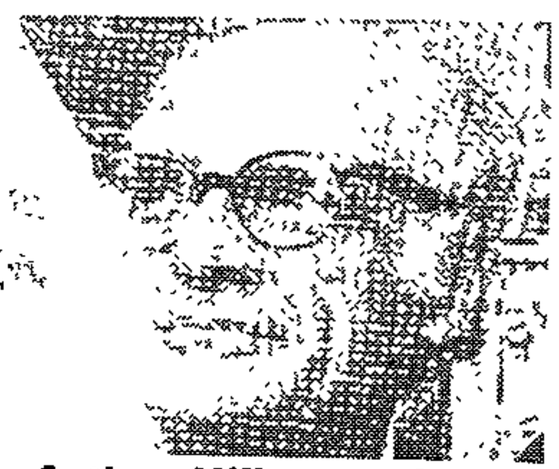
Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said there were no incidents of violence.

In Pretoria, a man displaying right-wing posters was whisked away by police and locked in the back of a car during the peace march. He was later released.

● Pictures — Page 8.

Arthur Miller: SA is on knife-edge

Playwright heartened by visit to Mandela



Arthur Miller . . . documentary for BBC.

By RAMSAY MILNE
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Playwright Arthur Miller, visiting South Africa to conduct a television documentary for the BBC that will include a lengthy interview with Mr Nelson Mandela, has formed some strong impressions on his first visit to the country — awarding both good and bad marks to South African whites and expressing great enthusiasm for the ANC leader.

In an interview published in the New York Times today, the noted writer says he found South Africa suffused with the same frailties and follies that he has explored in his plays.

"All the wrong choices were made right down the line and now the birds have come home to roost," he said.

As an American arriving from New York, he said he had found that "there's less hypocrisy about racism here perhaps."

But, he said of South African whites, "there's a sense that their eyes stop seeing".

Opulent lifestyle

Miller said he was struck by the opulent lifestyle that many whites enjoyed.

"I have seen some of the most expensive homes across the road from a garbage dump where people are consigned to live. It's like a play where people are blind to what's around them.

"In a way, it's the worst of your dreams," the playwright added. "They live a wonderful life, but you pick up the paper and there's an ad for razor wire in your home. The fear is an inch below the surface. I've found less of it among blacks."

His impression of Mr Mandela, he said, after spending 2½ hours talking to him at his Soweto home was that the ANC leader was more pragmatic than his more militant speeches suggested.

"Had he been born into a peaceful society, he would have been a judge," said Miller. "He's one of the most conservative people I've ever met."

Jobs and houses

He said he senses that Mr Mandela was trying to distance himself from the ANC's pledge to nationalise major industries.

"I said, 'You don't have a fixed ideological position'? He said, 'Absolutely not'," Miller reported.

He had asked Mr Mandela whether the ANC wanted the white community to come up with its own proposals for a more equitable distribution of wealth, to which Mr Mandela replied that he did

"He said 'All we want is jobs and houses and the rest of it. Whatever method will bring us that is what we want'," Miller told his interviewer.

After meeting a group of South African businessmen, Miller said he believed they wanted to adjust to political change. They were, he said, "absolutely committed to a new way of life, and I think they mean it."

"They have to look at the social consequences of what they are doing or they will lose everything."

Ominous outcome

Of the factional black violence taking place in and around Johannesburg, Miller said he thought this presaged a more ominous outcome.

He described the violence as "utterly terrible," adding: "But I think there are a lot of white people here who think it's great."

What Miller had seen of a changing South Africa did not seem to hearten him.

"It's like a dream paralysis where you're reaching toward something and you simply can't extend your arm."

"I don't think it's hopeless. I think it's on the edge of a very narrow knife that could go either way."

NEWS

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent, at the PAC conference

PAC militants rule

JOHANNESBURG. — Militancy has marked the start of the PAC's three-day conference here with sharp criticism of Pretoria's negotiation initiative and a reaffirmation of the armed struggle and efforts to create a united black front to "destroy white domination"

Yesterday, amid chants such as "One settler, one bullet" and "Peace among Africans, war against the enemies", the notion of compromise was decried as "capitulation" and the present negotiation process as "political deception".

Militant statements earned the loudest applause, often accompanied by shrieks, whistles and cheers from the 800 delegates.

Behind closed doors

But when they get down to the nitty-gritty of strategy and deciding whether to enter the negotiation process alongside the ANC, the government, the homelands and other parties, it will be behind closed doors. Debate today and tomorrow has been closed to the Press A Press briefing is due to held this afternoon.

The congress got under way at noon yesterday with a rousing rendition of *Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika*, followed by a full-throated "One settler, one bullet" from delegates.

Evidently, the most portentous gesture of the opening day was the deafening applause in response to what was by far the most virulent speech against negotiations, the De Klerk government and "sell-outs" who had accepted Pretoria's invitation to talks.

These statements came not from the PAC, but in a message of support from the New Unity Movement.

The movement's representative said a "negotiated settlement" was a "label of deception" and the compromise the masses were asked to make was a "fraud".

Those who had accepted the government's invitation had been "hoodwinked ... by banquets and bribes".

He said: "No ruling class was ever so stupid to pay its enemies to bring about its own defeat. We say 'no negotiation, no compromise, no sell-out'. There is no political virtue in bargaining away our freedom. We must work towards a united liberation movement to secure victory."

Earlier, acting PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said in his opening address: "The present task of the PAC is to engage in all forms of struggle, the armed struggle as well as the democratic demand for a constituent assembly, and the formation of a principled United Front.

"All forms of struggle are to be encouraged with the armed struggle as the principal method of struggle."

Plea for peace

He said the government could not be the "vehicle for social change", only the "dispossessed masses".

In a strong plea for peace in the townships, Mr Makwetu urged "warring parties" to enter peace talks and to respect the need for political tolerance.

Debate today will be dominated by the third item on the agenda, "PAC on negotiations".

Clearly the sensitivity surrounding this issue, particularly, has prompted the decision to restrict coverage of the debate. It is not an issue on which there is unanimity.

The election of a new leadership takes place tomorrow.

Tackling violence in the black community and finding ways to create a unified black political front are also key matters.

The Cape convener of the PAC, former exile Mr Barney Desai, acknowledged that the congress was being held under difficult conditions, that the movement was in some ways ill-prepared for a meeting of this scale and that the decisions the congress would have to make were problematic, but added: "We make no apologies for the difficulties ... we felt, unlike the ANC, that it was necessary to get the internal and external elements of the movement together and to give our people a chance to meet the leadership.

"For these reasons we decided not to put off the congress.

"Even if it is not a very momentous effort, it is a thrust for democracy."

Exiles have a week to talk

JOHANNESBURG. — PAC exiles attending the movement's three-day congress here this weekend have to leave the country within a week.

The seven-day indemnity was granted by the government to allow them to take part in discussions on strategy and the movement's stance on negotiations.

With various references to being back in "occupied Azania", senior PAC exile Mr Joe Mkwanazi angrily told the opening session of the congress yesterday that foreigners visiting South Africa were given three months ... "but the owners of the land, the sons and daughters of the soil, have been given only seven days in their land.

"When I arrived at Jan Smuts Airport the immigration official asked how long I'd be staying. And I said to him: 'It's a strange question to ask a person how long he will stay in his own country'.

"Can anyone blame the PAC for saying that the struggle must continue unabated?"

● Togolese Minister of Sport, Culture and Youth, Mr Messa Kodjo was among the guest speakers. He spoke in French, with senior PAC exile Mr Gora Ebrahim translating.

Mr Kodjo told the congress no black man could be indifferent to the "noble struggle" the PAC had waged in South Africa.

He acknowledged the De Klerk reforms, but said apartheid could not be reformed.

● Messages of support were received from diverse organisations ... even the Australian government, which acknowledged the PAC was a key player in South Africa and would make an important contribution.

Other messages came from the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation of South Africa and the PAC's armed wing.

'We must stop the carnage'

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior PAC exile has bluntly acknowledged that a lot of the township violence is caused by power-hungry elements in the liberation movements

This significant admission came from external spokesman and administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkwanazi during the opening of the PAC's three-day conference yesterday.

Mr Mkwanazi said it was widely accepted that apartheid was the root cause of the violence and that "once it goes, there will be no carnage".

Then he added, "But let's be honest. A great part of the violence is as a result of hegemonic tendencies among some people in the liberation movements."

He said the PAC fully supported the view that all organisations had a right to exist and express their views without fear of intimidation

"We must use the little time we have now, back in our land, to seriously address in practical terms what can be done to stop this carnage. It is unacceptable and must be stopped.

"The rate at which people are killed worries us It makes us wonder, if this rate continues, whether in a few years' time we will still speak proudly and forcefully of the African majority.

"Some people who support our struggle are beginning to ask whether it was worth it.

"And those who never supported us are saying they knew that if they gave us freedom we would kill each other."

Cape Times 8/12/90 (274)

Ca

Black councillors major victims

JOHANNESBURG. — Black town councillors and policemen had been a major focus of violent attack this year, the SA Institute of Race Relations said in its latest report released here this week.

It said at least 22 policemen and six councillors had died in "first-strike" violent attacks in the first seven months of the year.

Although the number of fatalities was relatively low, there was an average of two attacks daily on black councillors and policemen.

The SAIRR said it had counted at least 409 attacks on the persons or property of black councillors and policemen between the beginning of the year and the end of July.

These included 87 attacks on the homes of black councillors and 222 attacks on the homes of black policemen. Most of the attacks, the SAIRR said, involved petrol bombs or other forms of arson, and handgrenades.

There had been a particularly dramatic escalation in attacks on black councillors and policemen between February and March.

At least 402 black councillors had resigned to date, in most cases giving intimidation as the reason, and black local authorities outside the homelands were operating with only two-thirds of their seats filled.

At least one councillor had been necklaced and one off-duty policeman had been condemned by a "people's court" and had died after being stabbed 45 times, the SAIRR said.

Two-thirds of the 409 violent attacks on black policemen and councillors had not been reported in any of Johannesburg's English daily newspapers, it added.

"Nor did this violence appear to have attracted any adverse editorial comment, with the exception of two leading articles in Business Day."

In the past few months, the institute said, there had been several articles in various newspapers purporting to give the background to councillors' resignations.

"These articles have referred to allegations of corruption, the lack of legitimacy of the black local authority system and the parlous financial situation of the townships under their jurisdiction.

"Many articles said 'pressure' caused councillors to resign. Quite a number failed to mention that this pressure has frequently been so violent that the term 'pressure' is a euphemism." — Sapa

Race relations is top issue for whites

Star 8/12/90 (27)

Whispers

CHRIS MOERDYK

While the Media & Marketing page of Saturday Star will be published throughout the festive season, the Whispers Column will, as usual, be taking a Yuletide break until January 5 This last column of the year is also my swansong as I will be leaving The Star at the end of December to take up an exciting new post in the motor industry (see Newsmakers) From next year the new editor of the Media & Marketing page and Whispers columnist will be the present industrial editor of Sunday Star Finance, Malcolm Fothergill.

□ □ □

Malcolm is no stranger to readers of the Media & Marketing page, having stood in for me on numerous occasions during the past few years when I have been away on leave. He is an extremely accomplished journalist whose style of writing is both informative and highly entertaining He has a sound knowledge of the worlds of marketing, advertising and the media and there's no doubt that readers of this page can look forward to an excellent Saturday morning read in the years to come. Before joining The Star in 1982 Malcolm was an assistant editor of The Citizen and before that of The Friend in Bloemfontein He started his career in journalism in 1967 He will be a full-time member of Saturday Star editorial staff.

□ □ □

Looking back on four years of coverage of the marketing and, in particular, the advertising industry, something that springs to mind immediately is the highly professional standing of the people who are involved in advertising in South Africa. The perception that they're all a bunch of greedy, sharp and shady dealers could not be further from the truth Quite apart from the enormous amount of free time and effort, not to mention money, the ad industry has ploughed into social service programmes, not once in four years has anyone ever approached this column with a bribe or a "you scratch our back, we'll scratch yours" suggestion. Not only that, but with the exception of only one member of the advertising community who took exception to being awarded a "Raspberry" in this column, advertisers and their agents have not only accepted criticism from this column but in most cases used that criticism to modify their ad campaigns. It is indeed heartwarming to leave this column in the knowledge that South Africa's ad industry is not only one of the most professional in the country but one that does have the interests of the consumer at heart.

□ □ □

And now, all that is left is for me to wish all 100 000 readers of this page a happy Christmas and prosperous New Year and to thank all those who took the trouble to write to this column or telephone me during the past few years. My thanks also go to The Star for not only allowing me the priviledge of an exciting and fascinating job but for the editorial independence I was given. As I have probably written ad nauseam on this page during the past few years, the mark of a great newspaper is editorial independence And ass none of my editorial superiors, nor anyone from the advertising department or, for that matter, from the highest echelons of management, ever told me or even suggested to me what I should and should not write, I leave The Star with no doubt whatsoever that it falls fairly and squarely into the "great newspaper" category

Newsmakers

Winner of the M-Net Plum award for October was the Old Mutual television commercial from **Ogilvy & Mather RSTM** (Cape) The M-Net Retail Distinction award was won by the "Jet" commercial from **O&M RSTM** (Transvaal).

Lindsay Smithers-FCB's print ad announcing a weekly SAA flight to Brussels has won the Natal Newspapers Silver Quill award.

TV commercial producers **Elfstone Pictures** won no less than 11 awards at the annual National Television Association awards evening in Camps Bay, Cape, recently for a training video produced for First National Bank. At the same function, **Pro Motion Productions** won seven awards, including a gold and four silvers

Peter Veldsman, Sarie Magazine's food editor, has won the Gallinova Award as top food writer, magazine category

Karen Roos, editor of Red magazine, has won the Natal Technikon "Plum" wward.

Grey Response Marketing has two new clients — Backsberg Wine Estates and Wondercoat.

Column Advertising has been awarded a major promotion for Bols Advocaat by SFW

Saturday Star Media & Marketing editor **Chris Moerdyk** is to head the public affairs department at BMW SA from January 1.

Accolade and . . .

The new television commercial for **Royco Pasta & Sauce** featuring whacky British gourmet Keith Floyd is excellent. It has taste appeal and makes full use of one of advertising's most powerful weapons — the personal testimonial Clearly the advertisers weren't too concerned that Mr Floyd might only be well known to M-Net viewers, and quite rightly so The ad works well whether one knows Keith Floyd or not.

Final raspberry of the year goes to all those ads that enthusiastically offer products at "ONLY" so many rands then hide the extra costs in difficult-to-read (or understand) fine print. Watch out for these guys — if they're not convinced you're getting value for your money imagine how you'll feel when you own the product.

THREE out of every 10 urban adults, aged 16 years and over, believe that race relations is the most important issue facing white South Africans today, according to Market Research Africa.

This viewpoint is shared equally by both men and women and by both Afrikaans and English speakers. It is, however, stronger among those in the A household income group, where average monthly incomes are in excess of R5 000 (36 percent), than it is in the D group (32 percent), where monthly household incomes are less than R1 200.

Conflict

Younger adults who are under 25, are also far more likely to site race relations as an issue (38 percent) than are those who are over 50 (26 percent). It is interesting to note, says MRA, that race relations is more highly mentioned in both Natal (35 percent), were there has been extensive conflict, and in the OFS (34 percent), than in the Cape and Transvaal (both 29 percent).

The second most important issue facing white South Africans is law and order and riots (12 percent) This is of particular concern to those in the lower income groups and older people. Among the A income group and 16-24 year-olds only 7 percent regard this as most important, compared with 14 percent of those in the D group and 15 percent of those over 50. Law and order is more likely to be an issue in Natal (14 percent) and the Transvaal (13 percent) than in the OFS (10 percent) and the Cape (11 percent).

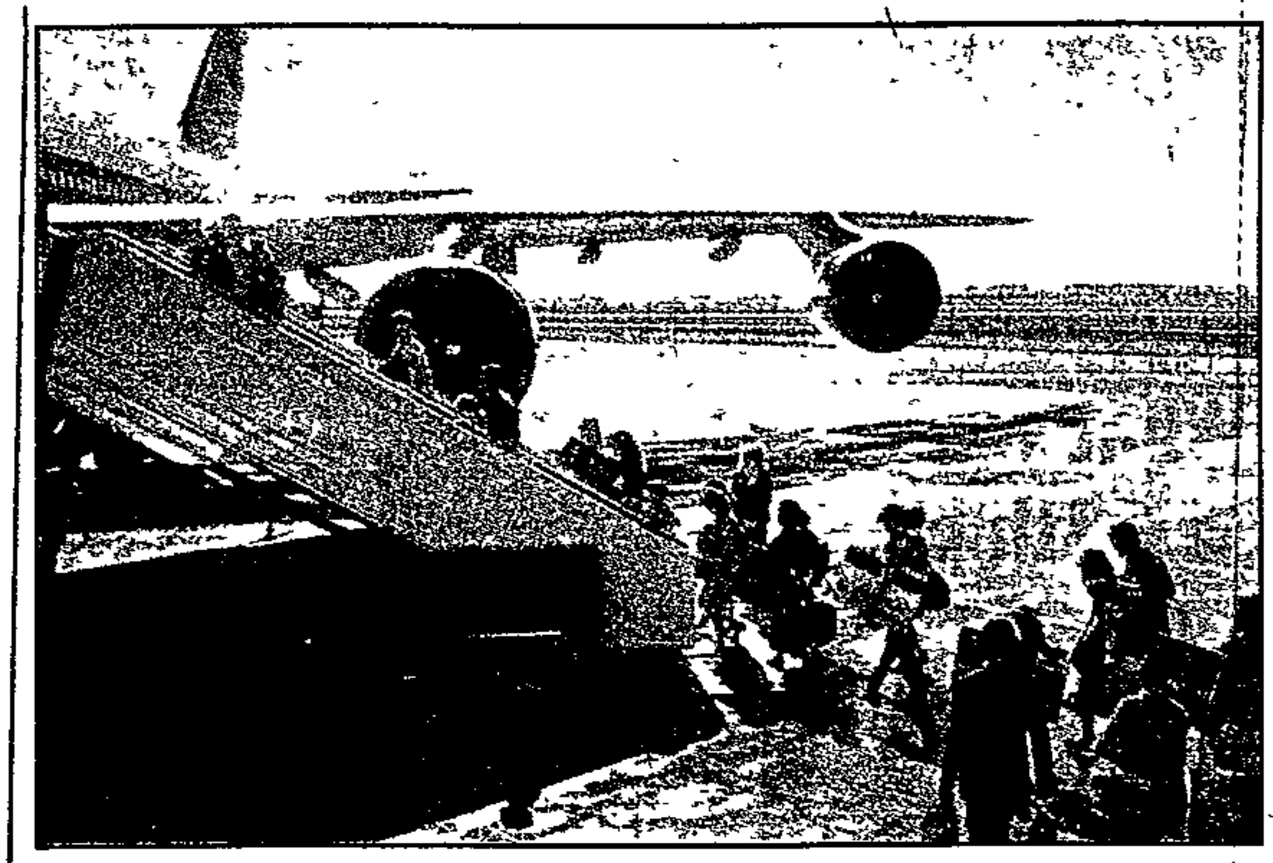
These are the findings of a survey carried out by MRA for the Marketing Standards Authority of South Africa (MRSA) Results are based on a sample of 1 000 urban adults representing 90 percent of white adults living in South Africa, who were polled in April.

Unemployment is another major issue, and is of prime concern to one person in every 10. Women (14 percent) are more anxious about unemployment than are men (7 percent), and this concern grows in incidence with increasing age Only 7 percent of those aged 16-24 mention unemployment as a most important issue, compared with as many as 15 percent among those over the age of 50

Other matters which are considered important are inflation 8 percent (down from 25 percent last year), schools and education 5 percent, uncertain political direction 5 percent, Aids 3 percent, economic matters 2 percent and nationalisation.

Differences

"It is interesting to note that inflation, which was a major concern of South Africans last year is not insignificant in comparison with the major issue of race relations," comments Clive Corder, managing director of MRA. "The traditional differences that have existed in the past between Afrikaans and English speakers on matters of race are now narrowing, as people face up to the realities of finding a solution to the major issues facing people in South African today."



BIG CREDIT: When First National Bank decided to launch its new FirstCard credit card recently, advertising agency Sharrer Edwards Fraser decided on a novel approach to publicise the fact that First Card is the biggest credit card in the country. They used outsized credit cards in various TV commercials — this one showing travellers boarding an aircraft with their giant cards.

Bursary winners announced

Star 8/12/90

BLACK consumers account for more than 50 percent of total retail market sales .. yet the black advertising copywriter or account executive is one of a rare breed.

"Gone are the days when whites alone can decide what's good for blacks, particularly in terms of buying," said Denise Stamm, deputy MD of Grey Advertising and chairman of the Darryl Phillips Bursary Fund.

Four years ago, in an attempt to start addressing this problem, Grey Group chairman Darryl Phillips started a bursary fund which aims to foster black talent in the advertising industry

Three bright youngsters each year — students who have successfully completed their first year of university — are awarded full bursaries to the University of the Witwatersrand.

Stamm announced the 1991 recipients at a function in Sandton last week.

They are Welhemina Magomotsi, Mxolosi Vincent Norman and Nonhlanhla Gumbi, all first-year students at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Welhemina is a dramatic arts student whose ambition is to act and to direct films and theatre.

Medal

Mxolisi, a husband and father, is also in dramatic arts ... and is an outstanding trumpet player in addition to his interest in screenplays and commercials.

Nonhlanhla is a commerce student with excellent business acumen. In 1987 she was awarded a silver medal by the Black Management Forum for her efforts in the Junior Achievement Programme.

The bursary covers their tuition fees, residence fees, books and a personal cash allowance They will work for one of the Grey Group agencies during their holidays and will be offered full-time positions on completion of their degrees.

"It is particularly important at this time that every effort be made to ensure that talent is nurtured wherever it is found," Stamm says.

"One former bursary fund student who went on to work for us as a junior copywriter, Gladwin Marumo, is now in the United States on a Fulbright Scholarship," says Stamm.

"Although we are sorry to have lost him, we are delighted to think that we played a role in his development."

Big Brother watches . . . but 10 000 peaceful supporters marched in Pretoria. ■ Pics: EVANS MBOWENI and MIKE MZILENI

'STREE

THE first phase of a countrywide mass mobilisation campaign to force the government to establish an interim government saw an estimated 30 000 ANC supporters march in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Bloemfontein this week.

In the Free State's Ficksburg, 1 000 marched while in Wepener there were 400, Cradock had 1 500, Bultfontein 300 and Brakpan 400 on a trouble-free Thursday.

South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo said government's opposition to mass action would not be considered until people had direct representation inside the Union Buildings. "We shall not get off the streets of this nation because they are our only parliament.

"Until there is parliament for all the people, we shall continue to walk."

Demands also included a constituent assembly, the repeal of racist laws, freedom for political prisoners and the unhindered return of exiles.

The Pretoria and Johannesburg marches were led by ANC and SACP heavyweights like Slovo, Mac Maharaj, Al-

33 000 march for an interim govt

By SEKOLA SELLO and SANDILE MEMELA

Mandela.

Maharaj, who led the Johannesburg march with veteran ANC politicians like Andrew Mlangeni, Nzo and Ahmed Kathrada, called on the government to "quit stalling" and reiterated his organisation's commitment to negotiations.

In Pretoria, Slovo took thousands of protesters to the entrance of the Union Buildings in what he said was the climax of a march which began 350 years ago.

"It has been a long walk to the Union Buildings. Our people have been walking to them for the past 350 years and shall continue walking until we get inside the buildings."

Slovo was joined by ANC officials Ruth Mompati, Pallo Jordan Jackie Selebi and Winnie Mandela.

Other demands are the immediate curbing of township violence which has claimed more than 800 lives in the past few weeks.

Slovo praised police at the march: "The police have behaved themselves. This is why there has been no death, no shooting or teargas.

"We hope this is a lesson to the rulers that the practice of democracy is not dangerous."

The biggest march took place in Johannesburg with 15 000 supporters.

T PARLIAMF

We shall overcome . . . Jo'burg had the biggest turnout as 15 000 marchers took to the streets and headed for John Vorster Square.

NT'

... of freedom ... marchers wield big fist in Pretoria this week.

Heavyweights ... the ANC's Winnie Mandela and the SACP's Joe Slovo outside the Union Buildings after the Pretoria march.

Cops, councillors the target

Cipren 9/12/90 (274)

Attacks on police not reported, says SAIRR

BLACK town councillors and policemen have been a major focus of violent attacks this year, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said in its latest report released in Johannesburg this week.

It said at least 22 policemen and six councillors had died in "first-strike" violent attacks in the first seven months of the year.

Although the number of fatalities was relatively low, an average of two attacks on black councillors and policemen were mounted daily.

The SAIRR said it had counted at least 409 attacks on the persons or property of black councillors and policemen between the beginning of the year and the end of July.

These included 87 attacks on the homes of black councillors and 222 attacks on the homes of black policemen. Most of the attacks involved petrol bombs or other forms of arson and hand grenades.

There had been a particularly dramatic escalation in attacks on black councillors and policemen between February and March, the SAIRR said.

At least 402 black councillors had resigned to date, in most cases giving intimidation as the reason, and black local authorities were operating with only two-thirds of their seats filled.

At least one councillor had been necklaced, while one off-duty policeman had been condemned by a "people's court" and had died after being sentenced and stabbed 45 times.

Two-thirds of the 409 violent attacks on black policemen and councillors had not been reported in any of the Johannesburg English daily newspapers, the SAIRR said.

In an editorial in July, The Star noted that property had been damaged when the home of a white Johannesburg councillor was bombed, but the newspaper nevertheless condemned the attack as an act of "terrorism".

The SAIRR however could find no equivalent condemnation by Star editorials of attacks on black town councillors, even though these resulted not only in damage of property but also in injury and death.

In the last few months, it said, there had been several articles in various newspapers purporting to give the background to councillors' resignations.

"These articles referred to allegations of corruption, the lack of legitimacy of the black local authority system, and the parlous financial situation of the townships under their jurisdiction.

"Many articles said 'pressure' caused councillors to resign. Quite a number failed to mention that this pressure has frequently been so violent that the term 'pressure' is a euphemism."

Several groups in SA, the SAIRR added, were involved in monitoring unrest and violations of human rights.

Six such groups contacted by the SAIRR kept track of at least one category of police malpractice.

But none recorded attacks on councillors or police or their spouses or children in their reports.

The SAIRR further said it was well aware of the major shortcomings of the black local authority system and that it was equally aware of violent behaviour on the part of the police.

It added: "Our continuing investigations into political violence have, however, convinced us that councillors and policemen are themselves very often the targets of violent attack. The extent to which this is occurring has been inadequately reported in the media." – Sapa.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headline and sub-editing by K Naidoo, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

KING OF THE UN

Organise for self-defence, urges Kasrils

(274)

C/Pres 9/12/90

'IT was absolutely imperative for people to form self-defence structures to put an end to the current violence in South Africa, says MK intelligence chief and Vula fugitive Ronnie Kasrils.

"In 1961, MK was formed to defend the people against the violence of the state," Kasrils told *City Press* in an interview.

"The violence of the state is continuing today with greater fury. And today, the problems facing poverty-stricken people are exploited – for example migrant workers and their alienation from urban society. It's the regime that's behind this, it's the police that are behind this as (ANC deputy president) Nelson Mandela has pointed out.

"Our people are faced with tremendous violence. As in 1961, they must be able to defend themselves. They can't wait for MK to come home with guns.

"Our people have to find methods of organising at the community level – be it a township or a squatter camp – and to organise committees for the defence of those areas along paramilitary lines in such a way that the whole community can be mobilised to defend their lives, their homes.

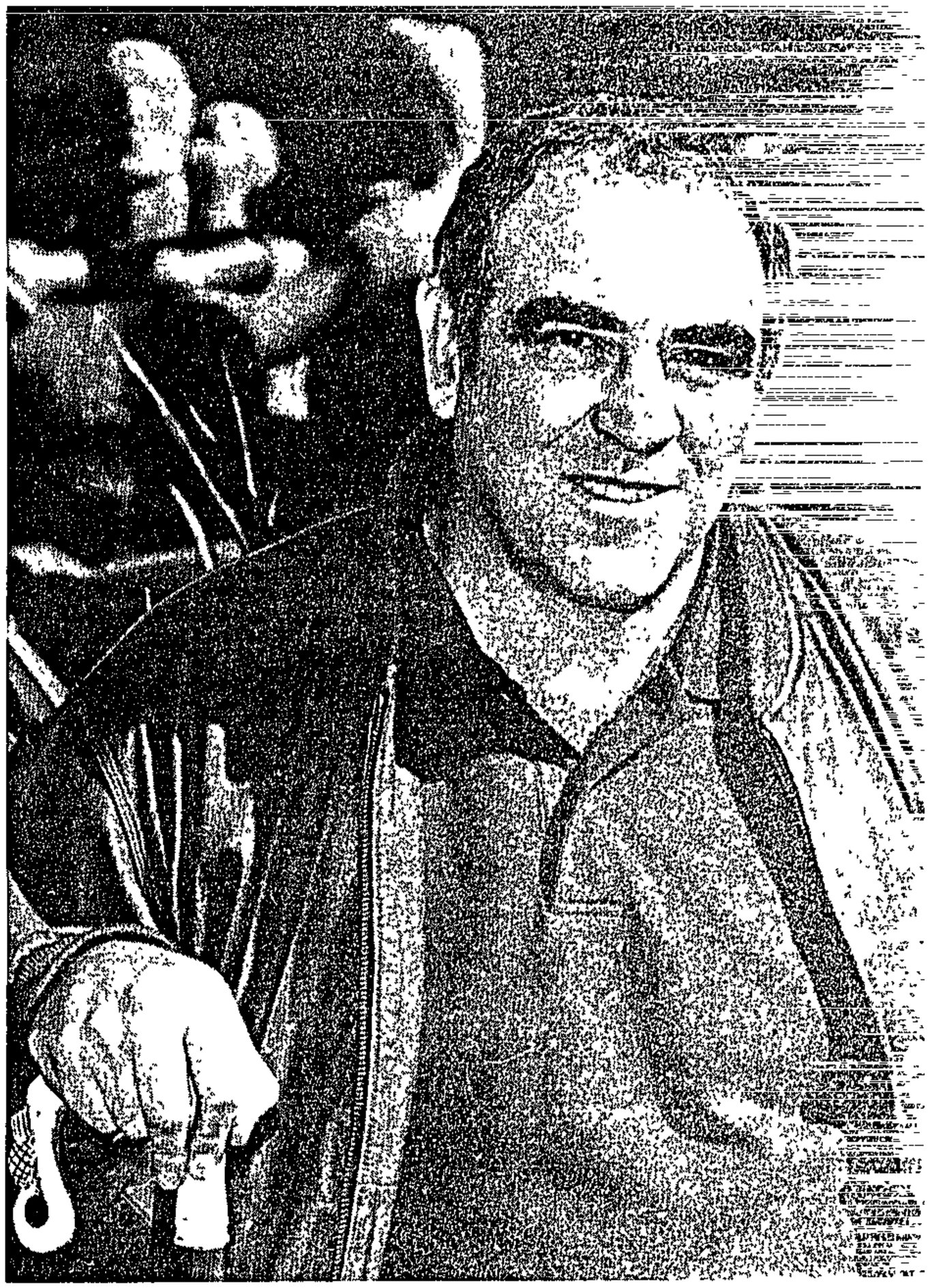
"Organising people in their villages and townships in terms of self-defence proved very popular in countries like Nicaragua in the struggle for liberation; Salvador at the moment; (and) in Vietnam. Rudimentary weapons can be used very effectively. What counts is the way people are organised. When they are organised in a specific manner for self-defence, they have the basis to defend themselves and of course, they must be armed.

"Firearms are necessary, and people must demand firearms. It's a question of demanding the right to life – to demand licensed firearms, to apply for them.

"Of course, there's the question of having to raise money, but I would say our people have to do it – it's a question of life and death.

"This question of self-defence units must be discussed with MK comrades, comrades who are coming out of prison, comrades who are returning with the liberation movement. Workshops should be organised at which experiences are exchanged and methods and plans for defence developed."

Asked whether this was not contrary to the peace process the ANC says it is committed to, Kasrils replied: "Not at all. What they're doing is defending themselves and therefore defending the peace process and helping to create a peaceful, liberated South Africa."'



Armed and dangerous? Rubbish! – I'm a disciplined ANC member acting on orders, says MK ' rils.

A profile of SA's most wanted man

C/Pres 9/12/90

RONNIE Kasrils, who turned 52 earlier this month, has been in the ANC most of his adult life – and a soldier for most of that

He joined the Congress of Democrats, a white affiliate of the ANC-led Congress Alliance, at the age of 20.

Banned soon afterwards, he joined Umkhonto weSizwe, working full-time in its Natal High Command.

Late in 1963, he was ordered to leave the country to undergo military training

Based in Tanzania, he worked in the ANC's Dar Es Salaam office, where he was joined by his wife Eleanor – also an MK cadre who was arrested in 1963 but managed to escape from custody.

In 1966 Eleanor moved to London where the first of their two sons was born

From London they worked throughout the 1960s to rebuild the ANC's underground inside South Africa and to build the international anti-apartheid campaign.

■ In 1976 he was summoned to Angola to train the hundreds of Soweto activists rapidly filling up the ANC's military camps

■ Eventually promoted to political commissar, the Angolan MK ca he was transferred in 1980 to Ma help develop the ground in South A

■ In 1983 he was moved – promoted head of MK's military intelligence He post until 1987 w was co-opted to

Violence: Mandela, FW meet

CAPE TIMES 10/12/90

274

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela met at the weekend and identified the need for urgent follow-up steps to end violence.

In a brief joint statement the two leaders said they had met on numerous occasions over the past two weeks.

"Our main concern was the ongoing violence with its attendant deaths, suffering and destruction of property, as well as the destabilisation of our communities," they said.

They said significant progress was made at the weekend meeting, adding: "We have yet again agreed on our commitment to the peaceful negotiation process and on our rejection of violence as futile and destructive. On this basis we identified the need for urgent follow-up steps."

In the near future there would be further discussions and statements.

At their last publicised meeting in Pretoria two weeks ago, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed they would achieve more if they were able to meet in private.

After that meeting they emphasised the value of the special relationship existing between them in advancing the negotiation process.

Their weekend meeting came shortly after the cabinet and senior government members held a three-day bush summit outside Pretoria.

The ANC's continued commitment to mass mobilisation, and the failure to make significant progress by the working group set up to resolve outstanding aspects flowing from the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, was high on the agenda.

● ANC meeting to focus on sanctions — Page 5

Attacks on councillors, police mount steadily

274

Sowetan 10/12/90

BLACK town councillors and policemen have been a major focus of violent attack this year, the South African Institute of Race Relations says in its latest report.

FOCUS

The report, released in Johannesburg on Thursday, said at least 22 policemen and six councillors had died in "first-strike" violent attacks in the first seven months of the year.

Although the number of fatalities was relatively low, an average of two attacks on black councillors and policemen were being mounted daily.

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These included 87 attacks on the homes of black councillors and 222 attacks on the homes of black policemen. Most of the attacks, the SAIRR said, involved petrol bombs or other forms of arson and handgrenades.

There had been a particularly dramatic escalation in attacks on black councillors and policemen between February and March.

At least 402 black councillors had resigned to date, in most cases giving intimidation as the reason, and black local authorities outside the homelands were operating with only two-thirds of their seats filled.

Necklaced

At least one councillor had been necklaced, while one off-duty policeman had been condemned by a "people's court" and had died after being sentenced and stabbed 45 times.

Two-thirds of the 409 violent attacks on black policemen and councillors had not been reported in any of the Johannesburg English daily newspapers, it added.

"The average Johannesburg newspaper reader was thus not made aware of two out of every three violent incidents directed at councillors and policemen.

"Nor did this violence appear to have attracted any adverse editorial comment, with the exception of two leading articles."

In an editorial in July, one newspaper noted that only property had been damaged when the home of a white Johannesburg councillor was bombed, but the newspaper nevertheless condemned the attack as an act of "terrorism".

The SAIRR, however, could find no equivalent condemnation in that paper's editorials of attacks on black town councillors, even though these resulted not only in damage of property but also in injury and death.

In the last few months, it said, there had been several articles in various newspapers purporting to give the background to councillors' resignations.

"These articles have referred to allegations of corruption, the lack of legitimacy of the black local authority system, and the parlous financial situation of the townships under their jurisdiction.

'Pressure'

Many articles said 'pressure' caused councillors to resign. Quite a number failed to mention that this pressure has frequently been so violent that the term 'pressure' is a euphemism."

Several groups in SA, the SAIRR added, were involved in monitoring unrest and or violations of human rights. Six of such groups contacted by the SAIRR kept track of at least one category of police malpractice.

But none recorded attacks on

Councillor Don Mmesi ...gunned down.

councillors or police or their spouses or children in their reports.

The SAIRR said it was well aware of the major shortcomings of the black local authority system and that it was equally aware of violent behaviour on the part of the police.

"Our continuing investigations into political violence have, however, convinced us that councillors and policemen are themselves very often the targets of violent attack. The extent to which this is occurring has been inadequately reported in the media."- *Sapa*

Violence: Mandela, FW meet

Star 10/12/90

274

President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on Saturday held an urgent meeting to discuss the continuing violence plaguing black townships.

In a joint statement, the leaders said the meeting focused on the continuing violence with its attendant deaths, suffering and destruction of property as well as the destabilisation of communities.

"Significant progress was made. We have yet again agreed on our commitment to the peaceful negotiation process and on our rejection of violence as futile and destructive. On this basis, we identified the need for urgent follow-up steps," the statement said.

It said that of primary importance was the need to focus on the resolution of outstanding problems regarding paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute.

Paragrah 3 of the Pretoria Minute states: "In the interests of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed action with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

"It was agreed that a working group will be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision to report by September 15 1990. Both sides once more committed themselves to do everything in their power to bring about a peaceful solution as quickly as possible."

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela agreed that no further public statements would be made on the issue. — Sapa.

High noon for councillors looms

Star 11/10/90

By Helen Grange

As pressure mounts on black town councillors countrywide to resign, it is only the bravest who are "sticking it out" in administrations which are slowly being stripped of their power.

Violence and death threats against black councillors in recent months have escalated, and have resulted in scores of councillors giving up their posts in spite of high unemployment.

In Atteridgeville, Pretoria, where violence against black councillors has been particularly intense, only three councillors remain — unable any longer to make decisions without a quorum.

"There has been a lot of violent activity here, and the majority of the councillors have resigned. Houses have been firebombed and threats have been made," said Harry Motolong, spokesman for the Atteridgeville council.

The council could now only do the administrative work and could not make decisions.

Attack

In a report on political violence, the South African Institute of Race Relations said. black town councillors and policemen had been a major focus of violent attacks this year.

At least 22 policemen and six councillors had died in "first strike" violent attacks in the first seven months of the year.

The institute had counted at least 409 attacks on the persons or property of black councillors between the beginning of the year and the end of July. These included 87 attacks on homes of black councillors.

At least 402 councillors had resigned to date, in most cases giving intimidation as the reason, and black local authorities outside the homelands were operating with only two-thirds of their seats filled.

With civic associations stepping up the campaign against black councils, the few remaining councillors face possible further danger.

However, the acting president of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), Henock Ngakane, has said the organisation's members would not bow to pressure. "It is better to die in the battle than to die running away," he said.

Row over statistics on violence

Star 11/12/90
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By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The South African Institute of Race Relations has criticised the Human Rights Commission's statistics on political violence, accusing the organisation of exaggerating the extent of "vigilante" violence.

In a press statement criticising an article in The Star on December 4, which was based on figures provided by the HRC, the institute said violence was sometimes attributed to vigilantes without any supporting evidence and sometimes even with evidence pointing away from vigilantes.

But a spokesman for the HRC maintained that the figures were accurate, although classification was often difficult due to a lack of information on the nature of the particular clash.

When the article was written, The Star first approached the institute, which said it could not provide a breakdown of figures on violence.

A spokesman for the institute, Gill Wentzel, conceded yesterday: "We don't have a breakdown because (it is) ... difficult to be accurate."

The two groups seem to differ on two particular issues.

● Whereas the HRC categorises Inkatha as a vigilante group under the definition of "an organisation which protects the status quo such as homeland leaders and councillors", the institute defines Inkatha as a political party.

The institute, which compiles its figures mostly from police unrest reports, only classifies actions as "vigilante" attacks in the rare cases where the police unrest reports classified those incidents as such.

The HRC includes all actions by vigilantes and counter-attacks by organisations on vigilantes as "vigilante" actions. Thus, a clash between Inkatha and the ANC would be defined as vigilante.

However, a clash between Azapo and the ANC would be included in a new category (introduced from November), called "other political violence".

● Whereas the HRC includes necklacing in the category "vigilante actions", the institute defines it as "generally perceived by the public as a mob killing of perceived collaborators".

Commented the HRC spokesman: "The institute associates necklacing with comrades, while we see it as a vigilante-related action."

Defianc

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While 1990's mass mobilisation campaign may not be as visible as that of previous years, it certainly seems to be effective.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports

MASS mobilisation has become the bone of contention in the present pre-negotiation phase. Is it merely a useful stick which the government can use to beat the African National Congress — a notion with little basis in reality? Or is it a prevalent form of political action which may affect the balance of forces at the negotiating table?

As President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela sat down to disagree about the issue a fortnight ago, there wasn't the visible tide of defiance of a year earlier. Public protest marches in late 1990 are a shadow of their 1989 Defiance Campaign past. WitMail 7/12/-13/12/90

Nor is there an equivalent of the mass euphoria and spontaneous conflict that characterised Mandela's first days at large.

Nor yet the constant street battles, the empty schools and the climate of ungovernability of the 1985/86 years.

In fact several recent "occasions" in the democratic calendar have been of modest proportions — especially those which took place in the main urban centres.

But if things are really that tame, how is it that as many — if not more — community councillors have abandoned their positions at this point in time as in the crisis years of 1984/6? By the end of October 685 positions on black councils — or 37 percent of a total of 1 867 — were vacant. The number has increased since then — the whole of Mhluzi council in the Eastern Transvaal has gone, for instance, as has the high-profile mayor of Daveyton, Tom Boya.

While there is no exactly comparable figure for the mid-1980s, between September 1984 and May 1985, according to official figures, a total of 197 councillors resigned.

There is a tendency to ascribe the recent resignations to blatant "intimidation" — and attacks on councillors' homes certainly still occur.

More significant is the context of community action in which many of the council resignations take place.

In Mhluzi, for instance, authorities responded to the rent and service tariff boycott in the area by cutting electricity and water supplies. Under the co-ordination of the Mhluzi Civic Association, residents retaliated with a consumer boycott of white-owned stores and a five day stayaway last week.

The deadlock was broken by the intervention of Middelburg Steel, whose representative, Mark Drewell, said the company saw the situation deteriorating in a way that was "not desirable for the entire Middelburg community". Middelburg Steel agreed to pay the service charge arrears of R37 000 so that electricity can be reconnected.

The civic association agreed that residents would pay an interim flat rate for services and negotiate a longer term rate with the township administrator. The Mhluzi council members announced their resignation and asked the province to appoint an administrator in their place.

Before the settlement was reached, however, a women's protest march in Mhluzi had been forcibly dispersed and one person had been killed.

At least four other Eastern Transvaal towns are reported to be affected by consumer boycotts — Witbank, Waterval Boven, Belfast and Bethal.

Some weeks back teachers at Witbank staged a mass three-week sit-in to demand the authorities address serious shortcomings in educational facilities. According to community sources, about 420 teachers occupied a single school in the area and the executive committee of the Witbank Teachers' Union spent the same period in the local school inspectors' office. They relented in

their protest only when senior education officials began to engage in discussions with them.

Nor is the action in the Eastern Transvaal confined to the towns. The homeland areas of Bushbuckridge and Acornhoek have witnessed mass protest marches in the last month. According to ANC Eastern Transvaal spokesman Joe Nkuna, at Acornhoek residents of Lebowa and Gazankulu marched in their tens of thousands to demand an end to the homeland system and — perhaps more importantly — access to clean drinking water.

In the Free State several towns have been stung into action by threatened or actual service cuts. In Kroonstad's Maokeng township — which accommodates some 100 000 residents — the suspension of water and electricity supplies a month ago caused an immediate work-stayaway. Services were briefly resumed, then again suspended. When summonses were issued against 45 residents last week, youths began burning commerical vehicles in the township.

Maokeng residents are sticking to their month-old consumer boycott, insisting that only a switch-on of services and undertaking to negotiate a settlement will release their buying power to the white town again.

The local ANC Youth League is talking of militant direct action. Interim chairman Thami Phaliso told Sapa: "We are going to apply every strategy which is at our disposal, including militant action. As a revolutionary organisation we do not have confidence anymore in these negotiations to resolve the crisis in Maokeng."

In Bloemfontein, a four-week consumer boycott ended in mid-October, with the Bloemfontein council facilitating the meeting of the demands of the Mangaung Civic Association. While residents agreed to pay for electricity, the council agreed to lay on temporary water supplies to the huge shack settlement of Freedom Square and the provincial authorities undertook to plan for permanent provision to the area.

The agreement effectively by-passed the Mangaung Town Council, which has for months refused to supply water to the shack towns. The civic association holds that it is a "contradiction in terms" to negotiate with a council whose resignation it is demanding.

The shack settlements themselves are the result of popular action. They were created by the homeless under the guidance of the civic association, which negotiated the permanence of the settlements and their formal lay-out with the province.

eep

Throughout the Free State and Transvaal towns like Brits and Heidelburg organised land invasions have taken place, forcing the authorities to allocate land to tens of thousands of homeless people.

Even in the relatively unorganised Western Transvaal there are rent boycotts in Klerksdorp, Wolmaranstad and Leeudoringstad — with consumer boycotts in the last two, according to Lawyers for Human Rights organiser Levi Present.

In the Potchefstroom township of Ikageng last month the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) march in the campaign against black local authorities drew a crowd estimated by local sources to be about 10 000-strong.

Further west, the Northern Cape community of Huhudi suspended its consumer boycott once it became known that public facilities in the town of Vryburg would be declared open to all races. The rent boycott continued, civic association spokesman Darkey Afrika confirmed this week, together with a gradual implementation of plans to occupy vacant land in the township.

Rent boycotts, suspension of services and consumer boycotts are to be found in many towns of the Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal. In Port Elizabeth, for instance, the rent protests in the Northern Areas, which were violently countered and led to riots claiming 49 lives in September, are still in force.

In Khayelitsha increases in rent and service charges led to boycotts and calls for the removal of Mali Hoza and town clerk Graham Lawrence — and to a mass march at the end of October, when police and residents clashed.

In sum, it is clear that mass action is no phantom. But it is also not, in this phase, quasi-insurrectionary as it was in 1985/6. And the main urban centres — with the exception perhaps of parts of the Peninsula, the East Rand, the Vaal and some Pretoria townships — are no longer the main locus of popular action.

The action tends to be reactive, but is often combined with politically enterprising demands. The trigger may be the suspension of services or housing shortages, but the political demand for the creation of non-racial local authorities offering greater public resources to black residents sits very comfortably with these grievances.

In many areas it has been the established civic associations that have acted, with the ANC branches usually a late (but increasingly prominent) arrival on the scene.

The slightly more liberal political climate has made it possible for organisations to resort to a combination of actions in support of their demands — boycotts interchange with marches, petitions and more directly challenging action, such as sit-ins or the dumping of night-soil on councillors' lawns.

Even before the State of Emergency was scrapped, the practice of automatically detaining the leaders of popular campaigns ceased.

The possibility of local-level negotiations has been opened up once more (after PW Botha firmly put the lid on such moves in the mid-1980s) — and local business interests under pressure of direct mass action have often acted as catalysts in resolving grievances.

There is a marked swing towards adult participation in township campaigns, typified perhaps by the degree to which teachers have now embraced the causes which their pupils championed some years ago.

The present mass action may involve fewer people, but it encompasses a broader sweep of the country than any prior wave of campaigning.

And, says the ANC's Nkuna, it is wishful thinking on the part of the government to suppose it can be stopped by any precondition to talks. "The argument of the government is irrelevant because we still don't have a parliament. Our only parliament remains the streets, the mines and the factories."

As Gus Silber is on leave, his column, Off The Wall, will not appear for the rest of the year

FOCUS ON MASS ACTION

e in 1990:Fewer people, wider sw

Tumahole's children join the protest against the decision by Parys Town Council to cut the townships' water supply

Photo: JUSTIN SHOLK

CAPE TIMES 13/12/90

Six people lose lives during unrest in Natal

JOHANNESBURG. — Six people have died in unrest in Natal during the past 24 hours.

Three of the people were killed in unrest near Durban.

Two men died at Umkomaas, near Port Shepstone, when attacked by a group. A hut was set alight in the same area.

In a separate incident, a man was shot and killed when fighting broke out between two groups at Osindisweni near Durban. Nine huts were burnt.

In Vosloorus, near Germiston, a man was shot and wounded by unknown gunmen.

In Woodstock a group of about 40 gathered. They dispersed after police issued a warning. — Sapa

Dhlomo pinpoints causes of violence

ARGUS 14/12/90 STAR 274

Political Staff

POLITICAL consultant Dr Oscar Dhlomo has identified sources of violence sweeping South Africa.

In an address in New York this week, he said the first level of violence was inter-group violence affecting political organisations such as Inkatha, the ANC, Azapo and the PAC.

"The violence that has persisted for almost five years is between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance This violence has been defined as an ideological power struggle, exacerbated by lack of a democratic culture of political tolerance and freedom of association among black political groups

"Socio-political factors such as a scramble for scarce resources and criminality have also been cited as complementary causes of this violence."

Mass action

Dr Dhlomo said the second level of violence resulted from confrontation between State agents of law and order and ANC and civic association members involved in mass action to dismantle local government structures and force black town councillors serving in these structures to resign.

"This violence is driven by lack of consensus between the government and the ANC with regard to the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute. The government is of the opinion that the suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC also implies the suspension of mass action. The ANC on the other hand maintains that armed struggle and mass action are mutually exclusive strategies."

The third level of violence was white rightwing violence aimed at black South Africans in particular and the government in general "Some white rightwingers feel extremely threatened by the process of democratic transition which they perceive as a threat."

Such groups rejected constitutional negotiations as they alleged that the government wanted to sell out the white minority to the black majority through a negotiated democratic transition

Dr Dhlomo

The fourth level of violence was criminal violence resulting from the breakdown of law and order, as well as the frustration and desperation of a "lost generation" of young people who had dropped out of the black schooling system.

Democratic transition was severely threatened by violence which had almost become endemic in some areas, he said.

3 460 die in SA violence

Ster 14/12/90.

Political Staff (274)

Many more people died in violence in this country this year alone than the total number who had died in conflict-ridden Northern Ireland in 21 years, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

In figures released this week, the SAIRR said an estimated 3 460 people had died in the violence in South Africa this year, compared with 2 847 in the conflict in Northern Ireland since 1969.

An average of 12 people had died each day in internecine fighting on the East Rand this month, twice the average number of daily deaths for the whole country this year.

The institute's preliminary report said with 220 people already dead in East Rand townships and squatter camps this year, the December death toll threatened to exceed August's 360 mark.

About 1 020 people died on the Witwatersrand between July and November this year, with most deaths recorded in August when 550 people died, the institute said.

The figure decreased to 225 in September and 46 in October.

November and early December had seen a major resurgence in the violence, which continued unabated in neighbouring townships of Katlehong, Tokoza and Vosloorus despite these being declared unrest areas under curfew.

Smuggling of AK-47s escalates

Sunday Times Reporters

GUN-RUNNERS are smuggling hundreds of AK-47 rifles into South Africa from neighbouring states because they command such good prices in violence-torn townships.

This has come to light after a spate of attacks and robberies by gunmen armed with AK-47s in Natal. ST Times 16/12/90

SAP liaison officer for the Natal Midlands Major Pieter Kitching said AK-47s were now readily available in SA.

"People bring them across the border and this has led to a thriving black market business involving hundreds of rifles," he said.

Profit 274

It is believed that the rifles can be bought from Frelimo or Renamo deserters and villagers in Mozambique for as little as R100. They are resold in South Africa for more than R1 000.

- A 15-year-old girl was killed and 20 people wounded at a funeral vigil in Khutsong township near Potchefstroom early yesterday morning by a rampaging gang armed with AK-47s and 9mm pistols.

The gang then stole a kombi and went on to rob a pump attendant at a nearby filling station.

ANC accused in police killings

ST Times 16/12/90

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THE ANC is clearly implicated in a campaign of murder and violence against black town councillors and policemen in a study of violence released by the SA Institute of Race Relations this week.

The report said 409 incidents and attacks on councillors and policemen from January to July this year resulted in the deaths of six councillors and 22 off-duty policemen.

Because of the difficulty in determining motives for attacks on on-duty policemen, these were excluded from the study.

After assessing the roles and motives of different political organisations, the institute's report said:

"The ANC appears to be the only major grouping explicitly and purposely working for the destruction of black local authorities."

It also said that the ANC — more than any other political party — had demonstrated its capacity for significantly raising the nationwide level of violence.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

These were among the elements identified in the campaign of violence:

● Councillors were attacked within days after the first black local authority elections in 1983;

● Attacks on certain councillors ceased after their resignations.

Claims

The report said "this suggests that the violence aimed at these municipal officials stems not so much from community disenchantment with the manner in which their duties have been performed, but that the violence is part of broader campaign aimed at rendering the townships ungovernable and introducing new, alternative local structures".

The report quoted from the ANC's official mouthpiece, Sechaba, and noted that Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, claimed responsibility for specific attacks.

The report dismissed claims by the Pan Africanist Congress that it was responsible for a great number of the attacks.

The report's author, Wayne Safro, said that according to the PAC's own definition of targets and methods, the PAC could be held responsible for at most six percent of the more than 400 attacks recorded in the six months covered by the report.

The report also contained disturbing evidence of a lack of attention paid to the attacks by the media.

In the month when the greatest number of incidents took place — 99 in March — only 33 percent of them were reported in either the Star, the Citizen, Business Day, The Sunday Times, the Weekly Mail or the Sowetan.

Overall, only 38 percent of attacks on councillors or policemen were reported at all in the six-month period.

Apart from the six councillors killed, 87 had had their homes burned, stoned or had hand-grenades thrown at them, while 24 council offices were damaged.

By October 16 this year, 132 councillors out of 692 in the Transvaal had resigned, citing intimidation as their reason for doing so.

In the Cape, 150 out of 636 resigned for the same reason; 119 out of 436 quit in the Free State, and one out of 104 in Natal (outside of KwaZulu).

This means black local authorities were running at 67 percent of their potential by mid-October, said the report.

Threats

Black local authorities were further threatened by the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (CAST) which had committed itself to their destruction.

Of the 409 recorded attacks, 111 were on councillors and 287 were on black policemen.

Insufficient evidence regarding the target of attack occurred in 11 cases.

Arson and petrol bombing were the most common form of attack — in 189 of the cases. Stoning accounted for 120 cases.

Hand-grenades were used in 45 attacks and shootings accounted for 26 others.

Violence blamed on campaign against councils

Much of the violence that South Africa has experienced during the last six years has been sparked off by campaigns to achieve the dismantling of black local authorities, which were an important aspect of mass mobilisation.

This emerges from a report issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Campaigns against black local authorities since 1983 have unleashed situations of individual and mob violence in which increasing numbers of councillors, policemen, and their families have been attacked, the SA Institute of Race Relations report said.

High proportion

The report, entitled "Special Report on Violence against Black Town Councillors and Policemen", which is written by Wayne Safro, said if the number of councillors and off-duty policemen who were killed in the first seven months of this year (six councillors and 22 off-duty policemen) is compared against total fatalities in political violence, the proportion is very low.

"Compared, however, with the number of 'left-wing' activists believed to have been assassinated in South Africa during the last 15 years, the proportion is very high (28 in seven months as against 47 in 15 years)."

He adds that apart from the 22 policemen killed off duty in the first seven months of this year, 59 on-duty policemen were killed from January 1 to November 30 in political disturbances.

Thus, while 197 civilians have been killed by the police this year (according to police figures), nearly half that number of police died in political violence.

The report states that during the 1984/1985 unrest, government officials attributed much of the violence directed at black councillors and policemen to United Democratic Front (UDF) "instigators", "a charge denied at times by that organisation, yet qualified and accepted at others".

Mr Safro notes that black councillors were elected by minorities of their communities and that many were "patently dishonest" in exercising their duties.

"However, the number and countrywide dispersal of attacks on councillors since 1984, the subjection of councillors to violence only days after the initial black local authority elections in 1983, and the cessation of attacks against councillors upon their resignations, suggest that the violence aimed at them stems not so much from community disenchantment, as the violence being part of a broader campaign aimed at rendering the townships ungovernable and introducing alternative local structures." — Sapa.

Boycott call adds fat to the fire – Azapo

The Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday distanced itself from calls for a black Christmas, saying such appeals often degenerated into "political banditry".

Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, said the concept of a black Christmas originated from the Black Consciousness Movement, which in 1976 called for the "oppressed and dispossessed" to mourn the fallen following the mass upheavals that year.

"However, the concept was subsequently desecrated by elements which used mayhem and intimidation to steamroll the oppressed into abiding by their calls.

"Any call for a black Christmas will be akin to adding fat to the fires of violence."

● The Maokeng Democratic Crisis Committee of Kroonstad yesterday distanced itself from a pamphlet which it said was distributed in Maokeng township last Tuesday calling for a consumer boycott. — Sapa.

Plans to step up mass action

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SAW 17/12/90

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC has declared 1991 a year of mass action to step up pressure on the Government for the transfer of power — a decision which could lead to severe conflict in coming months.

A programme of action was adopted at the organisation's consultative conference which ended yesterday.

A campaign, to culminate on Solomon Mahlangu Day (April 6), will be launched for the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and end of political trials and detention.

A programme of mass action will be organised at the time of the opening of Parliament on February 1 to highlight the ANC's demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

This will be followed by a mass door-to-door signature campaign to back these demands.

Workshops with the ANC's allies — particularly the SACP and Cosatu — will be held to thrash out a joint programme of action against violence.

Mass campaigns will be introduced to pressure the Government into ending the carnage in the townships.

The campaigns will be waged within the context of the demand for the removal of all the obstacles to negotiations.

A "patriotic conference" will be held on Sharpeville Day (March 21) to mobilise all anti-apartheid forces.

A mass education programme will be started to mobilise support for a common education system and for adequate funds for education.

Peace on Reef — but violence in other areas

JOHANNESBURG. — Peace swept through Reef townships at the weekend, with only one unrest incident reported by the African National Congress.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday peace initiatives were bearing fruit.

An ANC spokesman said several ANC supporters on their way to Sunday's FNB Stadium rally had been attacked by unknown people in Jeppe. One victim is reportedly missing.

However, according to the police unrest report, violence occurred in other areas.

Several private houses were damaged in stone-throwing and arson attacks in Zondela, Sasolburg.

In Denver, Johannesburg, police found the bodies of two black men; both had stab and hack wounds.

In Lengelihle, Cradock, two black men were arrested for public violence after an illegal gathering.

There were 21 assaults and one shooting, all unrest-related, in the Western Cape. — Sapa

Govt refuses PAC indemity extensions

JOHANNESBURG. — Applications for the extension of 24 PAC officials' 10 days temporary indemnity from prosecution — which expired on Friday last week — have been turned down.

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai confirmed yesterday that a number of officials applied for indemnity extensions after attending the recent PAC national conference here.

Mr Desai said information on the failure of applications reached them late on Thursday night, adding: "A number of people applied for indemnity on humanitarian grounds, but their applications were turned down and they had to leave the country."

● PAC administrative secretary Mr Joe Mkhwanazi said in Mbabane yesterday that schools should not be used as venues for violence.

Mr Mkhwanazi said the PAC firmly believed an educated generation was essential for building a new, peaceful and democratic South Africa. — Sapa

FW set to hit back

CAPE TIMES 18/12/90

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is expected to respond in a televised state-of-the-nation address tonight to the ANC's threat to break off talks.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said yesterday the president would speak on matters facing the country, including the threat at the weekend by the ANC to withdraw from talks unless obstacles to negotiations were removed by April 30

The obstacles to negotiations the ANC wants removed are the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles

Moving his Christmas message forward by nearly a week and using the national television channel to respond to the ANC showed the seriousness with which Mr De Klerk viewed the threat, government sources said last night

In his address after the 8pm news Mr De Klerk may respond to other hardline resolutions adopted at the ANC's consultative conference, including the decision to form self-defence units in the townships

Government sources said yesterday the April 30 deadline had already been agreed to by both parties in the Pretoria Minute and it was expected that Mr De Klerk would indicate that the process of removing obstacles was still on schedule

A spokesman for the president also said last night that no request had been received from ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo to meet Mr De Klerk

Mr Tambo returned to South Africa last week after being out of the country for 30 years The two men have never met

Group Areas

The United States State Department yesterday criticised the ANC's threat to suspend negotiations with the government if its conditions are not met as "regrettable" and said it may confuse South Africans about the organisation's intentions

But the ANC's decision to endorse and continue its negotiations with the government was significant

Referring to sanctions, a US spokesman pointed out that the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1988 still governed US policy

The act had laid down five conditions which South Africa had to satisfy before sanctions could be lifted

Three of the conditions had already been met

Those not yet satisfied were the release of political prisoners and the repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts

● There is widespread fear among police, churches and political parties that the recent violence is the precursor to an all-out battle over the Christmas period

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, responding to the ANC weekend conference decision to form defence units, said the government would not tolerate private political armies or vigilantes usurping the functions of the police

"Even the largest police force in the world cannot stop groups intent on killing each other," Captain Kotze said

To page 2

ROMEOS AND JULIET... Visiting Italian [illegible] the international grand prix, Riccardo Sc[illegible] tieri and Roberto Hofmann, hoist Delene Taylor, 23, of Newlands, aloft after she won a

From page 1

"We can only deal with the symptoms of the violence and try to keep the parties away from each other. The underlying causes must be negotiated by the feuding parties and the police endeavours are only a holding action," he said. CAPE TIMES 18/12/90

● The Pan-Africanist Congress has come out in support of the ANC on the continuation of mass action and said Mr De Klerk should be isolated internally and internationally.

● The Democratic Party's spokesman on constitutional affairs, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday it would be a mistake for whites "to head off for a white political kraal" in response to decisions taken at the ANC conference.

"What the ANC rank-and-file showed over the weekend is that they don't accept that whites are committed to an apartheid-free and non-racial South Africa — hence the cynicism and suspicion.

"And the only way whites are going to break this down will be from a democratic vantage point or by throwing their lot with black organisations like the ANC or Inkatha, and so influencing them from within," Dr Worrall said.

Mr Nelson Mandela was correct in saying that the National Party could not be the referee and the party to the negotiating process, Dr Worrall said.

An independent facilitator was needed, key state functions like security and SATV had to be put under neutral supervision and multi-party commissions had to get cracking on major issues like housing, health, education and land reform

● At Ulundi Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC's weekend "war talk" and said the escalation of black-on-black violence "presents probably the gravest threat to peaceful negotiations that exists". "Violence must be de-escalated and the language of the ANC needs to be moderated for this to happen."

He said the ANC had given the impression it was being opportunistic about its involvement in the negotiation process.

"South Africa wants to know that the ANC will enter negotiations and abide by the consequences of agreements reached which are endorsed by the population, either in a referendum or in an election.

"To present either/or ultimatums to the South African government about the release of political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the ending of repressive legislation is just not called for in any objective political terms," Chief Buthelezi said.

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Police warn ANC on private armies

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Star 18/12/90

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The police have warned that the ANC's intention to set up self-defence units in the strife-torn townships could lead to civil war.

It also labelled as totally unacceptable the ANC's plans for mass action campaigns next year, and dismissed the organisation's renewed accusations of State involvement in the township carnage as "nonsense".

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, yesterday launched a scathing attack on hardline resolutions dealing with the security forces, which were adopted at the ANC's consultative conference in Johannesburg at the weekend.

Vehemently denying police partiality in the violence, he said only a "dramatic change in attitude" from the feuding parties would address the root causes of the violence.

Pretoria was silent yesterday on the ANC's ultimatum that it would consider abandoning talks if certain conditions were not met by April 30.

The Pretoria Minute sets this date as the latest date envisaged for the completion of the task of the joint Government/ANC working group which deals with the granting of indemnity to political offenders.

Senior Government members were locked in a State Security Council meeting in Pretoria yesterday, at which the ANC's newly-adopted measures were discussed. They would not, however, comment.

President de Klerk is expected to speak on the ANC's decisions in his Christmas message on television tonight.

Observers believed the hardline policies adopted at the weekend were unlikely to endanger the peace process. They said the deadline was a compromise between the moderates and militants in the movement and was "fair" and could speed up negotiations.

In a long statement Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi criticised the ANC's warning that it might consider breaking off talks and resuming the armed struggle.

"I think it is rather sad that the ANC is talking the way it is about the possibility of resuming an armed struggle ...

"The escalation of black-on-black violence presents probably the gravest threat to peaceful negotiations taking place that exists."

Subvert

Captain Kotze said the police strongly disapproved of the formation of private political armies.

"These can only heighten the conflict in our communities and will inevitably lead to further confrontation and even civil war. These private political armies are completely unnecessary as it is the task of the SAP to protect everyone, including ANC members."

The police would not allow anyone to take over or subvert its law and order functions.

He said mass actions exceeded the bounds of legitimate democratic protest and was therefore completely unacceptable. Mass action contained immense conflict potential which had already erupted into violence in our townships and other areas.

"The SAP will strictly, yet with the necessary discretion, enforce the law in this regard."

Responding to a hard-hitting ANC resolution on police involvement in the violence, he said: "Wild allegations of this nature must be backed up with evidence.

"The SAP categorically denies it is involved in the violence or that it takes sides. The fact that accusations of partiality are leveled at the force from both the ANC and Inkatha makes a mockery of these claims.

"Merely repeating hackneyed allegations ad nauseum does not constitute evidence."

● Sapa reports that the commander of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's commando units, Servaas de Wet, had no objection to the ANC's plans to form self-defence units provided "they remained in their own areas only and left the white communities alone".

Mr de Wet said the AWB had launched the countrywide commando units for white protection in direct response to the Government's release of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela from prison and the unbanning of various political organisations. He said the "revolutionary climate" in the country had since increased and exposed many whites to danger.

Mr de Wet pointed out, however, that the training received by AWB commando members was "a lot less aggressive" than the training received by cadres of the ANC's Umkhonto we-Sizwe who had learned "to handle explosives, bombs, rocket launchers and other weapons used in revolutionary warfare".

Tambo calls for intensified struggle against apartheid

CAPE TIMES 19/12/90 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo told the crowd at his welcoming gathering in his home town of Wattville, near Benoni, yesterday to intensify the struggle against apartheid and to prepare to take full control of their lives.

"Let us hasten the dawn of freedom by intensifying the struggle — we must leave the enemy no quarter," Mr Tambo said to a ululating crowd of about 1 500 at Wattville Stadium.

Mr Tambo had just comleted a day of reunions with family and friends in Wattville, where he lived before his 30 years of exile.

He said his return had come at one of the most tragic phases in the history of the country.

"The violence that apartheid has unleashed on our people with blind fury has claimed countless lives in Natal."

He also expressed his sorrow to the families of victims of "the ruthless slaughter which has claimed over 3 000 lives since June".

Earlier he "officially opened" Tamboville — an informal housing settlement — as well as the land marked for his house to be built in the township early next year.

Both ceremonies were marked by Mr Tambo's cutting of black, green and gold ribbons while crowds sang, danced and shouted "Viva Tambo".

Mr Tambo was accompanied by his wife Adelaide, his two daughters, his son, grandsons, relatives and friends.

Tamboville was officially given to squatters and proclaimed an informal housing settlement after negotiations between the Wattville Concerned Residents' Committee and the Benoni town council earlier this year.

The council has provided water and mobile toilets and the area is extremely clean. There are not many residents yet.

Mr Tambo is expected to travel to his birth-town of Bizana in Transkei later this week. — Sapa

FW vows to crack down on violence

Capt Tim H 19/12/90

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night slammed the African National Congress for fanning the flames of confrontation and said the maintenance of law and order was not negotiable.

In a state of the nation address on television Mr De Klerk said he would:

- Intensify "impartial policing activities" in troubled areas.
- Stabilise local government — the main target of the ANC's "mass action" campaign — so that basic services could be restored to all black communities

Mr De Klerk's widely awaited address basically repeated the government's commitment to fundamental reform as well as to law and order.

Anarchy

The speech was apparently brought forward in response to the ANC's militant weekend conference and took the place of the usual 8pm newscast, which was delayed by 15 minutes.

Speaking firmly, Mr De Klerk challenged the ANC to decide what they wanted — their leaders' commitment to peace and negotiated solutions or a reversion to the confrontation and conflict of the past

Vowing to crack down on violence, intimidation and anarchy in 1991, Mr De Klerk warned that he would not hesitate to marshal even more resources to guarantee stability

He said that at the ANC's consultative conference at the weekend the organisation "appeared to have reverted to outdated rhetoric and policies that fan the flames of confrontation"

The ANC, he said, continued to talk about a "transfer of power" when it was aware that the objective of proposed negotiations was aimed at sharing power and avoiding domination

He criticised the ANC for trying to pre-empt the negotiation process by continuing to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government.

The ANC was guilty of advocating outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods in the knowledge that these militated against a true commitment to peaceful solutions, he said

"They refused to acknowledge (at their conference) that any fundamental changes had taken place in South Africa — this despite the fact that for the first time in 30 years they and their leadership could hold a conference, legally and without hindrance, within the Republic"

Suggesting that there were strong divisions in the ANC between the leadership and rank-and-file members, Mr De Klerk asked "Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

Mr De Klerk said he would not allow the tactics of political opponents to divert the government from its course

"In 1991 we will steer a firm and steady course of fundamental reform and orderly, constructive negotiation"

He said virtually all major political parties had called for

- An end to intimidation and violence
- A return of schoolchildren to their classrooms
- The promotion of "genuine democracy"

Intimidation was unacceptable, as was the incitement of racial hatred and slogans such as "one settler, one bullet" used by the Pan Africanist Congress

ON TV . . . President F W de Klerk in his address to the nation last night

Young people

The non-payment for services, mass action aimed at the widespread disruption of society to force political concessions or which might result in violence, the increasing incidence of crime, and the current role of radicalised youth were also unacceptable

Mr De Klerk said "Many of the problems which I have mentioned have been caused by, or greatly inflamed by, radicalised young people.

"These young people belong in their classrooms, not in the streets"

Mr De Klerk said 1990 had been one of the most significant years in South Africa's history and had been filled with achievement and promise, but also with disappointment.

To page 3

P.T.O.

From page 1

In only one year, the political process had been normalised and all political parties could operate freely, all political leaders could participate in national debate and all ideas and ideologies were openly examined and dissected.

This had helped to change international perceptions and major strides had been made away from international isolation.

The opening up of society had aroused uncertainty and tension based on racial fears as well as dangerous and unrealistic expectations.

A state of fear had descended on many black townships, more than 3 000 people had died in violence, millions of rands' damage had been caused, hundreds of thousands of young people had lost a whole year's education and in some areas local government had ground to a halt.

"Intimidation is rampant. Too often people make decisions, not through conviction, but because they are terrified."

● Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer last night described Mr De Klerk's speech as "motherhood and apple pie".

"He says a great many entirely supportable things, and when he wishes us a merry Christmas, I am sure we all respond positively."

The DP leader said the recurring theme of the president's message was that the incidence of crime was unacceptable.

"Of course it is — every politician can confirm that the people are crying out for crime to be brought under control. But it is not the task of the DP to stop the crime. It is not the task of the ANC or of the Conservative Party.

"As long as Mr De Klerk runs the country it is his responsibility and that of his government."

It was all very well for the president to say that claims for an interim government or a constituent assembly must not be substituted for the negotiating process.

"We largely agree with him, but it is his responsibility to get the negotiations off the ground and running."

Mass action plans and rhetoric slated

ANC direction a path to disaster, warns FW

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

State President F W de Klerk last night accused the ANC of continuing to advocate "outmoded revolutionary doctrines and radical methods", and warned that the organisation's plans for intensified mass action campaigns next year would lead the country to disaster

In his end-of-the-year address to the nation, broadcast on TV, Mr de Klerk expressed disappointment at the course taken by the ANC at its first consultative conference in South Africa in 30 years

The weekend decisions appeared to be a step back towards "outdated rhetoric" and would fuel the flames of confrontation

However, he indicated that the Government was aware that the ANC's top leaders, in adopting a hardline attitude, had bowed to the pressure from militants

Mr de Klerk said "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want Are they really prepared to follow their leaders' commitment at Groote Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

He sternly warned that intimidation, violence and the disruption of municipal services would not be tolerated.

Mr de Klerk further criticised the ANC for

- Continuing to talk of the transfer of power, while the organisation knew that the purpose of proposed negotiations was to determine how power should be shared and domination avoided.
- Continuing its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government, thus trying to pre-empt the necessary negotiation process
- Refusing to acknowledge that fundamental changes had taken place

Stressing that the maintenance of law and order was not negotiable, Mr de Klerk said the Government was determined to take "whatever further action may be necessary" to ensure peace

He announced that impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in violence-ridden areas would be stepped up shortly

The Government also intended stabilising local government to enable the resumption of basic services to all black communities

Responding to the speech last night, the ANC said should the Government need any clarification on decisions reached at the organisation's consultative conference at the weekend, it would be given

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation had "taken note of the points raised" in President de Klerk's address

No longer a stowaway . . . Eastern Province cricketer Luvuyo "Shot gun" Gcezengana is the most talked ab Permlazer Junior Cricket Week, which ended in Johannesburg yesterday.

Zimbabwe planning to 'confiscate land'

Star 19/12/90

HARARE — Multinational companies with farmland holdings in Zimbabwe would have them confiscated by the government in terms of the controversial new land programme, senior sources in the ruling Zanu (PF) Party said yesterday

They quoted Witness Mangwende, the Minister of Agriculture, as telling the Zanu (PF) central committee at the weekend that legislation being drafted aimed expressly at taking the multinationals' land

The sources, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said the decision was part of the government's new land policy which held that foreigners should not be allowed to own land.

The proposed legislation follows parliament's approval last week of an amendment to the constitution which adds to the government's powers of confiscation by allowing it to choose its own price for compensation — and stops affected landowners from contesting the payment in court.

A Harare laywer, Robin Hartley, said land values could be fixed at something substantially less than the market value and could cause banks to lose huge amounts owing to them which were unsecured and not payable

A financial source said the main threat would be to the farming community as lower land values would greatly reduce bank loans to farmers — Sapa

TED matric examination results posted at schools tomorrow

Transvaal Education Department (TED) matric results will be posted at schools from 3 pm tomorrow.

The Star will publish a special matric supplement with all the results in all editions on Friday

A special telephone service will also be available at The Star from midnight on Thursday. For TED results, phone 633-2505 or 633-2293.

'Shotgun' aims to be a big hit

By Graeme Joffe

The cheerful stowaway they call "Shotgun" is on target to become one of the big hits of the Permlazer Junior cricket week in Johannesburg

Luvuyo Gcezengana (13) is determined to make it to the top

Three years ago, the Eastern Province selectors left Shotgun out of the OK Week under-12 side

Selectors could not believe their eyes on arrival in Port Elizabeth when he climbed out from under a bus seat

They played him in some of the games and since then he has made his mark as a batsman and bowler

This is his second year at the Week and with a handful of wickets already to his credit, Shotgun, through the SACU's township scheme, has the opportunity to develop into a top all-rounder

Eric Gqamane, chairman of the Zwide Cricket Union and Shotgun's coach for the last three years, along with EPCU's Adrian Birrell and Donald Mli, said that cricket had replaced soccer as Shotgun's first love.

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'Keep violence out of politics'

274

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will link its demand for a constituent assembly with a call for "free and unhindered political activity", says Azapo Transvaal vice-president Dr Gomolemo Mokae.

In an interview with The Star, Dr Mokae disclosed that Azapo would make the demands at its national congress in Cape Town this weekend. Only once these demands had been met would Azapo enter into negotiations, he said.

Azapo recently rejected an invitation from the Government to enter into exploratory talks with a view to paving the way for real negotiations, saying it would only negotiate within a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Now that other organisations, notably the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), had joined the call for a constituent assembly, Azapo found it necessary insist on freedom of political activity, said Dr Mokae. This was specially necessary in view of the recent violence.

He said if this linkage were not made, the National Party and the ANC "with its history of violence and political intolerance", could end up being rewarded with "bloody votes".

Dr Mokae denied Azapo was moving the goalposts. He said a constituent assembly could take place only in a climate free from intimidation and violence.

The congress, the second to be held by the organisation this year, will start on Friday.

The second deputy president of the PAC, advocate Dikgang Moseneke, will personally deliver a message to Azapo's 10th annual congress on Saturday.

The PAC delegation to the congress will include internal foreign affairs secretary Patricia de Lille, Mr de Sai, western Cape secretary Madoda Mvundla and western cape vice-chairman Sisa Mhambi.

● **Three issues facing Azapo – Page 22**

Violence hits black business hard, says report

MARC HASENFUSS

BLACK entrepreneurs reported massive losses after the political violence that swept through SA's townships and rural areas this year, according to Job Creation SA's (JCSA's) year-end report.

JCSA, a consulting firm specialising in entrepreneurial development, said the economic downswing was also taking its toll and, until things settled down, the future for township entrepreneurs looked bleak.

Civic structures in townships were no longer in place, adding to the confusion and making it impossible to run businesses.

More than 500 000 businesses were suffering because suppliers refused to enter strife-torn townships, and if supplies were bought outside the townships entrepreneurs ran the risk of hold-ups.

JCSA's Ian Hetherington said many of his clients in the townships had been victims of youths who dictated the hours when businesses should operate.

The Small Business Development Corporation reported a sharp decline in larger loans to small enterprise businesses.

However, National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce's (Nafcoc's) Mofasi Lekota believed that there was closer co-operation between black business and political organisations.

Five years ago the black businessman was perceived to be a sellout, working within the system.

Today, Nafcoc had forged close contacts between its local representatives and political organisations, resulting in a reduction in damage to business property during riots.

"Politicians are beginning to understand that it is when there are consumer boycotts that black business has the greatest role to play."

PAC call for end to rising violence

CAPE Times 21/12/90

Political Staff

THE liberation groups should put their heads together about the escalating violence and jointly find a solution, the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said yesterday.

He also called, in his Christmas message, for an intensification of sanctions on all fronts.

Mr Makwetu said 1990 was the year about talks for talks, the release of a few political prisoners and the return of a tiny group of exiles, but it was no use crying over what had happened — instead one should plan for 1991.

"The misguided slogan 'liberation before education' should be a slogan of the past." he said.

"Our education is in a crisis now. We should not only be thinking of doing away with Bantu Education but also of making those schools that claim to be open to be really open."

Mr Makwetu said the PAC trusted that the Azanian masses would turn 1991 into a happy new year "by destroying white domination and creating peace through justice".

Joyce Harris of the Black Sash makes a plea for peace

Era of anarchy and fear must come to an end

Star 21/12/90 (274)

THE only thing that is clear about the violence ravaging our country is that it is escalating: People are fighting and losing their lives. Others who are not fighting are also losing their lives.

There are maimings, mutilations, burnings. Houses and shelters are being demolished and life is fast becoming unendurable.

What is no longer clear, if it ever was, is what is behind it all. The ANC blames Inkatha. Inkatha blames the ANC. The police are accused of partiality, of aiding and abetting and of failing to protect. Meanwhile ghastly deeds are perpetrated, probably perfectly ordinary people have been caught up in rumour and fear and anger, with deeds being committed which would have been unthinkable under normal circumstances. A mindless violence is threatening the entire country.

It is easy to apportion blame. Perhaps if Inkatha had been less jealous of its political and cultural preserves the mayhem might not have happened. Perhaps if the ANC had been more accepting of Chief Buthelezi, and had he and Mr Mandela met early on, it might not have happened. Perhaps if the flames of animosity and anger had not been continuously fanned by the drive for whatever it is that is motivating the warring participants, it would not have happened.

If apartheid had not planted the seeds, with its policy of divide and rule and its moving of vast masses of people, destabilising communities and causing unbearable living conditions, the monster might never have grown.

Perhaps if the police had always behaved as a police force should, instead of being guilty of abusing its power, it would now be respected and in a better position to restore peace. And if there is a third force at work, as many believe, whose purpose it is to destabilise, to encourage the violence and unrest, to prevent the process of negotiation from proceeding, then it has fertile ground on which to operate. There may even be more than one such force.

There is probably a modicum of truth in each of the above premises. What is obvious is that no one knows the whole truth.

All leaders must take responsibility for what is happening, those who are unable to control their constituencies, those who may be unwilling to do so. But most of all, the Government must take responsibility. It is its duty to restore peace, as quickly and pain lessly as possible. But as an involved participant, willingly or otherwise, and also as a result of the indeterminate outcome of the Harms Commission, it has forfeited the right to arbitrate or mediate.

What is required is the presence of a person, or a group of people, whose impartiality is unquestioned, and who are able to monitor, to probe for the truth, to ensure that it is open to the public gaze, and who carry enough weight to mediate or arbitrate, or both, according to their findings.

Something has to be done immediately to defuse the situation, to return people to sanity, and to create a climate of trust out of all the suspicion so that people will once again recognise each other as people and not as members of some opposition group to be attacked and murdered.

No one can want this era of fear to continue. The participants must be open to constructive suggestions for bringing it the violence to an end. Let the Government take immediate, impartial steps to contain the symptoms, using a minimum of force, and let others probe the causes and find solutions, with the help of the leaders of the people.

Let them name those in whom they would have confidence — for there must surely be some of the calibre of the Chief Justice, or Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, or Archbishop Tutu, for instance — and let those named and willing be given an open brief to dissect, inform, consult, meditate and resolve.

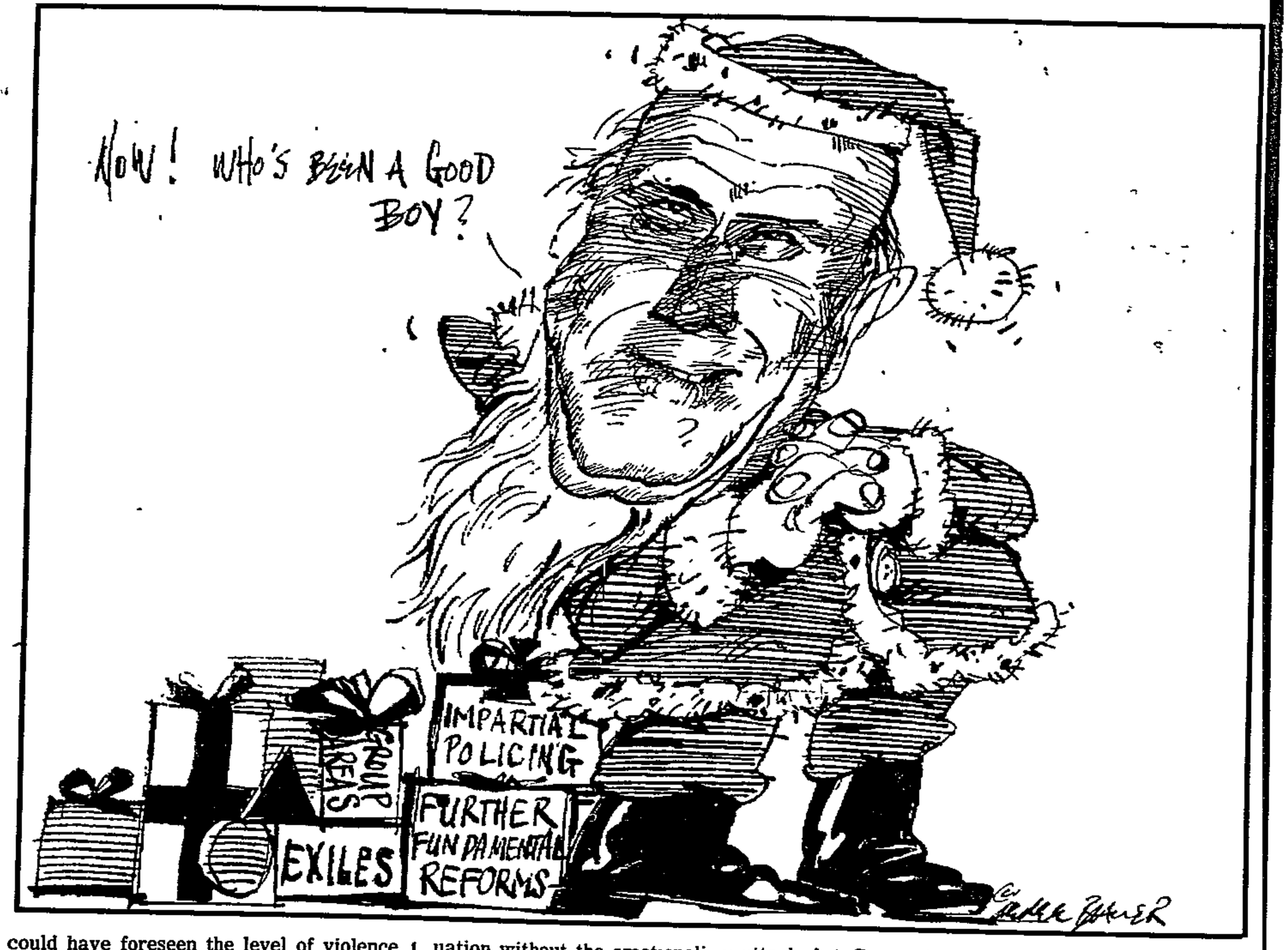
Let justice prevail and let it be seen to be done. □

Suzman berates black leaders

'Mandela and Buthelezi could have stemmed township violence'

Cape Argus 27/12/90

HELEN SUZMAN, former MP for Houghton, is now president of the South African Institute of Race Relations. She has never been known to mince her words. This also holds true for her opinions of players on the political stage. When they were imprisoned, banned or exiled, she fought for their rights. Now she does not hesitate to criticise them if she sees fit. THEO COGGIN interviewed her for Race Relations News.



HELEN Suzman's outspoken views in defence of a just system know few bounds. This became clear when she had some tough things to say about black political leaders, among others.

For many, her expression of dismay at the lack of leadership displayed by black leaders will sound mild criticism compared with the tongue lashings she gave successive ministers of justice in her demands to have these very leaders released from the restrictions placed on them by successive National Party governments.

Hansard abounds with speeches and questions from this uncompromising defender of human rights, fighting for improved conditions in prisons, for the release of detainees, and the unbanning of such organisations as the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Helen Suzman has always believed in giving credit where it is due and criticism when it is warranted.

SO, sitting in her moderately sized study in her home in Sandton, surrounded by shelves of bound volumes of Hansard, books and memorabilia from all over the world, as well as family photographs, Mrs Suzman was asked whether she could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

Yet the period of transition had to come and Mrs Suzman says: "I can assume only that Mr De Klerk realised that the cost in political and economic terms had simply become too great."

BLACK resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could not use [illegible] uation without the emotionalism attached to issues such as that of returning exiles, or the almost sycophantic pursuit of some of the black leaders, who are given platforms to use without there being any discernment of the way in which they may abuse the privilege of being given a platform."

Helen Suzman's contact with the institute goes back to the mid-1940s when she served on its committees with such people

Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act — and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the MP for [illegible]

came clear when she had some tough things to say about black political leaders, among others.

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SO, sitting in her moderately sized study in her home in Sandton, surrounded by shelves of bound volumes of Hansard, books and memorabilia from all over the world, as well as family photographs, Mrs Suzman has pertinent advice for black leaders like Nelson Mandela.

"My conviction is that if Mr Mandela spent more time with his own people in his own country and less time abroad it might have been possible for him to stem the violence in the townships."

But her attention is focused not only on Mr Mandela. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also comes in for due consideration from Mrs Suzman. She believes he could have "stopped the violence in Natal when it started some years ago if he had put his mind to it. Now it may be too late."

MRS SUZMAN has a somewhat pessimistic view of the immediate future. She doubts, for example, that total control can be imposed by anybody in the townships while large-scale unemployment continues and so many young people are not gainfully occupied.

The question of black education disturbs her greatly "because it appears that teachers and parents have lost control of the situation while the children themselves have rejected discipline of any kind".

However depressing the situation, Mrs Suzman has no doubt that the system she fought all her life had to be changed. But no one, not even President F W de Klerk,

could have foreseen the level of violence that has occurred this year.

Yet the period of transition had to come and Mrs Suzman says: "I can assume only that Mr De Klerk realised that the cost in political and economic terms had simply become too great."

BLACK resistance had also become an issue, as well as a realisation that the changes occurring in Eastern Europe meant he could not use the excuse of the "total onslaught" threat.

Mrs Suzman is also convinced of the President's sincerity. "He'd have to be a very good actor to come across the way he does if he did not mean it."

There is no rancour in Mrs Suzman as she reflects on the changes of the past few months.

"I want to make it clear that I do not care who makes the changes or does the work. What is important is that it happens."

Nevertheless, the frightful scenes of the past few months have shown how easy it is for activists to take over if the great mass of people, the silent majority, allow them to do so, she says.

It is in this climate that the South African Institute of Race Relations still has an important role to play.

IT is one of the few objective institutions in the country, Mrs Suzman believes. All others seem to have a loyalty to one side or the other, whereas the institute has gained international respect "for the factual accuracy with which it reports developments in South Africa in such publications as the *Survey*, *RR News*, *Countdown* and *Update*".

"We need a steady eye to assess the situation without the emotionalism attached to issues such as that of returning exiles, or the almost sycophantic pursuit of some of the black leaders, who are given platforms to use without there being any discernment of the way in which they may abuse the privilege of being given a platform."

Helen Suzman's contact with the institute goes back to the mid-1940s when she served on its committees with such people as Rheinalt Jones, Ellen Hellmann, Leo Marquard, Z K Matthews, Edgar Brookes and Bernard Friedman.

THE institute's critical role in fighting for universally recognised human rights has not changed since those early days. One of its strengths, Mrs Suzman believes, is that it is not identified with any particular political party.

"This is what gives it its objectivity. It criticises the government and has done so for many years. But, should it occasionally throw a word or praise the government's way, it is not being disloyal to any other political party."

Of her parliamentary days, Mrs Suzman says that the most demanding years were those as the solitary Progressive Party member in the House of Assembly. Yet she did not find the experience intimidating, even though she clashed bitterly with prime ministers H F Verwoerd and John Vorster (the latter also when he was minister of justice) and with Jimmy Kruger as minister of justice. She recalls how she was treated with great fairness by the Speaker.

SHE recalls, too, that the 1960s were a fertile period for the number of new bills, amendments to acts — such as the Group Areas Act and the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act — and laws that eroded civil liberties. As the lone Progressive Party member she found herself having to prepare speeches on a variety of subjects.

Because of various mergers during her political career, Helen Suzman represented five political parties. Throughout all the changes, however, she remained the MP for Houghton, beginning as a member of the United Party and ending as a representative of the Democratic Party.

She is forthright about the Democratic Party.

"I have no empathy with the Democratic Party really. Many of the original Progs, such as Ray Swart and Clive van Ryneveld, are no longer on the political scene and Jannie Steytler has died.

"WITH the exception of people like Colin Eglin, Zach de Beer and Peter Soal, I have no real relationship with the newcomers who are late arrivals on the scene. This is simply because I cannot get over the fact that so many of them remained with the National Party during the worst years. They remained with them at the times of the forced removals and detention without trial. It took a long time for them to shed their old skins.

"But I do not impugn their sincerity; indeed, many converts will be more enthusiastic than the original members."

Despite her longing to "sink without trace", Helen Suzman will remain on the political scene for many years as the wisdom and experience gained during her 36 years in parliament are drawn on by the institute, journalists, diplomats and interest-groups throughout the world.

CAPE Times 24/12/90

Azapo blames ANC, govt for violence

Reform 'only to keep the system in place'

Political Correspondent

AZAPO yesterday barred the media and non-members from part of its congress during a sensitive discussion on whether the ANC or the state was primarily responsible for violence in the townships.

The press was originally invited to attend the entire two-day congress but was "recused" from proceedings when a commission report on the sources of violence highlighted different interpretations.

Delegates from the floor argued that allowing the press to be party to deliberations on delicate issues like violence could lead to hostile journalists trying to "destroy the movement".

An overwhelming majority of the 450 delegates indicated that they thought the press should go.

Earlier, during a report-back from the violence commission, it was noted that violence in the townships was politically motivated and dated from 1983 when the ANC had allegedly isolated categories of organisations to be "destroyed", including the Black Consciousness Movement.

The report noted that violence in the black community had manifested itself as a result of "intolerance of the views of other organisations" and mentioned the ANC and its bid to impose its "political hegemony".

A second source was the lack of political education, particularly among the youth, which was subject to coercion by one dominant political organization.

A third source of conflict was "provocative" songs, graffiti and slogans which tried to portray "every youth as a member of the ANC youth and every student as a member of the (ANC-affiliated) SA National Students' Congress".

The report added: "Reaction to this results in political violence."

Stayaway calls and school boycotts "in the name of mass action" also led to violence as these were often marked by coercion and intimidation.

However, the report noted that violence could not be blamed entirely on the ANC as the government was also "definitely involved" in perpetuating violence and benefited from the violence in the townships.

Turning to possible solutions, the commission urged that Azapo "reserve our right to self-defence and maximum retaliation".

It also suggested a political education and propaganda campaign in violence-affected areas "to expose the causes and possible people involved in acts of violence".

However, the report then stated that Azapo was "not making the ANC an issue or making any political organization our enemy".

It added: "We don't want to be caught up in reactionary battles that will end up isolating our organization from the community."

The violence commission's report ended with a discussion on the setting up of "defence units" and the training of marshals for "security and defence purposes" — which included a proposal for fitness programmes.

When the report was opened to discussion from the floor, Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape, said he had "no particular quarrel" with the report, but emphasised that "the violence our people are subjected to stems largely from the regime.

"We should consolidate the mindset that the violence that occurs is state violence," he told delegates.

THE AZAPO congress resolved that sanctions should be maintained to retain the isolation of South Africa.

The government had reformed the system only to keep it in place, said Azapo president Mr Phandelani Nefolovhodwe.

Besides the sanctions issue the congress adopted resolutions on a programme of action, support for cultural and sports isolation, a constituent assembly, violence, unity with other liberation organisations, the education crisis and negotiations.

Deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape dismissed claims by a former Durban member that the organisation had negotiated with the government.

The congress adopted a resolution that Azapo could not join the government in talks where "the regime was on its own terrain, subject to its own laws and its security forces intact", Dr Mokoape said.

Transfer of power

"However, at some time, when conditions are ready and the regime is ready to address the real problems centrally, we will consider (talking) — outside their terrain, their powers stripped and their security forces dismantled," Dr Mokoape said.

He said Azapo found it heartening that other organisations were taking up the demand for a constituent assembly.

However, Azapo's demand for such a constitution-making body had to be seen in the context of its central objective — the transfer of power to black people.

Dr Mokoape said all liberation movements had to sit together to adopt a programme of action against "the regime". — Sapa

Azanla soldiers slip into SA to attend congress

Political Correspondent

IN a gesture of bravado and defiance, guerillas from the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania slipped into the country to attend Azapo's 10th annual congress in Langa at the weekend.

Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape described the decision of members of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) to attend the congress as "a demonstration of physical solidarity" with Azapo members living inside SA.

Dr Mokoape said to loud cheers that the Azanla members had entered the country without asking for the necessary indemnity from the government.

"These people — as and how they choose — will be with us at this congress and not under Vlok and De Klerk's indemnity laws," he announced to extended applause, singing and dancing.

At the end of the congress, newly elected president Mr Phandelani Nefolovhodwe noted that Azanla was the armed wing of Azapo's sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

"Azapo does not have any responsibilities for the activities of Azanla," he said.

The congress, which had as its theme "Defend the people, resist neo-colonialism, advance socialism", was marked by militant rhetoric and outspoken resolutions.

Ex-Island prisoner is Azapo head

MR Phandelani Nefolovhodwe was elected Azapo president at its congress in Langa last night.

The 44-year-old former Robben Island prisoner, former president of the South African Student Organisation and outgoing Azapo secretary-general was the unanimous choice of the 450 delegates.

He replaces Dr Jerry Mosala, the UCT religious studies professor, who will be lecturing at Oxford Univerity for the next three years.

Dr Aubrey Mokoape retained his position as deputy president of Azapo.

The other office-bearers elected are: Mr Don Nkadimeng (secretary-general), Mr Peter Jones (vice-president — finance), Mr Victor Dlamini (vice- president — Transvaal), Mr Mzwandile Thwalo (vice-president — Cape), Mr Molathegi Tlhale (political commissar), Mr Stini Moodley (publicity secretary), Mr Lybon Mabasa (projects co-ordinator), and Mr Fundile Mafongosi (national organiser).

Bombs won't win — ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC said the destabilisation and violence permeating SA continued in the frontline states.

The comment came after bombs exploded at an ANC member's house in Bulawayo on Friday, and five other bombings in Lusaka.

The ANC said the bombings were designed to hinder the peace process, but would not succeed. — Sapa

CAPE Times 24/12/90

Azapo blames ANC, govt for violence

Reform 'only to keep the system in place'

Political Correspondent

AZAPO yesterday barred the media and non-members from part of its congress during a sensitive discussion on whether the ANC or the state was primarily responsible for violence in the townships.

The press was originally invited to attend the entire two-day congress but was "recused" from proceedings when a commission report on the sources of violence highlighted different interpretations.

Delegates from the floor argued that allowing the press to be party to deliberations on delicate issues like violence could lead to hostile journalists trying to "destroy the movement"

An overwhelming majority of the 450 delegates indicated that they thought the press should go.

Earlier, during a report-back from the violence commission, it was noted that violence in the townships was politically motivated and dated from 1983 when the ANC had allegedly isolated categories of organisations to be "destroyed", including the Black Consciousness Movement.

The report noted that violence in the black community had manifested itself as a result of "intolerance of the views of other organisations" and mentioned the ANC and its bid to impose its "political hegemony".

A second source was the lack of political education, particularly among the youth, which was subject to coercion by one dominant political organization.

A third source of conflict was "provocative" songs, graffiti and slogans which tried to portray "every youth as a member of the ANC youth and every student as a member of the (ANC-affiliated) SA National Students' Congress".

The report added: "Reaction to this results in political violence."

Stayaway calls and school boycotts "in the name of mass action" also led to violence as these were often marked by coercion and intimidation.

However, the report noted that violence could not be blamed entirely on the ANC as the government was also "definitely involved" in perpetuating violence and benefited from the violence in the townships.

Turning to possible solutions, the commission urged that Azapo "reserve our right to self-defence and maximum retaliation"

It also suggested a political education and propaganda campaign in violence-affected areas "to expose the causes and possible people involved in acts of violence".

However, the report then stated that Azapo was "not making the ANC an issue or making any political organization our enemy".

It added: "We don't want to be caught up in reactionary battles that will end up isolating our organization from the community."

The violence commission's report ended with a discussion on the setting up of "defence units" and the training of marshals for "security and defence purposes" — which included a proposal for fitness programmes.

When the report was opened to discussion from the floor, Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape, said he had "no particular quarrel" with the report, but emphasised that "the violence our people are subjected to stems largely from the regime.

"We should consolidate the mindset that the violence that occurs is state violence," he told delegates.

THE AZAPO congress resolved that sanctions should be maintained to retain the isolation of South Africa.

The government had reformed the system only to keep it in place, said Azapo president Mr Phandelani Nefolovhodwe.

Besides the sanctions issue the congress adopted resolutions on a programme of action, support for cultural and sports isolation, a constituent assembly, violence, unity with other liberation organisations, the education crisis and negotiations.

Deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape dismissed claims by a former Durban member that the organisation had negotiated with the government.

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Transfer of power

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MK to defend townships – Hani

By Brian Sokutu Star 24/11/90

UITENHAGE — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commanders are to be sent to black townships to assist in the formation and strengthening of people's defence committees, MK chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

He was addressing a rally attended by more than 15 000 ANC supporters at Jabavu Stadium in Uitenhage.

Mr Hani said the move should not be viewed with surprise as it was one of the resolutions taken at the recent ANC consultative conference in Johannesburg.

"We are asking for no permission from the Government because we were given a mandate by the conference, a supreme decision-making body of the ANC."

Mr Hani said the people had a right to defend themselves.

"The Government has allowed the existence of paramilitary groups like neighbourhood watches to defend white citizens, but when we bill our defence units it is said to be illegal," he said.

He called for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Among those present were Raymond Mhlaba, national chairman of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC's Internal Leadership Call; John Gomomo, national vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and an executive member of the SACP; and many MK commanders who had returned from exile to attend the ANC's consultative conference.

New attacks of against Police

Sick Reporters

JOHANNESBURG. — Fourteen attacks during the target of a festive season were politically motivated and a drop in South while there was a Reef townships. Nine police and a black guard have been attacked since Christmas Day. Police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said no would show mercy to the perpetrators who property of violence or police.

SHOOTOUT

Police in a shootout with armed men in a township yesterday. Three were shot and one was arrested. Police said the men had fled on foot after they were challenged by police spokesman Captain Vic Erasmus also said the police had been fired at by a group of armed men in a car. An explosive device was thrown at the police vehicle. An unknown number of rifle shots were fired at the police. Three police officers were injured, two seriously. Police said the men had been watching the police station for some time before the attack.

A security guard at Kwathema on the East Rand was shot dead and another injured when a gang entered the premises in the early hours of yesterday morning. The gang escaped with an unknown amount of money.

Police said the security guard was shot at point-blank range when he tried to resist the armed robbery.

Police are investigating the murder of a policeman who was found dead in his car in Soweto on Tuesday.

Police said Constable Mbuyiseni Ndlovu (23) was found with a gunshot wound to the head in the driver's seat of his car in Diepkloof.

Police said they found no signs of a struggle in the car and no weapons were found on the body.

Ndlovu was stationed at the Protea police station.

Police said they are investigating the possibility that he was killed by a colleague

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16 die in unrest

Christmas brings wave of violence to country

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 16 people, including a five-year-old girl, have been killed in incidents of unrest around the country since Christmas.

In unrest reports this week, police confirmed the following incidents:

● A group fired at a private home at Table Mountain in Natal, killing a child and wounding three women.

● Six people have been arrested in the Wartburg area in Natal following a wave of violence over the past few days, in which at least eight people have been killed and several others seriously injured.

The arrests followed after police, assisted by the SADF, moved into the Izajeni area in an effort to restore calm.

● The bodies of two men with gunshot wounds and burns were found at Hopeville near Maritzburg.

● At Magabeni near Umkomaas, police found the body of a man who had been hacked to death.

● A bullet-riddled body was found in Tembisa township near Kempton Park and the burnt body of a man was found in Soweto.

● Two people were shot dead when a gang entered a policeman's house in Kagiso on Tuesday morning and threatened him with a pistol.

Police spokesperson Captain Eugene Opperman said the men threatened the policeman, who has not been named for his own safety, and his family. One of the men had a pistol which he cocked and pointed at the policeman who then produced his own service pistol and fired five shots at the group.

The gang fled the house but two men were later found dead outside. The cocked pistol was still in the hand of one of the dead. The other two men escaped.

Incidents of unrest were also reported from several other areas including Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle, where two policemen were injured when stoned by a crowd. The policemen fired birdshot at the crowd, injuring one man, who was arrested.

At Tshwelelang near Wolmaransstad in the Western Transvaal, a man was arrested after a group attacked a policeman with pangas.

Two men were wounded at Munziville on the West Rand, and a man was arrested after a police patrol used birdshot to ward off a stone-throwing attack.

At Lilethu near Adelaide in the Eastern Cape, the private home of a councillor was damaged in a petrol-bomb attack. — Sapa

ANC-Inkatha talks crucial, says Mandela

CAPE TIMES 27/12/90 (E) 274

JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between the ANC and Inkatha was a crucial step towards stopping violence, Mr Nelson Mandela said in a Christmas address.

The ANC vice-president said the ANC was confident that organisations which had declined to talk to the government — the PAC and Azapo — would at some time take the necessary steps towards negotiations.

He asked that people join him in prayer for peace and justice to prevail.

Mr Mandela said he had fears the culture of violence was becoming endemic, afflicting not only society, but also many in the security forces.

"Let us all commit ourselves to work together for peace, for the speedy transformation of South Africa into a genuinely non-racial and democratic country.

"Let us vow never to spend another Christmas in chains."

But Mr Mandela said that despite a year of factional violence which had killed some 3 000 people and threatened to derail talks between the ANC and the government, he was confident of a peaceful future.

"We have confidence in the wisdom and good sense of the majority to share the hope with you that the New Year will bring all of us nearer to a situation of justice and peace for all the people of our country," he noted, apparently seeking to play down a recent war of words between the ANC and the government. — Sapa

27/12/90

Cape Times, Thursday, Dec

Brutal killings at Christmas

DURBAN. — Natal policemen have been working around the clock to cope with five brutal killings committed during a grim festive season — the latest murder being that of young man found hacked to death in Clairwood here yesterday morning.

Meanwhile, a man and a woman were killed in separate incidents in Hillbrow, Johannesburg.

The 30-year-old Clairwood murder victim, whose identity is being withheld until his next of kin have been informed, was found just after midnight in Pine Road.

The first killing here during the festive season was that of a 33-year-old former post office technician, Mr L Michael Smiddy, who was shot as he tried to stop three men from stealing his car outside the Umdoni shopping centre in Amanzimtoti.

Another killing in the Durban North area was that of an 84-year-old man, found smothered at his home in Edgeley Road on Christmas Eve.

Police suspect that Mr George Frederick Hambly, who had lived alone in the house for the past nine years, was surprised by burglars.

On the Natal South Coast, two women were shot dead when a mob of about 20 men attacked their home and set alight four huts at Mgcazulu location near Port Shepstone on Christmas Day.

In Johannesburg, the body of an unidentified 22-year-old woman was discovered in Room 106 at Hillbrow's Little Roseneath Hotel on Christmas night, police said.

In another incident on Christmas Day, a 45-year-old male was arrested after a man was shot and killed during an argument at the Warrior's Arms nightspot, also in Hillbrow.

A policeman and a security guard were wounded at KwaThema, on the East Rand, early yesterday morning after two men opened fire on them. — Sapa

10% of police force injured

ABOUT 10% of the SAP's strength was injured in political violence in a seven-month period this year, according to figures released this week by the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The SAIRR said in a special report on Violence against Black Town Councillors and Policemen that more than 8 500 people had died in political violence over the past six years, while 440 policemen were killed and more than 25 000 injured in the line of duty during the same period.

From January to the end of July this year, 7 574 policemen were injured and 44 killed in political violence. The SAP has between 70 000 and 80 000 members.

From the beginning of the year to end-November, 85 policemen died in the line of duty.

While 197 civilians died as a result of police action, the report did not say how many civilians were injured this year and how many over the past six years.

WILSON ZWANE

According to the report, black town councillors and municipal policemen had increasingly become victims of political violence as a result of the growing use of mass mobilisation since 1984.

There had been a dramatic upsurge in attacks on black councillors and policemen since March this year.

After decreasing by 33% (from 36 to 24) from January to February, attacks on black town councillors and policemen increased fourfold to 99 in March, the report said.

☐ To Page 2

Police injuries

☐ From Page 1

Of those 99 attacks, 80 were directed at the police and only 19 at councillors, the report said.

In March, methods associated with mass mobilisation — stonings, arson and petrol-bombs — were used in 92% of attacks and "terrorist-style" weapons (hand grenades, limpet mines and guns) in only 8%.

Quoting Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, the report said in July and August alone 1 578 police vehicles were stoned, petrol-bombed or otherwise attacked.

Attacks on police over the same period, on individual SAP members and on policemen's homes totalled 20, 482 and 145 respectively.

Vlok said of 145 attacks on policemen's homes, 77 took place in July. The report's figure for these attacks is 25. According to the institute the discrepancy between the figures arose from the fact that its primary sources were the SAP's daily unrest reports and Johannesburg-based newspapers.

The SAIRR said: "Only incidents which resulted in serious injury or in which property damage exceeded R1 000 were included in the unrest reports. As a result of these criteria, the extent of violence is understated even in the reports that the police themselves put out."

Bullet-proofing for SAP likely

Crime Staff (280) Star 28/12/90

Bullet-proof vests may soon become standard dress for the South African Police. (274)

The recent dramatic upsurge in armed attacks on police personnel had led the police to investigate "the possibility of issuing each individual policeman with a bullet-proof vest or jacket", Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday.

Bullet-proof clothing had already been issued to certain police units, he said.

The incidence of robbers, car thieves and other criminals shooting at the police had escalated drastically during the past two years, he said.

The situation in South Africa was "becoming like that in the US where officers dare not even approach a vehicle which they had stopped for a traffic offence without their firearms in the ready position".

Certain undisclosed security measures had also been taken to protect the homes of policemen in the townships.

● Going all-out to catch the criminals — Page 9

YEAR OF HOPE & HEARTACHE

DEATH STALKS OUR COUNTRY

(274)

C/Press 30/12/90

The final journey . . . this victim was doused with petrol and torched after fleeing for his life during East Rand violence when 'witdoeke' from hostels clashed with township residents.

By DESMOND BLOW

OPTIMISM swept through South Africa after the unbanning of organisations on February 2 and the release of Nelson Mandela, but abject misery followed as political killings soared to record levels this year.

Ten people were killed a day in 1990 compared with 3,25 a day last year, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

For the first six months of this year, 1 591 people died in political violence compared with 1 403 for the whole of 1989. Of these, 48 people died by necklacing, mostly in Natal. Necklacing also took place on the Reef, in the Free State and the Transkei.

The death of 700 people in Reef towns between July 22 and September 28 was a grisly reminder of a warning by former Inkatha general-secretary Oscar Dhlomo that leaders who were "ethnicising" political differences were creating the worst scenario imaginable.

Wits University researcher Lloyd Vogelman said the death toll would increase for the next three to four years as anti-apartheid groups evolved into political parties and until the political crisis in the country was resolved.

SAIRR director John Kane-Berman said security forces accounted for most political fatalities when violence first erupted, but that position had changed

Security forces later accounted for a relatively small proportion of political killings amid talk of an ominous "Third Force" encouraging black-on-black violence.

In the last three months, conflict between the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance and the Inkatha/KwaZulu camp – mostly on the Reef – was the largest source of fatalities The second-largest was from conflict between ANC and Labour Party supporters in the Eastern Cape.

As Natal violence continued, fatalities outside the province increased alarmingly. Political killings outside Natal accounted for 10 percent of the total in 1989, but this rose to 46 percent this year.

"In fact, political deaths outside Natal increased by 1 200 percent in the first 10 months of this year – or 1 402 deaths compared with 124 last year," said the institute

Black town councillors and policemen became a major focus of violent attacks. At least 22 policemen and six councillors died in "first-strike" attacks in the first six months of the year and 99 policemen were killed on duty this year – 65 of them in unrest-related incidents.

Although the number of fatalities was comparatively low, an average of two attacks on black councillors and policemen was recorded daily.

In the first seven months there were at least 409 attacks on black officials. These included 87 attacks on homes of councillors and 222 attacks on homes of black policemen.

Most of the attacks involved petrol bombs and other forms of arson, and in some cases handgrenades were used.

At least 402 black councillors resigned. In most cases they gave intimidation as the reason.

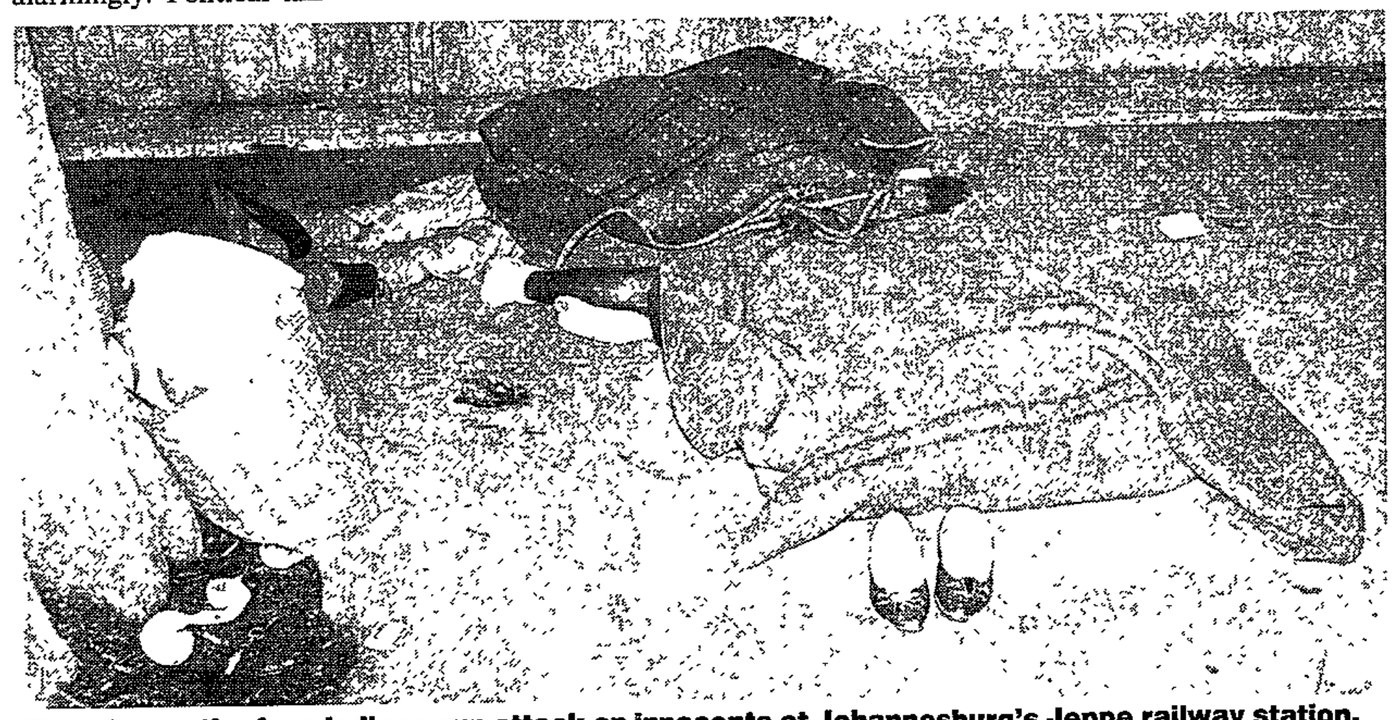
The institute said at least one councillor was necklaced, while an off-duty policeman was condemned to death by a people's court and died after being stabbed 45 times.

The institute said only one in three attacks on black policemen and councillors was reported in Johannesburg English-language newspapers.

"The average reader was thus not made aware of the number of attacks on policemen and councillors," the institute said.

Fatalities in Natal peaked at 291 in March. Conflict between Inkatha and the UDF alliance caused most of the violence in Natal with the UDF camp also involved in Natal and Reef battles against Black Consciousness (BC) groups.

Violence erupted in Cape Town's Crossroads again and there was a big increase in the number of deaths in "independent" homelands – from zero in the first three months of 1989 to 53 in the first three months of this year.



The aftermath of a mindless gun attack on innocents at Johannesburg's Jeppe railway station.

PEACE: SO NEAR AND YET SO FAR

By Professor ANTON VAN NIEKERK of the University of Stellenbosch

(274)

Cpress 30/12/90

CHRISTMAS is the festival of the Prince of Peace and a special time which holds a vision of peace on earth.

But every year around this time the realities of what we are experiencing in this country – mistrust, conflict and violence – mocks this peace message in which 78 percent of this country's people allegedly believe.

How far are we at this moment from peace in South Africa? It appears as if the only reliable reply to this question must be· closer than ever before; further away than ever before.

Peace should appear closer than ever because 1990 was a year in which an old community order, built on racial superiority, was crumbling daily.

For the first time the concept of "democratisation" really started to have meaning Leaders can now take action on behalf of their people. An unaffordable and unwinnable bush war on the Namibian border, and into Angola and Mozambique, is now only a bad memory.

The real economic costs of apartheid eventually dawned on the government Spending priorities changed dramatically; the South African Defence Force was rationalised and military service halved.

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The State President and his colleagues now have a style of action and rhetoric in which respect is shown for basic decency and courtesy; a style in which preparedness to listen took the place of sjamboks, Trojan horses, water cannons, bulldozers and political finger-wagging. We have reason to believe a season of peace is at hand.

Nevertheless, if we look at the true situation with an open mind, we must also acknowledge that it seems as if we are further away from peace than ever before The season of violence in South Africa's townships is in full swing.

We are reaping the bitter fruits of withholding for decades the right of the majority of the people to organise and mobilise politically, to decide for themselves who their leaders are and to offer those leaders the opportunity to develop and establish their power bases in a peaceful manner

Now it has become a power struggle drenched in blood.

We must with an open mind take note of the lessons the developments in black townships have taught us

The fundamental problem in South Africa is not the conflict between individuals and communities

We will always have conflict According to great minds, conflict is a precondition for social and cultural development. The problem is that we lack a culture which can create or maintain effective and productive mechanisms for handling conflict.

The only mechanism which most South Africans, black and white, really know and believe in, is violence. Therefore we remain an exceptionally violent community, despite the developments of 1990.

We could only maintain apartheid with violence and that caused the perception that apartheid – in all its remaining facets – cannot be terminated without violence

Our political culture still does not reward those who try to handle conflict in other ways than violence We are losing respect for human life and this undermines the effort to maintain a civilisation

This is why we not only shoot or throw stones at each other, but we turn our motor cars into murderous weapons, we maltreat children and take up arms the moment tension develops within a family or a love relationship. Violence has penetrated and soured our whole community.

Should we want to establish peace in South Africa, the following appear to be the minimum requirements

■ The restoration of peace must be accompanied by the restoration of justice Peace without justice means tyranny. As Ruskin put it. "It remains a peace which was not won by resisting evil, but peace which was bought through compromising with evil"

■ There is truth in the old Calvinistic belief that the State is the only legal and morally defensible subject of violence. But then the State may not side with the interests of only one section of the population.

One of the main obstacles on the road to peace is the fact one of the participants in planned negotiations, the government, also wants to make the rules for the negotiations.

No game in which one player lays down the rules gets off the ground. This is the background to the nearly impossible situation in which the police find themselves: they must maintain law and order, but they cannot break down the perception that they promote the interests of one group only.

Negotiations will not succeed and peace cannot be assured before something imaginative is done about this.

In future, all parties in South Africa will have a greater need of the police. All efforts must be made to free them from the image of prejudice and taking sides. Should the price for that be the incorporation of Umkhonto weSizwe as well as Buthelezi's impis into the manpower and command structure of the South African security forces, then it is a price which simply has to be paid

We will not have law and order before the present black opposition accepts co-responsibility for it in a visible manner.

■ Real peace is not cheap. White people must help to pay the material price for the lack of advancement of the majority of blacks.

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But blacks will have to be convinced by responsible political leaders that unrealistic demands and the insistence on sanctions will destroy all hopes for peace and prosperity

■ On the spiritual level, the church is the most important carrier of the peace message. That message has no credibility when, like the Dutch Reformed Church, it finds it difficult to live in peace with its own family of churches. God can change the attitudes of people but cannot do so if the instrument He uses (the church) has become the expression of a divisive and sinful attitude.

■ Changed attitudes do not suffice. We must try to establish a political culture in which communication, dialogue and tolerance have unmasked violence as being the least attractive option. Such a culture cannot only be the fruit of negotiation; in an important sense it is the precondition for negotiations.

We cannot start building such a culture soon enough.

The manner in which we live and act now, the way we educate our children, the protection of human rights and the sovereignty and independence of the courts will be the main factors which determine peace or the lack of it in a new South Africa

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Stop shifting blame for violence — end it, says Tambo

UMTATA. — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo has urged Pretoria and "all those concerned" to stop shifting the blame for the violence and realise the urgency of ending it.

Mr Tambo was addressing a rally in his honour at the Independence Stadium here yesterday, attended by more than 10 000 people.

In his speech the recently returned president spoke warmly of Transkei and the homeland's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Tambo's failing health was evident as he slowly moved towards the podium aided by a walking stick and accompanied by his deputy, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Mr Hani held Mr Tambo's notes while he read them, saying the violence of the past five years was being fomented by certain sectors of the state — the aim being to prolong the lifespan of "doomed" apartheid.

"The ANC will not allow this to happen because we are determined not to spend another year under apartheid rule."

The ANC was willing to talk to anyone who had a contribution to make towards the ending of the violence which had plagued many parts of the country, but would not contine to watch its people being massacred in their thousands.

Peaceful

Mr Tambo said the ANC had reaffirmed its commitment to peaceful negotiations in ending apartheid.

However the organisation continued to insist on the formation of an interim government and constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

"We demand freedom now for all the people of the country — regardless of race, sex or creed — which cannot be delayed any longer."

The struggle had to be intensified throughout the "length and breadth" of the country and the people should not allow division to set in, "least of all on the eve of our freedom", he said.

"We're here to congratulate you on a job well done and to encourage you to the last mile with the determination, voracity and vigilance you have shown before — because apartheid is still alive and continues to spread among our people."

Mr Tambo also stressed the importance of education in enabling blacks to play a meaningful role in South Africa.

He made an appeal to the leaders of Kwazulu to join hands as the last phase of the struggle was entered.

Mr Tambo commented that there was no doubt that in Transkei the noble spirit of freedom had taken root in the hearts and minds of the people.

Since a meeting with General Holomisa last year, the Transkei and the ANC had grown from strength to strength here, he said. — Sapa.

Holomisa in pitch for black unity

UMTATA. — Transkei military government leader Major-General H B Holomisa has called on the African National Congress to advance the cause of black unity and cooperation.

He said political divisiveness had plagued opposition politics for decades. — Sapa.

Tambo urges end to violence

31/12/90

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday urged the government and "all those concerned" to stop shifting the blame for the violence in the country, and realise the urgency of ending it

Mr Tambo was addressing over 10 000 people at the Independence Stadium here.

He said the violence of the past five years was being fomented by certain sectors of the state to prolong the lifespan of the "doomed" apartheid system

The ANC was willing to talk to anyone who could contribute to ending the violence which had plagued many parts of the country, but would not contine to watch its people being massacred in their thousands.

Mr Tambo restated the ANC's commitment to peaceful negotiations, but insisted on the formation of an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

He urged intensified struggle and warned against divisions "on the eve of our freedom". He appealed to KwaZulu leaders to join hands with the ANC.

Mr Tambo spoke warmly of Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, who had earlier welcomed the ANC president as "the distinguished son of Africa who has blazed a heroic trail across the entire globe in his quest for the freedom of our people".

After his speech, Mr Tambo was clothed in a tribal animal-skin and head-dress and given a shield, a similar honour to the one bestowed on Mr Nelson Mandela on his arrival in Transkei earlier this year.

Earlier, Mr Mandela had heralded Mr Tambo as a leader unequalled in modesty and humility, who's success was reflected in the fact that the ANC today had officially-recognised representatives in over 40 countries, Mr Mandela said. The government had been unable to compete with the ANC on the diplomatic front.

Cape Town 314
31/12/90

Police are targets of violence

PRETORIA. — Policemen were the targets in several unrest-related incidents over the past 24 hours, according to a police unrest report.

Police also identified a "terrorism-related incident" in Mbotsha near Port Shepstone, Natal, where a handgrenade was thrown at a private dwelling shortly after midnight on Saturday.

The house was damaged in the attack, but no casualties were reported.

A group of people stoned a police vehicle at Murraysburg in the Eastern Cape, slightly injuring a policeman. Seven men were arrested after a group stoned the homes of two policemen and the home of a policeman's father in Letshopa, near Ottosdal in the Western Transvaal. One policemen was injured in this incident.

The body of a policeman who had been shot in the face was found in the Table Mountain area outside Maritzburg yesterday. — Sapa

Unite to end violence — PAC

HARARE. — South African liberation movements should unite in 1991 to map out a common strategy to end violence and forge a united front against the Pretoria regime, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said in his New Year message yesterday.

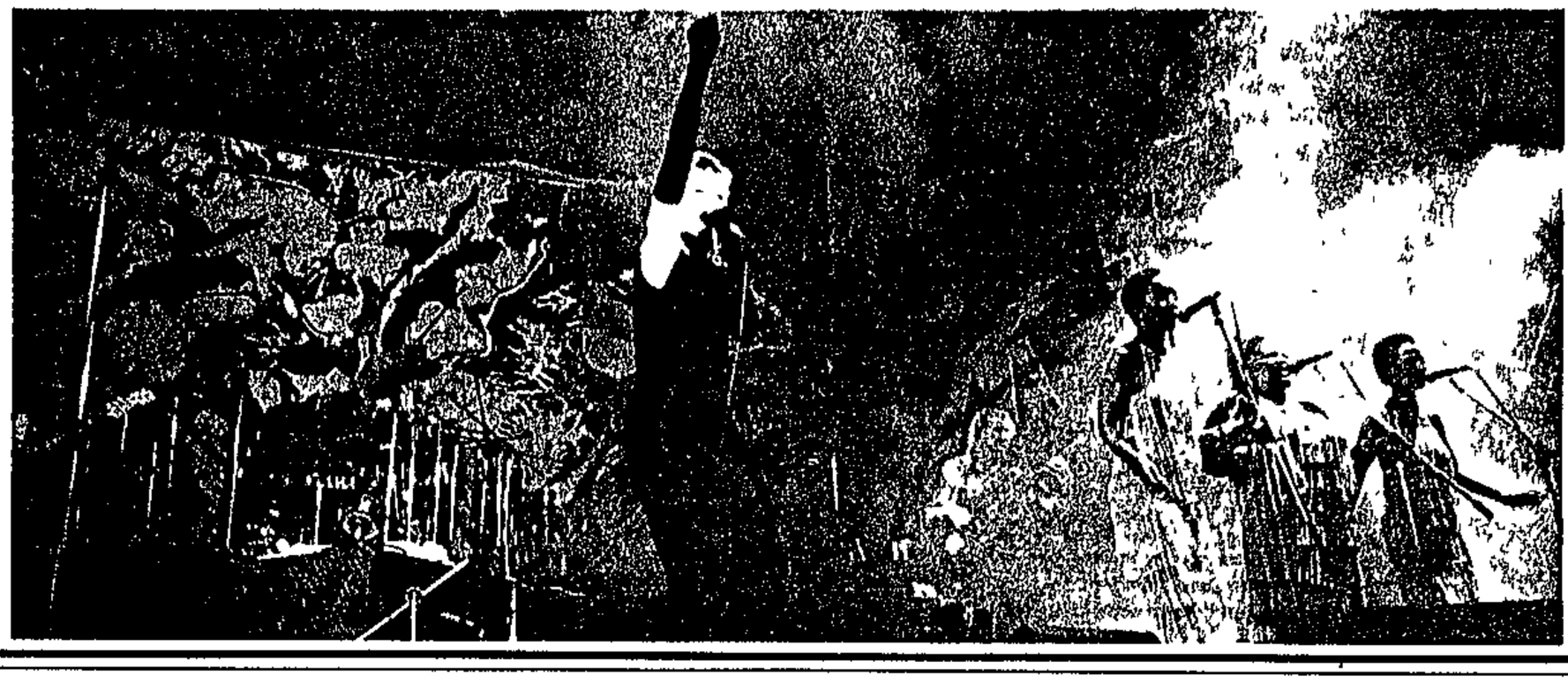
Mr Makwetu also said the black education crisis should be dealt with decisively, and that children should go back to school. He called for abandonment of the "liberation now, education later" policy and asked the community to instead launch a campaign to "really open those schools claiming to be open" (to all races).

PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday that President F W de Klerk would soon be asked to account for South Africa's diamonds and gold, "kept in the vaults of Israel, Switzerland, the United States and Britain".

Mr Alexander said Mr De Klerk would also be asked questions regarding the return of land "stolen from our forefathers".

● In reaction to Mr Alexander's statement, Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said Mr De Klerk had painted himself into a political corner.

"The PAC and ANC's demands for land could never be avoided if the entire South Africa belonged to everyone," he said. — Sapa



GROOVIN' Crowds bopped, jived and boogied to the brassy kwela sounds of Mango Groove, led by vocalist Claire Johnson, at the Good Hope Centre this weekend Thousands packed out the three concerts for the city leg of the band's national tour Picture BENNY GOOL

All-out war on SA crime

Cape Times 31/12/90 274

Vlok explains his plan of action

HANGING ... The para-glider pilot who flew into a tree near the Glen yesterday can be seen here hanging from branches about 20m above the ground while rescue personnel and policemen hold a safety net under him Picture TONY BUNN

ing fir the birds?

...w into a fir ...ay and had ...n using a ...s German ...homas, be... branches ...und ...flew into a ...time, after ...lown unas... ...d ...omas had ... branches ...below the Roundhouse picnic area

"He was holding on and swinging from one of the branches He was still in his safety harness at the time"

Firemen soon arrived at the scene and with police held a safety net beneath the dangling pilot while attempting to rescue him using a ladder, but it was too short

While they were trying to get a safety rope to the pilot another fire-engine with a 30-metre turntable ladder arrived

The ladder was extended to the glider and two fireman helped him down to safety

POLICE will launch a war on crime in the New Year, in the face of a new wave of violent robberies by AK-47 wielding gangs in the past week.

Announcing details of the new plans last night, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok promised more bobbies on the beat and a concerted all-round campaign to halt the high crime rate

He also urged people to become involved in the fight against crime by joining the police reserve and neighbourhood watches

Mr Vlok expressed concern over the number of illegal AK-47 rifles in South Africa — and blamed "erstwhile terrorist organisations" for smuggling them into the country

Gun-running

Last night, the ANC dismissed Mr Vlok's remarks as "disingenuous"

The police and the army have large arsenals of captured or confiscated AK-47s and there are also reports of extensive gun-running to Mozambique and Swaziland, the organisation said

"Therefore it is simplistic to place the source of such weapons at the door of the ANC," a spokeswoman said

A spate of violent robberies by gangs armed with AK-47s have rocked South Africa in the past weeks

The crime rate has soared as gangs have bought the deadly weapons from smugglers bringing them in from neighbouring states

In the latest incidents countrywide

● A Durban storekeeper was gunned down in a robbery attempt by a gang armed with AK-47s yesterday

Police identified the storekeeper as Mr Mahommed Moola, 47, owner of the Marianhill Cash and Carry store

Police said Mr Moola managed to sound the alarm before the gang could take anything, but he was killed when shooting took place shortly afterwards

The would-be robbers escaped in a red Hi-Ace after snatching up two of the gang members Mr Moola had wounded

A number of AK-47 and R4 cartridges were found at the scene

● A Maritzburg man was shot while seated in his car on Friday night

Ebrahim Ismail Moosa, 57, and a female companion were approached by three men while seated in their vehicle in a city street

The attackers broke the driver's window and shot Mr Moosa in the shoulder

He died when he lost control of the car and crashed while attempting to escape his attackers

● Four men armed with an AK-47 held up the owner and customers at the City Deep Cash and Carry store near Johannesburg on Saturday, and fled with R140 000 in cash

Police spokeswoman Captain Ida van Zweel said the robbers held up the owner, Mr Hercules Kruger, 36, and fired several shots A security guard, Mr Eric Botha, 28, was wounded in the shoulder

● Police also seized a cache of weapons, including 10 AK-47s three Makorov pistols, one Scorpion pistol and 10 000 rounds of ammunition, which was found in a Soweto man's car on Saturday

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the comprehensive anti-crime programme is being designed with the help of outside expertise and advice, which had been sought to formulate an overall plan

A top priority was controlling the use of illegal weapons in South Africa, he said

The number of illegal weapons stockpiled in South Africa was unknown, he said "But one AK-47 is one too many," he added

An additional 10 000 policemen would be on the beat in the next six months, boosting the force by almost 15%, while the army would also be called in to assist widely in cordon and search operations

Public role

The manpower shortage in the police force had also posed a huge problem in controlling the growing crime wave, said Captain Kotze

A major and essential component of the police's crime war will be public participation

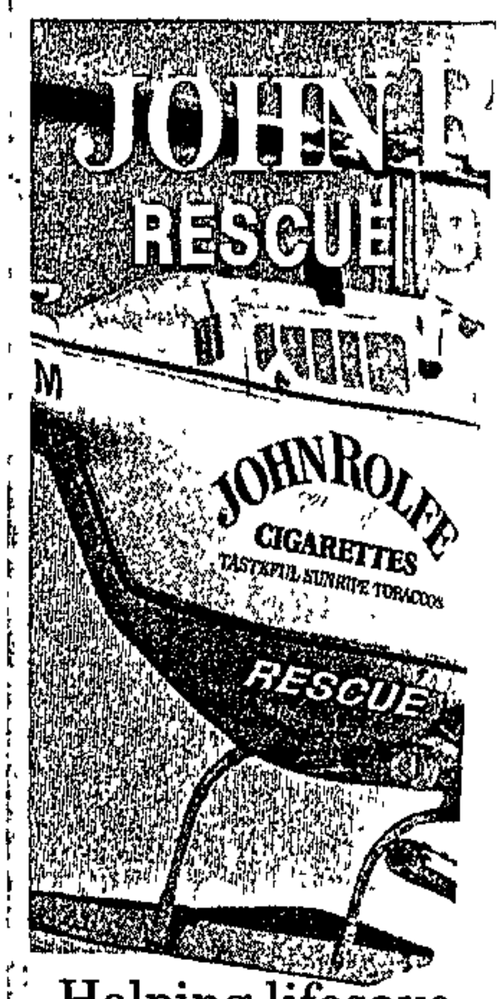
The police will urge the public to join the police reservists and neighbourhood watches, said Captain Kotze

Police will rely on the public to be the eyes and ears of the police, and to prevent and handle crime

"Our success next year will rest with the co-operation between the public and the police in crime prevention," he said — Staff Reporter and Sapa

CAPE TIMES THIS WEEK

THE Cape Times will not appear tomorrow, New Year's Day, or on January 2. The advertisement offices will be closed tomorrow, but will be open for acceptance of domestic notices only from 8 30am to 11 00am on January 2.



Helping lifesave

During the school holidays, the sp... helicopters are on standby to ass... work at beaches along the S...

IN AN EMERGENCY

1 Contact the lifesaver(s) on duty

2 In the case of an unpatrolled bea...

Unrest death toll mounts in aftermath of Christmas

(276)

PRETORIA — The body of a policeman who had been killed by a shotgun blast was found in the Table Mountain area outside Maritzburg yesterday, bringing to at least 18 the number of people reported to have died in political violence since Christmas.

The police unrest report on Saturday stated at least 13 people had been killed, two by police gunfire, during unrest in the worst round of political violence since Christmas Day.

Yesterday police reported five more deaths. Bloem 31/12/90

Saturday's report said two people had been killed when police fired teargas, pistols and shotguns to drive off people attacking a police vehicle at Reagile, Koster, in the western Transvaal.

Four people were killed and 11 houses set on fire when fighting broke out in Maphumulu, near Harding in Natal. A shop was looted and set alight.

A police spokesman in Durban said the four victims were gunned down in a kraal.

More fighting was reported there yesterday.

A shop belonging to one of the families involved was set on fire and extensively damaged. Twenty-three huts belonging to another faction were also set alight.

On Saturday police said they found the bodies of four men with stab wounds at Mbotsha, Port Shepstone, and another of a man who had been burnt to death at Beltonia near the town.

In Inguagwane, Natal, police reported that two men had been stabbed to death.

Policemen were the targets of violence in Murraysburg in the eastern Cape and in Ottosdal, western Transvaal.

A group of people stoned a police vehicle at Murraysburg, slightly injuring a policeman and damaging the vehicle.

Seven men were arrested after people stoned the homes of two policemen and the home of a policeman's father in Letshopa, near Ottosdal.

One policeman was injured in this incident. The attackers were dispersed with pistol fire. No other injuries were reported.

Police reported a "terrorism-related incident" at Mbotsha, near Port Shepstone, where a grenade was thrown at a home shortly after midnight on Saturday.

No casualties were reported in the attack, but damage was caused to the roof, windows and walls of the house.

The type of grenade used was not yet known, police said.

In the same area, the body of a man was found with stab wounds. Police believe this death to be unrest-related.

Inter-tribal fighting claimed the lives of three men who were shot dead near Greytown, Natal. A shop belonging to one of the families was extensively damaged by fire. — Sapa.

1990 prelude for blood, says exile

Sowetan 31/12/90

274

HARARE - Mosibudi Mangena, the exiled black consciousness leader, said in his New Year's message that no-one had realised that the events in 1990 would be "a prelude to an orgy of bloodletting in the black community".

Mangena, the exiled chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania as well as

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army, said the year 1991 should see black people "resolving to rid themselves of all forms of senseless and cruel violence and rededicated to black consciousness and its inherent promotion of the dignity and sanctity of black lives".

He promised that the BCMA and Azanla would "continue with the struggle on all fronts until final victory".

Mangena said black people "had killed more of each other during the period between February and December than they had killed the enemy in thirty years of declared armed struggle against white minority settler rule".

"The African component of the black community was being brutalised by a combination of a component of the liberation movement, a puppet political group, the police and ultra racists," Mangena further alleged.

Do not shift blame for the violence, says Tambo

Star 31/12/90

UMTATA — African National Congress president Oliver Tambo yesterday urged Pretoria and "all those concerned" to stop shifting the blame for the violence in the country, and realise the urgency of ending it.

Mr Tambo was addressing a rally in his honour at the Independence Stadium in Umtata. It was attended by more than 10 000 people.

In his speech, the recently-returned president spoke warmly of Transkei and the homeland's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Mr Tambo's ailing health was evident as he slowly moved towards the podium using a walking stick and accompanied by his deputy, Nelson Mandela, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani.

Mr Tambo said the violence of the past five years was being fomented by certain sectors of the State — the aim being to prolong the lifespan of apartheid 274

"The ANC will not allow this to happen, because we are determined not to spend another year under apartheid rule."

The ANC was willing to talk to anyone who had a contribution to make towards the ending of the violence which had plagued many parts of the country, but would not contine to watch its people being massacred in their thousands.

Mr Tambo said the ANC had reaffirmed its commitment to peaceful negotiations in ending apartheid. However the organisation continued to insist on the formation of an interim government and constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Mr Tambo also stressed the importance of education in enabling blacks to play a meaningful role in South Africa.

He made an appeal to the leaders of KwaZulu to join hands as the last phase of the struggle was entered. — Sapa.

Policeman killed in Natal unrest

Star 31/12/90

274

By Paula Fray

Policemen came under attack during unrest-related incidents which left at least one policeman dead, three injured and several vehicles and property damaged at the weekend.

The body of a policeman who had been shot in the face — apparently with a shotgun — was found in the Table Mountain area outside Maritzburg yesterday morning.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Henry Budhram said the man was stationed at Standerton and was off-duty at the time.

According to the SAP unrest report for the 24 hours ending yesterday morning, police were attacked in Murraysburg in the Eastern Cape and in Ottosdal, Western Transvaal.

During unrest reported overnight on Friday police said, a large mob stoned a police vehicle and a policeman was injured at Reagile near Koster. Tear gas, service pistols and shotgun fire were used to drive off the attackers and two of them were fatally wounded.

In Murraysburg a policeman was slightly injured and a police vehicle damaged on Saturday when a group of people threw stones at the vehicle.

In Letshopa, near Ottosdal in the Western Transvaal, a policeman was injured when a group of people stoned the homes of two policemen and the home of a policeman's father.

The attackers were dispersed with pistol fire but no other injuries were reported. Seven men were arrested.

Set alight

Police found the body of a man with stab wounds in Mbotsha near Port Shepstone while in the "Ou Swartwoonbuurt" near Steynsburg in the eastern Cape a private vehicle was set alight and badly damaged.

Police spokesman Major Reg Crewe said the following incidents were not considered unrest-related by police.

Three men were shot dead in "on-going inter-tribal faction fighting" in Maphumulu near Greytown, Natal. A shop belonging to one of the families involved was set alight and extensively damaged while 23 huts were also set alight.

In Mbotsha a hand-grenade was thrown at a private dwelling just after midnight on Saturday morning. No casualties were reported but damage was caused to the roof, windows and walls of the house.

In the unrest report for overnight Friday, police said the bodies of four men with stab wounds were found at Botsha and another body of a man apparently burnt to death at Beltonia. Botsha and Beltonia are in the Port Shepstone area.

At Inguagwane, Natal, 11 dwellings were set alight.

In another incident, a family was attacked and four men and a youth sustained stab wounds. A man was stabbed to death and the body of a man with stab wounds was found.

At Kanana (near Orkney) a private vehicle was set alight and extensively damaged.

At Maphumulu (Greytown area) in Natal, a man was killed during a faction fight and 11 houses were set alight. A shop was looted and then also set alight.

Violence 'biggest threat to leadership'

Cape Times 1/9/90 (274)

rday, September 1 1990

Political Staff

VIOLENCE made nonsense of civility, "talks about talks" and negotiating democracy, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

All leaders who professed a commitment to a democratic future had to come together and address the problems of violence because it remained the single most important indictment and threat to their leadership.

"Only once they have addressed it — sanitising our security from partisan abuse — can we realistically look forward to negotiating democracy through transition.

"The hallmark of democratic negotiation is tolerance for difference and respect for diversity.

"Violence is its unholy antithesis," said Dr Slabbert, the policy director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in the latest issue of its journal, Democracy in Action, which was published yesterday.

"Nothing exposes the bankruptcy of politicians more brutally than violence; nothing betrays the fragility of social order easier than its consequences; nothing challenges the quality of a country's leadership as unrelentingly as its continuation."

There could be no democracy without a democratic culture and any culture that depends on or draws its inspiration from violence and brutality negates culture and democracy.

"When simple peasant folk die, or kill each other in an anxious frenzy of indiscriminate aggression; when township youth wander about in a normative void of burning people; when grown men believe that only through wanton destruction can they satisfy a quest for relevance; when armed thugs parade as patriots in order to intimidate, cajole and inflame, then leadership with any pretence of a commitment to peace and democracy should either confess its impotence or get off its ass and do something."

Dr Slabbert said doing something did not mean absolving their own responsibility by blaming the other, nor did it mean romanticising the rhetoric of struggle with war talk and militant exclamations or giving protection to overzealous agents of "law and order".

"It is futile for leaders to negotiate democracy if they do not first normalise security.

"The price of progress cannot be anarchy and the benefits of 'agreements' cannot be social disintegration.

"Confusion becomes worse when leaders do not act agains sabre-rattling, war talk, indiscipline, provocation and inflammatory tub-thumping among those over whom they have authority.

"When people die, families flee in terror and children suffer. It is not only obscene, but dishonest for leaders to walk away from accountability," Dr Slabbert said.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

[redacted]

RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES - GENERAL

1991

JANUARY — MARCH

[redacted]

Cape Times 3/1/91

274

6 die in New Year unrest

PRETORIA. — Six people were killed in unrest-related incidents between New Year's Day and yesterday morning, according to a police unrest report

The bodies of three people — two men and a woman — who had been hacked or stabbed to death were found at Magabeni, Umkomaas.

A man was killed and a woman injured in an attempt to rob a policeman of a firearm in Zweletemba, Worcester.

The body of a man was discovered at Bophelong, near Vanderbijlpark, and a charred body found in Khutsong, Oberholzer. — Sapa

'MK involved in robberies'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Southern Africa correspondent of Jane's Defence Weekly, Mr Helmoed-Römer Heitman, said members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are involved in the recent wave of armed robberies in the country.

Mr Heitman said the most important reason was to raise funds for MK's activities.

He did not exclude the possibility that some MK members were acting independently to fill their own pockets.

Armed robberies were not likely to be welcomed by the ANC leadership, because they could undermine the organisation's image, Mr Heitman said.

He said it was easy to bring AK-47 rifles into South Africa.

He pointed out that these weapons, which were predominantly being used for armed attacks, were readily available in Mozambique and it was practically impossible for the security forces to patrol South Africa's borders.

The ANC has said it is "simplistic to place the source of such weapons at the door of the ANC".

The police and army have large arsenals of captured or confiscated AK-47s, and there had also been reports of extensive gun-running to Mozambique and Swaziland, the organisation said.

Some of the weapons had been in South Africa for some time. — Sapa

AEGIS 3/1/90

Buthelezi eager for peace

IN his "Issues" column of December 13, Hugh Roberton had many harsh words to say about the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and myself, with regard to our visits to troubled townships and other areas.

I have no intention of defending Mr Vlok but I would like the opportunity to put another perspective on my own involvement and allegations made with regard to members and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Vlok is slated as being "partisan" for travelling with me to Thokoza and previously into areas of Natal/KwaZulu. Mr Roberton viewed our Thokoza visit as being a "folly" and "irresponsible" because representatives of the ANC (who were invited, but declined) did not accompany us.

This is Mr Roberton's view. However, did he see for to make the same judgement about Mr Vlok's visit to Reef townships with the Deputy President of the ANC, Dr Nelson Madela, *before* his Thokoza trip with me? No Inkatha Freedom Party officials were invited or represented at that time. Has he made the same comment about Dr Mandela's constant contact with Mr Vlok?

Does Mr Roberton feel the same way about Mr Vlok's visit to a Reef township, *after* the alleged Thokoza "faux pas", with the internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, also minus Inkatha Freedom Party leaders?

He asks what were the supporters of the ANC in Thokoza supposed to make of this "touring twosome" - Mr Vlok and myself.

Will he now ask what supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party and other organisations were supposed to make of the two other touring twosomes?

The facts of the matter are that I went urgently, and at the last minute, to Thokoza with Mr Vlok because members and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party pleaded with me to do so. They had made many and various allegations about ongoing police action against them which I reported to Mr Vlok.

During our visit, any "aligning" of the police with Inkatha (as Mr Roberton alleges) was hardly in evidence when IFP members and supporters hissed and booed Mr Vlok. This was televised and reported in the Press.

I am really most concerned about statements of police partiality made with regard to the IFP.

Unfair allegations like this, and others, will only hinder the peace process and the quest for political tolerance. Fears are raised for no reason. Warped conclusions are drawn. For instance, Mr Roberton writes of "Inkatha impis" marching "illegally" through Johannesburg. To my knowledge the last march of IFP members and supporters through Johannesburg was perfectly legal and there were no incidents of violence.

He also writes as though I speak out against the ANC's programme of "mass action" but have double standards when it comes to the IFP. This is simply not true. I deplore violence and intimidation whatever quarter it comes from.

I warn of known threats made in door-to-door ANC recruitment drives when, in their own documentation, they say the "strength of the ANC on the ground must be felt and feared ...".

I oppose the known threatening of councillors, the known proposals to set up so-called "defence" units backed by armed ANC/SACP Umkhonto cadres, the known and orchestrated attacks on policemen and their families, the known calls for ongoing strikes and boycotts — for political purposes — when people have been and will be bludgeoned into submission. I make no apologies for taking "up the cry" against South Africa being made ungovernable by the ANC and their surrogates in this kind of "mass action".

These tactics and strategies have not, and will never be, on the IFP's "mass action" agenda.

Many of us involved in this hideous situation are doing what we can to reduce tensions and to bring an end to the bloodshed.

I agree that the leadership of all political organisations should get together and be seen, side by side, actively working for peace. My view is that this should be an ongoing, daily process - not one-off excercises from time to time.

We need to do this off our own bats and not through orchestrated excercises of others with their own agenda. I have offered, as have my colleagues, to work together with Dr Madela and the ANC to try to ensure peace once and for all. We are prepared to do this at any time. The ball is in the ANC's court and we have yet to receive a positive response from them.

"Photo opportunities" (as one observer called the SACC tour) and short visits by leaders, highlighted in the media, have their place. There is, however, no substitute for meaningful co-operation between all concerned on a 24-hour basis. All the people of South Africa deserve this and I am more than willing to play my part.

MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI
President, Inkatha Freedom Party
Mahlabathini

● *Hugh Roberton replies: Dr Buthelezi asks what supporters of Inkatha were supposed to make of Mr Vlok's visits to townships in the company of only ANC leaders. Precisely! Dr Buthelezi has done me the immense courtesy of underscoring the very point I was trying to make — that by undertaking such visits in the company of only one of the leading antagonists, Mr Vlok would be seen to be partisan by supporters of the other group. If it would make Dr Buthelezi happier, I would be prepared to extend my criticism of Mr Vlok to those township tours where he was accompanied only by ANC leaders, but I fail to see how this would be a rebuttal of my criticism of Mr Vlok's visit to Thokoza in the company of only Dr Buthelezi.*

Cape Town sees

Violence mars city's New Year revelry

NEW YEAR'S EVE celebrations in Cape Town were marred by incidents of violence and hundreds of assault victims streamed into hospital trauma units — described by medical staff as "battle fields" — from midnight.

An unidentified 38-year-old man was stabbed to death in Gore Street, Woodstock, a police spokesman said.

And in the city centre, where 23 coon carnival bands performed in the streets, one stabbing was reported in Government Avenue.

An estimated 10 000 people thronged the streets in the city and Sea Point. Police said they were fairly well-behaved and only 18 arrests were made for drunk and disorderly behaviour.

However, a spokeswoman for Somerset Hospital said its trauma unit had been crowded with stab and assault victims brought in from Cape Town and Sea Point.

The body of a man was discovered amid the post-revelry debris in Sea Point on New Year's Day and brought to the hospital. He is believed to have died of natural causes, she said.

Groote Schuur had 284 trauma cases from 7am December 31 to 7am January 2nd, including 179 assaults and 53 motor vehicle accidents.

For the first time in seven years there were no reported fatal traffic accidents.

● A strong police presence on Durban's beachfront helped ensure there were no serious incidents. The crowds were noisily high-spirited, setting off plenty of fireworks.

● In Johannesburg, police said they arrested more than 130 people in Hillbrow for offences ranging from drunkenness, drinking in public, setting off crackers and the selling crackers on street corners.

— Staff Reporter and Sapa

Miami 23 28 Cloudy

PAC claims 'just propaganda'

CLAIMS by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) of armed "shock and choke" operations against SA's security forces over Christmas were simply "another propaganda ploy", a police public relations division spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday.

The SAP was reacting to a Press report from Harare which credited Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, with four military operations carried out between December 23 and 30.

Sapa reported Apla had claimed at least three security force members died and five were injured in one of the attacks.

The Harare report carried a statement from Dar es Salaam, signed by Apla political commissar Romero Daniels, which said the attacks were carried out in

MATTHEW CURTIN

Soshanguve (Pretoria), Zwide (Cape), Despatch (between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage) and Inanda (Durban).

The statement gave no further details of losses or injuries in the other incidents, except to claim Apla forces "wiped out" security force members in the Soshanguve operation of December 23.

The police spokesman said in a statement the report was pure propaganda and similar to statements issued in the past which "nobody can be expected to take seriously.

"Incidents in which policemen have been killed and injured are a matter of public record. Their version of the terrorist attack in Zwide on 26 December is an example of their false propaganda — no policemen were killed.

"The report of an 'operation' in Soshanguve is the figment of somebody's fertile imagination. We have no record of such an incident."

He said there could be no question of any fighting in terrorist attacks reported by the police.

The attacks had been "cowardly hit and run acts and cannot be dignified by the term 'fighting'".

The Apla statement added that the commander of the Soshanguve operation died during an exchange between his unit and the SA security forces.

It named him as Ephraim Tlhabakwe, from Tladi in Soweto.

Seventeen more die in unrest

AKCaS 4/1/91 274

PRETORIA. — At least 17 people — including a child — were reported killed in the latest unrest.

In the worst incident an armed group attacked a kraal at Mabaleni, near Wartburg in Natal, killing eight men and wounding another.

In other incidents in Natal armed groups killed a further six men and wounded two.

At Thokoza in Germiston, police found the bodies of a man and a seven-year-old child with gunshot wounds.

Police also found a body of a man with stab and hack wounds at Kwazakhele, Port Elizabeth. — Sapa.

Patrick Laurence reports on the blurring of the distinction between urban banditry and political zealotry

The low road to lawlessness

Star 4/11/91

274

ECONOMIST Azar Jammine, lamenting the continuing civil strife in South Africa, warns of possible "anarchy and chaos" and resultant economic decline. His warning comes in the wake of sombre statements on the spiralling rate of violent crime by the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, and the Police Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe.

Murder has risen dramatically: last year nearly 12 850 people were slain, a rise of 25 percent over the figure for 1989. The increase was in spite of the high success rate of the police in tracking down the killers where the victims were white, observes General van der Merwe.

Mr Vlok is particularly perturbed by the proliferation of unlicensed arms and the use of sophisticated weapons, notably AK-47 rifles, by criminals.

General van der Merwe is especially concerned by the rising number of attacks on policemen.

The Institute of Race Relations notes in a special publication that 10 people a day died in political violence last year, nearly twice as high as the rate for 1985, the year in which President P W Botha, faced with an incipient insurrection, imposed a state of emergency over large tracts of South Africa.

Criminal and political violence seem to merge in the minds of Mr Vlok and General van der Merwe. They speak as though they are part of essentially the same phenomenon. They may be partly right.

In the black townships the boundary between "straight" and political crime is porous and indistinct. Criminals sometimes masquerade as "comrades", either to give their actions a respectable camouflage or to dupe the public. Activists of all persuasions, nurtured in a climate of political intolerance and driven by zealotry, sometimes behave like common criminals.

There are unsubstantiated suspicions in some quarters that cadres of the African National Congress are behind some of the robberies in which AK-47 rifles are used. Their motive, it is alleged, is to collect funds for the ANC or, more cynically, to enrich themselves.

The accusations are given a sophisticated gloss by the South African correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, Helmoed-Römer Heitman. The ANC emphatically rejects them.

Some observers, including insurance company pundits, however, detect a political dimension to robberies and burglaries. They reckon these crimes are a form of wealth redistribution in which the poor take from the rich.

The disintegration of the once solid line between orthodox crime and political crime began decades ago. Mr de Klerk's predecessors, from Hendrik Verwoerd to P W Botha, are to blame in large measure.

In a vain attempt to stem the growth of black resistance to their policies, they criminalised a major proportion of black political life, making mere membership of prohibited nationalist movements a prisonable offence. What Mr Verwoerd and Mr Botha established over 30 years, Mr de Klerk cannot undo in a year.

An underlying generator of the endemic violence is what human rights lawyer Nicholas Haysom has characterised as the "low-intensity conflict": the struggle for control of the townships between rival forces.

The conflict has not abated since the unbanning last February of the ANC, its ally, the South African Communist Party, and its rival, the Pan Africanist Congress. Nor has it receded since the ANC and the SACP undertook to suspend their "armed struggle" in August last year.

On the contrary, it has intensified, reaching shocking levels of death and destruction in townships around Johannesburg from August to December last year.

An Institute of Race Relations special report chronicles and analyses a "hidden" dimension of the conflict in the black townships: the undeclared war against policemen and township councillors.

The institute contends that these attacks have been underreported, quoting figures to show that between January and July last year Johannesburg's main newspapers reported only 38 percent of the attacks between them. The reports were often inconspicuous, it adds.

In the first 11 months of last year, 85 policemen were killed, 59 of whom were on duty and 26 off duty, it says. During the first seven months of last year, more than 110 attacks were mounted against township councillors, the special report says. The murder of six councillors was reported in the press, although 14 were killed according to official records, the institute notes.

Combatants of the hardline PAC — which has vowed to intensify rather than suspend its "armed struggle" — were responsible for only a small proportion of these attacks, the report says.

It points an accusing finger at the ANC and ANC-aligned organisations, arguing that they are primarily responsible. It cites earlier ANC exhortations to make the townships ungovernable and quotes contemporary statements by the ANC-aligned organisation Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal committing itself to bringing about the collapse of black town councils.

Mr Haysom, however, offers another perspective: the alleged use by the state of surrogate forces, "vigilantes", to disrupt anti-apartheid movements and terrorise their supporters.

These vigilante forces, known variously as the Phakatis, the Amabutho, the Mbhokoto, the Ama-Afrika, the Witdoeke and, more recently, the Rooidoeke, are led by "functionaries" in state-approved structures, chiefs in the tribal homelands and councillors and/or policemen in the townships, Mr Haysom says.

In its appraisal of the violence that has swept townships around Johannesburg, the ANC comes to a similar conclusion. It talks of a sinister "Third Force", with links to the security forces, orchestrating the violence in a bid to weaken the ANC by demonstrating its inability to protect its supporters.

In that context Mr Vlok's moves to increase the police force by an extra 10 000 men will not be seen in ANC circles as a bona fide crime-fighting exercise but rather as a political "iron fist" designed to crack ANC skulls.

Predictably his call on the ANC to assist the police in curbing the inflow of AK-47 rifles from neighbouring countries has been flatly rejected as a propaganda ploy to blame the ANC for the escalating violence. □

PAC accuses ANC of waging grassroots war

B Day 7/1/91.

PATRICK BULGER

ANC members have been accused of waging a grassroots war against the rival PAC, even though leaders of both organisations intend forming a united front against government this year.

In at least two trouble spots, PAC spokesmen have accused ANC members of provoking violence and of acting contrary to their leaders' public dictates.

Antipathy between the two organisations dates back to the early 1960s. It appears to have been intensified recently by rival recruitment drives for membership.

Clashes between members of the two groups have been reported at Bekkersdal on the West Rand, Khayelitsha in the western Cape and KwaNobuhle in the eastern Cape in recent months.

The most recent clash occurred in Komga, near East London, last week when alleged ANC supporters members killed 23-year-old PAC branch member Thembalethu Rasmeni.

The PAC said in reaction to the New Year's Day killing that "it does not augur well for the new year, but we nevertheless commend officials of the ANC branch who have dissociated themselves from this barbarous killing".

Now ANC members have been accused of conducting a "campaign of genocide" against ANC members at Munsieville township, Krugersdorp.

About 80 PAC members, including the leadership, had been forced to vacate the township in the face of attacks by ANC youths armed with shotguns, AK-47s and hand grenades.

Responding to the allegations, the ANC's department of information and publicity said the ANC's attempts to resolve matters with the PAC had been "cold-shouldered".

It alleged that its chairman in the area had been shot with a Scorpion machine-pistol.

The PAC alleged that the recent outbreak of violence was the climax of a nine-month campaign to make Munsieville a no-go area for the PAC.

Detailing the record of ANC attacks on PAC members since April last year, PAC West Rand chairman Popo Mvulane said the tension began when ANC members declared Munsieville an ANC liberated zone in April last year.

He alleged that the ANC campaign was to have climaxed on December 22 last year when the PAC "would cease to exist in Munsieville".

He alleged, too, that 20 houses of PAC members had been damaged in at least three clashes.

In spite of the attempted intervention of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, the clashes had continued and PAC attempts to set up a monitoring committee comprising members of the rival organisations had received no response from the local ANC branch.

West Rand PAC publicity secretary Banzer Ngceba said there was no indication of a "third force" being involved in the violence.

Instead the PAC could only conclude that the ANC was conducting a campaign of genocide against PAC members.

Refugees flee Natal terror

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A bloody raid by vigilantes left a reported 17 ANC supporters dead and caused thousands of refugees to flee in terror from residential areas near Umgababa yesterday.

According to a resident, Mrs L Kheswa, a large gang numbering several hundred vigilantes from the Inkatha area of Hlanzeni arrived at the ANC stronghold of Emagcino at 5.30pm on Sunday.

The vigilantes reportedly said they had come to kill all "comrades" in the area.

Any youths found by the gang were attacked.

The attacks continued sporadically throughout the night and yesterday further vigilante groups were seen.

A woman living in the area, Mrs Thembekile Khumalo, said the attackers were heavily armed with guns, spears and pangas.

Most youths, as well as a number of elderly men and women with children, had fled the area.

Many sought refuge at the Illovo Beach police station, and at Umgababa station.

A heavy SAP and SADF presence was seen in the area and senior police officers were making an "on the spot" analysis of the situation.

Tension

Tension was running high yesterday following a threat by the vigilantes that they would return to attack Emagcino again.

An elderly woman, who declined to be named, said the attackers were after boys "even from the age of seven upwards". She said the younger members of her family had fled to Umgababa station.

However, most of those killed were over the age of 20.

Police spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi said yesterday that police could confirm only eight deaths.

He said another seriously injured man was recovering in C J Crookes Hospital in Scottburgh.

● A mob attacked a kraal and killed two people in rural Natal on Sunday, police reported via Sapa in the official daily unrest report yesterday.

The mob also set two huts alight during the attack on the kraal at Ndlovinga. The police report did not provide any possible motives for the incident.

● In another incident at Alexandra township near Randburg, a woman was injured when she was attacked by a group of people armed with pangas.

● At Robertson near Worcester a private home was petrol-bombed.

Rewards for AK-47s are ignored

Star 8/1/91

By Helen Grange

No AK-47 assault rifles have yet been handed over to the police, in spite of an offer by the Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to pay large sums for any unlicensed weapons.

Police stations in Soweto and the East Rand, where an alarming increase in the availability of firearms has fuelled continuing violence, have reported no response to the police offer.

Police have offered to pay R6 000 in cash for any AK-47s handed over, a reward which would profit the owner who could buy the gun for about R1 000, the going township rate.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that rewards would be paid out for "terrorist weapons" and for information leading to the confiscation of weapons.

Indemnified

"People should not be afraid to hand these weapons over. They may remain anonymous. However, if they are apprehended with AK-47s, having no intention to go to a police station, they will be arrested."

Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria Professor Mike Hough suggested a number of reasons for the failure of this strategy.

"Some people might not believe they will be indemnified from prosecution. On the other hand, ANC militants may not be willing to hand in arms caches, considering the armed struggle has only been suspended. They would want to wait for negotiations to clarify their position."

Criminal elements in possession of these weapons would probably intend continuing criminal activities, he said.

Instrument of death

Star 9/1/91

(274)

Thousands of AK-47 assault rifles have found their way to South Africa's townships, through almost every neighbouring country, as the graphic below illustrates. HELEN GRANGE traces the history of this lethal weapon.

THE (Avtomat) Kalashnikov assault rifle, better known as the AK-47, has long been a symbol of revolution and resistance in South Africa — but most recently, it has become a primary instrument of death in the Witwatersrand's war-torn townships

Available in abundance on South Africa's black market, this weapon is currently being sold for anything between R200 and upwards of R1 000

The soaring incidence of these rifles, smuggled into the country from virtually every bordering state — particularly Mozambique — has recently prompted the police to offer a reward of R6 000 to anyone who gives information leading to seizing of an AK-47

It is an attempt to coax this deadly weapon off the streets of Soweto, Tokoza, Katlehong, Tembisa and every other township wracked by violent internecine fighting

Southern Africa — specifically Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa — has for decades been a major dumping ground for the Soviet-made AK-47, a weapon that has become synonymous with worldwide third-world anti-government resistance.

And according to several military analysts, the fact that so many of these rifles are available means they will be in use — either for political or criminal purposes — for a long time to come.

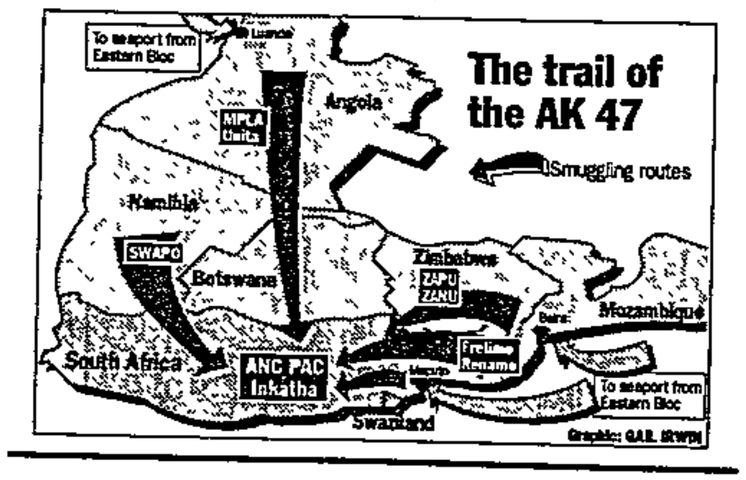
In his book "The AK-47 story", Edward Clinton Ezell identifies this weapon as the most widely distributed and best known military shoulder weapon since World War 2.

It has been used by government and anti-government forces from Indochina to central America and Africa — in combat in Lebanon, the Iranian desert, the jungles of El Salvador and the mountains of Afghanistan.

In Africa, it is a standard weapon of Unita and the MPLA government in Angola, the Zanu and Zapu parties in Zimbabwe, Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique, Swapo in Namibia, and now to an increasing extent, the ANC and Inkatha in South Africa.

According to Helmoed-Römer Heitman, southern Africa correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, most of these rifles have been brought in to South Africa from the frontline states by the ANC, as well as by gunrunners supplying the ANC and by private warlords in Mozambique.

Ezell, in his book, proposes that there will be much enthusiasm on the part of consuming countries to buy the AK-47, as they can be updated and improved without the need for a completely new weapon that would require familiarising troops with an entirely new design



Conflict-ridden third-world countries in Africa would certainly fit Ezell's scenario, for the Soviet Union found a very profitable market in this part of the world.

"The Soviet deliberately supported many opposition movements and governments in southern Africa, and sold the AK-47 to them as a commodity," says Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria

SA Defence Force sources have in the past confirmed that AK-47 rifles are sold in Mozambique for as little as R100 each by deserters or members of Frelimo and Renamo, or by villagers who sold the arms and ammunition cheaply in return for rands

Recently, a major international gun-running racket was discovered in Mbabane, the Swaziland capital

It involved AK-47s being routed through the mountain kingdom from Mozambique to South Africa.

"The point is that although it is understood that the Soviet Union has cut down the supply of this weapon to southern African states, they are now more readily available in South Africa," says Professor Hough

According to Ezell, an estimated 30 million to 50 million Kalashnikov-type rifles and light machine guns have been manufactured since the introduction of the AK-47 design in the Soviet Union in 1949 (The AK-47 was fully evolved by 1947)

"At least a dozen countries have manufactured or are manufacturing versions of this weapon, and at least 55 nations and an untallied number of guerilla and terrorist organisations use these guns daily," he says

The inventor of the AK-47, Mikhail Kalashnikov, was hailed by the Soviet government in 1949 as a Hero of Socialist Work.

Ezell says that apart from its mass manufacture in the Soviet Union, the AK-47 has also been manufactured in the People's Republic of China, the former East Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, North Korea, Hungary and Yugoslavia

In addition, Finland, Israel and Egypt have produced their own variants of the weapon (The safety/fire selector markings are one of the quickest ways of identifying the nature of origin, Ezell says)

Ezell's book concludes:

"It was once noted, only half in jest, that the Americans export Coke, the Japanese export Sonys and the Soviets export Kalashnikovs" □

'Stop SA fighting and talk' – Cohen

LUSAKA — Faction fighting in South Africa is endangering the negotiation process, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, said at the weekend. (274)

Mr Cohen urged the groups in South Africa to refrain from attacking each other and to negotiate instead.

He also urged President de Klerk "to guarantee the neutrality of the police and the army". Star 14/1/91

He expressed optimism that the violence would stop because there was "a genuine desire to negotiate and write a new constitution" for democracy, the Africa News Organisation reports. — Star Africa Service.

nday, January 14 1991 ★

ANC to set up 'defence structures'

DURBAN. — The latest violence in Umgababa and Sebokeng would compel the ANC to form "defence structures" for its supporters, the organisation's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, said yesterday.

The ANC would develop defence structures in ANC zones as a matter of urgency — while continuing to seek political solutions to the violence.

Speaking at a rally of about 40 000 people at Kings Park stadium in Durban, Mr Tambo said the Lower Umfolozi Accord between Inkatha and the ANC should be built upon.

The congress director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, had already said on Saturday night that it was hoped Inkatha and ANC delegations, led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela respectively, would meet in January

Yesterday Mr Tambo said government failure to meet ANC demands has sparked a decision by the organisation to intensify its campaign of "mass action".

"We must intensify the struggle on all sides, and make 1991 a year of freedom."

Mr Tambo voiced disappointment that ANC demands for the scrapping of apartheid legislation, the return of all exiles and the release of political prisoners had not been met.

He also condemned the fresh wave of violence which has claimed "more than 50 lives" in Umgababa and Sebokeng.

But Mr Tambo welcomed regional peace initiatives and called for ongoing consultation.

He said only "time restraints" prevented him from meeting the Zulu king, King Goodwill Zwelithini. Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu, a member of the Zulu royal family, attended the rally.

He invited all South Africans of any "colour, race and creed" and political parties, including the National Party, "to join us in action against this doomed apartheid system".

● At a banquet in honour of Mr Tambo on Saturday night, Mr Mbeki said the country's crises had to be solved by common consensus.

He referred to intolerance within his own organisation. "You cannot say you are a liberation organisation and still use force against people just because they disagree with you.

"There needs to be an interim government, but let this be the subject of discussion at such a (multi-party) conference." — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI

ANC speaks out against use of people's courts

B1 Dom 14/11/91

WILSON ZWANE

274

THE ANC has called for the "non-utilisation" of people's courts, and other black organisations have condemned the violence perpetrated by the groups.

The call by the ANC came after an incident in the eastern Cape, where more than 20 people were arrested last week in connection with alleged brutal punishments meted out by people's courts in and around Missionvale, Port Elizabeth.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said it was becoming increasingly obvious that people's courts were open to abuse and difficult to monitor.

"Because of this, people's courts should not be utilised. The ANC condemned the use of violence as a means of resolving problems," Macozoma said.

Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) president Moses Mayekiso said his organisation would meet next weekend to consider how the image of people's courts could be enhanced.

"The ACO does not condone violence meted out by people's courts, but as these will remain with us for a long time to come, something should be done to make them acceptable.

"One way of achieving that goal is to educate our people that corrective rather than punitive measures should be used. Sjambokkings should be condemned."

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley said his organisation was dismayed by the violence meted out by people's courts. It was inviting all liberation movements to a meeting to put an end to all forms of violence — including violence perpetrated by kangaroo courts.

CNA Times 15/11/91 9-12

Khayelitsha quiet, tense

KHAYELITSHA was quiet but tense yesterday after a weekend of violence that claimed at least one life and left 19 people in hospital with burns and gunshot wounds.

Rumours of counter-attacks and revenge killings abounded and police said they were investigating charges of murder, attempted murder and arson.

The Site B home of Lingelethu West councillor Mr T Vanto was petrol-bombed on Sunday night, causing damage of about R10 000. It was controlled before it could destroy the house.

● According to the police unrest report for the 24 hours ending at 8am yesterday, three men were found dead, one was seriously injured and three houses and a hairdressing salon were set alight in Steynville, Bekkersdal and Alexandra. — Sapa

Calls for MK to defend townships

Cape Times 15/1/91 274

JOHANNESBURG. — Prominent civic association figures involved in forming township self-defence units said yesterday that the ANC was coming under growing pressure to deploy its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) to protect black communities.

Soweto Civic Association (SCA) acting publicity secretary Mr Patrick Lephunya and Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) president Mr Moses Mayekiso said in interviews that grassroots calls for a visible MK presence in townships were reaching fever pitch.

They made their comments after the weekend massacre of 38 people at Sebokeng township outside Vereeniging and a promise by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo that the ANC would form defence structures in ANC zones as a matter of urgency.

Both Mr Mayekiso and Mr Lephunya referred to the ANC's decision at its recent consultative conference to mandate MK to play a "facilitative role" in forming defence committees.

However, an ANC spokesman cautioned against expectations of MK playing an overt military role.

He said the organisation would clear up any misconceptions and spell out just what it meant at a series of regional meetings.

Buthelezi wants to meet with ANC

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has challenged the ANC to set a date and time for a meeting between the leadership structures of the two organisations.

He was reacting to a statement by a senior ANC official, Mr Thabo Mbeki, at the weekend, that a meeting between the two organisations depended on Inkatha's acceptance of the proposal.

Chief Buthelezi said he had received "no formal indication" that the ANC was prepared to meet Inkatha.

He accused Mr Mbeki of a "deliberate attempt to obfuscate the facts".

Chief Buthlelezi said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had telephoned him last week.

The Inkatha president alleged that Mr Mandela told him the ANC "had yet to resolve the issue" of sanctioning a meeting with Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi stressed that his organisation was prepared to meet the ANC-SACP alliance at any time.

• Chief Buthelezi also condemned the weekend massacre at Sebokeng in which 35 ANC supporters were killed.

ANC plans largest protest

Cape Times 15/1/91 (274)

DURBAN. — The largest nationwide protest action in South African history is expected on Friday, February 1, when ANC supporters take to the streets to launch a programme of "mass action" to demand the formation of a constituent assembly.

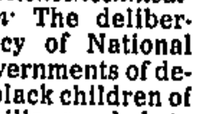
This was revealed in a circular sent by ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo to all the regional committees of the organisation.

The programme, drawn up at the ANC's conference in Johannesburg in December, has been planned to coincide with the opening of Parliament on February 1.

ANC spokesman Miss Gill Marcus said yesterday that permission would be sought for all marches.

The demonstrators' main demand will be for a constituent assembly to be formed to create a new constitution.

It's back to the road of education for liberation



VIEWPOINT

by NEVILLE ALEXANDER

FROM a long-term point of view, it is unfortunate that the education crisis is identified in the consciousness of most people with the overt political mobilisation of students and, more recently, of teachers.

For it is really in the classrooms and in alternative educational projects that the decisive action is taking place. Indeed, the melodramatic aspect of this struggle for improved educational provision led to suicidal slogans such as *liberation before education* in the days of "ungovernability" (1985-86)

This was a decided step backwards from the slogans and practices of the Black Consciousness Movement in the '70s, when the notion of *education for liberation* first became a mass phenomenon in South Africa. At present desperate efforts have been launched by political, community and church organisations to get the black student population back on the highway of education for liberation.

Motivated

In regard to our longer-term priorities, the following sectors are seen by most educationists, regardless of their political allegiance within the liberation movement, as the main ones.

Teacher Training: Without a core of well-equipped, highly motivated and flexible, self-directed educators, no system can succeed

Pre-school and primary education. What happens in any modern, relatively industrialised country is to a large extent determined by what is taught (or not taught) in these sectors. A complete overhaul of these sectors in accordance with a post-apartheid or Azanian conceptualisation of South Africa has begun in many circles in our country

According to Roy Padayachee of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee: " . there are seven million children of pre-schooling age in this country Of these, an estimated six million are from economically disadvantaged homes Of these six million only 150 000 are enrolled in some form of pre-school activity" (Weekly Mail, October 26, 1990)

Language education: One of the most disastrous consequences of Bantu education was the damage it inflicted on generations of black school-going children via its racist language policy Because of the continued dominance of English in the modern urban and industrial sectors of South Africa, the lack of competence of the vast majority of black children and adults in this language is one of the major roadblocks to their (and the country's) rapid development.

Moreover, apartheid policy, in spite of appearances to the contrary, has deliberately stunted or distorted the development of the indigenous African languages as languages of modern science and of business and employment Education for a democratic South Africa has to address this question urgently.

Maths/science/technical education: The deliberate policy of National Party governments of depriving black children of those skills needed to run a modern industrial economy has succeeded so well that it is threatening to boomerang on the ruling elite, since there are not enough blacks with such skills who are in a position to fill the huge gaps left by the brain drain and the relative expansion of the economy

Further down the road, the economic consequences of this racist strategy are already clear as far as built-in constraints to economic expansion are concerned .

Programme

Besides these four fundamentals, it is essential that we begin to redress the urban bias of all educational investment in this country and that we continue carefully considered compensatory education programmes at all levels .

In reflecting on a programme of action for education for a democratic South Africa, we have to bear in mind that whatever we propose cannot be separated from the general political development in South Africa. A programme of action must include the following:

- Increased direct and indirect political pressure on the present government to abolish all discrimination based on "race" in the educational sphere. This involves, among other things, the insistence on a unitary educational system under one Ministry of Education
- Demand maximum discretion for teachers (under the supervision of competent subject-teacher associations) in regard to syllabuses, teaching resources, methods, assessment of performance, etc
- Control at the local level of all educational institutions by those who use them At the primary and secondary-school level, this would imply control by popularly elected PTSA's Such popular committees to have the final say in regard to who should teach and what should be taught in these institutions
- Africanisation of the syllabuses and curricula. By this we mean, in the first place moving away from the narrow Eurocentrism and colonialism of the present content of education
- Mass training (and retraining) of all educators along lines consistent with the democratic, non-racial ethos espoused by the entire liberation movement in South Africa This process, which has already begun under the aegis of teachers' and some community organisations, should be accelerated
- Intensive policy research into all aspects of education, including the financial and administrative aspects In this regard, the collation and analysis of all that is actually being undertaken in the educational sphere is of primary importance Equally important are comparative educational studies and research
- Heavy concentration on language, maths, science and technical education at all relevant levels Formal as well as informal programmes should be initiated or supported wherever possible.
- Political education of all youth, especially the student youth, towards an understanding of the real significance of the programme and the life-giving slogans of *Education for Liberation* and *Education for a Democratic South Africa*.

□ This is an extract of a paper prepared by Dr Alexander for a conference at the University of Kansas.

US official pleads for end to fighting in SA

Sowetan 15/1/91

(274)

LUSAKA - A top American official this weekend issued a plea for peace in South Africa.

Mr Herman Cohen, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, urged the country's factions to negotiate rather than fight, the *Africa News Organisation* reports.

He also called on President FW de Klerk "to guarantee the neutrality of the police and the army".

Cohen was speaking during a two-day visit to Zambia. He was to proceed to Mozambique and then South Africa.

He expressed optimism that the violence in South Africa would stop because there is "a genuine desire to negotiate and write a new constitution for non-racial democracy".

Mr Herman Cohen ... urges negotiation.

Questioned at a news conference, Cohen praised the "very constructive" part being played by the Soviet Union in current efforts to resolve the conflicts in southern Africa.

He disclosed that the Soviets had pulled their military advisers out of Mozambique to encourage free negotiations between the Frelimo government and Renamo rebels.

At the same time, Cohen defended the United States' continued supplying of arms to the Unita rebel movement in Angola.

He said it was the United States' involvement in that country since 1986 that had led to the present peace negotiations.

Cohen also disclosed that the United States would give R50 million of economic aid to Zambia to help rescue the economy from its present crisis. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

ANC action call at unruly rally

CAPE Times 24/1/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC would soon launch a massive campaign to persuade government to "tranfer power to the people", ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

The launch of the campaign would coincide with the opening of Parliament on February 1.

The campaign would continue until demands for a constituent assembly, an interim government, an end to violence and the adoption of a democratic constitution were met, he added.

The ANC's call for a multi-party conference did not mean it had abandoned the demand for an elected assembly, Mr Sisulu said.

He was addressing more than 10 000 people gathered at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto.

Toyi-toying and singing youth disrupted the proceedings on numerous occasions despite calls for discipline from ANC marshals and the speakers on the platform.

Mr Sisulu slated "unruly" elements in the crowd, saying that "high moral standards and discipline" were essential to the ANC.

ANC organiser Mr Wilton Mkwayi also condemned the unruly behaviour, and suggested that names of the ANC branches which had attended the rally should be noted. — Sapa

21/1/91

2 Cape Times, Mor

Man killed in shootout in Natal

JOHANNESBURG. — Police have confirmed that one man died and eight were arrested following a shootout between police and gunmen at Table Mountain, near Maritzburg, at 4am on Saturday.

A homemade .303 rifle, an automatic machinegun and an assortment of ammunition were also seized, said SA Police liaison officer Lieutenant Bala Naidoo.

The eight men arrested are to appear in court in Maritzburg today.

Police also report that aman threw a handgrenade at a taxi rank in Katlehong on the East Rand at 3.15pm on Saturday.

Four men were injured in the attack.

Explosive devices were also thrown into the homes of two township councillors in Mlungisi, Queenstown, on Friday night, injuring three. — Sapa

'Liberation groups also foster strife'

Sfer 23/1/91

Liberation movements were partly responsible for cultivating the culture of violence in South Africa, Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference president Bishop Wilfred Napier said in Pretoria last night.

Delivering his presidential report to the SACBC's annual plenary session, Bishop Napier said liberation movements had "canonised their particular ideology or strategy to such an extent that anyone who opposes or simply fails to espouse it must be removed".

Bishop Napier said two other culprits were:

- The State, which believed that State security, minority rights, and white culture justified the use of force against any threat.
- The "third force", which was fomenting conflict within the black community.

The Pope's southern Africa representative, Archbishop Ambrose de Paoli, said everyone involved in the process of political change needed encouragement to continue with their bold moves to attain democracy and peace. — Sapa.

SAP: Mass action is intimidation

THE South African Police regarded mass action, including that aimed at the destruction of local government, as nothing less than mass intimidation which exceeded the bounds of legitimate democratic protest, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Johan Scheepers, said yesterday.

Mr Scheepers said in a statement that the elimination of intimidation of this kind was one of the SAP's top priorities and that everything possible would be done to protect peace-loving citizens.

The anti-intimidation programme would include increased police action which would go along with assistance from the public.

"Mass action, in whatever form, often results in attacks on police and town councillors and the intimidation of law-abiding citizens, especially in the townships.

"Acts of mass action inevitably lead to violent confrontation and I appeal to the public not to become entangled in situations which could result in injury or death," he said. — Sapa

Bishop names 'violence culture culprits'

Cape Times 23/1/91 2714

PRETORIA. — Liberation movements were co-responsible for cultivating the culture of violence in South Africa, the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), Bishop Wilfrid Napier, said last night.

Delivering his president's report to the SACBC's annual plenary session, Bishop Napier said liberation movements had "canonised their particular ideology or strategy to such an extent that anyone who opposes or simply fails to espouse it must be removed".

Bishop Napier said two other culprits were:

● The state, which believed that state security, minority rights and white culture justified the use of force against any threat, no matter how serious or trivial.

● The "third force," which was fomenting conflict within the black community.

Officially opening the conference, the Pope's representative in Southern Africa, Archbishop Ambrose de Paoli, said all involved in the process of political change needed encouragement to continue with their bold moves to attain democracy and peace.

All components of South African society should come together to address the issue of violence, he said.

'Renewal bodes well'

"Violence is contagious, it has a dynamic all its own which feeds on itself, blinding its perpetrators to the real task at hand, creating new wounds, feeding on old ones, thus painfully prolonging the search for an end to an agony whose time has come."

Archbishop De Paoli added that Pope John Paul II said this year that the institutional renewal in South Africa boded well for sub-continental stability.

He added that the Pope had said the violence in South Africa should "not cause people to lose hope, after so many years of yearning for the day when their country would at last be reconciled".

Discussing Aids, Bishop Napier said prayer and fasting would be needed to cast out this demon.

He called for the "resumption of the moral discipline of the Gospel and the ethical practices to be found in our indigenous cultures". — Sapa

Threat to withhold municipal services

THE 46 000-member SA Association of Municipal Employees (SAAME) yesterday threatened to withhold services provided by its members in black residential areas if certain demands were not met.

SAAME president Hans Deetlefs said the lives of white municipal workers performing essential services in black areas were often threatened in unrest situations.

The threat to withhold services should not be seen as a move to boycott black local authorities, he said. However, the association would not allow members to be killed while rendering services.

SAAME general secretary Leinad

VERA VON LIERES

Claasens said demands included police or Defence Force protection. The association was also demanding additional compensation for members.

The issue of compensation still had to be negotiated between the association and the municipal employers.

However, it would entail compensation for the fact that members were required to do additional work and were being subjected to "possible intimidation", Claasens said.

Deetlefs said the association was experiencing no immediate problems. However, if demands were not met, members would stop working in black residential areas.

Crackdown on intimidation

Star 23/11/91

Political Staff

The SAP had started a tough campaign to eliminate the vicious intimidation sweeping South Africa, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

His message came just a day after delegations of the Government and ANC met in Pretoria to discuss details of the organisation's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

The ANC said this undertaking did not prevent it from a programme of mass mobilisation and recruiting for Mkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC intends to stage mass protests on February 1, the day Parliament opens, to push for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Mr Scheepers said law-abiding citizens, particularly in the townships, had increasingly become the target of an intensified and orchestrated campaign of mass intimidation.

"This situation, fanned and aggravated by plans for mass mobilisation and action, has long been unacceptable and has now reached intolerable levels.

"The SAP is in the process of implementing a comprehensive countrywide and hard-hitting campaign to counter this vicious intimidation."

Most law-abiding people demanded this strong action, he said.

Eliminating intimidation was now one of the SAP's top priorities and everything possible would be done to protect peaceful citizens.

Action aimed at the destruction of local government and legitimately-constituted authorities was nothing less than mass intimidation, which exceeded the bounds of legitimate democratic protest.

Such action included intimidating people not to pay rent and service charges, Mr Scheepers said.

Mass action often resulted in attacks on police and town councillors, violent confrontation, and the intimidation of law-abiding citizens.

He appealed to the public to help the police, and also not to become entangled in a situations which could result in injury or death.

The SAP had been given strict instructions to ensure that the Intimidation Act was vigorously enforced, and intimidators dealt with severely.

Mr Scheepers said, however, that peaceful protests and marches were universally accepted in democratic countries "and we adhere fully to this principle".

SAP to get tough on intimidators

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The SAP has launched a "top priority" crackdown to counter what Law and Order Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers describes as "vicious intimidation".

The crackdown follows a campaign organised by the ANC aimed at forcing community councillors to quit.

In a hard-hitting statement, Scheepers said the intensified, orchestrated campaign of mass intimidation had reached intolerable levels for the police and the community.

He said the police saw mass action aimed at, among other things, the destruction of local government authorities, as nothing less than mass intimidation exceeding the bounds of legitimate democratic protest. This included intimidating people not to pay rent and service charges.

Instructions

Scheepers said the anti-intimidation programme would include increased police actions together with assistance from the public.

He said the police had been given strict instructions to ensure that provisions of the Intimidation Act were "vigorously" enforced and intimidators dealt with in terms of the law.

Lashing out at the programme of mass action planned by the ANC, Scheepers said mass action in whatever form often resulted in attacks on police and town concillors and the intimidation of law-abiding citizens.

Acts of mass action "inevitably lead to violent confrontation", he said, adding that the public should not to become "entangled in situations which could result in injury or even death".

Scheepers called on the public — particularly victims of intimidation — to assist the police so that the law could take its course.

DP constitutional affairs spokesman Denis Worrall said yesterday the DP was also opposed to calls on white councillors to resign from local government.

"There is no reason whatever why they should heed a call to resign and so create a political and adminsitrative vacuum."

Worrall said that while the DP accepted that non-racial government at all levels had to take place, it had to be part of a rational re-arranging of government in general.

Whatever the deficiencies of local government were from a racial perspective, the fact remained that local government in SA — particularly in DP controlled areas — had produced a high standard of government from an administrative point of view.

Sapa reports the CP said yesterday that any harm or damage done to white city or town councillors would result in direct confrontation between the ANC and the CP.

In a statement released in Pretoria, CP Planning and Provincial Affairs spokesman Jan Hoon responded to a remark made by the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast), stating it would in future exert direct pressure on white councils to force councillors to resign.

Hoon said a proper contingency plan was needed to ensure the safety of white councillors and their families.

Meanwhile, WILSON ZWANE reports that Cast assistant general secretary Cas Coodavia has welcomed a recent decision by a senior Soweto prosecutor not to prosecute seven civic leaders for alleged intimidation of Eldorado Park councillors.

Coodavia said he was happy with the prosecutor's decision as "it justifies our statement that our members did not break any law by delivering the letters of demand to the Eldorado Park councillors".

Intimidation charges were laid after the seven civic leaders marched on December 23 to deliver letters to six Eldorado Park management committee members calling for their resignation.

Police are to act against mass action

Sowetan 23/1/91

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POLICE regarded mass action, including that aimed at the destruction of local government, as nothing less than mass intimidation which exceeded the bounds of legitimate democratic protest.

Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Johan Scheepers said yesterday the elimination of intimidation was one of the SAP's top priorities and everything possible would be done to protect peace-loving citizens.

The anti-intimidation programme would include increased police action and assistance from the public.

"Mass action, in whatever form, often results in attacks on police and town councillors and the intimidation of law-abiding citizens.

"Acts of mass action inevitably lead to violent confrontation and I appeal to the public not to become entangled in situations which could result in injury or death," Scheepers said.

Law-abiding citizens, especially those in the townships, had increasingly become the target of an intensified and orchestrated campaign of mass intimidation.

This situation, fanned and aggravated by plans for mass mobilisation and action, which had long been unacceptable to the SAP, had reached intolerable levels for both the community and the police, he said. - *Sapa.*

Vlok (inset) has warned on mass action such as marches through city centres.

Ideological violence is a ghastly recipe for disaster, writes **Gomolemo Mokae**

BC philosophy could stop these senseless killings

Star 24/11/91

THE recent tragic blood-letting in Sebokeng is a gory reminder that, rhetoric on the senselessness of internecine killings by black leaders notwithstanding, there are still a remarkable number of blacks who find glory in such gory killings.

We need to do more to uproot the culture of anarchy which we nourished by simply countenancing the barbarism of the necklace of the mid-80s. Without wanting to reopen seemingly healed wounds, some of us with clout inflamed this "Celebration of Flames" (apologies to Farouk Asvat) with our utterances then. And now we are flabbergasted as we reap the whirlwind ...

"Oh well, they are inviting it upon themselves by collaborating with the oppressor", some of us tried to philosophise the use of the dreadful tyre and petrol against councillors and "sellouts". Soon use of these items graduated to a settlement of ideological rivalry between liberation movements, and Azania was never to find peace again.

Come February 2, and the nationwide euphoria which followed soon found itself enveloped by anguish at the unprecedented bloodletting on the East Rand.

At the height of the violence, outgoing president of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, suggested "a return to Black Consciousness" as a solution to the violence.

I am a staunch proponent of the Black Consciousness philosophy, and my conviction is strengthened by a perception of it as a solution to black people's problems including black-on-black violence.

The now popular anti-collaborationist stance taken by virtually every strand of the liberation movement was conceived, bred and popularised by the Black Consciousness Movement. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi can attest to the many intellectual battles he had with the forebears of Azapo and other current BCM structures, Black People's Convention (BPC), South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and Black Community Programmes (BCP).

However, at no stage did the BCM agitate for, let alone initiate, violence against collaborators. At the heart of BCM thinking lay the belief that "every non-white is a potential black person". The organisation was so democratic that it opted to win even "sellouts" to the liberation struggle.

Now, elements of the liberation movement have no qualms about turning collaborators into necklace victims and human dartboards for target practice. The obvious danger is ignored, and soon violence against collaborators transforms into violence against ideological rivals in the struggle.

This recipe for disaster is not made any less ghastly by selective application of the anti-collaborationist stance of the BCM.

"All collaborators are equal, but some are more equal than others ..." this Orwell-speak captures the selective application.

This application became fertile ground for fanning tribalist sentiment, for how else should a bantustan leader who is reviled react when he realises other collaborators are blue-eyed boys of a section of the liberation movement?

Suffice it to say this selective application became a seed of the unprecedented tribal wars of the East Rand in 1990.

After February 2 1990, some of us who were too quick to shout "Viva Comrade de Klerk" rose against our own kith and kin from different tribal groups and organisations. It appeared all the efforts of the Onkgopotse Tiros, Muntu kaMyezas and Bantu Bikos to build a strong black solidarity had come to naught.

No wonder Bishop Mogoba reacted in the manner which he did. A return to Black Consciousness, I agree with him, may be our only salvation. How odd for us to want to execute the quantum leap to relating to white people when we cannot relate to one another as members of different black tribes or political organisations?

One of the principles of the BCM is collective leadership, and the creation of cults around living figures is frowned on.

In the same vein the BCM understands the revolution is not a razzmatazz. T-shirts, badges and other merchandise of BC organisation are available only to members who understand the guiding principles and policies of their structures. This obviously deters elements who may want to drag the movement's name through mud by engaging in hooligan activities dressed in BC colours.

A short-cut to populism, attained by availing a liberation movement's merchandise to all and sundry with little attention to political education, is a recipe for disaster.

But more than this, the best way to prevent such disasters is a code of conduct, which has been seen with BCM structures since the days of Saso, BPC etc. For instance, Azapo's code of conduct decrees that a member may not indulge in drinking while dressed in the organisation's garments.

There is no short-cut to freedom. All sections of the liberation movement are going to have to cut out the razzmatazz and get alive to the demands of the liberation. A return to the non-populist values of Black Consciousness which hold black life sacred, is the only solution to the violence which is charring our society.

● **Dr Mokae is Transvaal vice-president of Azapo.** □

US group implicates SA forces in violence

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Star 24/1/91

By Patrick Laurence

South Africa's security forces are implicated in the black-on-black violence which has plagued communities for the past six years, according to Africa Watch.

Africa Watch, a branch of the international organisation Human Rights Watch, makes the accusation in a special report, "The Killings in South Africa", just released.

"The bias of State security forces, who have either intervened or failed to intervene, has fuelled the conflict," Africa Watch says.

Referring to fighting between Inkatha loyalists and ANC-aligned forces, it concludes that the SAP and the KwaZulu police have frequently sided with Inkatha.

Challenged

Echoing allegations made by ANC supporters, Africa Watch says: "The SAP has repeatedly transported and accompanied armed Inkatha members and vigilantes and stood idle during attacks."

The SAP has consistently repudiated these charges, insisting that policy is one of upholding the law even-handedly, and challenged its accusers to give proof of their allegations.

Africa Watch offers a reason for the claimed pro-Inkatha bias: that the "Inkatha movement, led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, holds government power in KwaZulu and has at its disposal an arm of the South African State".

"It is scarcely surprising that the organs of State display some partiality between the two in the current conflict."

ANC, Inkatha mum on talks

South 24/1 - 30/1/91

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From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

BOTH Inkatha and the ANC are mum on the burning question of keeping what will be discussed between the two organisation's leaders when they meet in Durban on Tuesday.

Although hopes are high that the long-awaited face-to-face meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi will signal a breakthrough in the bloodly conflict between the two organisations, indications are that it might not succeed.

Although Tuesday's meeting is historic — it is the first personal contact between Mandela and Buthelezi since Mandela was jailed in 1962 - previous discussions between the two parties have not succeeded in dampening the conflict.

Peace accords between the ANC and Inkatha, drafted by top-level officials of both parties have been broken weeks after they were signed and it has not been possible to enforce them.

Tuesday will see the first top-level meeting between the two organisations since October 1979 when the executive committees of the organisations met in London.

The points of dispute between Inkatha and the ANC/UDF throughout the 1980s have been Buthelezi's acceptance of the homeland system, his opposition to the armed struggle and his opposition to international sanctions against South Africa.

Inkatha also opposes nationalisation and a socialist economy.

Although the agenda for the meeting was not available at the time of writing, it is expected that the two organisations will focus on how to bury the panga.

The two delegations will have to decide how to stop the killings and the hatred — not how they failed to do so in the past. Inkatha chairperson Mr Frank Mdlalose last week hinted at a possibility of "joint activities" between the two groups, but would not elaborate.

He and the ANC's Natal leader, Mr Jacob Zuma, will help draw up the agenda. This will be endorsed by the ANC national executive committee (NEC).

It is expected that Mandela will be accompanied by Zuma, NEC member Mr John Nkadimeng, International Affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC Women League's chief, Mrs Gertrude Shope and ANC Natal Midlands leader, Mr Harry Gwala.

SAP has FW in cleft stick

South 24/1-30/1/91

Negotiations won't kick off as long as political violence scars black lives. But the violence can't be contained without effective policing. Proper policing is not possible without a changed face to the so-called forces of law and order, reports Jenny Cargill

TRIGGER-HAPPY? There are signs of a serious government rethink to change the image of its police

THE South African police force has effectively trapped President FW de Klerk in a cleft stick. (274)

Negotiations won't kick off as long as political violence scars black lives. But the violence can't be contained without effective policing. Proper policing is not possible without a changed face to the so-called forces of law and order But a restructured police force is too politically touchy for the current government to effect on its own.

That is the shorthand of the problem highlighted by Afrikaner political analysts.

Antagonists

Few doubt that the more lasting answer to the violence is political rapprochement between the primary antagonists in the violence, the African National Congress (ANC), and the largely Natal-based Inkatha Freedom Party. But neither do they expect a quick solution when Inkatha president Gatsha Mangosutho Buthelezi's hankered-for meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela takes place on January 29.

More immediately, the ANC has put the responsibility for dealing with the violence at the government's feet.

The head of Potchefstroom University's political science department, Professor Pieter Potgieter, agrees police have been backing Inkatha in the township conflicts.

That is enough to make government a key party in violence.

But its responsibility goes beyond that. "The fact is," says Potgieter, "the police have become an illegitimate force."

This, argues Pretoria political consultant Wim Booyse, is the legacy of apartheid which is responsible for the spontaneous resurgence of people's courts and defence units to cope with the current violence, both criminal and politically motivated.

The imperfections of these community responses are becoming increasingly obvious. Abuses and ill-handling of problems often undermine the democratic principles on which these community structures are based and at times fuel rather than resolve the violence.

The immediate roots of the Sebokeng massacre earlier this month — in which 35 people were gunned down under AK-47 fire — has been traced to an ill-begotten attempt by the "comrades" of this Vaal Triangle township to rein in some gangsters, who then allegedly elicited support from Inkatha.

The ANC has long given rhetorical support to community defence units. But its December 16 consultative conference proposed more than that, and called for a national structure to actively put these units in place. So far it has yet to appoint this structure, for which government has already signalled its distaste.

Defence units pose some problem for the new political democracy within the ANC. They would necessarily have a military character.

Tolerance

Added to that, political tolerance could suffer if a community's defence capability is run by one organisation, rather than its being a broadly-based community effort.

But imperfections aside, people's courts and defence units are for the moment the only logical response in a society where there is a breakdown of trust between the police and the communities they are supposed to serve.

It is this problem of illegitimacy which Potgieter argues is "one of the most outstanding factors" facing De Klerk.

"The negotiations process can't start if this is not dealt with," adds Potgieter.

Booyse reckons Pretoria "should be nervous about disciplining its policemen" as a means of bolstering their legitimacy. "There should be a cleansing, but it can't be a warm knife through butter."

Potgieter argues that the necessary changes to South African policing cannot be done by the present government. It needs a "reconstituted government".

It is within this context, he adds, "that an interim government makes sense".

Booyse takes the argument even further, asserting that the police force needs to be taken out of the hands of politicians in a bid to restructure it.

There are signs of a serious rethink in government on its police, and on some responsibility-sharing with other organisations, but primarily with the ANC.

Some propaganda play has been made of limited cooperation on crime prevention between the Soweto police and ANC-aligned community structures in the township.

The police are also due to unwrap a new manner of operation, and image building would appear to be a priority with the recent appointment of Bureau for Information's Kobus Neethling as "special communications advisor" to Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The touchy question, however, is control — which Pretoria as yet has shown no inclination to relinquish.

US report urges inquiry into SA security forces

w/Mail 25/1/- 31/1/91 (274)

A report by the US group Africa Watch calls for a public investigation into South Africa's security forces. CARMEL RICKARD reports

THE United States government has been urged to call on Pretoria for a public investigation of the role of security forces in township violence.

This is one of a wide range of recommendations contained in a new report by the influential Washington-based human rights group, Africa Watch.

The special report, released yesterday, reviews the role of the security forces in continuing violence and maintains Washington should retain the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act until the South African government has met "all the conditions that would end human rights abuses".

The report says if the South African government wants a peaceful resolution to the Natal and Transvaal conflict, it must first accept its own responsibility in perpetuating the violence.

In addition, the government should encourage respect for the rule of law if it is serious about creating a "genuine post-apartheid society" and, the reports adds; "prosecuting violations is a necessary component of that process".

Its recommendations relating to the South African security forces begin with a call that unequivocal instructions be given to all security force members "that bias against any group will not be tolerated and that members of the forces who commit abuses of human rights will be prosecuted".

Other recommendations about the security forces included:

- the issuing of written orders establishing guidelines about the procedures to be followed in dealing with political violence;
- restraint, with an emphasis on peacekeeping and protection rather than on enforcement of "outmoded apartheid laws";
- all security forces should be consolidated into one force to oversee actions and ensure neutrality;
- the preparation of cases should be more thorough to ensure that courts have evidence on which to convict perpetrators of violence;
- legal reforms should be implemented to protect witnesses in cases involving violence.

The report urges the government in particular to establish an "independent and thorough judicial commission of inquiry" into the role of the police and the defence forces and then act on the evidence collected. "The government should investigate on its own initiative serious human rights cases that come to its attention, regardless of whether a formal complaint has been filed."

Africa Watch suggests the government should invite "genuinely independent domestic and international monitoring groups to help implement changes", and hold joint forums with the police and political groups to hear grievances.

These and other recommendations follow a range of interviews carried out by an Africa Watch researcher.

Washington is found to have consistently refrained from publicly raising the issue of security force involvement in township violence. It is also accused of making public statements on the issue of "black on black violence" which "underemphasise the (South African) government's responsibility to protect the lives of its citizens".

The report notes that the historic visit to the US by State President FW de Klerk in September last year took place during the height of the Transvaal killings, "yet they were barely acknowledged by officials of the Bush administration".

A short section of the report deals with violence perpetrated by the ANC, and acknowledges that the organisation has "for several years also engaged in violent attacks on its political opponents".

● Meanwhile, De Klerk has been urged by the International Commission of Jurists to use his next cabinet reshuffle to appoint a new minister of law and order "who is not identified by the public with discredited policies".

An ICJ report, prepared after a visit to the country by a three person commission, was released today.

It deals with the violence in Natal and makes a number of recommendations, one of which is the need for a massive increase in police resources.

The report notes, "There is a need for some 5 000 officers in Natal to investigate crime in place of the 150 who are currently available."

The ICJ report also urges that the carrying of all weapons, including cultural weapons, should be banned at all political meetings and rallies.

Hospital crisis over trauma 'avalanche'

Cape Times 25/11/91

Staff Reporter

THE avalanche of trauma cases at tertiary hospitals has reached crisis proportions, according to reports in the latest SA Medical Journal.

Violent behaviour and violent crime are at an all-time high and this was responsible for a "totally unacceptable level of death and injury due to trauma", the journal says.

The editorial, by editor-in-chief Dr Nick Lee, highlights the growing problem under a banner reading "Combating violence" and stresses that "the cost to the country is enormous, and the toll in human anguish immeasurable".

The article in the journal, by Dr Johan van der Spuy and Dr Blanche de Wet, claims that 145 000 patients attended state hospital services in the Cape Peninsula with fresh injuries in 1988 — 50% due to assault.

According to the article, 80% of trauma cases occur after office hours, when a lot of services have shut down and a massive load of cases consquently hits the larger hospitals.

The article said the main "brunt" of trauma management in the country will continue to fall on the state.

"In terms of injury prevention, the gap between what can be achieved and what has been accomplished remains wider than for any other disease group," said the authors.

Mandela hold key to peace

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE talks next week between a 20-member African National Congress delegation and a high-powered Inkatha team will bring Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi face to face for the first time since Mr Mandela was released from prison nearly a year ago.

The fate of township folk, and perhaps of the whole of South Africa, depends on the outcome of the talks and on whether Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi are publicly seen to acclaim one another as leaders in the fight for a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

If the talks fail, the internecine strife between ANC-aligned forces and Inkatha sympathisers will, in all probability, intensify. It has already reached the proportions of a civil war.

According to Africa Watch, 4 000 people have been killed in Natal since mid-1987 and about 1 000 in townships around Johannesburg since last August.

An accord between the two organisations, and a public commitment to peace by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, may not guarantee peace. But there will be no peace without an accommodation.

Rivalry between the two organisations has been so fierce that many people have forgotten that they once enjoyed cordial relations, as evidenced by the talks between ANC and Inkatha delegations in London in 1979.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Admires Nelson Mandela.

NELSON MANDELA: Prime mover in talks.

Fraternity

The question facing leaders of the two organisations when they meet in Durban on Tuesday is whether they can bury their festering enmity and restore the fraternity which once characterised their relationship.

A hopeful factor has been the rise to political eminence in Natal of Jacob Zuma, the ANC's chief of intelligence and one of the few Zulus in its uppermost echelons.

Mr Zuma, a softly-spoken and self-effacing man, has worked hard to end the fighting and played a key role in the signing of the Lower Umfolozi Accord last September.

He and Chief Buthelezi are reported to have met secretly several times before the public announcement of Tuesday's meeting.

Another positive sign is the high regard which Chief Buthelezi has for Mr Mandela and Mr Mandela's critical role in facilitating the pending meeting. Mr Mandela is said to have personally phoned Chief Buthelezi to fix the date for the talks.

A third factor encouraging optimism is the common history of the two organisations: both trace their roots back to the ANC before it was banned and launched armed struggle.

While the ANC and Inkatha diverge on important policy issues — the ANC leans towards socialism and Inkatha towards capitalism — there is common ideological ground: both stand for universal adult suffrage and the abolition of race discrimination.

They agree, too, on the need for a redistribution of wealth. Inkatha, however, shies away from talk of nationalisation.

It is not opposed, however, to alternative mechanisms for a fairer distribution of wealth: higher taxation of the rich, affirmative action to give blacks opportunities denied to them in the past, and greater social spending on deprived black communities.

The climate, too, is more favourable for an accord than six months ago. The ANC is moving towards the creation of a "patriot front" of all progressive forces.

Its rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress, has set the pace with its slogan "Peace among the Africans", and its invitation to Inkatha leaders to attend the funeral last November of its leader, Zeph Mothopeng, and its annual conference in December.

Watching events closely is the National Party leadership. Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha figure prominently in its ambition to lead a grand alliance to victory against the ANC in the first post-apartheid election.

SA's late hopes on talks

Sept 24/91

Buthelezi,

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ANC 'will arm its defence units'

B Day 28/1/91

TIM COHEN

ANC defence units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed, ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba says.

In a weekend interview he said the decision to arm the units was taken at a recent meeting of the league.

The Youth League had attracted 95 000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

Mokaba said: "Defence units must arm themselves adequately with everything available, including guns.

"And they must be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended."

Defence unit members would not go out with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that "in the process", life might be lost.

Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

"The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Pretoria Minute as suspending the offensive on our part but not the defensive. If our members are attacked, I would expect those guns to be used in defence of our people," he said.

He conceded that problems with the formation of defence units might emerge, "especially when they erupt without the political direction of our organisation".

For example, he said: "We are aware that there are people who have taken up the call in order to conduct their own mischief."

The defence units must be popular structures, "loved by all the people".

The organisation was aware the defence committees were being infiltrated by "agents of apartheid" who wanted to use the league to discredit the ANC. But, he said, the league was "going on a very vigorous and rigorous cleansing spree. Such people will be vigorously exposed and will be vigorously dealt with."

He said it was true that, in anger, members might be forced to act "in any way" and against anyone, but he said the league did not believe in the taking of life.

Criminals would not be handed over to the police, because the police force was "illegitimate".

Instead the community would deal with its own problems. "No matter how big the problems are in our community, we are not going to appeal to apartheid structures," he said.

Intimidation at root of 'most SA violence'

Star 28/11/91

274

Intimidation is at the root of much of the violence in South Africa, according to the latest SA Institute of Race Relations Survey.

In recording the mix of positive and negative trends in South African society during 1989/1990, the annual survey, which was released this week, draws particular attention to the way in which coercion is threatening two vital institutions — black schools and the press.

It notes that some ANC leaders have tried to address the problem and have called for discipline — particularly on the part of the youth.

Lost

What wholesale intimidation has done to black education is encapsulated in a quoted statement by Dr Oscar Dhlomo (when he was KwaZulu's Minister of Education) in which he said "national academic genocide" was being committed by people who did not have their own children in the schools they were disrupting.

The survey quotes at length from a report by senior Sunday Star journalist Jon Qwelane in which teachers and principals complained they had lost control to certain educational and students' organisations. They disobeyed those parties at their own peril.

A headmistress said: "We have been thoroughly intimidated and we know it. We are even afraid to speak out, because we will be called 'sell-outs' and 'reactionaries' and be dealt with mercilessly."

Referring to a new form of censorship — the intimidation of black journalists — the survey quotes a number of discussions at which journalists spoke of the risks they took (including one threatened by necklacing) if they openly criticised some of the political organisations or their leaders.

The senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, Thami Mazwai, is quoted as saying that "the battle for the media continues".

Whereas the Government had previously succeeded in getting sectors of the press as its apologists, it had now become commonplace for all organisations to do the same.

The survey found that criticising strategies, such as class boycotts, was considered taboo by political activists.

It also noted that the Inkatha-owned Ilanga newspaper had dropped circulation by more than 20 000 copies through a "well-orchestrated campaign" of intimidation.

Distribution trucks had been held up, while gangs of "faceless people" had threatened to burn down shops that sold the newspaper.

People, who had bought the newspaper in defiance of the campaign against it, had been forced to eat it, the survey said.

— Sapa.

First works in series defy the old taboos

Star 28/1/91

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK

MK: The ANC's Armed Struggle by Howard Barrell; **Death Squads: Apartheid's Secret Weapon** by Patrick Laurence (Penguin Forum Series, R15 each.)

Reviewed by Matthew Kentridge.

ONE of the inevitable consequences of the increasing pace of political developments over the past year is the ever more rapid production of political books as authors and publishers run to keep pace with events and to capture in a more permanent form what is only transiently topical in the newspapers.

The latest offering from Penguin SA, the Penguin Forum Series, is a new publishing venture designed, according to the press release, to focus on areas or views which are being presented badly or not at all.

The first two books in the series admirably fit this blurb.

They deal with subjects which, until recently, were so taboo there was no chance of publication in South Africa.

Howard Barrell's book is a welcome addition to the canon of contemporary South African political writing as it retrieves Umkhonto we Sizwe (or MK as popular abbreviation has it) from 30 years of obfuscation and demonisation by government propaganda and disinformation.

Barrell is a careful analyst who is neither shy to express his personal sympathies, nor to make trenchant and acute criticisms of MK strategy where merited.

His attitude towards his sources is similarly robust: while he has access to ANC and MK documents not previously available in this country, he also respects police reports and statistics when he deems them accurate and informative.

Barrell writes well about the early days of MK when a pepper shaker was an indispensable part of every insurrectionist's kit, used to confuse police tracker dogs; and his short account of life in an MK training camp in Angola with its meals of curried baboon, plethora of football teams and games of Monopoly in the evening is particularly vivid.

The main focus of the book, however, is on the unstable relationship between MK's political and military arms, manifested in the creation of ever more acronyms for ever more structures: the RC (revolutionary council) which was different from the PMC (politico-military council) which was subtly different from the PMSC (politico-military strategy commission) which was not the same as the RPMCs (regional political-military committees).

Despite the endless deliberations on the correct mix of the two, and on the need for underground political activity within the country, it appears that MK was caught off guard by the massive waves of resistance which surfaced in 1976 and again in 1984 and was forced to hastily, and post hoc, amend its strategies as a result.

Barrell is a useful guide through this morass of shifting positions and directives, but his preoccupation with structure leads him into some glaring ommissions.

The most serious is that he neglects, or declines to address, the mutiny of MK cadres in certain camps in Angola in 1984.

Many of the mutineers were tortured and executed and their experiences have received wide coverage both in journals and the press.

Barrell, however, accords the matter one line and a footnote, stating blandly that "some grave abuses of human rights occurred."

Human rights abuses, by contrast, are the subject of Patrick Laurence's book.

The police and army death squads he documents also led a clandestine existence, although not for lack of official sanction, but because their objectives, actions and methods were inadmissable in a society which still, notionally at least, claims to respect the sovereignty of the rule of law.

Unlike Barrell, Laurence does not set out to be analytical, but instead performs a journalist's service by taking up and sifting through the mass of information on apartheid death squads which he turns into a lucid, linear narrative.

He examines the sequence of events which eventually led to the appointment of the Harms and Hiemstra Commissions, as well as the allegations and counter-allegations surrounding the life and death of Namibian lawyer Anton Lubowski.

Laurence is less than charitable in his account of the objectives and approach of the Harms Commission, quoting with approval its description as a "blunted scalpel, unable to cut through the tissue of lies" woven by CCB members to protect themselves.

In his final chapter Laurence traces the increasing powers arrogated by the police over the years, from 90-day to 180-day detention to detention without trail.

This led to the creation of a subculture in which security police thought they were supermen entitled to act ruthlessly in the name of patriotism and state security.

Consequently, he finds that "death squads were not an anomalous outcome of the apartheid state in its terminal stage. They were its natural and inevitable product."

The findings of the Harms Commission, and most recently the judgment in the Neethling defamation case, both of which appeared after the publication of "Death Squads", have inevitably dated the book.

But this is a small consideration.

For while Laurence's book serves as an introduction to a repugnant chapter of South African politics, it will be, as he states clearly, a long time before he, or anyone else, is able to write the conclusion. □

Defence units 'to be armed'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC defence units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed, ANC Youth League chairman Mr Peter Mokaba says.

In a weekend interview he said the decision to arm the units was taken at a recent meeting of the league.

The Youth League had attracted 95 000 members so far, who paid a R1 annual membership fee and were required to pay dues of 50c a month.

Mr Mokaba said: "Defence units must arm themselves adequately with everything available, including guns.

"And they must be able to use those guns in instances where life and property need to be defended."

Defence unit members would not go out with the intention of taking life, but he conceded that "in the process", life might be lost.

Mr Mokaba did not exclude the possibility that these community members might become so angry that the punishment they delivered might exceed the level of self-defence.

"The ANC will never break the Pretoria Minute, but we understand the Pretoria Minute as suspending the offensive on our part — but not the defensive. If our

Man shot dead after police patrol stoned

Cape Times 28/1/86 (274)

PRETORIA. — Seven people were killed, nine injured and 21 arrested in unrest incidents including shootings, arson and stonings at the weekend.

Police shot dead a man after a police patrol was stoned in Matatiele, Southern Natal.

A man was wounded by an army patrol which returned fire at Table Mountain, near Maritzburg, after they were shot at by a group. Two people were arrested.

Three bodies with hack wounds were found by police in Thokoza on the East Rand, scene of some of the worst recent Reef township fighting which left more than 1 000 dead.

The body of a woman with hack wounds was found by police at Nkulaleko, Barkly East. In the same area, 12 youths were arrested in connection with stoning incidents that damaged two homes, and four people were injured when a group attacked them with bottles and stones.

Four men were arrested in connection with the murder of a man who was fired on at Inanda near Durban.

Police said they arrested a man and confiscated firearms after a man was killed at Pateni, near Richmond, Natal. — Sapa

ANC names policemen 'orchestrating violence'

Star 28/1/91

By Patrick Laurence

The ANC has given President de Klerk a list of names of police officers who it believes have orchestrated twonship violence, and has demanded their removal, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told The Star.

"I have said to him these are the officers who are regarded by the community as responsible for the violence. Please remove them ... and put in police officials who can work with the people and put an end to what is going on," Mr Mandela said.

But, he said, Mr de Klerk had "not been able to do so".

These officers, Mr Mandela charged, had raided ANC offices, torn up ANC enrolment forms, connived with "vigilantes on the rampage" and created serious difficulties for the ANC.

"The people are asking us what is the point of continuing to negotiate with a government that is killing our people? You are talking peace but they are conducting war against us.

"It is quite clear there are influential elements in the establishment that want to cripple the ANC. It is also quite clear the Government ... would like to negotiate with a weak ANC."

Mr Mandela left no doubt, however, about the ANC's commitment to negotiations, saying: "We have taken the correct step in putting pressure on the Government to agree to negotiate... Our position is that we should ensure the success of these negotiations and I think we carry the support of our members."

Mr Mandela was speaking as ANC cadres prepared for a mass action campaign, which starts with a protest march in Cape Town on Friday. The march — to be led by Mr Mandela — has been timed to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

The campaign is one of two major ANC initiatives to strengthen its position. The second is an ANC attempt to end divisive conflicts with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and with Chief Lucas Mangope, president of Bophuthatswana.

A meeting in Durban tomorrow between Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi, the first since Mr Mandela's release from prison, marks a critical phase in the bid to end the internecine war between the ANC and Inkatha.

Pat Mkhize, a lawyer and mediator, comments on how education could end violence

Schools must teach conciliation

Star 29/1/91.

(274)

TODAY'S meeting between the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, gives hope that the violence that has caused so much loss of life, and which is affecting the economic strength of our country, will be curbed.

The meeting in itself will not produce magical results like stopping fighting, but will surely set the tone that people may fight over an idea without becoming enemies.

It will contribute towards a healthier way of looking at conflicts so that people involved in a face-to-face discussion tend to concentrate on the problem rather than attacking people as in the case of communication through the media.

It should, however, be remembered that the two leaders are not the actual movers of violence although they may be politically accountable for the acts of their various supporters.

As I ponder all possible solutions to violence, I feel that education about various methods of resolving conflict is essential.

It is heartbreaking to hear people calling upon others to resolve their disputes in a peaceful manner when they themselves have not even the slightest skill in dispute resolution.

Pat Mkhize . . . Mandela-Buthelezi meeting will make for a healthier way of looking at conflicts.

There is not a single educational institution in South Africa that includes in its syllabus conflict-related subjects or courses.

There is not a single university in South Africa which has a centre on conflict, negotiation and mediation which makes available theoretical and practical facilities to its students and interested members of the community.

If courses such as mediation, negotiation, facilitation, conciliation, mini-trial, hybrid alternative dispute resolution, alternative dispute procedures and others were on offer, those taking such courses would be of great value to their communities.

The universities of the Witwatersrand or of Zululand, for example, admit students from various regions of South Africa.

Such students would spread their negotiating or mediating expertise to the whole of South Africa after completing their studies.

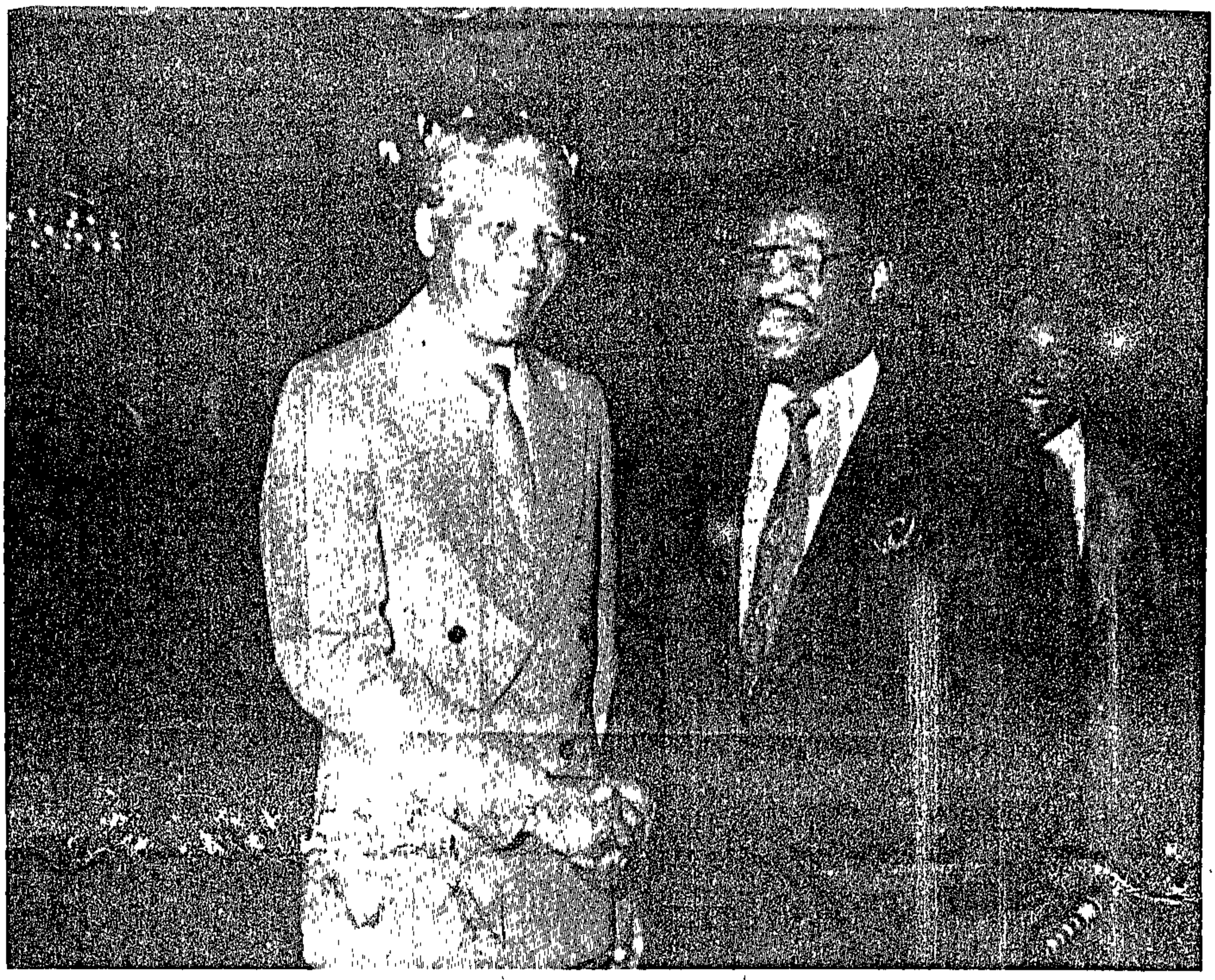
Knowledge and training in conflict resolution would enable us to resolve not only political conflict and labour, environmental and civil cases; it would also enable us to resolve family conflicts, such as marital problems, child abuse and misunderstanding between neighbours. Skills in conflict resolution would enable us to assist people in conflict to resolve their differences before their relationship became permanently impaired.

Almost all black law schools offer purely legal courses to their law students. The structure of such syllabi conditions students to "thinking like lawyers", thus denying them other ways of looking at matters.

Legal education in general methodically constrains students not to immerse themselves in their clients' lives, but rather to attend to only that which is "legally" relevant in a situation, to ignore what other people may be doing in response to the problem, and effectively persuades students to think of themselves as the pre-eminent problem-solvers.

I suggest that for us not to be ashamed by our much talked-about new South Africa, we will have to start now educating and re-educating ourselves about ways to resolve conflicts without hatred, bloodshed and misery.

Processes like negotiation and mediation are not of recent origin; they were used long ago by our traditional societies, and they were successfully used. □



HAND SHAKE: The deputy leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and head of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, meet before talks in Durban today.

ARGUS 29/1/91

Tears as Mandela and Buthelezi meet

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — In an emotional moment for which they had waited 28 years and which brought tears to their eyes, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shook hands and hugged each other in the corridor of a hotel here earlier today

"Hello, my brother," Dr Buthelezi said.

The moment was electric and was recorded by a contingent of 150 print and electronic media journalists who had gathered at the Royal Hotel from early this morning.

Minutes before Mr Mandela arrived in a white Mercedes Benz at the back entrance of the hotel in Ulundi street — ironically named because Ulundi is the capital of Kwazulu.

He did not answer the barrage of questions which were flung at him from the waiting journalists including teams from Germany, the UK the US, Sweden and Canada.

Outside the hotel a group of about 100 youths toyi-toyed up Smith Street under the watchful eye of a large police contingent. The demonstration appeared to be supportive of the meeting. Banners proclaimed "Inkatha means Freedom for the People" and "Buthelezi-/Mandela — we support Black Peace and Unity"

Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi and members of their delegations were dressed in subdued, formal suits with each delegation member identified by a discreet lapel badge.

After their emotional meeting the two leaders moved into the conference room and posed for photographs.

"We are very hopeful otherwise we would not be here," was the only comment Dr Buthulezi made before the meeting.

Mr Mandela nodded.

The meeting was due to start at 10am but was delayed by about 10 minutes while conference security staff battled to clear the room of journalists.

The meeting is being jointly chaired by Dr Frank Mdlalose, general secretary of Inkatha and Mr Alfred Nzo, general secretary of the ANC

There are several white members in the delegations including Mr Joe Slovo of the SA Communist Party and Mr Walter Felgate, the first white member of Inkatha.

25 homes on fire in Natal

PRETORIA. — Twenty five homes were set on fire and two people were wounded in violence in Natal today.

The violence occurred just before the peace talks between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC.

The police said in an unrest report that two groups clashed at Nxamalala. Two people were wounded when one group opened fire on the other and 25 houses were set alight.

Three men were arrested for illegal possession of firearms.

In another incident, police found the body of a man with stab and hack wounds at Tokoza on the East Rand.

A policeman's home was damaged in a petrol bomb attack at Daveyton in Benoni, the report said. — Sapa.

CAM Trips 29/1/91 976

Mandela to lead ANC city protest?

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela, in an interview published in the Guardian here yesterday, defended the ANC's right to stage a mass protest in Cape Town on Friday to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

He was also quoted as saying he had given President F W de Klerk a list of police officers the ANC believes orchestrated violence in the townships, and demanded their removal.

Mr Mandela rejected the government's contention that mass action precipitated violence and was in contravention of the ANC commitment to suspend its armed struggle and "related activities".

Mr Mandela said the ANC made its position clear to the government when it agreed last year to suspend its guerilla war. He said: "Until there are effective mechanisms which allow people to express their grievances and put forward their demands, we cannot accept their demand that there should be no mass action.

"We have no vote. The only way in which we can focus attention on our grievances, after we have failed to convince the government through persuasion and argument, is to go into the streets and demonstrate. We are going to do that."

Mr Mandela is expected to lead the march.

He said the government had failed to act against the policemen whose names the ANC gave to Mr De Klerk.

He said the listed officers had connived with "vigilantes".

"The people are asking us: 'What is the point of continuing to negotiate with a government which is killing our people? You are talking peace but they are conducting war against us'."

But he stressed that the ANC remained committed to negotiations.

Police warn ANC 'defence units'

Political Staff

THE Law and Order ministry has warned that armed ANC defence units will not be tolerated if they break the law in any way.

"There are laws which say the police do the policing," said spokesman Captain Craig Kotze.

SA Youth Congress chairman Mr Peter Mokaba said at the weekend that the units, being set up countrywide, are to be armed.

Captain Kotze said that if the ANC planned to arm the units with AK 47 rifles "you can be sure they will be removed".

● Captain Kotze also warned that police would act against protesting farmers who planned to jam the streets of Pretoria with hundreds of vehicles early today "if they break the law".

He said the same laws would apply to the farmers as to any organisation.

"The necessary permission has to be granted. If it is illegal we will have to apply the law," he said.

Countrywide marches, rallies planned

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Star 30/11/91 274

The ANC and PAC have joined forces for a campaign on Friday to highlight their demand for a constituent assembly.

"Constituent Assembly Day", coinciding with the opening of Parliament in Cape Town, was officially announced yesterday at a joint ANC/PAC press conference in Johannesburg.

PAC West Rand chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya and ANC PWV-region executive member Mohammed Valli Moosa said mass marches and rallies would be held countrywide.

The march on Parliament would be led by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

In the Transvaal, regional leaders had decided to call a workers' stayaway — supported by trade union federations Cosatu and Nactu — and a school boycott.

Health workers would be expected to report to work.

Mr Valli Moosa said students should stay away from classes only on Friday, adding that the organisations wanted to discourage an ongoing school stayaway.

The Transvaal campaign would kick off tomorrow with a placard demonstration in Hillbrow between 5 and 6.30 pm.

An ANC spokesman said that even if permission were refused, supporters would go ahead with marches in towns throughout the Conservative Party-dominated eastern Transvaal on Friday.

A police spokesman has warned steps would be taken against any attempt to stage an illegal march. Major Pine Pienaar said permission had so far been granted only by Nelspruit local authorities.

Groblersdal had turned down an application and decisions were pending in Middelburg, Witbank, Bethal, Ermelo, Secunda and Leslie.

Bury your spears, call ANC, Inkatha

Star 30/11/91 (274)

By Patrick Laurence

DURBAN — The African National Congress and Inkatha ended their historic peace talks yesterday with a call to their followers to "cease all attacks against one another with immediate effect".

The call, contained in a unanimously endorsed declaration, would be reinforced by a joint tour of all the troubled areas by the ANC and Inkatha leaders, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The five-point declaration committed both organisations to exhort their followers to "desist from vilification" of one another, a reference to complaints by Chief Buthelezi that ANC leaders had directed "killing talk" against him.

The declaration stipulated that existing joint mechanisms, set up earlier in a bid to curb the violence, would monitor violations of the new agreement and recommend "appropriate action" against those who contravened the accord.

The mood of the ANC and Inkatha delegates was friendly, with delegates cheering Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi when they replied pertinently to questions from journalists.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi joked and laughed together. The two men admitted frankly that there were still differences in policy between their organisations and that the task of ending violence — described by Chief Buthelezi as "endemic" — would be long and hard.

But, judging from the rapport between the two leaders and the goodwill shown by delegates towards one another, there is a definite determination to bring the violence to an end.

Unlike previous accords, the present one has the support of the ANC. The agreement by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to conduct joint tours of violence-torn areas is another new and important dimension.

A joint statement was read out by Chief Buthelezi.

It contained a broad agreement, in which the signatories committed themselves to "political tolerance and freedom of political activity" and acknowledged the need for "an effective peace-keeping force".

Further points in their agreement included:

- A plea to pupils in black areas to return to school.
- A call for reconstructive and development programmes in deprived areas to reduce the underlying socio-economic causes of violence.

The talks ended as they started — with a symbolic handshake between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, their second public clasping of hands yesterday after nearly 30 years without contact.

More top-level meetings to be held

Inkatha and ANC agree to stop fighting

DURBAN — Inkatha and the ANC last night agreed to cease all hositilities with immediate effect and agreed to work together to eradicate apartheid.

The agreement followed a historic meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — their first in 28 years.

Delegations from the two parties held talks lasting more than eight hours in Durban's Royal Hotel.

A joint declaration issued afterwards called on ANC and Inkatha supporters to desist from vilification of the organisations or their leaders.

The declaration also called on members and supporters not to "coerce or intimidate anyone in the pursuit of their strategies and programmes".

The parties also agreed to use the existing joint mechanisms to monitor all violations of the agreement.

Mandela and Buthelezi agreed to go on a joint tour of all the areas that have been hit by violence which has claimed more than 4 000 lives in five years.

"Further top-level meetings will be held from time to time as the need arises to address, among other issues, joint activities to eradicate the system of apartheid within the shortest possible time."

TIM COHEN

Mandela and Buthelezi embraced each other warmly when they met in the hotel yesterday morning.

After introductory speeches by the two leaders, a 20-man ANC delegation joined the 67-man Inkatha team for the talks behind closed doors.

Placard-bearing Inkatha supporters gathered outside to shout slogans under the watchful eye of soldiers and police. During the first tea break at 11am Buthelezi left the hotel to greet the crowd, bringing traffic in Durban's Smith Street to a halt.

The crowd then dispersed peacefully.

A large part of Buthelezi's opening address was devoted to answering derogatory remarks made about himself and Inkatha by ANC members in the past. The speech was also peppered with criticism of ANC policy.

Mandela made a markedly more conciliatory speech. He thanked Buthelezi and the Inkatha leadership for helping to secure his release from prison.

Mandela said many thousands had died in inter-communual violence, the blame for which could be laid at the door of the "apartheid regime".

☐ To Page 5

P.T.O.

Mandela, Buthelezi agree to immediate end to violence

Historic call for peace

30/1/91 (274)

The Argus Correspondent reports from Durban

THE African National Congress and Inkatha ended their historic peace talks yesterday with a call to their followers to "cease all attacks against one another with immediate effect".

The call, contained in a unanimously endorsed declaration, would be reinforced by a joint tour of all troubled areas by the ANC and Inkatha leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The five-point declaration committed both organisations to exhort their followers to "desist from vilification" of one another, a reference to complaints by Chief Buthelezi that ANC leaders had directing "killing talk" against him.

The declaration, which was read out by Mr Mandela to a crowded press conference, stipulated that existing joint mechanisms, set up earlier in a bid to curb the violence, would monitor violations of the new agreement and recommend "appropriate action" against those who contravened of the accord.

The mood of the ANC and Inkatha delegates was friendly, with delegates cheering Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi when they replied pertinently to a series of questions from journalists.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi joked and laughed together. The two men admitted frankly that there were still differences in policy between their organisations and that the task ahead of ending the violence — described by Chief Buthelezi as "endemic" — would be long and hard.

But, judging from the rapport between the two leaders and the goodwill shown by delegates towards one another, there is a definite determination to bring the violence to an end.

Unlike previous accords, the present one has the support of the ANC. The agreement by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to conduct joint tours of violence-torn areas is another new and important dimension.

A joint statement — as distinct from the joint declaration — was read out to journalists by Chief Buthelezi.

It contained a broad agreement, in which the signatories committed themselves to "political tolerance and freedom of political activity" and acknowledged the need for "an effective peace-keeping force".

Further points in their agreement included:

- An exhortation to pupils in black areas to return to school and to education authorities not to exclude pupils because of their political affiliation.
- A call for reconstructive and development programmes in deprived areas to reduce the underlying socio-economic causes of violence. The programmes will be implemented in concernt by the ANC and Inkatha.

The talks ended as they started — with a symbolic handshake between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, their second public clasping of hands yesterday after 28 years of no contact.

The scene for the talks was set by opening speeches by Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to the nearly 90 delegates.

Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi delivered contrasting speeches to the nearly 70 delegates who participated in yesterday's historic peace talks.

Mr Mandela's address was short and conciliatory. Chief Buthelezi's longer statement warned of the dangers of "killing talk" and cited examples where ANC leaders had indulged in "killing talk" against him.

Mr Mandela, fulfilling the role of the elder statesman of the black community, struck a constructive note at the outset.

"We have not come here to apportion blame," he said, adding: "If we are to fulfil the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors or losers as between the ANC and Inkatha."

He noted that the majority of black people, particularly those in war-torn townships, yearned for peace, while the defenders of white minority rule, "the angels of death and destruction", wanted the strife to continue.

"We must satisfy and disappoint in equal measure," he exhorted the delegates. "We must deliver."

He paid tribute to the long line of Zulu leaders who had contributed to the struggle against white rule and to the birth and growth of the ANC. Recalling that the ANC and Inkatha had once enjoyed a close relationship, he said: "The motivation was our common declared opposition to apartheid Surely that motivation still remains."

He ended with a ringing call for peace: "We cannot afford to fail. Violence must end. Let peace prevail."

Chief Buthelezi called for an end to the "vilification" which, he said, ANC leaders had directed against Inkatha and himself, declaring that peace would be impossible if it did not stop.

He cited several examples of "killing talk" and "vilification" which went beyond democratic criticism, mentioning several of the ANC leaders at the talks by name.

He accused Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC and co-chairman of the talks, of calling for the "necklacing of collaborators", a term of abuse which, he charged, ANC leaders had often directed against Inkatha and its leaders

Speaking directly to John Nkadimeng, a senior ANC leader present at the talks, Chief Buthelezi said: "I ask that he quietly tell the world that he was wrong in calling me a (poisonous) snake that must be hit on the head .. that is killing talk."

Although Inkatha had once flown the ANC's colours and identified with the ANC, the possibility of Inkatha and the ANC fusing into a single force was gone, Chief Buthelezi said.

But, he added, it was not too late for Inkatha and the ANC to enter into a "complementary relationship", in which they would support one another where their policies converged and agree to disagree whether policies diverged.

He cautioned, however, that there was no question of Inkatha becoming a component in an ANC-led alliance, of it taking its seat at the negotiating table as part of an ANC delegation.

"The Inkatha Freedom Party exists in its own right. It will be at the negotiating table in its own right. Inkatha has a political mind of its own and it will choose allies on the basis of the issues being fought."

Chief Buthelezi also ended his speech with a strong appeal for the two organisations to end the violence.

"We must end up today committing ourselves to joint ventures in action against violence. We must end up today banishing forever the politics of intimidation which lead to violence."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela share a joke at the press conference after their meeting in Durban yesterday.

HISTORIC HAND-SHAKE . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands at their meeting in Durban's Royal Hotel yesterday. Picture. NATAL MERCURY

Cape Times 30/1/91

Buthelezi in call for peace and end to violence

DURBAN. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has issued a strong call for peace and an end to political intimidation, but has warned against "impossible objectives" from the ANC.

These included the demand for a constituent assembly and the ANC's mass-action programme.

Speaking before a conference yesterday at a plush hotel here with Mr Nelson Mandela and their respective delegations, Chief Buthelezi said he hoped it would lead to "strong, sustained action against violence in every form".

"Let the people be free in their sovereignty to decide the who's who of South Africa's political leadership ... the separate existence of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party is a product for the people's will.

'Into the sea'

"We each exist legitimately. We each have a right to exist. Let us get on with the job of finally liberating South Africa without thrashing out at each other as we move forward.

"I repeat, violence must cease and when Nelson Mandela called on the people to throw their guns, knives and pangas into the sea, I endorsed his call. I endorse it again today."

However, referring to mass action and the demand for a constituent assembly, Chief Buthelezi said: "The more the ANC pursues objectives which just cannot be achieved, and the more it then turns to blame Inkatha and others for its inability to achieve them, the more bedevilled the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC will become." — Sapa

PEACE HUG . . . Mr Nelson Mandela hugs Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday. Picture NATAL MERCURY

From page 1

They also resolved to organise a joint tour of all violence-affected areas by the two leaders.

Chief Buthelezi then read the three-page text of a joint agreement spelling out in detail implications of the joint declaration.

The call for an end to violence included steps to prevent acts of violence and destruction amongst the organisations' members.

Both parties were committed to political tolerance and freedom of political activity and each having the right to exist as political parties with their own policies and programmes.

"The parties will act to create a climate between them free of forced recruitment and vilification," Chief Buthelezi's statement said.

The parties would ensure the free use of public facilities by all, and urged the return to school and normal learning and teaching while ensuring that no pupil was excluded from a school by virtue of political affiliation.

The attainment of peace required an effective peace-keeping role by the security forces and the government had to accept its responsibility in this regard.

The parties would take steps to ensure that all security force members would:

- Act without political bias;
- Receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force; and
- Act and function with due respect for the sensitive community situation that exsisted.

The parties agreed on the need for a programme of reconstruction and development to reduce the potential for violence.

Joint structures would be used and the programme would concentrate on the Transvaal hostels, giving priority to refugees and the displaced victims of violence.

The agreement addressed virtually every complaint the two organisations have levelled at each other since the violence which trailed the ANC's unbanning last February.

Their agreement has gone further than a mere handshake which Mr Mandela, at his arrival in Durban on Monday, said was not enough to bring peace. — Sapa

'Let's not point fingers' — Mandela

DURBAN. — Violence must end and peace prevail, Mr Nelson Mandela told delegates to the peace talks here with Inkatha yesterday

In his opening remarks he stressed the need for an atmosphere of free political activity in which "all people can freely canvass their positions within the rest of society"

"The efforts of our people have brought about a situation in which apartheid can be eradicted by peaceful means."

It was ironic that a meeting between "organisations of the oppressed" should require such an effort to accomplish.

The ANC did not believe it would benefit the cause of peace if it spent its time at the meeting pointing fingers at those responsible for the carnage which had left many thousands dead.

"If we are to fulfill the true purpose of our get-together, there must be no victors and no losers between ANC and Inkatha."

Mr Mandela and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, both addressed the delegates at the 10am start of talks at the Royal Hotel.

Belated as it was, Mr Mandela said, he wanted to thank Chief Buthelezi and the leadership of Inkatha for their contribution in helping to secure his release and that of other leaders of the ANC. Messages of support and comfort in their long years of incarceration had not gone unnoticed. — Sapa

ANC-Inkatha peace accord

HAPPY BUTHELEZI ... Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shows his delight at meeting Mr Nelson Mandela at yesterday's summit. ● Historic hand-shake and a hug — Page 2.

Pictures: NATAL MERCURY

Cape Times 30/1/91 Z-74

DURBAN. — The ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday reached a watershed agreement effectively outlawing violence, intimidation and political intolerance among their followers.

The historic agreement was reach at a meeting between the organisations' long-separated leaders ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and the Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

The tone and content of their joint declaration and statement left no doubt that a considerable measure of reconciliation and diplomacy had been the victor in nearly seven hours of deliberations

They met at Durban's Royal Hotel at 10am with the full glare of national and international expecta tion focused on them

Inkatha fielded a veritible impi of 67 delegates to the 20-member ANC delegation which backed Mr Mandela

Opening statements by both leaders focused on the intolerable violence ravaging their communi ties and the need to address it.

Relaxed

Despite some acrimonious lines in Chief Buthelezi's address, and Mr Mandela restating the ANC's commitment to strategies Inkatha has steadfastly rejected, determination to succeed established a clearly relaxed mood by lunchtime

The two leaders walked smiling shoulder to shoulder from the negotiating room for lunch

They drafted and agreed to their joint positions by 7pm and faced the media shortly before 8pm

"Prince Buthelezi has agreed that I shall read to you our joint declaration," Mr Mandela announced

The title of prince was immediately interpreted as a substantial shift in ANC attitude towards the Zulu leader

Later, defending parts of his opening speech where he strongly criticised the ANC for alleged misconduct, Chief Buthelezi said it was not his or Mr Mandela's manner to skirt issues

Mr Mandela agreed "There was no acrimony whatsoever"

Smiling, and consulting each other on several questions from the press, the two leaders agreed also that yesterday's Inkatha-ANC peace talks would hasten national all-party negotiations on South Africa's future

Mr Mandela went on to say that the parties "solemnly call upon our people, members of the ANC and IFP as well as our allies, to cease all attacks against one another with immediate effect"

To Page 2

Genetically altered cells used to treat cancer

WASHINGTON — Scientists have for the time treated cancer patients with ...sions of genetically altered cancer-...g cells removed from their own tu-..., the National Institute of Health ...) announced yesterday

A team of NIH scientists will try this therapy treatment for a year on up to 50 patients with advanced melanoma, a potentially deadly skin cancer It is hoped that ultimately it may be applied to a wide range of diseases, including cancers other than melanoma

"This trial will be the first to apply gene therapy to cancer," said Dr Steven Rosenberg, who leads the team of scientists from the NIH's National Cancer Institute "It's a treatment very much in the infancy of its development."

Before being returned to the body their tumour-fighting abilities were improved by combining them in the laboratory with a gene capable of producing a potent toxin to the tumour, it said. — Sapa-Reuter

ANC plans mass march

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A MASS protest march — expected to be the biggest in the city since Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Mayor, Mr Gordon Oliver, led 30 000 people in September 1989 — is planned by the ANC for Friday.

The march is to demand a constituent assembly as a means of "transferring power to the people" and has the backing of all major trade unions, the SA Communist Party and most of the mainstream religious movements.

It is timed to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

While ANC regional publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel declined to speculate on the expected attendance yesterday, it was reliably learnt that an estimate of 20 000 was given by the ANC to Cape Town City Council.

The council yesterday granted permission for a march from the Grand Parade along a pre-determined route via Parliament where a memorandum will be handed over. The march will end at the Parade where Mr Nelson Mandela is scheduled to address the crowd as President De Klerk gives his opening speech.

Cape Town's chief magistrate, Mr W P Theron, said he had received an application for permission from the ANC at 3pm yesterday but said he would make a decision "by the earliest" today.

Asked how the ANC reconciled its January call for the "minimum disruption of education" and a return to school, with the march on a school day, Mr Manuel said lost learning time would be "made up".

Peaceful

"We consulted teachers, students and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee and asked for feedback — in many instances students simply wanted to take part," he said.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr expressed confidence in a peaceful march, saying an extensive analysis was made of the violence following Mr Mandela's release and "all necessary precautions" had been taken. Some 500 marshals would be used in the city and on incoming trains.

A Cape Town traffic department spokesman appealed to people not to park on the Parade overnight on Thursday or on Friday, when it and neighbouring Darling Street would be closed to traffic.

Police said they would be "monitoring the situation" but keeping a low profile.

Spoornet confirmed that they were negotiating with the ANC about pre-payment for three extra trains from Khayelitsha, Wellington and Simon's Town.

Investigations revealed that the ANC is offering Spoornet about half of what it will cost to run the three extra trains after widely advertising "free special trains".

A Spoornet spokesman declined comment on this.

● Sapa reports that the PAC and ANC in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region have joined forces to organise a stayaway and launch a mass action campaign on Friday to demand a constituent assembly and oppose the opening of the "racist" parliament.

Friday has been named Constituent Assembly Day following consultations between the ANC and PAC national leadership, ANC regional executive member Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa told a joint ANC-PAC media briefing in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said there would be marches in Pretoria, Soweto, Kagiso and Sebokeng, mass meetings or rallies in four East Rand townships, and a signature campaign in GaRankuwa.

● Pupils should abstain from senseless marches like the ones aimed at protesting against the opening of Parliament, an Azanian Students' Convention spokesman warned in Thohoyandou yesterday.

Addressing hundreds of students at the opening session of the University of Venda, Mr Rudzani Nemutudi said: "Although the DET is responsible for the education crisis, senseless protest marches have added flavour to the high failure rate."

Spreading message, 'first priority'

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ANC and Inkatha officials began talks today to defuse tension between their supporters in Natal before the crucial Easter weekend.

Both sides recognise that the violence has become a major threat to the country's stability and to its chances of a negotiated settlement.

Mandela and Buthelezi are expected to meet in Durban tomorrow in a bid to end the bloodshed.

Inkatha has said it will not attend the meeting unless the ANC stops its campaign of mass action.

The ANC has said it will not call off the campaign unless Inkatha withdraws from the multi-party negotiations process.

Yesterday's violence in Natal, which left 12 people dead, was the worst since the start of the campaign.

Both sides have been accused of fuelling the violence.

Inkatha has been accused of fomenting violence in order to undermine the ANC's support base.

The ANC has been accused of using violence to force Inkatha out of the negotiations process

Can Mandela and Buthelezi sell their accord?

TIM COHEN

DELEGATES at Tuesday's historic meeting between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela repeatedly warned against "magic wand" solutions to Natal's now endemic violence, but even so the omens do not look good.

Giant strides were made at the talks: Buthelezi and Mandela met face to face for the first time in 28 years, the parties jointly agreed to cease hostilities, they agreed to stop calling each other names, they agreed to cease coercion and intimidation, and they even agreed they would work together on certain political campaigns. The organisations also recognised each other's right to exist — and to differ.

The leaders of the two groups clearly indicated that the talks marked a turning point in relations between the organisations. But behind the facade, cracks were evident. Buthelezi thought it appropriate to spend a major part of his speech castigating ANC members for remarks they had made about him and Inkatha.

The tone of the speech astounded the large Press contingent and sparked questions during the Press conference. Both leaders responded tactfully, saying their differences needed to be raised and the talks were not, in fact, acrimonious.

But perhaps the most remarkable thing about Buthelezi's speech was the very few references to the Natal violence. The "inter-communal" violence (Mandela's characterisation) was mentioned in only a few paragraphs of the 16-page speech, which focused on relations between the two organisations.

The assumption was that if relations between the two organisations could be normalised, a reduction in violence would follow. However, most commentators agree the Natal violence is a much more complex issue, involving at least three other important aspects: socio-economic factors, correct policing and the need for democratic government.

The groups called for development programmes in deprived areas, for an effective and impartial peace-keeping force, a joint tour of affected areas, and they agreed that persons with authority over public facilities should allow themselves to be used by all people irrespective of their political affiliation.

But they failed to produce a complete formula for eliminating violence — for example, clearly defining the role of members of joint committees, bringing in third parties to help, and setting out a timetable for achieving specific goals.

This failure renders more difficult communication of the agreement to grassroot level. For Buthelezi and Mandela to embrace each other in an exclusive hotel in Durban is an achievement, but it is not a solution.

To achieve peace, thousands of people who have seen their relatives die gruesome deaths and their houses burnt in remote areas of Natal will have to be convinced that it is in their own best interests to lay down their arms.

Mandela's first call on followers to throw guns, knives and pangas into the sea fell on deaf ears. To avoid a recurrence will require perseverence and dedication, neither of which have been evident so far.

Inkatha members claim their well-developed pyramid structure will make it easier for them to spread the word to do so (although this raises the question as to why it failed to discourage violence before now).

Buthelezi, in his opening speech, questioned the ANC's ability to do so: "I do not know how the ANC is going to deal with their Midlands region leadership and membership which slammed the ANC/IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) peace moves and the joint tour into stricken areas. I do not know how Dr Mandela is going to deal with the youth."

The first comment refers to the fiery ANC Midlands branch head Harry Gwala and some of his associates, who may join the Inkatha/ANC peace committee.

Inkatha members also privately fear that because some senior ANC committee members have little first-hand experience of these areas, they will have difficulty selling the ceasefire to their members. However, Inkatha members say they are happy to be working with someone of the stature of Jacob Zuma, who heads the ANC delegation on the peace committee.

For their part, senior ANC members are happy with the outcome of the meeting. Commenting on Buthelezi's combative opening speech, one ANC member said: "All's well that ends well." The problem is that in many ways the process has only just begun.

LETTERS

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Tutu lauds Natal peace agreement

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday warned against "euphoria" over the ANC-Inkatha peace accord, as it was not the leaders who had been "fighting and killing each other" but their supporters.

But it was important that ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had signed a peace accord, and this should filter down to "the masses", Archbishop Tutu said.

The archbishop expressed concern that peace efforts might be subverted by a "sinister third force", such as the "hit squads" which had not been disbanded.

"But we must be positive and say that now the black community must demonstrate that it is ready for a multi-party democratic process, where there will be tolerance for different viewpoints, and that people will not be intimidated to change their viewpoint," he said.

Meanwhile, government sources yesterday revealed that President F W de Klerk and his ministers were "delighted" and "relieved" at the outcome of the meeting.

Natal Administrator Mr Con Botha said he hoped the meeting would lay the foundations for further discussions and actions in the future.

All-party congress

"Any effort to restore peace and stability to the Natal region obviously has the full support of my administration," he said.

The Democratic Party MP for Berea, Dr Denis Worrall, said there was no reason why an an all-party constitutional congress should not be held soon, now that Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi had come out in support of such a move.

Apart from ending the ongoing conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, it was essential that the two political "heavyweights" started seeking common ground in the constitutional negotiation process.

● The peace pact was tested after less than 24 hours yesterday, when an Inkatha official sharply condemned the ANC's "mass action" campaign which will begin tommorrow to coincide with the opening of Parliament.

"We condemn the ANC's plans for protests, boycotts and strikes," said Inkatha's Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza.

The "mass action" call "was a unilateral, undemocratic decision taken by the ANC and imposed on the masses without prior consultation and discussion", Mr Khoza said. He demanded a guarantee from the ANC no one would be "intimidated" into protesting. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and UPI

UK hails 'hopeful' talks of Mandela, Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was welcomed by the Foreign Office yesterday and hailed by the British media as a ray of hope in a world of gloom.

In a statement, the British Foreign Office said: "We have consistently urged that a solution to the tragic violence in South Africa can come about only when all involved agree to respect each others' political views."

Today newspaper said that "with all the gloom in the Gulf and the Soviet Union, there was one ray of hope for the world" — when the leaders of "rival black factions in South Africa met in peace".

Mr Mandela started "regaining the statesmanlike role which had begun to seem tarnished", said The Guardian. Chief Buthelezi had complained of "killing words", but "it is his movement which has caused most of the violence, and as a result of this meeting he is now bound politically to deliver results".

Under the headline "An embrace to end bloodshed", the Independent said Chief Buthelezi's Zulus were too powerful to be ignored during negotiations.

"Chief Buthelezi can seem paranoid. But he has good reason to fear that the ANC wants to marginalise him and the constituency of mainly rural Natal Zulus that Inkatha represents."

Employers slam call for big stayaway

By SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

BUSINESS and employer bodies have condemned the massive national stayaway by workers planned for tomorrow as "something South Africa can ill afford".

In a statement the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) expressed concern about the serious negative consequences the stayaway could have on the economy and on workers.

The national stayaway has been called by the ANC, the PAC and trade union federations Cosatu and Nactu to highlight the demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

"Sacob has recommended to its members that in the event of a stayaway, the policy of 'no work, no pay' be applied," the statement said.

Where disciplinary action was taken, it should be done in terms of established procedures.

"If time off is requested by workers to attend meetings, marches or similar activities, this should be dealt with in accordance with agreements or arrangements with the trade union or employees concerned."

Sacob, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa), and Saccola — the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs — said they were "disappointed" that Cosatu supported a national work stayaway as this was "completely contrary to the spirit of the labour accord reached between Saccola, Cosatu, Nactu and the Minister of Manpower Mr Eli Louw last year".

'Economic pressures'

Seifsa had recommended that management in the metal and engineering industries should "seriously consider" taking disciplinary action in the event of a stayaway.

"Seifsa believes that such action is totally unwarranted and is extremely unfortunate in view of the considerable economic pressures facing the country and the industry at present," the federation said in a statement.

Most companies in the PWV area — where the stayaway is likely to have most effect — indicated that they would follow a line of "no work, no pay" for workers who did not go to work tomorrow.

Now the hard work begins

Political observers say there is bound to be disagreement between Inkatha and ANC over the interpretation of the agreement signed — just as there is fierce disagreement between the ANC and the government in the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute, reports Farouk Chotia

THE ANC and Inkatha reached an historic peace indaba in Durban on Tuesday.

But the meeting is not expected to bring an end to the five-year-old violence which has claimed more than 5 000 lives because the third player in the conflict, the state, was not part of the meeting.

This was the view of the University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg) political scientist, Mr Sipho Shezi, in an analysis on the peace indaba.

He said the state security forces — the SAP, SADF, International Intelligence Service and the state death squad — were central players in the violence

In this context Shezi said it would have been "more productive" if state president FW de Klerk had been part of the Tuesday talks and a "tripartheid agreement" between himself, Mandela and Buthelezi had been reached

Euphoria

As the euphoria over Tuesday's talks settle down, there are doubts as to how successfully the agreement reached will be implemented

Political observers say there is bound to be disagreement between Inkatha and ANC over the interpretation of the agreement signed — just as there is fierce disagreement between the ANC and government in the interpretation of the Pretoria Minute

The two parties agreed "to cease attacks against each another with immediate effect" and to draw up a code of conduct which would be binding on both parties

This code of conduct is expected to stress the need for freedom of political association, expression and tolerance

Political observers ask: "Will this mean that Inkatha will accept the ANC's right, for example, to launch mass action in protest against the bantustan system — which is the power base of Inkatha? Or will Inkatha see the action as political intolerance on the part of the ANC, aimed at denying Inkatha the opportunity to participate in the country's politics as it wishes to do?"

ALL SMILES: A positive mood reflected on the faces of Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi who this week met for the first time in 28 years

The ANC and Inkatha also committed themselves "to use the existing joint mechanism to monitor all violations of the agreement and recommend appropriate action"

Political observers doubt this will bear much results as joint monitoring of the violence to date has had little success

The ANC and government also agreed in the Pretoria Minute to jointly monitor the violence

This strategy proved to be a failure with no reduction in the level of violence Nor has it led to impartial and effective policing

In peace talks between the Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha, the two parties agreed to set up a conciliation board under an independent judge to monitor the violation of peace agreements by the respective members

This conciliation board, however, collapsed after Inkatha refused to take disciplinary action against all of its members whom the conciliatory board found to be responsible for violence

The ANC and Inkatha agreed on the need for the government to ensure that security forces acted without political bias, received professional and appropriate training and acted with respect towards the community However the agreement made no reference to KwaZulu police, which the ANC sees as the 'private army' of Inkatha

The ANC and Inkatha also committed themselves to development and reconstruction of violence torn areas In this regard they would establish crisis committees, non-partisan reconstruction programmes and the pooling of all available resources — including a jointly-administered trust fund

The underlining reason behind the position seems to be the realisation that a peace pact on paper, without providing homes for refugees of the violence and uplifting socio-economic conditions, will be meaningless Despite the obstacles that might lay ahead, the talks were a starting point to end carnage and violence

As a beaming Mr Nelson Mandela told the international press conference after the meeting at the Royal Hotel "We've reached a breakthrough All views were expressed and several issues were thrashed out. Naturally, you cannot expect that you can reach immediate agreement on the issues that has kept us divided But the important point to bear in mind is that in the course of this discussion we have reached a breakthrough"

LET PEACE PREVAIL! Inkatha and ANC members line the street in front of the Durban hotel where Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi met in a bid to stop bloodshed in Natal and Transvaal

MK commander in 'call to arms'

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By Rehana Rossouw

AFRICAN National Congress defence committees, formed to react to high levels of violence in South Africa's black townships, will be supported by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), an ANC official said in Cape Town this week.

Mr Tokyo Sexgwala, introduced at a meeting organised by Cape Town's ANC Southern Suburbs zone as an MK commander, said people should arm themselves with axes, stones and petrol bombs to defend their properties when under attack.

Sexgwala said the increase in the level of violence against the ANC had led some supporters to yearn for the "heyday of the armed struggle".

Attacks

This, however, was an amateurish approach.

"Immediately after the suspension of the armed struggle, the ANC experienced a sharp increase in attacks on it," Sexgwala said.

"This has forced us to go back and review the decision to suspend the armed struggle."

He said it was clear "the enemy" had certain objectives when the violence was unleashed.

The aim was to weaken the ANC, split the alliance with other organisations, demoralise supporters and have a weak ANC at the negotiating table

"There was a great amount of euphoria after the unbanning of the ANC," Sexgwala said.

"The initiative for transforming the country was clearly in the ANC's hands.

"We must admit now that it does appear that the initiative is no longer ours."

The ANC has set April 30 as the date to review its current strategies, including the decision to suspend the armed struggle.

The organisation decided at its consultative conference last December to create structures inside the country to take control of defence committees, particularly in areas where the violence is highest.

"These defence committees must not be mistaken for the defence units of MK," Sexgwala said.

Spears

"MK is a highly-trained professional army and the defence committees are merely civil defence bodies for people to defend their property and children when under attack."

Sexgwala said people had the right to defend themselves. The ANC called on people in areas where violence was raging to come together and form defence units.

This could be done with axes, spears and guns, he said.

Umkhonto we Sizwe would play a role in the defence units.

"MK cadres underground are part and parcel of the community and are aware of the actions people are taking to defend themselves," Sexgwala said.

"MK cadres have instructions — despite the Pretoria Minute — to assist people in defending themselves.

"People are asking where the AKs are. Get petrol bombs, make it yourselves and MK will come with all the paraphernalia they are carrying."

DEFENCE NOT OFFENCE: Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Tokyo Sexgwala explains how residents should defend themselves against attacks PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

'Invasion' at Cape schools

HEADMASTERS in the Cape have been warned that busloads of black pupils will be off-loaded at white schools today as part of the national protest campaign, Sapa reported last night, quoting an education source. It said headmasters were contacted last night by officials of the Cape Education Department.

In Pietersburg, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and Mrs Winnie Mandela will lead a protest march through this Northern Transvaal town today Cape Times 1/2/91 (27)

● Mass marches in SA today — Page 2

3 people killed in weekend violence

Cape Times 11/2/91

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PRETORIA. — Three people were killed in violent incidents of unrest in the past 24 hours, police said yesterday.

In the worst clash at Bekkersdal, near Randfontein, supporters of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party fought with firearms, explosive devices, spears and knives.

One Inkatha member was killed and a number of people were injured.

The renewed fighting came despite a peace meeting between top-level delegations from the ANC and Inkatha last week.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday he did not believe the weekend clashes would threaten peace initiatives.

Mr Mamoepa said the peace initiative should be seen as a continuing process, and that the various organisations needed to encourage unity.

Meanwhile there were two incidents of stone throwing at Brighton Beach, police said.

Natal had three incidents. At Umlozi two men were killed in separate incidents.

The Witwatersrand had six incidents of unrest.

In Daveyton residents erected road blocks at Actonville and in Tokoza police came under small arms fire.

There were no injuries and no damage was reported.

An illegal gathering was held at Stilfontein in the Western Transvaal.

At Table Mountain, near Maritzburg, a private home was shot at and petrol-bombed, but no one was injured in the attack, said police. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

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Stronger measures to curb abuse of mass action

Political Correspondent

HIGH levels of political and criminal lawlessness — including the unacceptable abuse of mass action — could seriously delay or undermine political progress in South Africa, warned President De Klerk.

"One of the great evils is the abuse of mass actions, which degenerate all too often. In this connection a clear distinction has to be drawn between peaceful mass actions, which are part of the normal democratic process, and mass actions with revolutionary aims or which lead to crime and infringe against the safety and rights of others.

"Lately there has been a tendency to challenge the legal order and exceed the bounds of the normal democratic process."

He warned: "Should the current trend towards the abuse of this method continue in any way, the government will be obliged to apply stronger measures to prevent abuse."

Mr De Klerk said it was not the government's responsibility alone to act in this way. Political and community leaders had a co-responsibility for settling disputes, controlling supporters and creating a climate for negotiation.

He said that "by and large" security forces were doing an "excellent job" and did not deserve the villification they got from some quarters.

"If the authority and integrity of our police are undermined, all of us will have to pay a heavy price."

The government would do everything possible to make the police more effective and efficient. A special campaign was being launched to combat crime and the SADF was performing a vital co-operative role.

The security forces of the new South Africa would have to be manned and managed properly.

"Continued national service and training will have to be seen in this light. A professional, well-trained Defence Force and police which are not subject to political expediency are the best guarantee of the maintenance of a safe environment in which everybody is able to live and work. The government will continue to ensure this."

Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus

UNITED FRONT: Leading today's march are, from left, Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr Joe Nhlanhla; Mrs Hilda Ndude, deputy head of the ANC in the Western Cape; Mr Walter Sisulu, the movement's internal leader; Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu; Mr Christmas Tinto, Western Cape head of the ANC; Mr Barney Desai, national PAC spokesman; Mr Trevor Manuel, his ANC counterpart in the Western Cape, and Ms Rae Alexander, member of the SACP.

a family for several married

D-day for national marches, stay-aways

TODAY is D-Day for countrywide mass marches and a stay-away campaign in support of an ANC-PAC demand for a constituent assembly.

Last night the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, warned that illegal marches could lead to confrontation with police and urged the ANC and PAC to call off scheduled illegal marches.

The campaign's focal point will be the joint PAC-ANC sanctioned march on Parliament in Cape Town, which Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu will join.

Archbishop Tutu said he had decided to march because the march had drawn support from the major liberation movements and the demands of the march were very much in line with the church's position.

ANC regional publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said the city march of an expected 20 000 people would be "tightly controlled" by some 500 marshals, many of them armed with batons to counter possible criminal elements.

● Officially sanctioned marches will go ahead in Cape Town, Pretoria, Durban, Bloemfontein and Johannesburg.

● The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) will hold a series of parallel UK demonstrations to support the mass marches. — Sapa

MASS ACTION FM1/2/91

CROSSING THE LINE

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On Friday, President F W de Klerk will open parliament. At the same time the ANC will inaugurate its programme of mass action with a stayaway on the Reef and a march on parliament to demand that the House resigns and is replaced by a constituent assembly. There will also be marches in Pretoria, Soweto, Kagiso and Sebokeng.

Workers, homeland residents and schoolchildren — just for the day, "so as not to disrupt schooling" — are expected to participate. Both the ANC and the PAC have termed Friday, Constituent Assembly Day.

Mass action would be comprehensible if there were no other route to the alleviation of injustice. In the Fifties, the Defiance Campaign occurred only after a long history of ineffectual pleas and petitions had sown hopelessness among the disenfranchised. Today the situation has changed: parliament is likely to be asked to ratify the abolition of almost all the remaining struts of apartheid; the issue of a constituent assembly will form part of the negotiations on a new constitution.

It is therefore difficult to see what can be gained by a widespread arousal of popular passions which have long had their most extreme manifestation in murder. There are so many elements in SA society which have become volatile and unpredictable — and that includes sections of the police and Defence Force — that street confrontations readily become violent. White farmers this week succeeded in getting Pretoria city centre declared an unrest area.

Perhaps the ANC needs such mass mobilisation — assuming it can be achieved — to assist its faltering membership drive. It certainly needs a lever with which to appear to have prised further concessions from government. Abroad, its anti-sanctions drive has become a joke — and it will yet pay a price for its equivocation on Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. However commendable this week's meeting with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, many within the ANC will regard the summit as a sell-out and continue to be unamenable to discipline on the ground.

What concerns us particularly is the effect all this mass action will have on young minds. Perhaps a million black schoolchildren have had their life prospects damaged by events in the schools since 1976; as they are apparently seeing all too well, the best option is to become a gangster. Further disruptions this year will add to their numbers and seriously weaken any attempt to build that "culture of learning" to which the ANC paid lip-service when last year's matric results came out.

The biggest issue facing SA is what to do about this "lost" million. Any solution — from adult education to labour brigades — cannot be imposed by the whites. There has to be a national solution, agreed on in rational consultation.

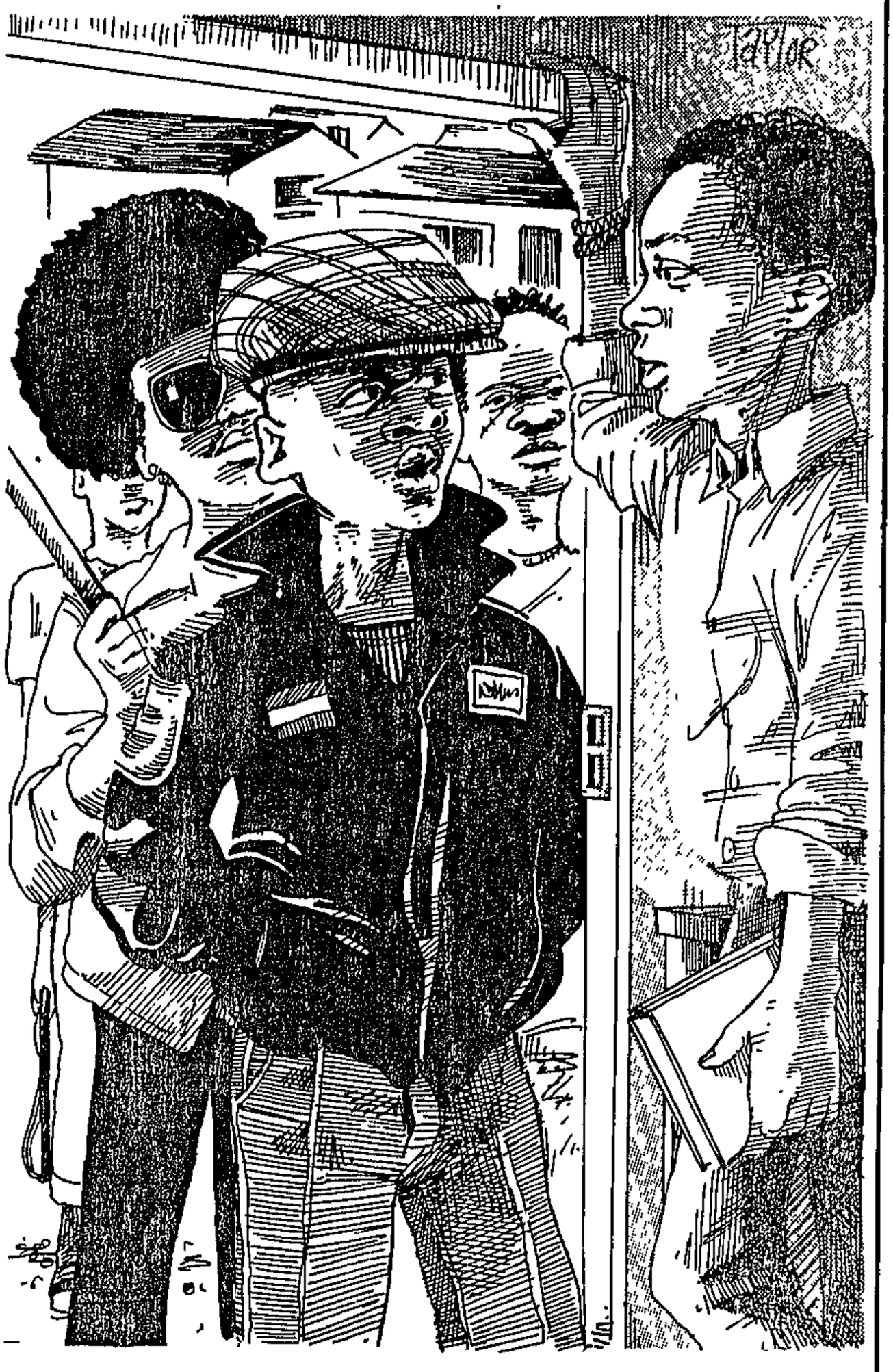
Government has indicated a framework for negotiations which could lead to just this. It seems merely destructive and unimaginative to proceed with mass action which could endanger the process. ■

Victim of the violence

(274)

Star 2/2/91.

There are few South Africans who are not concerned about the slaughter of people in our townships. However frightening and horrific the statistics, the reality of the situation hits home only when it begins to affect people one knows. An Early Times journalist, whom we will call Gezane for his own protection, came into the peace of our Norwood office with this disturbing story. We wish it were an isolated incident of intimidation, but it seems many young people are finding themselves the victims of unscrupulous political parties.



GEZANE is one of many young South Africans who wish for nothing more than a lasting peace to build a secure future "I hate all the killings I can't take it any more," says Gezane, a matric pupil from Soweto

Gezane has remained as removed from the violence as possible, but although he refuses to participate in acts of violence, he cannot help witnessing the killings.

He had hoped for a calmer year in 1991 because he will be writing mathematics for the second time Last year his studies were severely interrupted by bouts of fighting But it seems his wish is not to be fulfilled

Youth league

Now he faces a far more pressing problem than his supplementary maths examination His life is in danger because people his own age are trying to force him into a life of endless violence like their own

Members of a youth league in his area say Gezane must join their movement and become part of a "disciplinary committee" which aims to eradicate local gangsters

If he doesn't join them, he faces a beating, because they will immediately assume that he is a gangster The treatment of gangsters is harsh and without the protocol of a trial

Explains Gezane: "They just grab people they don't like and take the law into their own hands I have seen a young boy hacked to death with a panga because he stole a car.

"I think they like the killing. For them it's exciting, they can do what they like. They feel superior in their power"

Gezane has no desire to belong to any political organisation His priority is to study, and to benefit future generations of South Africans with his knowledge.

"Most of these guys are school drop-outs, so they don't understand that it's important to be educated. They say those of us who are studying must find time to do patrols at night and to attend meetings.

"I don't have time to attend meetings, and I certainly don't want to be outside at night wandering around the streets"

"Many of these guys are wanted by the police, and if I join them I, too, will be a hunted man," says Gezane "I don't want to spend the rest of my life running from the law."

Gezane's intimidation has been taken one step further than personal threats Members of the league are so determined to get him to join their violent crew that they have threatened to involve his parents

Gezane says: "They have told me that they will force my parents to sign a form stating how many sons they have in the house. I have told my father that if he complies I will leave home I can't feel threatened by my family as well as by these comrades"

Others

Gezane is not alone in his plight Three other scholars in his street face the same predicament They are not prepared to become part of the killings, yet fear for their lives if they refuse to become disciplinary committee members.

The four boys have decided to speak to the league to explain that they have no political affiliations and are more interested in completing their schooling

We asked Gezane if they would listen to reason

"I don't know," he replied, "but we must at least try talking I want to try to resolve this peacefully No one has the right to force you to join an organisation I am scared of being sjambokked, but I am more scared of killing people"

It is time more South Africans adopted Gezane's position and refused to allow themselves to be dictated to by violent men No one has ever achieved lasting peace through war and violence.

Marchers hit at 'racist' Parliament

By SOPHIE TEMA, SANDILE MEMELA and Sapa

THOUSANDS of marchers took part in countrywide anti-apartheid protests on Friday against the opening of the "racist" Parliament – largely viewed as South Africa's last white Parliament

While State President FW de Klerk was inside Parliament announcing that his party would pull down the last remaining pillars of apartheid legislation during the coming session, the rival ANC and PAC joined hands for the first time in 30 years when their officials led marches countrywide.

Only one incident of violence was reported when ANC-supporters were thrown off a train between Ikwezi and Inhlanzane stations in Soweto One person was killed an 11 injured.

A national stayaway to mark Constituent Assembly Day was most effective on the East Rand and in the Eastern Cape.

■ In Port Elizabeth only 40 percent of Railnet workers turned up In East London the stayaway figure was 99 percent and in Uitenhage 75 percent.

■ About 30 000 protesters took to the streets of Soweto on Friday, marching under ANC and PAC banners to hand a memorandum calling for a constituent assembly to Moroka police

At Jabulani Amphitheatre, where the march began, ANC leaders like Albertina Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada shared a platform with the PAC's Benny Alexander.

"Our differences are not more important than our freedom. The unity that prevails today has been mandated by our people at our respective annual congresses last year," said Alexander.

■ In Pretoria, about 8 000 people marched to the Union Buildings to hand over a memorandum calling for a constituent assembly.

■ In Cape Town, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu called for an end to violence and the installation of an interim government or a constituent assembly.

Addressing around 8 000 people on Cape Town's Grand Parade, he said it was no good to scrap only apartheid laws "That which is keeping apartheid in place must be scrapped as well," he said.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said his organisation did not believe the government was serious about genuine negotiations, and called for "the intensification of the struggle" and a constituent assembly.

■ The ANC protest march – about 8 000 strong – through central Durban on Friday afternoon stopped traffic and drew thousands of onlookers.

■ Thousands of ANC and PAC supporters marched in East London and King William's Town.

ANC NEC member Steve Tshwete later addressed a three-hour rally in East London.

The marchers were apparently monitored by Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) and SADF troops.

About 20 men were arrested shortly before the start of the march for carrying mock-weapons, police said.

■ Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani on Friday led nearly 6 000 marchers to the Pietersburg offices of the security police.

Hani told the crowd discipline was the key to the success of the struggle for the new parliament demanded by the ANC.

■ ANC members in the Orange Free State handed a memorandum to the Bloemfontein Security Police.

Violence claims 7 lives

CAPE TIMES 4/2/91

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JOHANNESBURG. — Police report that seven people were killed and at least 16 injured in different parts of the country during a weekend of violence.

In the fiercest fighting, at least two people were killed and five injured in the West Rand township of Bekkersdal.

And in Thokoza on the East Rand, five people — including an infant — were injured on Saturday night when two handgrenades were thrown at the house of Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) leader Mr Sam Ntuli.

Police said fighting in Bekkersdal began on Saturday afternoon and continued until 4am yesterday.

Two people were killed and five injured, while 18 houses were destroyed by petrol bombs, in the clashes between two heavily-armed groups. The cause of the violence has not yet been established, although the township has been at the centre of ANC-Inkatha hostilities in recent months.

Scores of police were sent to the township to avert further bloodshed, a spokesman reported.

A nine-year-old girl was in a serious condition in Natalspruit Hospital after being wounded by shrapnel in the attack on Mr Ntuli's house. The other injuries were minor.

Mr Ntuli has blamed members of Inkatha for the attack. "Inkatha has been threatening this for some time," he said.

But police said the origin of the attack was unknown and no firm motive yet established.

Also at the weekend, 32 black people were arrested after a clash between whites and blacks at a hotel in Krugersdorp, on the West Rand.

Councillor attacked

In other incidents reported by police:

- A town councillor shot dead a man in Toekomsrus township after his house was attacked by an armed group. The crowd was dispersed with teargas and rubber bullets;
- At Kanana, near Orkney, houses and vehicles were set alight on Saturday night, while three petrol bombs were thrown at a house in Alexandra;
- A man was shot dead at Taylor's Halt, near Maritzburg, while at Yankania, near Umkomaas, police found the body of a man with stab wounds;
- At Tidimalo, Delportspoort, in the Northern Cape, police used rubber bullets and teargas to disperse a crowd of 120, who had stoned the house of the township's mayor;
- At Ikutseng, near Warrington, police fired rubber bullets, birdshot and teargas at 100 protesters bearing ANC and SA Communist Party banners who failed to disperse and allegedly threw stones at police;
- Police used teargas to disperse people who had burned tyres in streets at Sharpeville on Friday;
- At Boichoko, near Postmasburg in the Northern Cape, 15 people petrol-bombed the home of a policeman, and a man was shot dead in a separate incident after a police vehicle was attacked by youths throwing petrol bombs;
- At KwaMakhute in Natal, AK-47 rifles were fired and a handgrenade was hurled at a Kwazulu police vehicle, killing one person and injuring two others;
- At Dobsonville, Soweto, five children were injured when a Russian-made F-1 handgrenade they had found detonated;
- At Tembisa, police found the hacked body of a man;
- At Khayelitsha, a man was injured when a bus was stoned, and
- At Sheco in Pietersburg, a man was injured when his vehicle was stoned. — Sapa, UPI and Own Correspondent.

February 4 1991

2 killed, houses firebombed in weekend unrest

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two people were killed, five were injured, two critically, and 18 houses were petrol-bombed in 12-hours of violence in the far-West Rand township of Bekkersdal at the weekend, police said.

"Fighting broke out between 3.30pm on Saturday continued until Sunday about 4am," said police spokesman Captain Henriette Bester said.

One was shot dead and the other hacked.

GRENADES THROWN

Two hand-grenades were thrown, one of which was detonated by police, said Captain Bester.

A man was arrested after a petrol bomb was thrown at a home.

In Tokoza on the East Rand two grenades were thrown at the home of Mr Sam Nthuli, a member of the Tozoka Civic Association, at 9pm on Saturday, injuring five people, one seriously.

Captain Bester said police established that one grenade was thrown into the house and another landed on the veranda.

A man was shot dead in Toekomsrus near Randfontein at 5.30pm on Saturday when about 120 people attempted to set fire to the house of a councillor. A friend of the councillor opened fire, killing the man.

A policeman was injured after being hit on the head by a member of the crowd, Captain Bester said. Police dispersed the crowd with tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot.

In other incidents of unrest at the weekend reported reported by the police Pretoria:

- Three petrol bombs were thrown at a dwelling in Alexandra township.
- At Kanana, near Orkney, at 5pm on Saturday a group set a dwelling alight. Three vehicles were set alight and the tyres of two were punctured.
- An explosive device was thrown at a policeman's home, causing extensive damage.

Deaths, stayaway in bloody weekend

DURBAN. — Police said the situation at Magoda, near Richmond in Natal, was "quiet" yesterday after a bloody weekend in which six people were reported to have died.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Henry Budhram confirmed that police had on Saturday disarmed about 150 youths marching on the troubled township.

Magoda has been the scene of tension and periodic fighting ever since January 19, when an ANC supporter was killed. Two high school pupils were killed shortly afterwards.

A 60-year-old man was shot dead and five other men fatally stabbed during Saturday's attack, police said.

● Intimidators are said to have been responsible for a stayaway of black workers at Richmond yesterday following a flare-up of violence in nearby townships at the weekend.

In other incidents of unrest reported to police in the past 24 hours:

● Three policemen had a narrow escape at the weekend when a crowd surrounded their patrol van in Thokoza on the East Rand and pulled them out.

They used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and shotgun fire to disperse the mob.

A brief unrest report said the policemen were not injured.

The body of a stabbing victim was found at the scene after a second police vehicle arrived.

● At Toekomsrus on the West Rand a house was gutted in a petrol-bomb attack.

● At Bekkersdal, also on the West Rand, police said a group attacked a house, taking the owner outside and shooting him to death with a shotgun.

Police reported that a number of houses in the area were set on fire.

Earlier 18 people were injured.

Police spokesman Captain Henriette Bester said yesterday police and SADF units were patrolling the area.

Police were investigating witnesses' reports that the violence occurred when Azapo members attacked the houses of ANC members, she said.

● Six men armed with AK-47 assault rifles were arrested in Phola Park in Thokoza on Sunday night.

The men were arrested by an SADF patrol after several shots were fired, according to a statement from police in Pretoria yesterday.

The statement said no injuries were reported, but a seventh man escaped.

Police took possession of seven AK-47 rifles, two handgrenades and a large quantity of ammunition. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Church leaders accused of aiding violent climate

BDay 5/2/91 2.7H

PETER DELMAR

SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman yesterday accused church leaders of helping to legitimise violence as an instrument of liberation.

Kane-Berman told the Sandton Rotary Club last night that township residents were "reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches have helped sow".

He said institute research showed 3 700 people had died in political violence last year and preliminary figures indicated at least 160 had died last month.

"Violence has reached the point where some of the churches are worried enough to begin blaming it, at least in part, on liberatory organisations."

Kane-Berman mentioned a May 1987 meeting of SA church representatives in Lusaka which endorsed the right of "oppressed people" to take up armed struggle as one of the tactics to end repression.

A document drawn up by the meeting said: "While remaining committed to peaceful change, we recognise that the nature of the SA regime which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours compels the liberation movements to the use of force along with other means to end oppression."

'Churches encouraged violence'

Cape Times 5/2/91 (27K)

JOHANNESBURG. — Black people in the townships are reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches have helped to sow, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), Mr John Kane-Berman, said in Johannesburg last night.

Addressing the Sandton Rotary Club, Mr Kane-Berman said that SAIRR research showed that 3 700 people died in political violence last year, while the January death toll was 160.

"Violence has reached the point where some of the churches are worried enough to begin to blaming it, at least in part, on liberatory organisations," he added.

Christian leadership in South Africa had helped to legitimate violence as a political instrument, Mr Kane-Berman argued. A meeting of South African church representatives in Lusaka in May 1987, for example, had endorsed the right of oppressed people to take up arms as a means to fight oppression.

A document adopted by the Lusaka meeting had said that "the nature of the South African regime which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours" legitimised the use of force by liberation movements.

Mr Kane-Berman pointed out that a leading churchman had said last month that liberation movements were co-responsible for cultivating the culture of violence in South Africa. They had, this person had said, "canonised their particular ideology or strategy to such an extent that anyone who opposes or simply fails to espouse it must be removed".

Mr Kane-Berman commented: "This is a courageous statement to make even at this late stage, but, if liberation movements have done that, the Christian churches have helped them do it by their endorsement of armed struggle." — Sapa

(274) (304)

Churches 'partly to blame for violence'

Star 5/2/91

Black people in the townships are reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches have helped to sow, South African Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman said in Johannesburg last night.

Addressing the Sandton Rotary Club, Mr Kane-Berman said institute research showed that 3 700 people had died in political violence last year and that preliminary figures indicated at least 160 died in political violence last month.

"Violence has reached the point where some of the churches are worried enough to begin blaming it, at least in part, on liberatory organisations," he said.

"I mention the churches in particular because Christian leadership in this country has helped to legitimate violence as an instrument of liberation."

Mr Kane-Berman said South African church representatives had, for example, met in Lusaka in May 1987 and endorsed the right of oppressed people to take up armed struggle as one of the tactics to end repression.

A document drawn up at the conclusion of the Lusaka meeting had said: "While remaining committed to peaceful change, we recognise that the nature of the South African regime, which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours, compels the liberation movements to the use of force along with other means to end oppression."

Mr Kane-Berman pointed out that a leading churchman had said last month that liberation movements were co-responsible for cultivating the culture of violence in South Africa.

They had, this person had said, "canonised their particular ideology or strategy to such an extent that anyone who opposes or simply fails to espouse it must be removed".

Mr Kane-Berman commented: "This is a courageous statement to make even at this late stage, but, if liberation movements have done that, the Christian churches have helped them do it by their endorsement of armed struggle." — Sapa.

Renewed violence claims 10 more lives

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Cape Times 6/2/90

DURBAN. — Two people were killed after fresh fighting broke out between two groups at Malukazi on the Natal South Coast about 5.30am yesterday.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant Bala Naidoo said it was not known at this stage which groups were involved in the violence. Unconfirmed reports say fighting broke out between two heavily-armed groups of ANC supporters who had quarrelled over positions in the organisation's newly-formed Malukazi branch.

From Johannesburg it was reported that security forces have been sent to the West Rand township of Bekkersdal, where the death toll in violence which erupted on Saturday had risen to eight by yesterday.

Six people were injured.

"The situation is very tense," police spokesman Captain Henriette Bester, said yesterday, adding that security forces had launched a full-scale operation to bring the situation under control.

Four bodies were found by police in Bekkersdal yesterday morning.

A man's body found in the veld had had it's head bashed in and feet cut off. Two bodies with hack wounds were found behind a school in the township.

Shortly after midnight last night a group of about 200 people attacked the home of a policeman, who fired several shots, killing one man who had a home-made handgrenade. — Sapa

and that inadequate body performed.

ters were allowed to con- same grandstand, although n was in place to stop the rom mixing.

pment and stretchers were while emergency vehicles andby inside the grounds.

ssion recommended that responsible for punishing misbehaved at games, al- aid there was no fool-proof this could be enforced.

incident was not part of a nd towards increasing soc- n.

ister Kobie Coetsee an- than two weeks ago that a t would be held to investi- ey deaths, but did not say begin.

the recommendations would d into the NSL constitution.

Teachers want R600m more

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA's 180 000 teachers are seeking increases which could add an extra R600m to next month's Budget.

The Teachers Federal Council (TFC) — the body representing teachers of all race groups — yesterday declined to comment on its salary demands. However, a senior educationist said it was expected increases would at least match inflation.

The total teachers' pay bill for the current financial year is estimated at R4bn.

The TFC, according to a spokesman, has submitted "detailed input" on the pay issue to National Education Minister Louis Pienaar. b1 pay 6/12/91

Teachers, along with all other exchequer personnel, received a 10% non-pensionable allowance in April last year. Along with the rest of the public sector, teachers have demanded this be incorporated into basic earnings.

Teachers received a further 12% increase from March 1 following months of negotiations with government. This was meant to bring teachers' salaries in line with those of other public sector workers with comparable qualifications.

Teacher resignations, informed sources said, were still causing serious concern.

Transvaal Teachers' Association president Ron Yule said the shortage of highly qualified high school teachers, particularly in maths and science, was causing concern.

But other education authorities said resignations could decline this year because of the recession and lack of well-paid work in the private sector.

Strike action sparks nurses' protest

b1 pay 6/12/91

TANIA LEVY

NURSES demonstrated at several Transvaal provincial hospitals yesterday in protest at disciplinary action against staff who took part in strike action last year.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) and National Health and Allied Workers' Union said demonstrations took place at Baragwanath, Tembisa, Hillbrow, Johannesburg and other hospitals.

Sapa reports a placard demonstration was staged at Umlazi's Prince Mshiyeni Hospital, near Durban.

Another will be held at Durban's King Edward Hospital tomorrow.

Nehawu Johannesburg branch organiser Bongani Tsimo said nurses at Johannesburg, Prince Mshiyeni and Settlers' (Grahamstown) hospitals had been told last week they would have to appear in front of an SA Nursing Council (SANC) disciplinary committee. All had taken part in strikes last year. The SANC said the nurses would be charged with unprofessional conduct.

A TPA spokesman said the province had agreed not to act against the strikers.

SANC deputy registrar David Harmse confirmed that 35 nurses from Natal's Edendale and Prince Mshiyeni hospitals had been called before a disciplinary committee, which would sit next week.

Criticism of church role draws fire

b1 pay 6/12/91 274

Business Day Reporter

SA INSTITUTE of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman was criticised yesterday for saying that some church leaders had helped to legistimise violence as an instrument of liberation.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said in a statement the council was "disgusted" by his "vicious and unwarranted attack on the churches".

The ANC Youth League accused the institute of misrepresentation, one-sided research and sweeping generalisations.

The league said Kane-Berman's reference to the 1987 endorsement by church leaders of armed struggle could not be equated with the current township violence.

They were responding to recent remarks by Kane-Berman that township residents were "reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches helped sow".

PEANUTS By Charles Schulz

View of churches a 'vicious attack'

CAPE Times 6/2/96 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches has expressed its disgust at the "vicious and unwarranted attack" on churches by Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, in an address to the Sandton Rotary Club on Monday night.

In his address, Mr Kane-Berman said that black people were "reaping a whirlwind of violence that the churches have helped to sow". Christian leadership in South Africa had helped to legitimate violence as an instrument of liberation, he said.

SACC general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said it was clear that Mr Kane-Berman had taken an ideological stand against the victims of apartheid.

"Because of this, he fails to comprehend church leaders when they have said they understand why the people have resorted to force. Because he misunderstands, he misrepresented the churches' position.

"The apartheid system is the primary cause of the violence in our country. We would, therefore, not condemn the victims. You cannot make the victims of the violence responsible for the violence. The problems of violence have to be addressed, but at the root causes," Mr Chikane said.

In a separate response, the ANC Youth League charged that to equate the current violence, which could be attributed to either criminal or socio-political factors, with liberatory violent forms of struggle was "tantamount to a research institute reducing itself to the unpleasant level of a think-tank of a political party". — Sapa

Churches fume over 'unrest link'

By Shareen Singh

The accusation by SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman, that churches were partly responsible for the violence in the country, has drawn a host of angry responses from the ANC and churches.

Mr Kane-Berman told a Rotary club meeting in Sandton on Monday that black people were reaping a whirlwind of violence that "the churches helped to sow".

Responding to the report of his speech, SA Council of Churches general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said the SACC was "disgusted by the vicious and unwarranted attack".

He said Mr Kane-Berman had taken an ideological stand against the victims of apartheid and because of this, had failed to comprehend church leaders when they said they understood why people had resorted to force.

"The problems of violence have to be addressed, but at the root cause, which is the apartheid system — a system which is violent by its very nature."

ANC media liaison officer Saki Macozoma said the priority should be to end violence. Anyone who indulged in "holier-than-thou pointing of fingers" was doing a disservice to the people.

The Methodist Church's bishop of the south-western Transvaal, the Reverend Peter Storey, said Mr Kane-Berman had made a sweeping generalisation.

"The consistent stand of the major churches has been that neither the violence of the State nor that of the oppressed could be endorsed and that both forms of violence needed to be challenged."

Marches a 'great success'

Sowetan 6/2/91.

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE march by thousands of people against apartheid last week showed that blacks were ready to take over control of the country, an ANC official said yeaterday.

Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, an official of the ANC's regional executive committee, said the organisation was pleased that so many people had turned out to "demand" the establishment of a constituent assembly.

"In the constituent assembly the masses will elect people who will serve in the envisaged new government.

"People elected to serve in the constituent assembly will then draw the new constitution for the new South Africa," he said.

Mamoepa said more than 140 000 supporters of the ANC, PAC and Azapo took part in marches in the PWV area alone.

The figures for the PWV area showed that the marches were a "great success".

"This is a significant step which indicates that blacks are ready to hold their own as far as running this country is concerned.

"The peaceful marches have shown that blacks are tired of being tossed around and told what to do by people who do not have their aspirations and interests at heart.

"The people from various political organisations have also crearly shown they shared a common interest of wanting to see a truly democratic government being established in the country.

"I want to take this opportunity to thank our supporters and those of other organisations for endorsing our call for a constituent assembly," Mamoepa added.

Last year's unrest tops that of 1985 (274) Vlok

Bloem 7/7/91

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There were 17 088 unrest incidents in SA last year — 12 more than in 1985 which was the height of political unrest unleashed by elections for the tricameral Parliament the year before.

This was said by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok during yesterday's debate on the President's address.

The 1985 violence had been aimed at government and at making the country ungovernable while last year's unrest had centred on the power struggle between different political parties and ethnic groups.

The current unrest, he said, had nothing to do with government.

Vlok said the security forces had managed to restore some stability in the years after 1985, and there were only 4 088 incidents in 1987, although this had risen to 5 027 in 1988 and 8 072 the following year.

He said the point was that security force action alone could not solve the problem and it was recognised that such action had to take place alongside political and constitutional developments.

This would bring about a permanent solution.

Defence eyes private sector

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government is looking to the private sector to breathe new life into SA's declining arms industry. Bloem 7/7/91

Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach told a Press briefing yesterday recent cuts in the defence budget had had a severe effect on Armscor's production.

Rationalisation had affected domestic requirements but Armscor was hoping to sell its expertise abroad.

He said Armscor was not geared for manufacturing more arms but he hoped in future there would be more co-operation with the private sector.

Later, Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan said the Defence Force and Armscor were involved in an urgent investigation into their roles during the 1990s.

for Bekkersdal clashes

(274)

LINDEN BIRNS

AZAPO blamed ANC supporters for yesterday's violence in Bekkersdal on the West Rand in which one man was found hacked to death, three policemen were injured and a patrol vehicle severely damaged.

Police spokesman Capt Henriette Bester said last night the three SAP members were injured when police confronted mobs of stone throwers.

She said the wave of violence, which began on Saturday afternoon, could be attributed to a power struggle between ANC elements and Azapo supporters.

So far the clashes have left nine people dead, six injured and 32 houses destroyed, one of them in a hand-grenade explosion. SADF reinforcements helped bring the violence to an end.

Bester said police had also confiscated three hand grenades since the violence began.

A peace meeting between the ANC, PAC and Azapo is to take place at the AME church in Bekkersdal this morning. BIDAY 7/2/91

The ANC delegation is to be led by MK chief of staff Chris Hani and UDF leader Popo Molefe.

Sapa reports Azapo yesterday blamed the violence in Bekkersdal on the ANC, saying the organisation was bent on "taking over" the West Rand township.

"Azapo has been aware since Christmas Eve that bands of alleged ANC supporters have been launching attacks from Mandela Village, a squatter camp outside Bekkersdal, into the township against the community and Azapo members and supporters," Azapo's publicity secretary Strini Moodley said.

He denied the violence had emanated from attacks by Azapo.

Moodley also blamed some of the violence on alleged members of the National Union of Mineworkers.

The ANC last night accused Moodley of irresponsibly apportioning blame when efforts were being made to end the violence.

"Mud-slinging in the face of deaths of our people is not likely to yield any results. The allegations are even more dangerous because they have not been substantiated and cannot be proven as fact, even in future," the ANC said in a statement. It added that ANC Youth League members would also discuss ways to secure peace with their local branch.

Star 7/2/91

DP urges new probe of political violence

2-74

CAPE TOWN — There should be a new inquiry into politically motivated violence, with possibly more than one judge presiding, and indemnity offered to those giving evidence, Tian van der Merwe (DP, Green Point) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the joint debate on the State President's address at the opening of Parliament, he said black South Africans, many of whom had been reduced to second-class and third-class citizens by apartheid, did not need court cases and commissions to be aware of death squads.

"A list of 71 unsolved political murders was provided to the Harms Commission by the Department of Justice. With the possible exception of one or two, they are still unsolved."

Lied

Despite instructions from the President and Minister of Defence to co-operate with the Harms Commission, members of the security forces "concealed evidence and lied".

"If they feel threatened enough, they may well go further and act against Government members themselves."

The cloud of secrecy hanging over death squads in South Africa was a threat to all and, although culprits might go unpunished, the threat that concealed crime posed would be lifted if an in-depth inquiry were held.

"At this stage of South Africa's history it is more important to establish the truth of these events so that lessons can be learnt and repetition prevented.

"It is less important that individuals be punished for crimes committed in a climate which was created by the Goverment and by the circumstances of that period of our history."

Mr van der Merwe also proposed an all-party monitoring committee to work with the police and SADF to advise and discuss problems with the Minister of Law and Order and police officers at local levels.

"Such committees could develop a sense of joint responsibility, moderate police action and do much to take the political stigma out of the security forces." — Sapa.

Stop beating war drums, says Vlok

CAPE TOWN — The unrest situation was under control but all political leaders had a responsibility not to inflame their followers, Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the State President's opening of Parliament address, he said that while the unrest situation was under control it remained fluid and explosive.

Leaders therefore had a duty to set an example as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela had done last week, he said.

"If we want to stop violence, it is also time that we stop beating the war drums."

Unemployment

The Government's plan for the future would work because it would enable the real, deep-lying causes of South Africa's problems to be addressed, said Mr Vlok.

These — like political rights, the franchise, unemployment and other socio-economic problems — were causes about which the police could do little.

Mr Vlok said the number of people who had been arrested in connection with left and right-wing deeds of terror had increased from 158 in 1989 to 341 last year.

Deputy Minister of Law and Order Johan Scheepers said the number of terrorist weapons recovered in 1990 showed that the police force was doing its job. — Sapa.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

GUERRILLA/TERROR ATTACKS

THE number of guerrilla and terror attacks increased dramatically last year, according to security analysts.

Wim Booyse, of Peace and Conflict Studies CC, says 1990 saw at least 370 recorded incidents of terror, compared with 193 in 1989 — an increase of 92 percent (This includes the "independent" homelands).

Most dramatic, says Booyse, has been the rise in right-wing attacks which grew from five reported incidents in 1989 to 52 percent of the total number of attacks last year. Police say last year 78 rightwingers were arrested or questioned in connection with terror attacks and 29 are facing charges.

Booyse says the 1990 attacks included 107 aimed at the country's security forces, 89 at other political opponents, 59 aimed at destroying the local government system, 38 at civilians, 33 at the country's infrastructure, 30 at business property and 15 at other private property.

Sixty-six of the incidents involved sabotage, 43 assassinations (five in 1989), 104 attempted assassinations (48 in 1989), nine politically-motivated armed robberies and 147 "indiscriminate terror" attacks. SAP figures show 87 attacks were aimed at the police and 62 against civilians. A total of 39 people were killed and 217 injured.

SAIRR 'will attack all forms of totalitarianism'

B/Day 11/2/91 274

THE SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) firmly supports a liberal society and will not condone apartheid being replaced by another form of totalitarianism, says executive director John Kane-Berman.

He was speaking in the wake of a remark he made that SA church leaders had helped legitimise violence.

The remark drew a rebuke from SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, who said it was "vicious and unwarranted".

Rejecting criticism that the SAIRR was hammering liberation movements and the churches unfairly, Kane-Berman said while the institute was not going out of its way to criticise political movements, their strategies would come under increasingly close scrutiny as the SA political drama unfolded.

His organisation was quite clear about what sort of post-apartheid society it wanted.

Kane-Berman said the institute had undergone a sea change in its orientation.

"There has been a change in the seven years since I've been here that resulted from some strategic thinking at the start of 1984.

"It could be summed up as the desire to break out of the liberal laager, where organisations like the institute spent most of their time bewailing the effects of apartheid to one another and preaching only to the converted.

"We decided quite deliberately to try and spread the messsage to a wider constituency, including people who did not necessarily agree with us. We came out strongly warning of the risks of violence involved in the 1984 constitution, for example.

"We saw no point in repeating that to liberal parliamentarians, but tried to take it to a wider audience. We

PATRICK BULGER

argued that one needed a fundamental political solution and that was to deregulate black politics. We were among the first organisations to argue that case.

"Because we have consciously taken the decison to try argue the case to a wider audience we were able to argue that case to a Cabinet committee and to those same seven Cabinet ministers we raised the question of police intervention in township situations.

"We specifically said there was a major problem with the way police were handling demonstrations and that all too often when they intervened they made things worse rather than better."

Political deregulation had liberated traditionally liberal organisations from an unconscious and self-imposed unease about criticising the policies and strategies of banned organisations unable to argue back.

Transition

"That unease has now disappeared," Kane-Berman said.

"It has become increasingly apparent that the birth of the new SA is not going to be plain sailing. Societies undergoing a process of transition have on more than one occasion degenerated from tsarism into bolshevism or from revolutionary violence to revolutionary terror.

"We are not going to sit back and assume that everything is going to work out in SA. That does not lead to criticism of particular organisations.

"We have criticised strategies like mass mobilisation.

"We started warning of the dangers of mass mobilisation and pointing out that often mass mobilisation ended up in confrontations with police, other organisations and rank and file people.

"The right to peaceful protest must be guaranteed. But when political action so frequently leads to coercion such as often happens in consumer and rent boycotts, we have a responsibility to point out that certain strategies have a tendency to lead to abuses and violence.

"In the same way that you point out that if you give the police powers to detain without trial it is going to lead to torture and deaths in detention.

"If your research leads you to the conclusion that some strategies lead to violence it has to be pointed out. It is now becoming apparent that increasing numbers of people in the ANC camp are aware of that.

"Mandela has talked of undisciplined youths. But you can't blame coercion on a few unruly individuals any more than you can blame deaths in detention on a few policemen who exceeded their powers.

"We would like to see apartheid replaced by a liberal multiparty democracy with regular elections, secret ballots, guarantees of civil liberties and a bill of rights. It's nailing our colours to the mast of that kind of society.

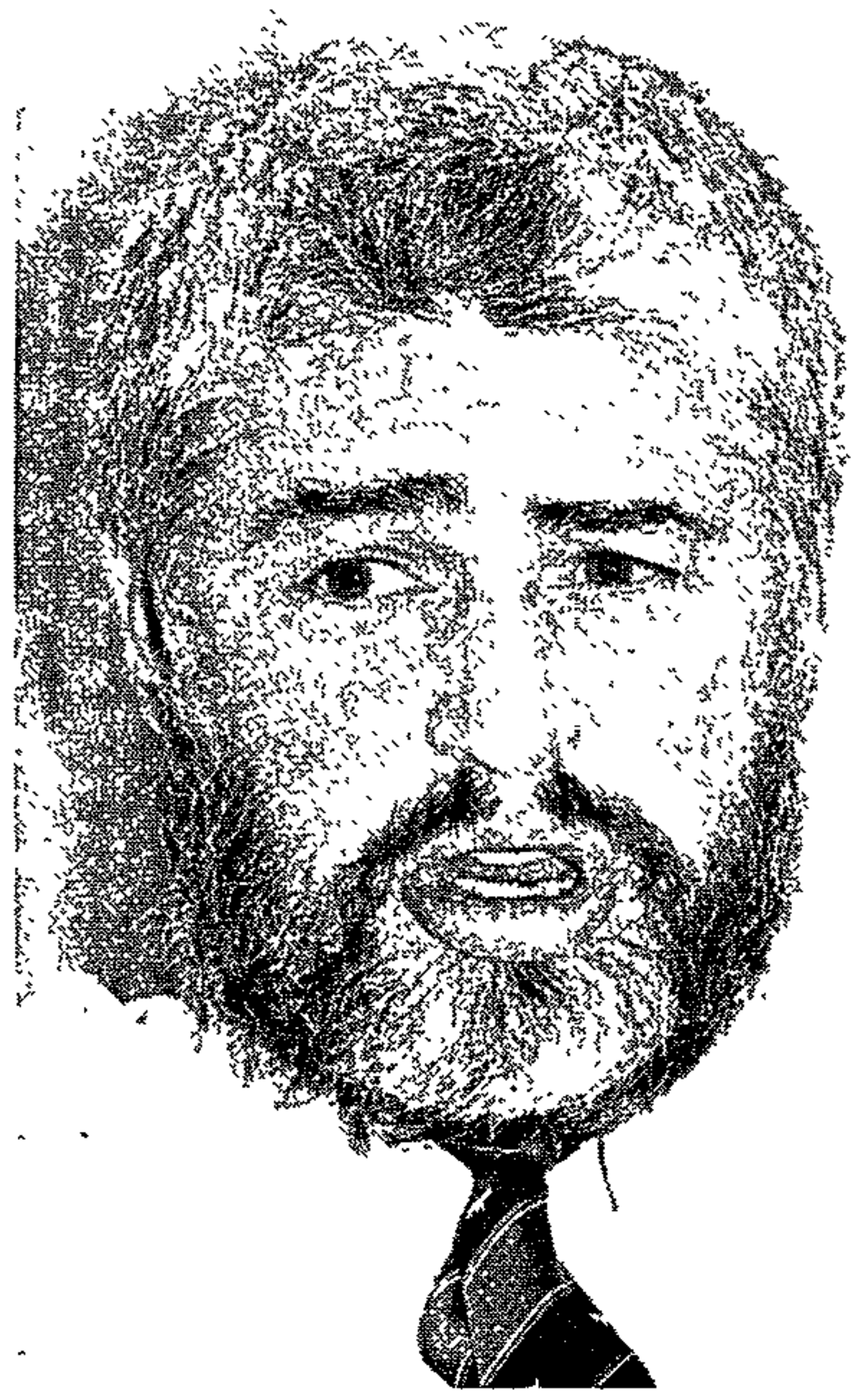
We are going to reflect the views of pople who support that agenda and of people that oppose it.

"Eugene Terre'Blanche has a much right to have his views express as does Mandela.

"If you ask: do we favour one kind of society as opposed to another kind — yes, very definitely.

"We abandoned our research programme in looking at strategies to speed up the disintegration of apartheid a year ago and we have focused much more on the future.

"We are now doing research aimed at identifying and warning against tendencies that may lead this society into something worse than the system that has gone before."



Kane-Berman . . . remarks defended. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Bill aims to extend coun

CAPE TOWN — Government was making provision for local councils to extend their councillors' terms of office without elections, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel said at the weekend.

The interim Local Authority Bill, which was about to go to the Joint Committee on Home Affairs, Planning and Provincial Affairs and was likely to be tabled in Parliament in March, was predominantly enabling legislation, he said.

Provision would be made in the Bill for councillors to extend their terms of office by two to three years, by which time legislation providing for a new local government system

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B/Day 11/2/91

11/2/95

Cape Times, Monday, Febı

Kane-Berman defends church stand

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) is a firmly liberal society and will not condone apartheid being replaced by another form of totalitarianism, says its executive director Mr John Kane-Berman.

Mr Kane-Berman said this in response to criticism of a remark he made that SA church-leaders "had helped legitimise violence". SA Council of Churches general secretary Reverend Frank Chikane, said the remark was "vicious and unwarranted".

Rejecting criticism that the SAIRR was hammering liberation movements and the churches unfairly, Mr Kane-Berman said that while the institute was not going out of its way to criticise political movements, their strategies would come under increasingly close scrutiny.

Political deregulation had freed liberal organisations from an unconscious and self-imposed unease about criticising the policies and strategies of banned organisations unable to argue back.

Confrontations

"It has become increasingly apparent that the birth of the new SA is not going to be plain sailing," Mr Kane-Berman said.

"We have criticised strategies like mass mobilisation and pointed out that they often ended up in confrontations with police, other organisations and the rank and file.

"The right to peaceful protest must be guaranteed. But when political action so often leads to coercion such as in consumer and rent boycotts, we have a responsibility to point out that certain strategies have a tendency to lead to abuses and violence.

"In the same way that you point out that if you give the police powers to detain without trial it is going to lead to torture and deaths in detention," he said.

Violence 'may lead to retribalisation'

BIDay. 13/4/91.

TOWNSHIP violence poses the danger of a "retribalisation" of blacks, says Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies.

Writing in the institute's bulletin, the executive and editorial director of the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism in London, Prof W F Gutteridge, argues similarly that Afrikaner tribalism has to subordinate itself to a new SA nationalism.

"SA's historical legacy is one of centuries of inter-tribal rivalry and violence. The present situation poses the danger that those in the towns, who had appeared to be detribalised, will be retribalised," Gutteridge argues.

However, both President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — the former by acknowledging a common SA nationalism, the latter by his non-racial approach — were undermining the tribal legacy.

Tribal divisions, however, were re-emerging in the guise of ideological conflict which had displaced territorial conflict. This had translated itself into violent conflict in an urban setting.

A related tribal problem was the legacy left by a long period of favouring whites — particularly Afrikaners.

"The legacy of a period of successful

PATRICK BULGER

"Afrikaner socialism" now stands in the way of the general acceptance of the concept of power sharing, partly because it has understandably encouraged among blacks belief in the "winner takes all" approach to politics," Gutteridge said.

White fears had to be addressed — both by a long period of erosion of these fears and by inspired leadership on all sides.

Against this background, getting negotiations going was more complicated than merely meeting artificial preconditions, he said.

"The parties involved need first to recognise their own fears and perceptions of threat and then ensure that the others involved understand them.

"Frankness and a willingness at least to discuss the unthinkable are the essential prerequisites for a settlement."

The first requirement for a settlement was a demonstrably workable constitutional proposal that could underpin economic growth.

Gutteridge did not foresee a permanent solution before 1994.

To initially expect more than to create an arena for non-violent political debate would, given the historical circumstances, be expecting too much.

Plea to maintain sanctions

CANBERRA — SA delegates to the seventh assembly of the World Council of Churches yesterday appealed to the international community not to phase out or lift economic sanctions against SA prematurely. BIDay 13/2/91

They said sanctions should not be lifted until the government moved decisively towards the abolition of apartheid, reports Zimbabwe's news agency Ziana.

Addressing a morning plenary session here, Institute of Contextual Studies director the Rev Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, and SACC deputy secretary-general Brigalia Bam said indications by some Commonwealth and EC countries that they were ready partially to lift sanctions against SA, in return for the reforms it had carried out, would remove the "only most effective instrument for change in our country".

Yesterday was the first day the SA situation was tabled since the assembly began. During this assembly it had been overshadowed by WCC delegates' preoccupation with the Gulf war between US-led allies and Iraq.

The assembly, which groups together more than 311 world churches representing about 350-million people, has been discussing political, economic and spiritual problems facing the world with a view to finding lasting solutions based on the ecumenical unity of nations.

Bam said the reforms so far announced by President F W de Klerk "scratched the surface of the core of apartheid" and those that he had promised were only declarations of intent, which would not be useful unless the government followed them up with practical measures that ensured the transfer of economic power, education and skills to the majority.

If sanctions were lifted prematurely, "the government will be under no obligation to abolish the system", she said.

Mkhatshwa said SA reform propaganda had impressed the world, yet there was little change on the ground, because the wide gap between the rich and the poor remained and would continue unless radical reforms were undertaken. — Sapa.

Mandela is confident of reaching agreement

274

Sowetan 13/2/91

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said he was optimistic his organisation and the Government would be able to resolve the questions of a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Speaking on SABC's late night current affairs programme, "Agenda" on Monday night, he said though the ANC and the Government had started "talks-about-talks" from different positions, remarkable progress had been made and agreements had been reached at the end of their previous two summit meetings.

"And that is why I am very optimistic that even on the question of a constituent assembly and an interim government, we will be able to reach agreement.

Problems

"There have been some problems which have cropped up, and some of them are so serious that they can even displace the peace process...I consider them to be very grave mistakes, but on both sides (the ANC and the Government) there are men and women who require peace, and that gives us confidence."

On the question of continued political intolerance and violence among supporters of the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, and the Pan Africanist Congress, despite recent peace initiatives, Mandela said it would be unrealistic to expect that a single meeting between the ANC and the IFP would resolve the question of violence.

"We require to do much more ground work," he said.

Clashes

"Until a machinery has been set up and that machinery begins to work efficiently, you must expect that there will continue to be clashes."

He reminded that a "joint-machinery" had been set-up with Inkatha providing for joint tours of strife-torn areas by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and himself, while a joint ANC/PAC-liasion commitee was being established to address problems of political intolerance.

Mandela said the ANC had proposed that a so-called patriotic front meeting, a congress of the "oppressed" people, take place prior to a multi-party conference, in order for such organisations to pool their resources.

Conflict

"We want to eliminate all conflict and differences of view in order to arrive at a peaceful resolution of our affairs," he said.

He stressed that IFP would be included in such a patriotic front, but added: "We may phase it, because we will first want an agreement with people we have worked a little bit closer with than Inkatha."

He said the ANC would persuade other organisations in the proposed front to accept Inkatha in their midst.

Concerning the recent peace meeting between ANC/IFP leaders, Mandela said it had been essential for the ANC not to "come out weak" from any meeting with Inkatha. - *Sapa*

Troops control Taylor's Halt

Cape Times 13/2/91 (2)

JOHANNESBURG. — Troops kept a tight grip on Taylor's Halt near Maritzburg yesterday as calm returned to the area which was hit by a bloody ambush that claimed 17 lives on Sunday night.

High-level delegations from the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party planned to meet in Maritzburg yesterday to discuss the attack.

The meeting was scheduled to be held at the Oribi Airport at 4pm yesterday.

Natal police spokesman Major Piet Kitching said there had not been any incidents of violence in the township on Monday night as security forces had intensified patrols.

A representative of the ANC in the region said it was quiet in KwaShange township, where the carnage occured.

● Several people have been arrested for holding illegal gatherings around the country in the past 24 hours, according to the police unrest report.

The report said that in several cases youths took part in stone-throwing attacks against the police.

It also said that three youths and four men were arrested in Douglas, near Kimberley, where pupils holding an illegal march refused to disperse.

A group who had gathered illegally in front of the police station at De Deur on the Witwatersrand were also arrested after they refused to disperse, the report said. — Sapa

TOP TALKS ... Mr Adriaan Vlok (left) and Mr Kobie Coetsee at last night's press conference where details of the agreement between the government and the ANC was disclosed.

ANC agrees to end violence

CAPE TIMES 16/2/91 (274)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE ANC has agreed to end all violent and underground activities in South Africa in return for government pledges to widen indemnity provisions and speed up the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

These are the major components of a far-reaching pact for peace and democracy thrashed out in secret between the two sides during a marathon bargaining session earlier this week.

The breakthrough agreement — details of which were released at a press conference last night — should serve as a major boost to negotiations and is certain to hasten the end of sanctions.

The six-page agreement paves the way for closer co-operation between the government and the ANC across a wide front and envisages progressively transforming Umkhonto we Sizwe into a paper tiger of little more than symbolic significance inside the country.

The ANC said in a statement released last night that the agreement "marks another significant step on the road to peace and democracy in our country and is a portent of improved possibilities of arriving at our goal without the need for further bloodshed".

Government ministers last night described the pact as "a victory for peace and stability over violence and unrest" in which neither the ANC nor the government could claim victory.

However, the agreement required significant concessions from both sides, particularly the ANC, which has now effectively acknowledged that there can be no return to armed action.

Paragraph 5 of the agreement, which has been approved by both the South African cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee, commits the ANC — with specific reference to its organised military groups and armed cadres — to end:

- Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosives or incendiary devices.
- Infiltration of men and material into South Africa.
- The creation of underground structures.
- Statements inciting violence.
- Threats of armed action.
- Military training inside South Africa.

The two parties also reached agreement whereby MK cadres would come into the open and identify their weapons caches to ensure their "vital control" by both the ANC and the government.

No agreement was reached on proposed ANC self-defence units, but government ministers stressed last night that individuals would not be allowed to register assault rifles like the AK-47.

Provision is also made for the immediate start of a "phased process" to enable these cadres "to resume their normal lives and also facilitate and legalise control over the arms".

A joint government-ANC work-

To page 2

From page 1

ing group will thrash out details on how MK cadres will be re-integrated into normal civilian life inside South Africa.

The agreement states that the principle was accepted that "in a democratic society no political party or movement should have a private army".

However, the ANC emphasised last night that training for MK members would continue outside the country, in countries like Uganda and the USSR, with a view to upgrading MK from a guerilla force "to something resembling a conventional army".

The ANC added that it would be unfair to expect any new army to just comprise soldiers who had gone through the SADF.

For its part the ANC managed to extract a number of significant concessions from the government.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the April 30 deadline set by the ANC for the return of exiles and release of political prisoners was "attainable", provided the government received the necessary co-operation

The agreement confirms the right of parties like the ANC to express their views through mass action and peaceful demonstration — with the proviso that it was "urgent and imperative that violence and intimidation from whatever quarter accompanying mass action should be eliminated"

The agreement also stipulates that any attempt by the security forces to engage in unlawful acts or activities that breach the spirit of the new accord will have to be investigated and redressed by a joint government-ANC liaison group

The ANC said last night that this meant that "the government has instructed its security services and counter-insurgency units to desist with the harassment of ANC members, supporters and members of MK"

In a separate statement, President F W de Klerk last night described the agreement as being of "essential significance"

He said the negotiation process would be stimulated because matters standing in the way of the process had been dealt with

He said the agreement provided a clear framework within which the ANC could demonstrate its commitment to strive for peaceful solutions and desist from all actions that conflicted with this goal

"I wish to strongly emphasise that agreements like this do not deviate from the necessity that effective law enforcement must take place at all times," he said

Mr De Klerk added that the spirit in which the crucial February 12 meeting between the ANC and the government took place was positive and indicative of a desire on both sides to resolve vexing problems in a sensible fashion.

"This bodes very well for the road ahead," he concluded

AK-47s rule the roost

Sowetan 18/2/91.

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ADRIAAN VLOK

THE country is reeling from crime and violence involving AK-47 rifles.

Crimes involving AK-47s have been reported almost every day since the start of December, South African Police spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said in Cape Town yesterday.

If the liberation movements hand in their arms caches, the South African Police could concentrate on eradicating the mayhem in South African society, Mellet said.

He added that the police were

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

"determined to rid the country of illegal and unlicensed firearms".

In terms of Friday's agreement between the Government and the ANC, individual weapons will be licensed under existing legislation.

Last week's working group also agreed that the democratic process obliged all political parties and movements to further their aims peacefully and without resort to the use of force.

In this regard, Mellet yesterday said: "This agreement - and should the ANC hand over their arms - makes it easier for us to clamp down on the possible armaments of the AWB (Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging) too."

With the escalation in crime involving AK-47s, he said, rightwing groupings are enticed into arming themselves.

Violence

Mellet said this was particularly distressing because it generates a season of crime and violence.

Last week's pact, hailed by Ministers as "a victory for peace," and which has been approved by both the ANC's national executive committee and the Cabinet, commits the ANC to cease:

* Attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosives or incendiary devices;
* Infiltration of men and material into South Africa;
* The creation of underground structures;
* Statements inciting violence; and
* Threats of armed action and military training inside the country;

The pact also secured an agreement whereby Umkhonto weSizwe cadres would come into the open and identify their weapons caches, to ensure "vital control" by both parties.

See also Page 9

'UNREST' ACTIONS

ACCORDING to HRC statistics, 290 people were arrested, 43 killed and 100 injured in 59 actions involving the security forces, hit squads, rightwingers, vigilantes and other unexplained instances, since the beginning of this month. They attributed three deaths to hit squad action, one to the security forces, 34 to vigilante-related action and said in five cases the cause of death is uncertain.

Fight violence, women urged

Star 25/2/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

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Women could play a major role in ridding South Africa of the protracted violence which has cost thousands of lives and threatens to destroy a peaceful future.

This was the message from speakers at a conference in Johannesburg on Saturday, organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Speakers from the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party, ANC and PAC agreed that efforts should be focused on the country's black youth, growing up amid poverty, unemployment, inferior education, crime, violence, lack of discipline and little hope for the future.

Pleas were made to women to put pressure on the Government to equalise expenditure on education for all.

Soweto community leader Ellen Kuzwayo said: "Our children are becoming completely impossible because they see no future."

Unsolved

But the question whether women could unite for peace remained largely unsolved.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Patricia de Lille caused a stir when she called for the intensification of the "struggle", saying: "Peace cannot precede freedom and justice."

The head of the Inkatha Freedom Party's Women's Brigade, Elizabeth Bhengu, called for peace, but refused to distance her organisation from a proposed Bill to legalise the carrying of "traditional" weapons.

President's Council and National Party member Adrienne Koch devoted much of her speech to explain the legitimacy of white fears.

After saying that she refused to apologise for the wrongs of the past, a township resident asked: "What have National Party women done to educate whites, most of whom have not even been to our communities to experience *our* fears and anger?"

Head of the ANC Women's League Gertrude Shope said: "Women bring life to this world. We have the duty to see that this life is protected, be it black or white."

AZASM condemns school disruptions

JOHANNESBURG. — Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) president Mr Andile Mngxitama says class boycotts and renewed disruption of schooling by teachers and pupils throught the country would put black education decades behind that of other national groups.

"We condemn the actions of a section teachers which would have the same effect the racist regime would do to the downtrodden. The increasing vandalism and breakdown of discipline in schools are reactionary," he said.

And in Sibasa, Venda, Mr Rudzani Nemutumbi told the launch of the local Azasm branch that the movement should deal with disruptive student elements if the anarchy looming in black schools is to avoided. — Sapa

1 stabbed in Natal violence

PRETORIA. — One man was killed in unrest in the last 24 hours, police said. CM Times 1/3/91 (27E) mko

He was stabbed to death at Damganna near Komaas.

In another incident, a man was hurt when he was stabbed at Jouberton near Klerksdorp.

At Edendale in Maritzburg, a woman was hurt when a group fired at a bus.

At Sharpeville near Vereeniging, two municipal vehicles and a shack were set alight.

And in Folweni, Natal, several houses and taxis were damaged when renewed fighting broke out between taxi operators and youths.

(3) A committee comprising mainly of experts from the private sector, is at present busy with inter alia an investigation into the investment opportunities of the pension funds I shall provide a full statement on this matter as soon as this extensive investigation has been completed

Family planning: amount spent

*15. Mrs C H CHARLEWOOD asked the Minister of National Health

Whether there has been a decrease in the amount spent by her Department on family planning in the current financial year, if so, (a) why and (b) what amount (i) has been spent on family planning in the current financial year and (ii) was so spent in the 1989/90 financial year?

B343E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH.

No, (a) falls away and

(b) (i) R128 000 000 has been spent up to date in the present financial year and (ii) R113 000 000 was spent in the 1989/90 financial year

Project Dyson

*16 Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) (a) What is understood by Project Dyson, (b) when will this project be completed and (c) how many present members of the Defence Force are involved in it;

(2) whether any former members of the Defence Force are involved in this project; if so, (a) how many and (b) why?

B349E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) Project Dyson is primarily aimed at the rationalisation of occupational differentiation in the Permanent Force In terms of the Project, 38 different occupational classes have been consolidated into a single occupational class, namely that of Military Practitioner The rationale of the Military Practitioner dispensation rests on the concept of soldiership in order to neutralise the over-emphasis of functional specialities at the cost of soldiership. By implication, the nucleus salary structures of 38 different occupational classes have been reduced to a single basis salary structure for the Military Practitioner A further facet of the Project also includes the rationalisation of the various allowances.

(b) The Project has not been finalised in total The Military Practitioner dispensation and the accompanying salary structure has been implemented with effect from 1 July 1990 and was completed on 28 February 1991 The refinement of certain facets of salary and allowances is in progress The remaining facets of Project Dyson will be implemented as part of other personnel projects on an ongoing basis

(c) All members of the Permanent Force are, in one way or another, affected by Project Dyson

(2) No Only those persons who were members of the Permanent Force on the implementation date, in other words 1 July 1990, are affected by it (a) and (b) Fall away.

SADF: Special Forces

*17. Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether there are still Special Forces in the South African Defence Force, if so, what is the function of these forces;

(2) whether these forces exist as separate Defence Force units, if so, how long will they continue to exist as such units?

B352E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(1) Yes The Special Forces are, just as other units of the SA Defence Force, employed in accordance with the stipulations of section 3(2) of the Defence Act

(2) Yes With the exception of CCB which has already been operationally disbanded and is in the process of having its administrative affairs closed down by the Chief of the Army, it is not planned to disband any of the remainder of Special Forces

Afrikaans as official language

*18. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education.†

(1) Whether it is the standpoint of his Department that Afrikaans should be retained as an official language under a new constitutional dispensation, if not, why not, if so, for what reasons,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B354E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) The official status of languages, and thus also Afrikaans, will be dealt with in the process of negotiation and eventually in the new constitutional dispensation.

It is however the view of the Department and the Government that the status of Afrikaans, as well as English, will be maintained in the new constitution

(2) Lapses.

Peaceful protest marches

*19 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether, with reference to statements made by him during an interpellation debate on 13 February 1990 (a newspaper report on which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply), proposals to clarify the requirements for peaceful protest marches have been formulated, if so, what requirements have been laid down, if not, why not?

B357E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The enactments providing for the control of peaceful protest marches are to be found in *inter alia* the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982) and various Provincial Ordinances.

As already indicated by me the provisions relating to gatherings and processions are under review. It must be pointed out that at present the authorities enjoy the co-operation of the majority of organisers of protest marches in complying with formal and informal arrangements and directives

Mbekweni: electricity supplied to schools

*20. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Training:†

(1) Whether schools in the Black residential area of Mbekweni, Paarl, falling under his Department, are not being supplied with electricity at present, if so, which schools,

(2) whether the electricity account for these schools has been paid to date, if not, why not, if so, for what reasons are these schools not being supplied with electricity at present,

(3) whether he is contemplating steps to have the supply of electricity to these schools restored, if not, why not, if so, what is the nature of these steps?

B358E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) Yes
Simon Hebe Secondary School
Mbekweni Primary School
Langaboya Junior Primary School

(2) Yes According to my information, the electricity supply to the township was cut off by the Paarl Municipality This was apparently caused by residents refusing to pay the Mbekweni Residents' Council for services since October 1990 Consequently the latter has been unable to pay the Paarl Municipality for the services.

(3) No. Negotiations between the Paarl Municipality and the Mbekweni Residents' Council, as well as the Council and the residents are in progress in order to end the boycott and resume the supply of electricity Local conditions preclude the selective restoration of power to schools

SADF: support to certain organisations

*21. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Defence †

(1) Whether, over the past 10 years, any section of the South African Defence Force has directly or indirectly given financial or organisational support to certain organisations, whose names have

4 shot, hacked to death in Tembisa

Cape Times 6/3/91 274

JOHANNESBURG. — The bodies of four people who had been shot and hacked to death have been found at Tembisa township on the East Rand.

A police spokeswoman said yesterday that a house at Etafeni Section in Tembisa had been attacked shortly before midnight on Monday by men with AK-47 rifles.

Police at the scene were fired at, she added.

On Sunday night, eight squatter shacks and two vehicles were set on fire at Etafeni, but no injuries were reported.

Meanwhile, in Cape Town a woman was shot and killed and a youth injured when two men burst into a shack in the KTC squatter camp on Monday night and fired at the four occupants.

Police said Mrs Nosipho Gogela, 30, was killed and Mr Buntu Ruka, 19, was taken to Groote Schuur Hospital with a chest wound.

No motive for the attack has been established.

The police unrest report said a man was stabbed to death at Mbocha, Port Shepstone, in an alleged revenge attack on dwellings yesterday.

In Maritzburg, a 16-year-old youth was shot dead and a KwaZulu Police special constable wounded in fighting among passengers on a bus travelling from Table Mountain yesterday morning.

The driver said he heard gunshots as the bus neared Pengula Farm on the Table Mountain road and that chaos broke out.

He stopped and passengers fled in all directions. It is not known if more people were injured.

Police have not yet established what sparked off the fighting.

At the Lenasia squatter camp, Soweto, a man was seriously wounded when he was stabbed during a skirmish between two groups. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa

4 hurt in unrest in city township

FOUR people were killed in Natal unrest on Tuesday and four others were seriously injured in unrest near Cape Town yesterday.

In Nyanga a group of youths attacked a taxi driver with pangas and axes, and two other men were seriously injured when a car was fired at.

Also in Nyanga, a man was shot when a policeman was attacked by a member of a group.

Three cars were set alight in Khayelitsha.

At Umbumbulu, on the Natal South Coast, two men were shot dead.

12 dead

The two were Mr Simon Xaba, 59, of the Matigulu area, and Mr Solomon Cele, 32, of Madundube.

The latest deaths bring the number of people killed at Umbumbulu since last week to 12.

In Maritzburg a man was killed and another wounded when an unknown gunman fired a number of rounds at a black man in a bus at Table Mountain.

The body of a man with hack wounds was found at Mgomga, Port Shepstone.

At Thembalethu, George, police arrested five men after a group threw stones at police. — Sapa

1 drowns, 1 stabbed as pupils run riot

JOHANNESBURG. — Thousands of black pupils ran riot in Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth this week, leaving one pupil drowned in a dam, one stabbed, a number of whites assaulted and several stores looted, police said yesterday.

The incidents occurred late on Wednesday in the worst demonstrations of non-political public violence this year, a Law and Order official said.

More than 1 500 pupils ran amok after an athletics meeting in Bloemfontein, apparently after they had been unable to find transport home, a police spokesman said.

The group, leaving the meeting, "suddenly turned into a mob and ran through the streets, breaking into shops and liquor outlets", he said.

One pupil was "forced into a dam by some of the others" and drowned and a number of whites were assaulted.

In Port Elizabeth, a few thousand pupils blocked the streets also after an athletics meeting. One student stabbed another. — UPI

Mob hacks Natal priest to death with pangas

Cape Times 8/3/91 (214)

DURBAN. — A priest was pulled out of a mini-bus by a hostile mob on the lower South Coast yesterday and hacked to death with pangas — the latest killing in a wave of unrest which has racked the area since Saturday night.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Bala Naidoo said the Rev Sedion Ndwalane — thought to be an Inkatha leader in the area who was in his 60's — was slain, and an assistant, Mr Phillip Ndwalane, was seriously injured in the attack in the Mbotshwana area at 8am.

This latest death, believed to be the 17th since the outbreak of violence, sparked fears of an escalation of the brutal conflict — last week he apparently led a peace delegation into the area.

Police say five people have died and five have been injured since Sunday.

However, according to the Rev Danny Chetty, an acting unrest monitor for a group of churches in the area, he has seen death certificates and has reliable information — including interviews with relatives — confirming the deaths of 17 people.

He said the violence was between ANC and Inkatha supporters. A meeting between ANC and Inkatha delegates has been planned for today to bring an end to the conflict.

● The unrest report for the past 24 hours as supplied by the Police Directorate of Public Relations says that in Khayelitsha, an unknown gunman fired a number of rounds from a moving vehicle. A black man was wounded in the back.

At Bofania in Port Shepstone, a group of black people attacked two men and fired a number of rounds at them. Both men were seriously injured.

At Durban Town Hall, a group of people held an illegal gathering. Thirty people were arrested after they ignored a police warning to disperse, the report said.

Police have also confirmed that two special constables were shot and wounded by an unknown gunman in Kagiso yesterday morning.

Special Constable J Molese, 25, was in a serious condition after being shot in the chest and right hand, while the condition of Special Constable S Radebe, 28, was stable. He was wounded in the left shoulder, left knee and right hand. — Own correspondent and Sapa

Buthelezi says sorry

DURBAN. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday apologised to all South Africans for any violence that might have been perpetrated by members of his party.

And he broke down in tears when apologising to Mr Nelson Mandela for "any hurt" he might have caused him.

However, he said the ANC should also apologise for planting bombs in public places.

Speaking at a prayer breakfast to herald the start of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said that at no time had the Inkatha leadership made any decision to use violence.

But he acknowledged that Inkatha members had sometimes been drawn into violent acts, for which he, as its leader, held himself responsible.

"I believe that the ANC's national executive must apologise to South Africa purposefully, simply and specifically, for the planting of bombs on street corners, in discos, in supermarkets and other public places," Chief Buthelezi said.

"It does not matter whether ANC activists were specifically directed to place a particular bomb in a particular place or not."

He said it did not matter what the motivation was at the time for the act which, in hindsight, could be seen as wrong.

"Wrong is wrong. Apologies must be forthcoming."

He said that at no time in the country's history had it been more possible for all to say: "Let us cease the strife; let us lay down arms; let us still all fighting; let us quieten all quarrels.

"We need these sorries to be expresse by every leader concerned in South Afr can politics."

He included the Dutch Reforme Church, the National Party, Afrikanerdo and white South Africa. However, this di not mean that the black side need nc apologise until others apologised.

The Inkatha leader called for a period c silence as an expression of "sorrow tha South African politics had caused so man thousands of deaths".

• Asked if the ANC would also apolc gise, ANC spokesman Mr Gill Marcus sai last night: "The ANC is part of the peac and reconciliation process. It is up to all c us to see to it that there are no furthe incidents of violence." — Own Correspor dent and Sapa

● Natal priest slain — Page 2

I'm sorry about violence, sobs Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, broke down in tears yesterday when he apologised to the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, for "any hurt" he might have caused him.

Speaking in Durban at the 18th annual prayer breakfast to herald the start of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said that at no time had the leadership of the IFP made any decision to use violence for political purposes.

Still visibly upset, the KwaZulu political leader said that, in spite of the IFP's constant vigil to keep violence out of its party politics, he knew that members and supporters of the IFP had been drawn into violence.

He said he was sorry to South Africa for this because, as leader of the IFP, he knew that the buck stopped with him.

"I believe that the ANC's national executive must apologise to South Africa purposefully, simply and specifically, for the planting of bombs on street corners, in discos, in supermarkets and other public places," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said it did not matter what the motivation was at the time for the act which, in hindsight, could be seen as wrong.

"Wrong is wrong. Apologies must be forthcoming."

The IFP president called for a period of silence from the 250 guests present as an expression of "sorrow that SA politics had caused so many thousands of deaths".

Asked if the ANC would also apologise, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night: "The ANC is part of the peace and reconciliation process. It will go a long way to assisting the peace process and it is up to all of us to see to it that there are no further incidents of violence.

The Natal leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, said: "It was an extra-ordinarily moving experience. For any politician to say sorry and admit their mistakes is not easy. What he did was very statesmanlike."

Buy guns for target practise

By DE WET POTGIETER

THE SA Communist Party has urged its members to arm themselves and train for self-defence in the townships.

A two-page article in the latest issue of the SACP mouthpiece, Umsebenzi, tells members of the party and the ANC to buy airguns and pistols for target practise.

These weapons have the advantage that no licence is required "and they are an excellent, cheap and safe way for teaching people how to aim and shoot correctly", according to the article.

Despite the militant tone of the article, security sources said they were not unduly concerned.

A police spokesman said he believed the ANC leadership would handle the issue with "great care and responsibility".

Six-year-old boy hacked to death

CAPE TIMES 11/3/91

PRETORIA. — Six people were killed, including a six-year-old boy who was hacked to death in the Babayi area near Port Shepstone last Thursday and Friday, police said.

In Khayelitsha a woman was injured when a taxi was fired upon from another minibus.

Two handgrenades were thrown at a power substation in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage. One grenade exploded, causing superficial damage.

In Cape Town all 17 participants at an illegal placard demonstration were arrested.

In the latest attack on Natal political leaders, the Ndaleni, Richmond, home of Inkatha member Chief Majosi was attacked by an unknown number of people with firearms and three handgrenades late on Friday night.

Also in Natal, in the Inanda area, a black man was found hacked to death.

In the same area a group opened fire on a police patrol. The police returned the fire.

On the East Rand, two people were shot dead at the Tafeni Hostel in Tembisa.

Two children, Tommmy Jacobs, 6, and Sanet Jacobs, 4, were injured in a handgrenade explosion at Hartebeespoort Dam in the Northern Transvaal.

A device exploded on the roof of a house at Kutloanong, Odendaalrus, in the Free State yesterday, killing two people and seriously injuring two others. — Sapa

State is set to act over unrest areas

Sowetan 12/3/91 (274)

THE Government is considering declaring several flashpoints "unrest areas" to smother several outbreaks of violence in black areas.

It is understood the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, may impose emergency measures to combat the eruptions of violence in Alexandra, Tembisa, Soweto and Port Shepstone.

"At this stage we are monitoring the situation in Alexandra, adjacent areas and other townships because the Minister has given the assurance we will not allow the violence to spread," said Captain Craig Kotze, spokesman for Vlok.

"Unrest areas" can be declared in terms of the Public Safety Act which provides the Government with an instant instrument to suppress violence.

ADRIAAN VLOK

Although there are presently no unrest areas, Vlok has since the scrapping of the State of Emergency last June used this device several times to stop killing and fighting in townships.

Unrest areas give security forces sweeping powers to use any measures they think necessary to combat violence.

One of the steps the Government has favoured so far is a 9pm to 4am curfew, with written exemptions in exceptional cases.

It allows police to remove people from an area, enter premises, search and seizure without a warrant and permits the Commissioner of Police or his regional commissioners to seal off an unrest area.

Imposed

Restrictions on unrest areas expire after three months but those imposed in the last seven months or so have been withdrawn within days of unrest subsiding in the areas.

Unrest areas were applied extensively during "Operation Iron Fist", which was aimed at quelling violence in Reef townships. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Fighting for peace

Sowetan 12/3/91

(274)

FOCUS

Former journalist MESH SUMA argues that peace in the black community has to be planned and worked for. It is not, he says, going to happen on its own.

MORE black blood has been spilled - ostensibly for political reasons - over the past five years than at any other single period this century.

Seemingly, a war spirit that has not shown itself since our forefathers laid their arms down after the wars of conquests and resistance is now abroad.

A tragic irony can be discerned here. No single instance over the past 25 years was recorded wherein more blood was spilled between the supposed enemies, whites and blacks, or the system's forces and the anti-apartheid fronts, than in a day's blood letting between Azapo, the UDF, Inkatha and the ANC.

This apparently senseless carnage is, of course, a painful reminder that all is not well in Africa. Much homework, honest appraisals, admissions and soul searching are needed to take stock of these tragedies and to overcome the stale repertoire of responses, centred on blaming the system.

Violence

Though the recent violence centred mainly on the hostels and although Natal has attracted much attention, black organisational and ostensible political violence has been endemic for decades.

Mini-civil wars have broken out between and within the ANC and PAC, before and after exile. The early '80s saw bloody feuds in the Eastern Cape and on the East Rand between supporters of the UDF, Azapo and their affiliates. The masses are perhaps belatedly catching up with the examples of the elite.

And even the verbal accusations and denunciations of one another are psychological violence. In fact this provides the spirit which ignites the tinder of pent-up emotions which is translated - and sinister forces exploit it - into physical action. Hence, in some ways, to blame the system entirely for violence is to admit that whoever has been involved in a conflict is guilty of having been manipulated by the very same forces.

No one is thus innocent.

If all this inimical spirit, warlike energy and determination had been directed to the "armed struggle", which never really got off the ground, then the liberation struggle in South Africa would have dwarfed what happened elsewhere in Africa both in fierceness and results.

This recurring violence is much more profound, thorny and complex than the facile remonstrations and half-hearted efforts, as though delinquent boys were being scolded, would have one believe.

Problem

For too long it has been assumed that the only major human relations problem was the colour bar. As things have turned out, however, more hope is held for inter-racial accord than for black to black amity. And since blacks are in the majority and are expected to be the main partners in future governments, the prospects may be ghastly for the country.

Of late we are not really dealing with political disputes. There are actually not significant differences, ideological or strategic, between any of the contending parties.

None of the rank and file in the thick of things, even the upper echelons, can spell out what they are fighting for in these conflicts.

Battle

If anything political may be reckoned with it is the legacy - naive, deceptive and dangerous as is now evident - of the battle between "the system and anti-system" partisans.

It is a tragic paradox of blacks reinforcing the lines drawn between themselves and still trapped in the snare. The violence is part of the harvest.

As part of coming to grips with this sorrowful situation we need to reverse the process by repudiating this ridiculous heritage. We must realise that, in the final analysis, mere accusations and holier-than-thou stances do both an injustice to complex situations and stimulate enmity that may have dangerous and deep implications.

There are few absolute truths in life, least of all in politics which, by its very nature, must allow diversity of perspectives and positions.

Strategies

Indeed, there is need for a political moratorium while the various parties, old and new, work out their comprehensive and long-term strategies on political and economic issues for presentation to the citizens enabling them to choose which party or alliance is going to run this country.

Only referendums and elections should determine who should be the rulers of the land.

Such prospects could reduce the overall tensions, uncertainties and confusion which add to the mood of anarchy and manipulation.

Meanwhile, the social pressure cookers are getting hotter. The housing shortage, the mushrooming of socially and environmentally sickening shanty towns, the squalor, dirt and deterioration of townships, the growing aimlessness of the youth, the rise in joblessness and the overall lack of direction and disintegration of black communities should be tackled.

These are areas which ought to provide the common ground for collective social action. No one can dispute the need for blacks to come together for solving basic issues like cleaning our surroundings, getting on with mass housing and communal developments.

The prospects of, for example, unemployed black youths, hostel dwellers and others getting together to clean up townships, hostels and rural areas are enormous.

This could go a long way towards defusing the situation, in generating the spirit of working together, and starting that process and spirit of massive self-help.

Donors

The organisation of this should be undertaken on a non-political basis, involving financial donors and business associations - operating under the auspices of an independent trust - with professional social workers, volunteer architects, engineers and accountants for each region.

None of the political parties should be involved. Qualified and keen persons may participate as citizens. A non-political and non-partisan approach is required to fight for peace and prepare the country and black society for a common and constructive approach to problems.

So, while the politicians are trying to get their acts together, it is imperative and urgent for blacks in particular, and major social and economic organisations in general, to formulate short-term and intermediate plans to involve people in medium scale community reconstruction and development.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn
All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg
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to the attention of the appropriate government department.

A considerable degree of progress has since been made especially in the areas of sincere and open communication and co-operation between government departments, the NCCR headed by Dr Frank Chikane, senior officials of the ANC and other interested parties On the government's side an interdepartmental working group has been established to ensure close co-operation and co-ordination on the executive levels and to assess the repatriation situation on a continual basis. Ports of entry have been identified and equipped to deal efficiently and expeditiously with arriving returnees and the Department of Home Affairs is in the process of issuing extraordinary travel certificates to returnees who are not in possession of national passports or other suitable travel documents.

The main problem regarding the planning for the return of these people is that there is no definite indication of how many so-called exiles will return and when they will return Up to this moment 5 967 applications have been received and this figure includes approximately 2 600 dependants To date 2 874 extraordinary travel certificates have already been issued.

Ongoing discussions between representatives of the ANC and various government departments are taking place and appropriate arrangements have been made for the arrival of approximately 108 ANC affiliated returnees on 7 March 1991 to 13.00.

I am confident that the repatriation of returnees will soon gain momentum and trust that the present level of co-operation between the interested parties will continue Five further flights have been arranged following at weekly intervals.

Many questions have been asked regarding the financial assistance the State is willing to give to the returnees. Three considerations must be taken into account:

Firstly, as already indicated the number of returnees is an unknown factor and therefore it is impossible to quantify the amount that will be needed Secondly, it must be remembered that the vast majority of the returnees are South African citizens and they will therefore be entitled to normal state assistance and will be integrated in existing assistance programmes

Thirdly, private institutions, welfare organisations and even other countries have indicated their willingness to contribute to the resettlement of the returnees. These factors must first be quantified before the question of additional state funds can even be considered

Following representations in this regard, members of the South African Government recently had a meeting with a delegation of the UNHCR about the possible involvement of the UNHCR in the RSA in the repatriation of the returnees The talks were frank and constructive and the matter has been submitted to the RSA Government for consideration and decision

Issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs — Cape Town

Date. 5 March 1991

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply I want to ask him whether those people returning who have lost their citizenship under section 17 of the South African Citizenship Act—that is, those who by now have been out of the country for longer than seven years—will be treated like ordinary alien citizens applying for citizenship, and whether the same requirements regarding health, in other words preconditions for contagious diseases, can be applied to them.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I just want to mention that the majority of these people are South African citizens. The minority are not South African citizens, and if there is a case such as the hon member has referred to, that specific case, like other cases of South African citizens who lose their citizenship, will be treated on merit.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: What is that meant to mean?

Kwashange: residents assaulted

*5. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he has been informed of an incident on or about 12 February 1991 in which seven residents of Kwashange in Natal were allegedly assaulted; if not, why not; if so, (a) what do these residents allege happened and (b) what investigations are being made into the incident;

(2) whether the names of the policemen allegedly involved in the incident have been furnished to him; if not, why not; if so, what steps are being taken in regard to these policemen?

B375E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) The residents allege that on 13 February 1991 at approximately 00:30 a number of members of the South African Police searched houses in the Kwashanga black residential area, for unlicensed firearms.

During the Police action persons were allegedly assaulted and cash and other property stolen

(b) Two charges of assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm, seven charges of common assault and one charge of theft are being investigated.

(2) Yes

Six members of the Force have been suspended from office and five special constables have been discharged

Certain person: arrest for alleged shooting

*6. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any action has been taken by the South African Police to arrest a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, in connection with the alleged shooting of four youths on or about 6 August 1990; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B379E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No, because the evidence available did not indicate that the person had acted unlawfully

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) Yes, on 6 August 1990 at 20:00 approximately 60 riotous persons threw stones at the person's residence and broke down the wire fence in front of his house. Because he allegedly feared for his life and that of his family and his property would be exposed to further damage, the evidence indicates that the person fired in self-defence.

Four persons were injured during the incident.

The matter was investigated and the case docket submitted to the Public Prosecutor who refused to institute a prosecution against any person

Tugela River: effluent pipeline

*7. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry

(1) Whether his Department has sanctioned the building of an effluent pipeline into the Tugela River for a certain company, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) when is this pipeline to be built, (b) where will the pipeline actually discharge the effluent into the river, (c) what will be the nature of the effluent and (d) how many litres of effluent will be discharged into the river on a daily basis,

(2) whether a study has been made of the possible effects this pipeline may have on the environment, if not, why not, if so, what were the findings of the study?

B359E

†The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY:

(1) Yes

(a) The completed pipeline has been in use since December 1990.

(b) The point of discharge is downstream of the confluence of the Mandini and Tugela Rivers, approximately 200 metres upstream from the John Ross Bridge.

(c) The effluent contains pollutants mainly of organic origin.

De Klerk warns on violence

ULUNDI — President F W de Klerk says the unacceptably high level of violence arising from political intolerance in SA and in KwaZulu/Natal in particular could derail the negotiation process.

Opening the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, he called for a concerted effort by all parties to promote a democratic culture of political tolerance.

De Klerk said willingness by the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC to accept joint responsibility for addressing this problem had to be translated into reality at grassroots level.

Leaders had to ensure their followers stopped resorting to violence, intimidation and destabilisation and that they desisted from making inflammatory public statements. They had to ensure their followers recognised the right of other people and groups to express their opinion and to oppose one another peacefully and lawfully.

Own Correspondent

He ruled out the concept of an interim government. The idea that the goverment should give up its duty and legitimate authority to govern and hand over its responsibilities to a temporary regime could not be considered in any internationally recognised, sovereign independent state.

"The political, economic and social maintenance and progress of our society demand continued planning and effective government.

"This will have to take place within the existing constitutional dispensation until a new constitution has been negotiated and given the force of law by Parliament".

De Klerk warned people against "unrealistic euphoria" regarding the realisation of a new SA. To bring about a new system

☐ To Page 2

De Klerk

☐ From Page 1

would take time and hard work on all sides.

Sapa reports De Klerk said he believed the new constitutional dispensation should embody: built-in guarantees against a one-party dominated government or dictatorship; a bill of human rights; regular elections; an economy founded on the principles of the free market; representation of minorities in government structures; the right of people to have a community life of their own; an independent and accessible judiciary; and professional and well-trained security forces not subject to political subservience or expediency.

De Klerk also said it would not be possible to govern the new SA without the help of traditional leaders.

FW urges end to violence, intolerance

Star 13/3/91

274

Hoge

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — The unacceptably high level of violence flowing from political intolerance in South Africa, especially in KwaZulu and Natal, could upset and even derail the negotiation process, President de Klerk said in Ulundi yesterday.

Opening the third session of the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr de Klerk said that although KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had reached an agreement which indicated their willingness to accept joint responsibility for addressing the problem of violence, this willingness had to be translated into reality.

Building

"Every leader has the responsibility to ensure that his followers honour their undertakings to refrain from the use of violence, intimidation and destabilisation and to desist from making inflammatory public statements," he said.

"There is no place for so-called 'liberatory intolerance' in the process of building the new South Africa."

Throughout his speech Mr de Klerk emphasised that South African politics were set for multiparty participation in the shaping of a future SA.

Yesterday was the first time that a head of state has been present at the legislative assembly opening of any black homeland or black independent state in South Africa.

Mr de Klerk's presence was significant in that it mirrored his policy of reaching out to include all political groups in working out any future dispensation for a future South Africa.

It also signified a major coup for Chief Buthelezi, who for many years has had to contest with attempts to sideline him as an "apartheid puppet".

Mr de Klerk praised the Zulu people, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha as having played a major, "constructive and decisive role over many years in the process of normalising South Africa's political life".

He said leaders across the broad political spectrum would all have to take part in the process leading up to the drafting of a new constitution.

However, he said a constitution in itself was not the ultimate answer to ensure lasting peace, political stability and social justice. Even more important was the national will to make the constitution work.

He said a multiparty conference should be as inclusive as possible because "minorities rebel if they feel they have not been accommodated".

Mr de Klerk emphasised that the concept of an interim government was not acceptable.

"The idea that the present lawfully constituted Government should relinquish legitimate authority to govern and simply hand over its responsibilities to a temporary regime cannot be considered in any internationally recognised, sovereign, independent state.

"The political, economic and social maintenance and progress of our society demand continuous planning and effective government.

Warned

"This will have to take place within the existing constitutional dispensation until a new constitution has been negotiated and given the force of law by Parliament."

Mr de Klerk warned against "unrealistic euphoria regarding the realisation of a new SA" and said it would take time and hard work to bring about.

Mr de Klerk was applauded throughout his speech by members of the legislative assembly.

Approached for comment yesterday, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation would have to study the President's speech carefully before it could respond.

Two killed, 5 hurt in township shootout

PRETORIA — In Bloemfontein's Botshabelo township two men were killed and five injured when two groups attacked each other with firearms, police said.

Eight men were arrested and five firearms confiscated by police in the same area when two groups shot at each other after a taxi knocked over a taxi driver.

In Mamelodi, Pretoria, extensive damage was caused to a private vehicle when it was set alight by a group of youths.

In Toekomsrus, Randfontein, a man was slightly injured and extensive damage was caused to a home in a petrol-bomb attack. In another incident, two private vehicles were damaged by petrol bombs. — Sapa.

FW warns over violence

Sowetan 13/4/91.

THE unacceptably high level of violence flowing from political intolerance in South Africa in general and KwaZulu in particular could upset or derail the negotiation process, State President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Opening the KwaZulu National Assembly, he said most leaders had expressed their concern about this issue.

The agreement reached between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Deputy President of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela, as well as subsequent regional agreements, indicated a willingness to accept joint responsibility for addressing this problem.

"This willingness has to be translated into reality at the grass-roots level.

Violence

"As political leaders we all know that political violence, once it has erupted, takes more than a meeting and an agreement by leaders to stop it."

A concerted effort by all parties involved was needed to actively promote a democratic culture of political tolerance.

"Every leader has the responsibility to ensure that his followers honour their undertakings to refrain from the use of violence, intimidation and destabilisation and to desist from making inflammatory public statements."

Every leader had to make every effort to ensure that his followers recognised the democratic right of other individuals and organisations to state their points of view freely and to oppose one another peacefully and lawfully. - *Sapa*

FW DE KLERK

Fight against car hijackers begins

A NEW organisation to fight car hijacking by robbers will be formed on Saturday March 23 at the Orlando YMCA opposite the Orlando Police Station, Soweto.

The organisation has tentatively been called the Motorist Protection Club (MPC), but suggestions of a name and the way the body should operate will come from people who will be attending the inaugural meeting.

Convener of the meeting, Mr Derrick Thema said yesterday since publication of articles in *Sowetan* about the agony suffered by motorists during hijacks, his telephone has been inundated by people keen to form a protection club.

"I would like to see everyone, even if they do not have a car, to come with suggestions that will help solve this burning issue." said Thema.

People belonging to various civic, sporting and political organisations are asked to attend so as to have a greater input from a broad front.- *Sowetan Reporter*

Wits protest called off

Sowetan 13/3/91.

THE four-day-long protest action at the University of the Witwatersrand was called off yesterday.

This was decided at the students' meeting called by the Black Students Transitional Committee at the university.

The university's administrative network was almost crippled when about 80 students occupied the vice-chancellor's office, council chambers, "strategic" offices and arts and science faculty offices on Friday to force the administration to accede to their demands.

The SRC and BSTC delegation held a meeting late yesterday afternoon with the vice-chancellor Professor Robert Charlton and deputy vice chancellor Professor June Sinclair.

The SRC member said the university administration agreed to provide emergency accommodation for all students.

The administration has also promised to look into the issue of students excluded from faculties but not from the university, said an SRC member.

He said the vice-chancellor also promised that the R5 million which the university received in rebates could be used to assist students with bursaries.

The protest at Wits, largely by black students, was sparked by grievances over exclusions, admissions policy, lack of accommodation in residences, the demand for supplementary examinations and the deadline for payment of fees.

Charlton said that cases of excluded students have been adequately reviewed.

White farmers poisoned river - claim

THE murder of a white woman found stabbed in the Levubu farming area two weeks ago has been linked by residents to the poisoning of the Levubu river, writes Mathatha Tsedu.

The poison, traced to a point in the Lutanandwa river on white farming land, has wiped out fish and other aquatic life over a distance of 26km.

Crocodiles have moved out of the water and refuse to be driven back. Some people from villages along the river, who drank the poisoned water before warnings were sent out, have fallen ill.

Residents in Tshakuma, near where the spill occurred, claim white farmers, infuriated by the murder of Mrs Anita Strydom, deliberately poisoned the water to kill black people who rely on the river for their drinking and water.

Strydom was found stabbed to death in her house. A watch was missing, police said.

Venda chief advisor of Nature Conservative, Mr Tuba van der Walt, yesterday said he had heard the rumours but added that it was unlikely that it had been deliberate poisoning aimed at killing black people.

He also sounded a warning about the crocodiles.

Man killed, taxi torched in township

ERMELO — One man was killed and another injured during a clash yesterday between a group of Wesselton residents and so-called "comrades", according to the police unrest report.

One comrade allegedly hijacked and torched a taxi.

The clash occurred after a group of men in Wesselton, near Ermelo in the south-eastern Transvaal, identified a group of comrades as having intimidated schoolchildren during the past fortnight.

After a struggle the men arrested one of the comrades' leaders and handed him over to the municipal police.

One of the comrades — allegedly armed with an AK-47 rifle — then fled and hijacked a taxi. The driver was robbed and his taxi set alight.

A bus was stoned when fighting resumed after the group returned to the scene.

Police are investigating.

In the unrest-declared areas on the Reef all had been quiet in the past 24 hours, Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen, the SAP liaison officer in Pretoria, said yesterday.

She said there was still a maximum police presence, but no incidents had been reported in these areas.

At Old Crossroads in Cape Town, extensive damage was caused to a private dwelling in a petrol-bomb attack, said the police report.

At Knysna a man was arrested when a group of blacks threw stones at a police vehicle.

At Maokeng, Kroonstad, a number of stone-throwing incidents took place, in one of which a white man was slightly injured.

At Jouberton, Klerksdorp, damage was caused to a private home and vehicle in a petrol-bomb attack.

— Sapa

S Africans kill each other at 100 a day

CAPE TIMES 16/3/91

276

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICANS are now killing each other at a rate of more than 100 a day.

Statistics given in Parliament yesterday show that the average daily slaughter tally is now as follows: Murder 35, culpable homicide 36 and road deaths 30.

An additional 80 people are injured in road accidents every day, pushing the cost of such accidents up to R15 million a day.

On the crime front, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said 12 779 people were murdered in South Africa last year compared with 11 077 the pervious year.

(This figure does not include the "independent" homelands where more than a quarter of the country's 37 million people live).

A total of 13 062 people were killed in culpable homicide cases (excluding motor vehicle accidents), marginally down from the 13 118 in 1989.

The Deputy Minister of Transport, Dr Piet Welgemoed, told Parliament that about 10 950 people were dying on South African roads each year, with about 29 200 receiving injuries.

Speaking during National Road Safety Amendment Bill debate, he said a town the size of Nelspruit had been wiped out on South African roads during the past decade.

Mini-buses formed a total of 4,1% of registered motor vehicles but were involved in 9% of all accidents. Pedestrians accounted for 47% of all deaths.

Dr Welgemoed said there was no point in the law specifying maximum fines for traffic transgressions if the courts were not going to apply them.

'Ferocity' on the roads

"We are debating with the Department of Justice to address this thing. The law must be strongly applied."

Mr Jurg Prinsloo (CP Roodepoort) said that traffic officers should be given the same powers of arrest as member of the South African police.

The DP's transport spokesman, Mr Robin Carlisle, said that South Africans were killing each other on the roads with a ferocity surpassing that of most other countries.

Unrest toll trebled in '90 — Vlok

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Cape Times 16/3/91

Political Staff

THE number of policemen and civilians killed in unrest-related incidents was more than three times higher last year than in the previous year, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, disclosed yesterday.

Mr Vlok said 67 policemen and 2 263 civilians had been killed between February 2 and December 31 last year.

From February 2, 1988 to February 1, 1990 unrest incidents claimed the lives of 20 policemen and 653 civilians, he said in reply to a question tabled by Mr Willie van der Merwe, CP Meyerton.

Mr Vlok said in Parliament last year that the number of unrest incidents during 1990 had been one of the highest in history and was comparable to the figure for 1985, before the state of emergency was declared.

AM Type
18/3/91 274

3 stabbed to death in unrest at weekend

PRETORIA. — Three men were stabbed to death, and a woman was seriously injured, in unrest-related incidents countrywide at the weekend.

Police said in yesterday's unrest report that a man was stabbed to death at Janganya in the Umkomaas area, Natal.

Two men were stabbed to death at Tembisa, East Rand, and a woman was seriously injured.

A house was petrol-bombed at Crossroads, and two men were arrested at Windsorton, Northern Cape for throwing a burning tyre under a police vehicle. — Sapa

with that. Sporting organisations which therefore allow themselves to be taken in political tow, cannot receive the sympathy of the Government.

*Hon MEMBERS: Who are they?

*The MINISTER: I will not identify them. I am saying that a specific political activity can be seen in the present organisation of sport and it would be wrong for the Government to close its eyes to that political interference. When the Government did act and interfered in sport, this had negative consequences, and now we expect sport administrators to concentrate on sport, act independently and not allow themselves to be taken in tow by the politicians who also want to use sport for their own objectives and purposes.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

*1. Mr A J Leon—Law and Order. [Question standing over.]

All departments of health: control

*2. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

(1) Whether she intends taking steps to take control of the departments of health in both the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates; if so, what are the relevant details; if not, why not;

(2) whether she will make a statement on the matter?

B452E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) No, in terms of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983, health is regarded as an own affair and the responsibility is therefor vested in the relevant own affairs administrations;

(2) no.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I would just like to ask which hospitals in South Africa still fall under so-called own affairs for Whites, and on what grounds—against the background of the present policy of the Government—they still are regarded as own affairs hospitals.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is a new question that does not involve this question [Interjections.]

†The ACTING SPEAKER: Order!

†The MINISTER: The hon member can put that question on the Question Paper and I can provide all the names of the hospitals on a list [Interjections.] There are 44 hospitals if the hon member wants me to name them.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, and according to her own explanation hospitals or health services in terms of the Constitution fall under own affairs. How can it then be explained that hospitalization, for instance, is available to all groups?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the question to the Minister is whether the Minister intends to take over own affairs from the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives. The answer is no.

The matter of whether hospitals fall under own affairs, is a new question. The hon member can put it on the Question Paper and then I will answer him. [Interjections.]

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I specifically would like to know with regard to the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives whether any health affairs fall under these Houses.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the question on the health affairs that fall under those Houses can be put to those hon Ministers. [Interjections]

Political violence: deaths

*3. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many persons died in or as a result of political violence during the 1990 calendar year and (b) how many such persons were members of the South African Police Force?

B465E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

To answer the question, particulars will be furnished of persons who died in 1990 as a result of unrest. These deaths did not necessarily result from political violence. There were also incidents where clashes occurred between persons and groups of persons which did not necessarily relate to political ideologies and/or actions. The differences between such clashes and political violence can therefore not always be determined.

In view of this, the particulars are as follows:

(a) 2 675 persons.

(b) 68 members.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I wish to ask whether he wants to intimate that the Government is unable to distinguish, on the basis of scientifically-founded criteria, between unrest-related or political violence and other violence.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the answer is clear. In 2 675 of these cases this distinction could be drawn. In a few of these cases it was not easy to draw such a distinction. The SA Police have been able to draw that distinction to this extent on the basis of scientific research at their disposal, as well as on the basis of observations and surrounding circumstances.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, in which cases is it easy to draw this distinction and in which cases is it not?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the answer is as simple as the question. In cases in which it is clearly identifiable that unrest or political violence was the cause of deaths' in such situations and to such extent it is possible to classify such deaths in that category. In all cases in which they can be classified as ordinary murders, where politics is not the motif, it is also easy to classify them as such.

†Adv C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is it possible for him to indicate to us how many of the 68 policemen who died, had been called out to a fake ambush and were consequently killed? [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if the hon member is speaking of a fake ambush I do not know whether he means that there was no ambush, because one either has an ambush or one does not. If one had a fake ambush, one did not have an ambush. [Interjections.] The SA Police have particulars of all the circumstances under which members of the Police Force were killed. These also include the 68 members. Unfortunately I cannot identify all 68 for him this afternoon.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, the gist of his reply is that we cannot say how many of those 68 policemen were killed as a result of political violence. Because that was the question, we would like to know how many of those 68 policemen were killed as a result of political violence and how many were not. [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member now asks me whether the Police is unable to say how many members were killed as a result of political violence. The answer has been given: 68 members of the SA Police were killed under these circumstances. I do not know what the purpose of his question is [Interjections.]

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, with those kind of figures, which indicate that we are close to some form of anarchy, is he satisfied that, firstly, the situation can be contained and, secondly, it can be improved upon in the following 12 months?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the SA Police are not at all happy with this state of affairs and will do everything in their power to contain and handle this situation in an effort to reduce the figures given here today. The responsibility to curb conflict in this country does not, however, rest only with the SA Police. It is also, to a great extent, the responsibility of the leaders of those political groups which are in constant conflict with one another. It is also a political responsibility, and the Police also want to appeal to the leaders of those political parties to keep their followers under control. [Interjections.]

The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! There will be no more supplementary questions on question 3, because the maximum number of questions has been put. I put question 4

1 dead, 6 arrested in continuing unrest

CAPE TIMES 21/2/91 (2?4)

PRETORIA. — One man was killed and six people were arrested in countrywide violence over the past 24 hours, the police said in their unrest report yesterday.

A group of youths shot and killed a man and assaulted his wife in Khutsong near Carletonville before setting a house alight, police said.

Four men were arrested at Wazamakhule near Hendrina, after they threw stones at police.

A man and a youth were arrested at Guguletu near Cape Town for being in possession of ammunition.

At Inanda, near Durban, a squatter shack was extensively damaged in a petrol-bomb attack, the report said. — Sapa

Cops warn on Sharpeville Day intimidation

By IKE MOTSAPI (274)

POLICE will be out in full force today to protect people wanting to go to work.

Colonel Jack de Vries, head of the liaison division of the Soweto police, last night warned that the police would ensure that law and order was maintained as thousands of people countrywide commemorated the 31st anniversary of the March 21 1960 Sharpeville shootings. Sowetan 21/3/91

De Vries warned that intimidation would not be tolerated.

He said: "I want to assure people who use trains to go to work not to be afraid to use them today.

"Police are going to make sure that people carrying weapons are not allowed to board trains today."

ER Post Office workers on strike

Sowetan 21/3/91

WORKERS at the Alberton Post Office have been on strike since Tuesday, demanding the removal of a senior official, whom they accuse of arrogant and racist behaviour towards black staff.

In a statement yesterday, the workers accused the Post Office management of being reluctant to take steps to redress the issue.

The workers, members of the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association, had also called on management to scrap all alleged racist practices at the Post Office. - *Sapa*.

Boycott by squatters

GRAHAMSTOWN resembled a ghost town early yesterday as a three-day-old consumer boycott sparked by a squatter controversy began to make its mark. Sowetan 21/3/91

Most of the city's stores were deserted at the start of the day but filled up as the day progressed, mainly with white shoppers.

However, Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce president Mr Bobby Wynne said it was still premature to gauge the success of the economic siege because "mid-month trading figures are generally low".

HOWITT LASCARIS TBWA CAPE 0086014

APARTHEID BAROMETER

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES

A TOTAL of 83 black local authorities have not finalised their accounts for past years, Planning and Provincial Affairs Minister Hernus Kriel said in parliament.

He said 29 Free State black local authorities had not finalised their accounts for the financial years 1987/8 to 1989/90, while a further 27 had unfinished books going back to 1987/8 and another 10 to 1989/90. In the rest of South Africa 15 had not finalised accounts going back to 1988/9 and a further two to 1987/8.

Kriel said a total of 105 administrators had been appointed to perform the duties of black local authorities which had been unable to operate because town councillors had resigned, leaving them with no quorum. Thirty-eight of these administrators came from the Free State, 35 from the Transvaal, 30 from the Cape and two from Natal.

WHITE SCHOOL CLOSURES

COMMENTING on reports that 30 white schools might have to be closed in the Cape Province as a result of having too few pupils, "own affairs" Education and Culture Minister Piet Clase said in parliament that the director of education had invited those schools concerned to "make representations".

He said that "rationalisation" in white schools as a result of declining numbers was not the government's fault.

DETENTIONS

A TOTAL of 70 people were being held in detention without trial in South Africa on March 20 1991, according to the Human Rights Commission.

Their weekly report noted that 18 people were being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, one was being held under section 50 and and 51 were being held under the Transkei Public Safety Act.

The HRC said 28 people had been released in the previous week — 13 from section 29 detention, three from section 50, one from Transkei and 11 from Ciskei.

UNREST DEATHS

A TOTAL of 2 675 people, including 68 policemen, died as a result of unrest in 1990, Deputy Law and Order Minister Johannes Scheepers said in parliament. He said this figure included incidents where the motives were "not necessarily political".

Earlier, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said that 2 330 people died in unrest-related incidents last year, 67 of them policemen.

He said that in 1989 673 people died, including 20 policemen.

INTIMIDATION

A TOTAL of 222 people were detained in connection with 168 cases of intimidation between January 18 and March 12 this year, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in parliament.

He also said that between February 21 and March 7 this year there had been 22 incidents where police had ordered people to disperse.

DEATHS AND INJURIES

THE latest report of the Human Rights Commission lists the following "actions" which they monitored from March 1 to 17:

Security Force: 11 actions in which three people were killed, 11 injured and 16 arrested.

Hit Squad: three actions

Rightwing: one action

Vigilante-related: 14 actions in which 116 were killed and 355 injured.

Uncertain origin: 15 actions in which 27 people died and 13 were injured.

AFRICA

Black pupils need to go back to school — professor

AR645
25/3/91

R74

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Black children need to be encouraged, motivated "or even coerced" to go back to school now that they have won some of the political concessions they have been fighting for, a leading United States educationist has said.

Addressing a Press conference in Pretoria last week, Professor Leonard Beckum, vice-president and professor in Practice of Education at Duke University, North Carolina, said the educational infrastructure in South Africa — for both blacks and whites — was "bad", but this year's Budget showed that the government was moving in the right direction.

Professor Beckum spent two weeks in South Africa studying the education system at the invitation of the CSIR and the Foundation for Research Development (FRD).

"The thing that struck me about this country was the tremendous under-education and miseducation. Thousands of lives have gone wasted through untrained people who are unable to contribute to the economy of the country," he said.

Students had taken a very active political role in the past decade, but now that positive change was taking place, they had to start thinking about education if they were to play a role in the new South Africa they had helped create.

'Earn their respect'

However, the standard of facilities, teachers and administrators was inadequate and had to be improved to earn the respect of students, he said.

The government's resource allocation would have to strike a balance between generating new knowledge through research, and improving the educational opportunities for disadvantaged communities.

Business and tertiary educational institutions also had a part to play in providing bridging programmes and academic support programmes for students with a disadvantaged background.

Rather than restrict entry to tertiary institutions by setting minimum standards, institutions should accept as many students as possible and provide them with the support to succeed, without lowering the standard of education.

Professor Beckum criticised technikon and technical colleges, which seemed "focused on teaching business science, accountancy and secretarial work".

"That is not where the jobs are. These people are going to graduate and then they'll be mad at you because they won't be able to find jobs."

Technikons should be training people in technical skills such as plumbing or carpentry to work on the upgrading of township infrastructure, Professor Beckum said.

Capt Tufts 26/3/91

Impi dispersed after new violence in Natal

274 JAMS

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Police and the army yesterday dispersed a strong impi at Murchison Hospital, near Port Shepstone, where about 1 000 people were seeking refuge from violence which claimed four lives at the weekend.

The impi, which was armed with an assortment of weapons, including assegais and clubs, was dispersed without incident

The latest outbreak of violence took place after a peace meeting between Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC, when three people, said to be ANC supporters, were stabbed to death.

A police spokesman yesterday said it was believed that "agitators" had intervened and provoked the violence.

In addition 13 huts had been burnt down, he said.

According to the Rev Danny Chetty, an unrest monitor, about 1 000 people, mainly women and children, were yesterday seeking refuge at Murchison Hospital after fleeing their homes because of the violence.

Hospital superintendent Dr Terry Gilpin said many of the people had stayed in the hospital on Sunday night.

Police said yesterday that more than 20 people had been killed since the fighting started early this month.

There was a strong security presence in the area yesterday, Sapa reports.

In Pretoria police said more than 40 people had been killed in unrest at the weekend

Among the incidents was an attack by five gunmen on a squatter camp at Westonaria, west of Johannesburg, in which seven people were killed and six wounded.

At troubled Table Mountain, Maritzburg, a man was killed when gunmen fired shots at him, police said.

One of the attackers was also killed when he moved into the firing line.

At Daveyton, Benoni, where police shot and killed 11 ANC supporters on Sunday, police confiscated revolvers and pistols and arrested 33 people for possession of illegal firearms.

Police said nine of them were women.

At least 17 people died in Alexandra and Tembisa township at the weekend.

At King William's Town one man was killed and another wounded in renewed fighting between rival taxi operators yesterday.

Police said rival taxi drivers began shooting at each other at the taxi rank in a main street.

Stop the fighting, FW urges

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has urged all political leaders to stop the fighting between their supporters.

Their energies should be channelled constructively instead, he said.

Asked if he was worried that the fatal clash between the police and the ANC in Daveyton might undermine foreign investor confidence or domestic negotiations, Mr De Klerk said: "Obviously we are concerned when incidents like this happen.

"As you well know, such incidents are properly investigated to ensure that we ascertain where the blame lies."

Talking to journalists after a meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Mr Runato Ruggiero at Tuynhuys yesterday, Mr De Klerk said the essential character of violence had changed. The problem was now fighting between factions.

"We will continue, in an absolutely impartial manner, to restrict such violence and we will continue our efforts to address, as we have done in the budget, the underlying causes which can be misused by those who would like violence to continue," Mr De Klerk said.

"The violence issue is a serious one, but one I have no doubt we will continue to manage with good effect."

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Moolman Mentz, has said in a statement that his party is deeply troubled by the growing number of policemen killed and injured in black townships.

The time had arrived for the police to consider seriously if it was still justified for them to intervene in ethnic violence, he said.

● It is expected that a judge will be appointed to conduct an inquest into the clash between the police and the ANC in Daveyton at the weekend.

ITALIAN TALKS . . . President F W de Klerk yesterday met Italian Foreign Minister Mr Runato Ruggiero at Tuynhuys.

Police defend methods of probing unrest

Star 26/3/91.

By Jovial Rantao

Only 418 suspects have been arrested since August in connection with nearly 2 000 unrest-related incidents, which include more than 876 cases of murder.

But police defend themselves against criticism of their methods of investigating unrest-related crime.

A pathologist, who cannot be named for professional reasons, said: "In any unlawful killing, a full forensic investigation should be carried out. A post-mortem is just one link to the chain of forensic evidence needed to solve a murder."

Forensic expertise is extremely important and an investigation without it is not complete.

Cordoned off

"After a shooting, ballistics tests should be done in an attempt to link the crime to a firearm involved in a previous crime. If a man is hacked with a panga, forensics must take samples of blood and attempt to link the stains with blood on a suspect."

It was important that a murder scene be cordoned off to prevent damage to trace elements left behind at the murder scene, he said.

Dennis Davis of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits said: "Police contribution to the lawlessness is their lack of success in bringing suspects to book.

"The Government takes part of the blame through their reluctance to have the police investigated or bringing them under control."

Asked how an understaffed police force coped with investigating the high number of killings, Colonel Frans Malherbe, Witwatersrand police spokesman, said: "Yes, we do investigate all the killings.

"We do cope with the number of killings as special investigation units have been established in the areas where violence has erupted."

He said police instituted forensic investigations into some, but not all, deaths that resulted from violence.

On the Reef more than 976 people have died in unrest-related violence in the past six months.

Colonel Malherbe said: "Police forensic experts are involved in some of the investigations where their service is required. For instance, in the Sebokeng massacre, forensic experts were able to identify the make and calibre of the weapons within 24 hours."

He said investigation procedures, such as cordoning off the murder scene, were followed in the event of a premeditated murder. In unrest situations, the line of investigation differed. Police were totally dependant on witnesses and informants.

Bodies removed at an unrest scene were taken to the mortuary, where a State pathologist carried out an autopsy to determine the nature of wounds and the causes of death.

About the role of the police in unrest, Colonel Malherbe said: "The police are there to maintain a strong law and order. Disciples of anarchy ... are doing their utmost to make the police the scapegoat in a situation that was created by power-hungry associations."

Let us pray for peace, urges Tutu

(274)

Sowetan 27/3/91

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has called for prayers and fasting during the week leading to Easter in an effort to end violence in Africa.

He called on Anglicans to initiate prayer services today. His plea was inspired by Sunday's killings in Daveyton, Benoni.

Referring to the Daveyton killings, he said: "We are becoming brutalised by the continuing violence when we give a sigh of relief that 'only five people' have died in the latest outbreak."

Violence

"I want to call on Anglicans and all people of goodwill in Southern Africa to use Holy Week to intensify their prayer and fasting for an end to violence in Africa.

"Many places in Africa need our prayers for peace. The situation in South Africa at the moment - of which the Daveyton killings are only the latest example - is especially distressing," Tutu said in a statement.

He knew the causes of fighting were manifold but there was also "a great evil afoot in our land", which had to be addressed through sustained prayer and fasting.

Freedom

"What is happening is totally unacceptable.

"The prize of freedom is within our grasp but it is going to recede if the violence does not end." - *Sowetan Correspondent*

ARCHBISHOP TUTU ... heartfelt plea for peace

Let us pray for peace, urges Tutu

274

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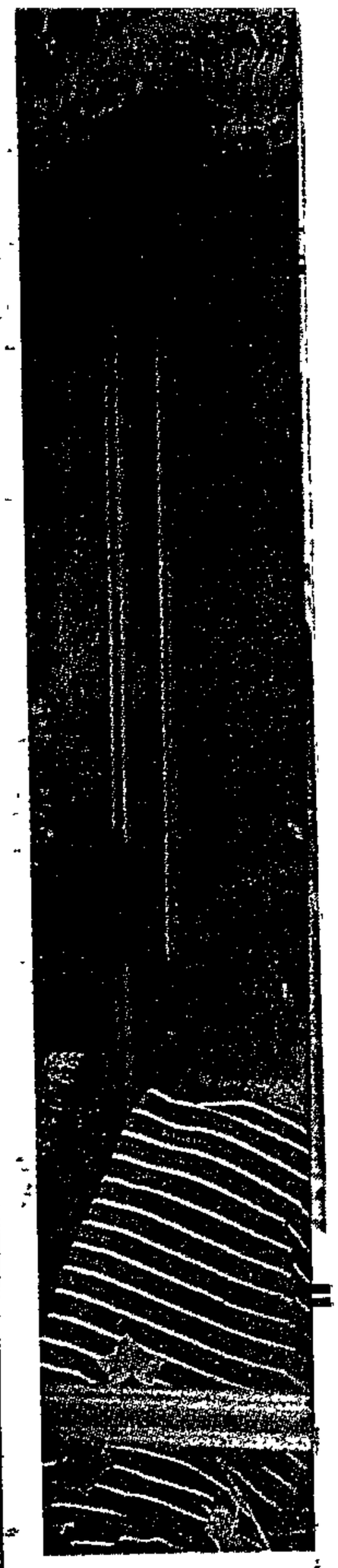
Freedom

"What is happening is totally unacceptable.

"The prize of freedom is within our grasp but it is going to recede if the violence does not end." - *Sowetan Correspondent*



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Lack of planning 'will hit public health services'

B/Day 27/3/91

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Public health services would be unable to meet future health care needs because of a lack of long-term planning and rationalisation, Medical Association of SA secretary-general Hendrik Hanekom said yesterday.

Commenting on the large increases in Transvaal provincial hospital and ambulance tariffs announced this week, Hanekom said the fragmentation of health services continued to be the core of the problem.

In some cases, tariffs were more than doubled.

Private patients at academic hospitals will pay a 30% levy on the new daily rate of R205. H2 category patients will pay R41 instead of R10 a day at community hospitals and R52 instead of R15 a day at regional and academic hospitals.

Masa urged government to urgently move towards ending this fragmentation.

Hanekom said the increased fees were entirely unexpected.

It appeared the new TPA tariff structure had been based on the principle of extending accessibility to health services to more poor people.

"Masa, however, is concerned that a situation has developed in various public health services where it has become necessary to introduce contingency measures to maintain services and to balance budgets," Hanekom said.

Masa, he added, supported the principle that individuals should take care of their own health as far as possible.

Lost ancestral lands 'stay white'

B/Day 27/3/91.

PRETORIA — Planning and Housing Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday dashed the hopes of thousands of black South Africans by saying land seized under apartheid laws would never be returned.

In an interview in the magazine RSA Policy Review, Kriel dashed the hopes of blacks removed from ancestral lands over the past 48 years by saying people had been compensated for land taken away from them.

"It will be unrealistic to expect land to be taken away from those who, over the years, developed and sustained it," he said.

"The government believes that the future rather than the past should be looked to ...

"The whole matter must be dealt with in a constructive manner by helping people to become landowners rather than in a destructive manner by once more taking land from people."

The interview, which will be published in April, was conducted a day after the White Paper on land reforms was tabled in Parliament on March 12, triggering a sharp response from the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups.

Kriel said he hoped white people, scared by moves to dismantle apartheid, would accept colour was not a decisive factor in life.

"In the course of time South Africans will realise that colour is not the decisive factor in the level of people's civilisation.

"There is no question of the fact that the government is conceding to pressure.

"The reality in SA that the majority of its citizens are excluded from the highest political decision-making processes, and that all South Africans do not have equal opportunities, caused the government to reconsider its viewpoints."

He warned against high expectations, saying "people's expectations should not exceed the limits of existing realistic standards".

Kriel said the aim of the White Paper was to bring about justice to all South Africans.

Rightwing groups bent on sabotaging the scrapping of apartheid laws would not be allowed to do so.

"The government wants to appeal to people to show the same attitude in their private affairs as that which underlies the decision to repeal the Group Areas Act.

"It will be unlawful for any local authority to accept regulations in terms of which areas are reserved for specific population groups," the minister said.

"The SA government will have to monitor the situation to ascertain whether blatant discrimination still takes place.

"As a result of this, further rectifying steps could be taken in the course of time," he added. — Sapa.

Leaders 'impotent to stop violence'

B/Day 27/3/91

WILSON ZWANE

THE SA Council of Churches (SACC) this week said leaders of factions involved in the continuing township violence were impotent to halt the carnage.

In a statement, the SACC said it, in consultation with church leaders, felt there was an urgent need for the church to intervene in an attempt to stop the violence, which was escalating despite peace talks between rival political parties.

"This reality has convinced us that either the parties involved in resolving the crisis have failed or the violence has now simply gone beyond the control of the organisations themselves," the SACC said.

The organisation said it had hoped positive results would flow from recent peace talks between the ANC, Inkatha, government, the PAC and Azapo.

As its contribution to efforts aimed at ending factional violence in the country, the SACC would convene an urgent national meeting of all leaders of strife-torn communities within a week.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that the Bush administration has reacted to Sunday's police shootings in Daveyton with unusual vehemence, calling the incident "an unacceptable vestige of the old SA".

Officials indicated that they were angered as much by the circumstances that led to the the incident as by the police decision to open fire.

SA ambassador Harry Schwarz has sought a full report on the episode from Pretoria.

"The indefensible cannot be defended," he said. "If the police have acted wrongly there is no way I can defend it."

Meanwhile, PATRICK BULGER reports the ANC Youth League, reacting to the weekend clash, yesterday repeated its calls for an interim government and the integration of ANC forces with those of the SA security forces.

"In the interests of peace and for the sake of our country, the ANC Youth League demands of the regime that it immediately recognise the need for a neutral force to take over the control of the country during this delicate stage in our history," the statement said.

CAN-Tutu 28/3/91 | 274 | 298 | 28

From page 1

tised to accept what is totally unacceptable.

"My friends, yes, there are many reasons why there is violence.

"In periods of transition there is the violence due to the instability of transition, as we have seen in parts of Eastern Europe.

"Yes, South Africa has never really had a culture of tolerance. The government and its supporters have used dastardly and nefarious methods to deal with their opponents, ranging from the vilification of these, as still happens on SATV and radio and government-supporting media, up to the physical elimination of people such as has now been confirmed through the death squads of such as the CCB. Consequently people have learned that those who differ with you are enemies and the only to deal with enemy is to liquidate them.

"Yes, that is all true. But it is not all the truth.

"We black people must of course point to all the causes of violence I have pointed out and to others that I have not referred to. But ultimately we must turn the spotlight on ourselves. We can't go on forever blaming apartheid."

● Mr Nelson Mandela's nine-hour official visit to Lesotho today is off, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said last night. He said Mr Mandela had just returned from his holiday and had "a number of pressing matters to see to". Among the matters was the violence, especially in Alexandra, he said. — Sapa

PRAYER FOR PEACE ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu, right, and the Rev Colin Jones, Dean of Cape Town, at a special mass for justice and peace. Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Tutu's plea after Alex killings

Cpt-Times 28/3/91

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday said there was something "desperately wrong" in the black community after the massacre of 15 people in Alexandra township.

Delivering a homily at a service for justice and peace, he said there was much to admire in black political organisations, "but there is much also which is not right".

"Some of those who belong to these organisations are totally undisciplined and you can't wage a struggle unless you are dedicated and disciplined," he said.

"Our organisations need to go back to grassroots and instil discipline from the lowest ranks up."

Archbishop Tutu said black South Africans "must of course point to all the causes of violence, but ultimately we must turn the spotlight on ourselves. We can't go on forever blaming apartheid."

He identified as causes of violence the process of transition; the government's lack of tolerance of opposition; economic deprivation; the migratory labour system, and "disgraceful" police behaviour.

"Yes, that is all true," he said. "But it is not all the truth. A lot of the violence is due to political rivalry. Political groups in the black community are fighting for turf and they do not seem to know, or certainly some of their followers don't seem to know, that a cardinal tenet of democracy is that people must be free to choose freely whom they want to support.

"It seems as if the culture of violence is taking root in our society. We are becoming brutalised and almost anaesthe-

To Page 5

Crisis talks on massacres

W/L ARGUS 30/3/91 (274)

JOHANNESBURG. — Attempts by the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party to end violence moved into top gear today with an urgent "man-to-man" meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting, scheduled to begin at 10am in a Durban hotel, was held up after a bomb scare delayed Mr Mandela's aircraft for almost three hours at Jan Smuts Airport here.

SA Airways official Stephanie de Wit said an "English-speaking man" telephoned the operations room and warned that a bomb had been placed aboard the aircraft, which should have left at 8am.

All passengers were evacuated and taken to the airport terminal.

At a Press conference at the airport earlier Mr Mandela announced that an urgent meeting of the ANC's executive committee would be held on Thursday.

"This is a man-to-man meeting in which just the two of us will be exchanging views on problems raised by the recent wave of violence."

Mr Mandela denied that his first meeting with Chief Buthelezi in January failed to end the violence.

"I think it is a mistake to say that the first one didn't succeed in reducing the level of violence. We never expected that one simple meeting would lead to an end of violence.

'Live in a crazy world'

"After all, this violence has been raging since September 1984 and until all the mechanisms which we decided upon are in full operation, it must be expected that there will be a measure of violence.

"The important thing is that we are addressing the matter."

After the bomb scare Mr Mandela waited in a departure lounge with his bodyguard and other passengers and seemed in good humour as tourists took his picture.

Journalist William Maclean, among the passengers, said the captain ordered everyone off the plane, saying: "We live in a crazy world and I'm afraid we have a security risk". — Sapa-Reuter.

■ See page 4.

The committee would deal with the violence and in a departure from previous executive meetings on the issue, would discuss a "pro-active" plan to deal with it. He declined to enlarge on the plan.

"As a result of the prevailing crisis in the country I have decided to postpone my visit to North and West Africa," Mr Mandela said. He was due to leave on Wednesday.

"Violence is increasing and a large number of our people are being slaughtered.

"We are considering initiatives and their execution requires that I should remain in the country," Mr Mandela added.

"Over the past 12 months we have called several extraordinary meetings of the national executive which have addressed this situation.

'Different decisions'

"The forthcoming meeting will take decisions which are totally different in almost every respect from all previous ones."

Asked for details about the pro-active initiatives, Mr Mandela said: "It will be premature now to go into details.

"At the end of the meeting on Thursday we will issue a detailed statement."

Did it have anything to do with the negotiation process?

"We will issue a full statement," the ANC leader answered.

He added that the so-called "third force" would also be discussed.

On contact with Chief Buthelezi, the ANC leader said: "Since the meeting between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in January, I have been in constant touch with Prince Buthelezi, addressing various aspects of the violence that is raging throughout the country."

However, because of the violence, especially in Daveyton, Alexandra and Soweto, he had taken the initiative and suggested they urgently meet.

"We have been in touch for some time now, strategising on the situation. But we can no longer do so at a distance.

"We need very substantial and face-to-face discussions, and that is why I suggested to him that we should meet today.

30/3/91(274)

NEWS

1990 may go down as most violent yet

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Township violence lurched out of control this week with two massacres in Alexandra and Daveyton. South Africa is fast getting a reputation as the most violent country in the world.

At least 470 people have died in so-called "unrest" incidents since January 1.

Police caution that at this rate the death toll for 1990 could exceed last year's figure of 2 330 deaths in 17 088 unrest-related incidents, making it the worst year of political violence in the country's history.

Political organisations variously blame the violence on each other, the state or an unknown shadowy group with vested interests labelled the "Third Force".

Slamming the ongoing spiralling violence this week Archbishop Desmond Tutu said: "Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community.

Spotlight

"Black people cannot go on forever blaming apartheid ... ultimately we must turn the spotlight on ourselves.

Asked his opinion on the escalating violence, Mr Graeme Simpson, acting director for the Witwatersrand University-based Project for the Study of Violence said. "Ultimately the brutality has resulted because apartheid has dehumanised our society and life in the townships has become cheap."

On the question of a third force, he said "It is simplistic to blame right-wingers and vigilantes. But there are always those with vested interests such as Natal's warlords who trade in the regeneration of conflict and have a material as well as a political interest in disruption"

Mr Saki Macozoma of the ANC's information department said: "The ANC believes in the existence of a Third Force responsible for some of the violence but it cannot be defined as a monolithic body.

Ms Suzanne Vos of the Inkatha Freedom Party said: "There appears to be substantial evidence of certain forces exacerbating violence in some areas, not just one quarter.

Intolerance

"Thugs and gangsters also play a vicious role and it is well-documented how many control all kinds of rackets and terrorise innocent people."

Police spokesman Captain Craig Kotze blamed the violence on political intolerance.

"The key is for those people involved to realise this," he said.

He said police had intensively investigated allegations of a third force but found no evidence of it being an organised structure.

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Tutu in plea for a culture of tolerance

Star 30/3/91.

274

CAPE TOWN — Something had gone "desperately wrong" in the black community, Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a congregation in St George's Cathedral this week.

Delivering a homily at a service for justice and peace, he said there was much to admire in black political organisations, "but there is much also which is not right". He went on to say:

"It seems as if the culture of violence is taking root in our society. We are becoming brutalised and almost anaesthetised to accept what is totally unacceptable.

"If this kind of violence that keeps erupting at regular intervals continues then, when the new South Africa dawns, there will be very few around to enjoy it and those who survive will do so only because they are tough, on the basis of the laws of the jungle: survival of the fittest, eat or be eaten, devil take the hindmost.

"There are many reasons why there is violence. South Africa has never really had a culture of tolerance. The Government and its supporters have used dastardly and nefarious methods to deal with their opponents, ranging from the vilification and pillorying of these, as still happens on SABC-TV and radio and Government-supporting media, up to the physical elimination of people such as has now been confirmed through the death squads of such as the CCB.

"Consequently people have learnt that those who differ with you are enemies and the only way to deal with the enemy is to liquidate them.

"Some of the violence is due to socio-political and economic deprivation. It is true also that we are reaping the horrible harvests of apartheid through the migratory labour system and its ghastly single-sex hostels.

"What has gone wrong is that we have seemed to have lost our reverence for life, when children can dance round someone dying the gruesome death of a necklacing.

"Something has gone desperately wrong when our leaders are not listened to by their followers. There is much to admire in our political organisations, but there is much also which is not right.

"Some of those who belong to these organisations are totally undisciplined and you can't wage a struggle unless you are dedicated and disciplined. Our organisations need to go back to grassroots and instil discipline from the lowest ranks up.

"It seems to me that we, in the black community, have lost our sense of 'ubuntu' — our humaneness, caring, hospitality, our sense of connectness, our sense that my humanity is bound up in your humanity.

"We are losing our self-respect, demonstrated it seems to me most graphically by the horrible extent of dumping and littering in our townships. Of course we live in squalor and in slum ghettos. But we are not rubbish.

"There are some things that I want to suggest we can do. 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. Let us learn to agree to disagree. Those who disagree with us are not necessarily enemies, otherwise there would be very few husbands and wives around.

"To coerce, to intimidate, is to admit that your policy can't persuade on its own merits. People must be

"Two, our political organisations need to put their houses in order; to instil discipline in their members; to adopt at least a minimum code of conduct that

liquidate them.

"Some of the violence is due to socio-political and economic deprivation. It is true also that we are reaping the horrible harvests of apartheid through the migratory labour system and its ghastly single-sex hostels.

"It was an explosion waiting to happen, placing virile men in single-sex hostels cheek-by-jowl with townships where they saw other men leading normal lives with their families. And these hostel-dwellers were alienated from those township communities.

"It is true that the police and the security forces have, on the whole, behaved disgracefully, being accused on all sides of a lack of professionalism as a totally unbiased peace-keeping force, and sometimes it might be true that some of them have sought to foment the violence.

"Yes, that is all true. But it is not all the truth.

"A lot of the violence is due to political rivalry. Political groups in the black community are fighting for turf and they do not seem to know, or certainly some of their followers don't seem to know, that a cardinal tenet of democracy is that people must be free to choose whom they want to support.

"To coerce, to intimidate, is to admit that your policy can't persuade on its own merits. People must be free to choose whether they want to participate or not in boycotts, in mass action. That is an irreducible, an incontrovertible aspect of democracy.

"Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community. We black people must, of course, point to all the causes of violence I have pointed out and to others that I have not referred to.

"But, ultimately, we must turn the spotlight on ourselves. We can't go on forever blaming apartheid. Of course it is responsible for a great deal of evil. But ultimately we are human beings and have proved it in the resilience we have shown in the struggle for justice.

"We did not allow ourselves to be demoralised, dehumanised. We could still laugh, we could still forgive. We refused to be embittered at some of the worst moments in the struggle.

"To coerce, to intimidate, is to admit that your policy can't persuade on its own merits. People must be free to choose whether they want to participate or not in boycotts, in mass action. That is an irreducible, incontrovertible aspect of democracy."

otherwise there would be very few husbands and wives around.

"Two, our political organisations need to put their houses in order; to instil discipline in their members; to adopt at least a minimum code of conduct that says these are the parameters beyond which we will not stray in conducting our political activity.

"Third, the authorities must disarm all groups. It is a 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.

"Fourth, let the police become a truly professional peace-keeping force that upholds the rule of law and order without fear or favour. And one hopes that they can begin to be flexible.

What happened in Daveyton was due to their insisting on the observance of a law that many of our people refuse to obey, that relates to meetings, and relates to demonstrations.

"Fifth, 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 already legislation available and I urge the Government to use it.

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

"And, with others, finally I suggest that all of us, perhaps at midday, pause to pray not just for our country, for all of Africa. And there is a simple prayer that many of us use, and I would suggest that is a prayer that ought to be learnt by people everywhere. It is a straightforward prayer, composed by Trevor Huddleston:

"God bless Africa. Guard her children. Guide her rulers and give her peace."

SUNDAY TIMES, March 31 1991 ★

(274)

Tutu's plea to end culture of black violence

IN St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, this week Archbishop Desmond Tutu made his most outspoken plea yet for an end to black violence. Extracts:

"IT seems as if the culture of violence is taking root in our society. We are becoming brutalised and almost anaesthetised to accept what is totally unacceptable...

My friends, yes, there are many reasons why there is violence.

In periods of transition there is the violence due to the instability of transition, as we have seen in parts of Eastern Europe.

"Yes, South Africa has never really had a culture of tolerance. The Government and its supporters have used dastardly and nefarious methods to deal with their opponents, ranging from the vilification and pillorying of these, as still happens on SABC-TV and radio and government-supporting media, up to the physical elimination of people, such as has now been confirmed through the death squads, such as the CCB.

Consequently, people have learnt that those who differ with you are enemies and the only way to deal with the enemy is to liquidate them.

Yes, that is true.

Some of the violence is due to socio-political and economic deprivation, and sociologists will tell you that when you think your life will end in a cul-de-sac, that you won't make it in the rat race, then the level of your frustration rises and you break out violently...

Yes, that is true.

It is true also that we are reaping the horrible harvests of apartheid through the migratory labour system and its ghastly single-sex hostels. It was an explosion waiting to happen, placing virile men in single-sex hostels cheek-by-jowl with townships where they saw other men leading normal lives with their families And these hostel-dwellers were alienated from those township communities.

Yes, all that is true.

It is true that the police and the security forces have on the whole behaved disgracefully, being accused on all sides of a lack of professionalism as a peace-keeping force totally unbiased, and sometimes it might be true that some of them have sought to foment the violence.

Yes, that is all true. But it is not all the truth.

A lot of the violence is due to political rivalry. Political groups in the black community are fighting for turf, and they do not seem to know, or certainly some of their followers don't seem to know, that a cardinal tenet of democracy is that people must be free to choose freely whom they want to support.

To coerce, to intimidate, is to admit that your policy can't persuade on its own merits. People must be free to choose freely whether they want to participate or not in boycotts, in mass action. That is an irreducible, an incontrovertible, aspect of democracy.

Something has gone desperately wrong in the black community. We black people must, of course, point to all the causes of violence I have pointed out and to others that I have not referred to. But ultimately we must turn the spotlight on ourselves. We can't go on for ever blaming apartheid.

Of course, it is responsible for a great deal of evil.

But ultimately, man, we are human beings and we have proved it in the resilience we have shown in the struggle for justice. We did not allow ourselves to be demoralised, dehumanised. We could laugh, we could forgive. We refused to be embittered at some of the worst moments in the struggle.

What has gone wrong that we have seemed to have lost our reverence for life, when children can dance round someone dying the gruesome death of necklacing?

Something has gone desperately wrong when our leaders are not listened to by their followers. There is much to admire in our political organisations, but there is much also which is not right.

Some of those who belong to these organisations are totally undisciplined, and you can't wage a struggle unless you are dedicated and disciplined. Our organisations need to go back to the grassroots and instil discipline from the lowest ranks up.

It seems to me that we in the black community have lost our sense of *ubuntu* — our humaneness, caring, hospitality, our sense of connectedness, our sense that my humanity is bound up in your humanity.

We are losing our self-respect; demonstrated, it seems to me most graphically, by the horrible extent of dumping and littering in our townships. Of course, we live in squalor.

But we are not rubbish. Why do we seem to say that is what we are when you see how we treat our already poor environment?"

ANC and Buthelezi cool to tough peace demands

TUTU'S VOICE IN WILDERNESS

DESMOND TUTU

ST Times 31/3/91. (274)

By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN and TERRY van der WALT

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's passionate appeal to black politicians for a new realism in their fight against violence fell upon stony ground yesterday.

At the start of an Easter crisis "summit" between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the archbishop's six-point plan for peace was largely ignored by both sides.

After five hours, the two sides could only agree that they would monitor each other's implementation of the January 29 peace agreements.

They both condemned the government for not doing enough to stop the violence. But Inkatha disagreed with the ANC over the formation of self-defence units in black areas and the claim that a "third force" was fomenting violence

Mr Buthelezi earlier called Archbishop Tutu's statement "a good one" but "unrealistic" He also launched into an attack on "naive" churchmen.

Mr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela held the snap summit yesterday against the background of one of the most powerful calls yet by a black churchman for political organisations to stop blaming apartheid for everything

Addressing his congregation in St George's Cathedral on Wednesday this week, Archbishop Tutu demanded that:

● A culture of tolerance be developed — "those who disagree with us are not necessarily our enemies";

FW in bold bid for united front

By NORMAN WEST and MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has sent a personal invitation to the leaders of all parties in Parliament to join him in a united front on negotiations. ST Times 31/3/91

The move is seen as an attempt to counterbalance plans by major extra-parliamentary groupings to mobilise support for constituent assembly elections It is also a bid to keep up the

Lady Ruth braves boere of Boshoek

● A culture of tolerance be developed ... who disagree with us are not necessarily our enemies";

FRIENDS ... Mandela and Buthelezi hug

● "Our political organisations" put their houses in order, instil discipline and adopt a code of conduct;

● "The authorities" disarm all groups, even of traditional weapons;

● The police become flexible, but uphold the rule of law;

● All leaders "stop their killing talk";

● Councils, churches and community organisations combine to clean up the townships, so residents can regain their self-respect.

Since the archbishop's plea, however, 19 more people have died in political violence in Natal.

Expanding on his call, Archbishop Tutu told the Sunday Times in an interview this week that if the violence continued there would be nobody left in South Africa to enjoy freedom.

"Whatever the causes we, in the black community in particular, need to engage in very serious self-examination.

"What is happening is totally unacceptable. The prize of freedom is within our grasp, but it is going to recede if the violence doesn't end. A freedom which there is nobody left to enjoy is no freedom at all," he said.

But the pulpit appeal got slight response from Mr Buthelezi yesterday.

In a statement before his meeting with Mr Mandela in Durban, Mr Buthelezi said Archbishop Tutu's statement was "unrealistic" — and he took a swipe at churchmen in general.

Offensive

He said he wondered whether calls for peace like those made by the Rev Frank Chikane (of the SA Council of Churches) and the Rev Stanley Magoba (past president of the Methodist Conference) must simply be regarded as naive.

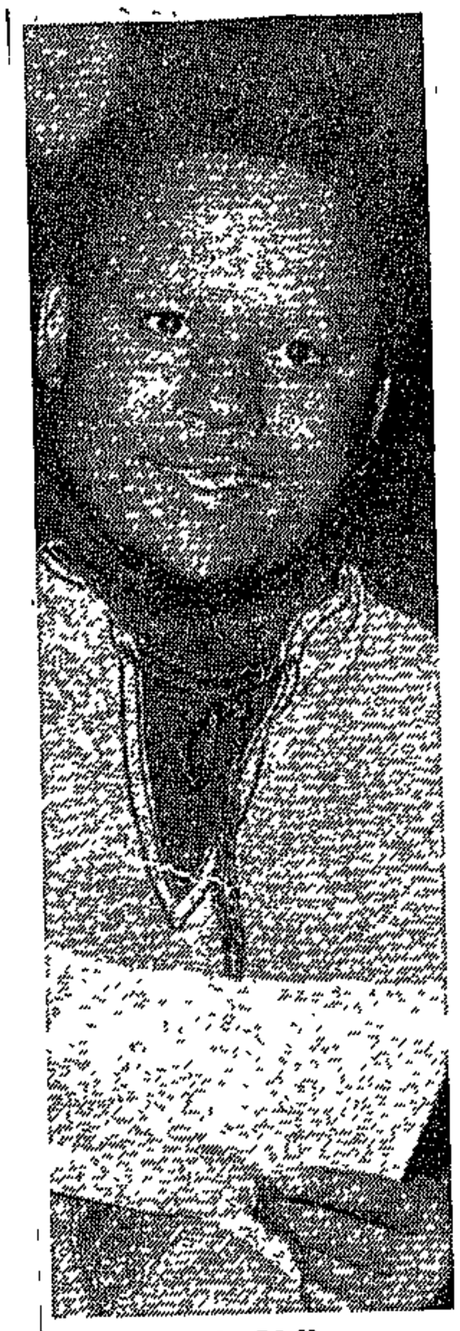
"They unfortunately suggest that leading churchmen are actually busy-bodies — trying to be important in the eyes of the world by stepping in and trying to take charge of the peace process.

"I find it rather offensive that the Church runs down political leaders to capitalise on its failure to sound important and to cover up the fact that churchmen themselves, as spiritual leaders in their own right, have been totally ineffective among their own congregations in their own communities in banishing violence from politics."

Mr Buthelezi also called for a troika leadership comprising himself, Mr Mandela and President FW de Klerk to guide the country. Mr Mandela described the suggestion as "reasonable".

The two parties read a brief joint statement after yesterday's meeting, confirming that they had discussed the continuing violence and the perception that it was an indictment of black leadership. Among other issues discussed were: the "third force"; "cultural weapons"; the conversion of single-sex hostels into family accommodation and the failure of the police to contain the carnage.

TUTU APPEAL: Page 2
OPINION: Page 18



Rev Frank Chikane

Meeting to end violence

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) has called for an urgent national meeting of all leaders of unrest-stricken communities to devise ways of ending ongoing violence.

SACC general-secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane said in a statement this week the meeting would be convened within one week, that consultations in this regard were under way and further announcements would be made soon.

In the light of the Holy Week, the SACC also called on all Christians and members of other faiths:

- To pray for peace, justice, tolerance and love in South Africa during a week of prayer and fasting; and
- To organise services focusing on violence and solidarity and to pray for unrest victims and their families.

The SACC, in consulation with church leaders, felt there was an urgent need for churches to intervene in a bid to stop the violence, which was escalating despite peace talks between the political parties involved.

Expressing shock at the extent of the recent violence, the SACC said: "This reality has convinced us that either the parties involved in resolving the crisis have failed or the violence has now simply gone beyond the control of the organisations themselves."

The SACC had welcomed and hoped for positive results from recent talks between leaders of the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the government, the PAC and Azapo.

"We had hoped that through all these efforts a culture of tolerance would eventually evolve and become a natural phenomenon of our everyday life," said Chikane. – Sapa

STOP THE KILLINGS!

Mandela, Buthelezi in urgent peace talks

(274)

(Pres 31/3/91)

By SEKOLA SELLO, S'BU MNGADI and Sapa

THIS carnage must be stopped!

This was the message of yesterday's emergency meeting between ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban in a fresh attempt to end the violence in South Africa

The meeting came in the wake of the recent outbreak of violence in Daveyton and Alexandra which has claimed the lives of more than 100 people in less than two weeks

Yesterday, during a tea break at Durban's Royal Hotel, both Mandela and Buthelezi said they were optimistic about the outcome of the talks

Mandela said he had not expected their first meeting, which took place on January 29, to resolve the conflict He said until mechanisms decided upon were in full operation, there would always be a danger of violence breaking out

The talks started about three hours later than scheduled yesterday when a bomb threat – telephoned into the South African Airways' operations room at Jan Smuts Airport – delayed Mandela's flight to Durban

SAA spokeswoman Stephanie de Wit confirmed that the operations room had received a call from an "English-speaking man" who advised that a bomb had been placed on the aircraft

"The plane was searched thoroughly and no explosives were found," De Wit said

At a press conference before flying to Durban, Mandela announced that he had cancelled his scheduled two-week trip to North and West Africa next Wednesday because of the continuing violence.

He said the ANC had also called an urgent full meeting of the ANC's national executive for next Thursday

Earlier this week several leaders from church, political and affiliated organisations called for an end to the violence

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) called for an urgent "national consultative conference on peace" and in Cape Town Archbishop Desmond Tutu made an impassioned plea to a congregation at the St George's Cathedral for a "culture of tolerance"

"Let us practise the motto, 'I disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it'," Tutu said

Yesterday, Buthelezi called for a national leadership troika comprising

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himself, Mandela and State President FW de Klerk. According to Buthelezi, the troika should "meet now to establish common purpose and to establish channels of communication ... that will be needed when there is a need" to take urgent action".

Azapo's publicity secretary Strini Moodley said it is the duty of every component of the black community, ranging from taxi organisations to social workers, to be actively involved in the campaign against violence.

Moodley said one of the priorities is to establish a code of conduct which will be binding on all the signatories to the "peace conference".

At the time of going to press the meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi was still in progress.